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Multilingualism and Social Inclusion

Editors

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Editorial

Multilingualism and Social Inclusion

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Abstract

This is a thematic issue on the relation between multilingualism and social inclusion. Due to globalization, Europeanization, supranational and transnational regulations linguistic diversity and multilingualism are on the rise. Migration and old and new forms of mobility play an important role in these processes. As a consequence, English as the only global language is spreading around the world, including Europe and the European Union. Social and linguistic inclusion was accounted for in the pre-globalization age by the nation-state ideology implementing the ‘one nation-one people-one language’ doctrine into practice. This led to forced linguistic assimilation and the elimination of cultural and linguistic heritage. Now, in the present age of globalization, linguistic diversity at the national state level has been recognized and multilingual states have been developing where all types of languages can be used in governance and daily life protected by a legal framework. This does not mean that there is full equality of languages. This carries over to the fair and just social inclusion of the speakers of these weaker, dominated languages as well. There is always a power question related to multilingualism. The ten case studies in this thematic issue elaborate on the relation between multilingualism and social inclusion. The articles in this issue refer to this topic in connection with different spaces, including the city, the island, and the globe; in connection with different groups, like Roma in the former Soviet-Union and ethnic Albanians in Macedonia; in connection with migration and mobility of Nordic pensioners to the south of Europe, and language education in Scotland; and finally in connection with bilingual education in Austria and Estonia as examples of successful practices including multilingualism under one and the same school roof.

Keywords

communication; education; English; Esperanto; language; minorities; multilingualism; global languages; linguistic spaces; social inclusion

Issue

This editorial is part of the issue “Multilingualism and Social Inclusion”, edited by László Marác (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands/Gumilyov Eurasian National University, Kazakhstan) and Silvia Adamo (University of Copenhagen, Denmark).

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1. Introduction

Linguistically diverse or multilingual societies are increasing worldwide. This has mainly to do with processes of globalization and Europeanization. Universal norms and standards in order to protect linguistic and cultural identity are spreading around the globe. In parallel, the traditional nation-state regime cultivating the ‘one nation-

one people-one language ideology’ is weakening, creating room for the celebration of linguistic diversity; and there is a proliferation of federal, multilingual states which recognize more than one official language, i.e., the language of the majority as the official language for communication in governance, the public sphere and education. The European Union (EU) now recognizing 24 official languages is such new federal-type of political con-

stellation. Further, the proliferation of multilingualism is boosted by all forms of mobility, where mobility is understood as physical migration or new forms of virtual mobility connected to digital networks. Mobility in this sense supports the linguistic and transnational identity of migrants bringing with them new languages that can be called mobile minority languages in reference to traditional minority languages that have a territorial binding in most cases. These migrants speaking unique heritage languages cannot be integrated via linguistic assimilation into the host society. Finally, English is on the rise as a global lingua franca and it is considered that proficiency in English is a prerequisite for a just world. The idea is that more English leads to more social inclusion.

The relation between linguistic diversity and social inclusion is rather complex, however. A good example is the EU. Social and linguistic inclusion is hampered by the fact that although linguistic diversity is generally seen as a positive asset and linguistic rights are on the agenda of policy making in practice we have to do with language hierarchies which imply the exclusion of languages and we hasten to add quite often the social exclusion of their speakers instead of inclusion. Linguistic barriers may also add to the exclusion of non-native speakers in a host state labour market (Adamo, 2018).

Due to the 24 official languages, linguistic diversity in Brussels is hard to manage, however. Hence, the distinction between “official” versus “working” language has become relevant, and this is practically used as a solution for the language issue in the Brussels institutions. The difference between official and working languages is defined in article 6 of the language regulation 1/1958: the institutions are allowed to freely choose their own language regime. The European Commission acknowledges three working languages, namely English, which is used the most, French and German. The latter is used substantially less frequently than the other two. Another example of article 6 is the fact that of the 15 Directorate Generals (DGs) only three use the 24 official languages on their website, including Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion, Enterprise and Industry, and Justice. All other DGs use a reduced or a monolingual regime consisting of English only.

There are voices to abolish language regulation 1/1958 altogether, due to the fact that an equal treatment of official and working languages is not possible. The main argument is that the democratic language regime of the EU will hamper an efficient functioning of its institutions. Moreover, the reduction of the number of official languages is underpinned by the fact that international English functions practically as a lingua franca in Brussels and European educational recommendations for language teaching favour the learning of English. Hence, monolingualism, i.e., the use of global English is more often practice in the Brussels’ institutions. Nevertheless, not only global English will hamper the equality of languages in Brussels it will also render almost impossible the participation of non-speakers of English in the

Europeanisation project. This leads to social exclusion instead of social inclusion.

It is true that traditional minority languages have received more legal recognition in recent decades. European territorial languages are protected by several conventions under the auspice of the Council of Europe that is in close cooperation with the EU. The use of these languages in European national states where the official language of the state is the majority language is guaranteed by international and European legal treaties, like the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities signed on 1 February 1995 in Strasbourg and the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages adopted on 5 November 1992. Observe that in these cases, there is no full equality between the majority and minority languages leading to linguistic hegemony of the majority language. This situation of inequality is characterized by linguistic asymmetries, subordination, and threshold restrictions for the use of the weaker language. This carries over to the native speakers of these languages. Hence, they might be excluded because they speak a minority language. The traditional territorial languages are still in a better position than mobile minority languages that have received hardly any recognition in the European linguistic space. As Nagy (2015) rightly points out this has to do with power, and officially recognized languages are the languages of power indicating which group is dominating the political arena. Therefore, language policy projects, like ‘MIME’ that is sponsored by the European Commission FP7-program should find an optimal equilibrium between mobility and social inclusion (Grin, Marácz, Pokorn, & Kraus, 2014).

This thematic issue will offer ten case studies on the relation between multilingualism and social inclusion, and will reflect on the themes discussed above. The articles address also topics and countries that are far beyond the scope of the EU only. Issues having to do with linguistic diversity and multilingualism play an important role on a global scale. The articles target themes as multilingualism in different spaces, including the city, island and the globe. Esperanto might challenge the only global lingua franca (i.e., English) as a neutral, artificial alternative. The articles also cover language as a source of conflict and an ethno-identity marker of minorities, like Roma in the former Soviet-Union and Albanians in Macedonia; the effects of mobility and migration on multilingual communication in the case of Northern European pensioners in the south of Europe and education in Scotland; and bilingual education in Austria and Estonia as illustrative cases of social inclusion under one and the same but linguistically diverse school roof.

2. Multilingualism in Different Spaces

In their article, Yaron Matras and Alex Robertson (2017) focus on the language and social policies employed in a British university setting. Describing the work carried out by the research unit Multilingual Manchester (MLM),

the authors illustrate how initiatives for awareness of language diversity can sustain a development towards a more inclusive society. The article shows how the activities proposed in a model of participatory research such as MLM can pave the way towards an appreciation of language diversity as a vital element of social inclusion.

Through an examination of the linguistic landscape of Manila during a protest march in November 2016, Jennifer Monje (2017) uses data such as mobile posters, banners, t-shirts, etc., to map the linguistic composition and 'ethnolinguistic vitality' of the city. By analyzing these mobile and unfixed linguistic expressions, the article explores the city of Manila's multilingual nature and at the same time, the strategies that can be used for displaying dissent through linguistic devices.

The article by Herman Bröring and Eric Mijts (2017) explores the language practices in postcolonial small island states, in the specific case study Aruba, and their relation of dependency on former colonizer states' language regime. The starting point of the analysis focuses on the limited protection offered by international treaties to creole languages spoken by the majority of the inhabitants of the former colonial island. From there the authors proceed to analyse how the influence of Dutch language in governance, judiciary, and education currently affects the Aruba legislation. In this view, the language planning and policy employed in Aruba does not support a 'linguistically inclusive society' where the island's population can be represented.

Federico Gobbo's (2017) contribution describes and contextualizes the creation and development of Esperanto. Acclaimed as a true example of lingua franca, the evolution of Esperanto is nuanced in Gobbo's exposition by exposing the commitment of Esperanto activists to particular sets of beliefs and 'programs for changing the world'. By presenting and discussing the history and narratives of Esperanto, the author also proposes a renewed assessment of the predominant position of English as the current lingua franca of the world.

3. Multilingualism and Minorities

The article by Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov (2017) introduces us to the developments in the politics of multilingualism and educational policies for Roma children in the Soviet Union. Formerly known as 'gypsy schools', these institutions provided instruction in their Romani mother tongue, and thanks also to specially trained Roma teachers, high levels of literacy were achieved in the Roma communities. After the closing of these special schools in 1938, the authors describe a lack of multilingual awareness in the subsequent move to include Roma children into mainstream schools. Individual elements of multilingualism and educational policies specifically targeting Roma children have been reintroduced only in a few countries after the collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe. The article also mentions the lack of interest of Roma people in accept-

ing a mother tongue based multilingual education, in rebuttal of the positive results of Roma education in the Soviet Union.

The article by Renata Treneska-Deskoska (2017) sets the frame around the question of why and how states ought to accommodate linguistic diversity. The author presents the context of Macedonia, with its ethnolinguistic communities that have challenged the state's organisation since its 1991 independence. Adopting a 'promotional approach', Macedonia has granted linguistic rights to minorities also by means of constitutional change, which introduced Albanian as an official language alongside Macedonian. The article examines the complex relationship between language policies and 'ethnic mistrust' and the potential and limits of legislation in accommodating the tensions among the two.

4. Multilingualism and Migration

In their contribution, Per Gustafson and Ann Elisabeth Laksfoss Cardozo (2017) analyze the multilingual context in which international retirees live, in their 'search for a better quality of life'. Taking as a case study Scandinavian (Norwegian and Swedish) retirees residing in the province of Alicante, Spain, the authors confront issues of social, cultural, and linguistic inclusion that are present in modern international retirement by focusing especially on the issue of language. After exploring the particular linguistic landscape of Alicante and the retirees' linguistic practices, the authors discuss how this particular kind of migration movement affects the conditions for social inclusion, as well as our understanding of the very concept.

In the article by Róisín McKelvey (2017), we have the opportunity to explore a relatively unknown context of multilingualism found in the educational system of Scotland. The increased linguistic diversity of the country, as in the wider UK context, has spurred a demand for language policies and multilingual public services. From this starting point, the article evaluates the legal instruments and policies promoting language learning and multilingualism, considering also the challenges to their implementation in an optic of inclusion. The conclusions highlight the tension between goals of inclusion and the increased mobility and multilingual demographics in Scotland.

5. Minority Languages

The article by Ulrike Jessner and Kerstin Mayr-Keiler (2017) examines the context of language choice and language use in children attending bilingual and multilingual schools in Austria. By means of a sociolinguistic analysis and employing empirical data, the article explores how children utilise socio-contextual information in order to inform their language choice and language use. The analysis concludes by evaluating how these dynamics of language practice interplay with broader considerations on social inclusion.

Finally, the linguistic landscape in Estonia is at the center of the article by Svetlana L'nyavskiy-Ekelund and Maarja Siiner (2017), who analyze the system of parallel and separated schools for Russian and Estonian speaking children. Contested as a system contributing to social injustice and segregation, the example of two private schools and their linguistic practices is examined, as the schools aim to drive inclusive institutions by employing inter alia multilingual practices. The case studies can then be used to question how a positive attitude to multilingual competences could further improve social cohesion in Estonia if the same outlook was broadened to a larger set of schools.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Urban Multilingualism and the Civic University: A Dynamic, Non-Linear Model of Participatory Research

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Abstract

Drawing on the example of Multilingual Manchester, we show how a university research unit can support work toward a more inclusive society by raising awareness of language diversity and thereby helping to facilitate access to services, raise confidence among disadvantaged groups, sensitise young people to the challenges of diversity, and remove barriers. The setting (Manchester, UK) is one in which globalisation and increased mobility have created a diverse civic community; where austerity measures in the wake of the financial crisis a decade ago continue to put pressure on public services affecting the most vulnerable population sectors; and where higher education is embracing a neo-liberal agenda with growing emphasis on the economisation of research, commodification of teaching, and a need to demonstrate a ‘return on investment’ to clients and sponsors. Unexpectedly, perhaps, this environment creates favourable conditions for a model of participatory research that involves co-production with students and local stakeholders and seeks to shape public discourses around language diversity as a way of promoting values and strategies of inclusion.

Keywords

language; Manchester; multilingualism; participatory research; social responsibility; university

Issue

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1. Introduction

The years 2016–2017 brought about a new intensity of political campaigns that challenge notions of globalisation and purport to address inequality. To be sure, globalisation created challenges even where its most obvious beneficiaries—those whom Goodhart (2017) terms ‘Anywheres’ on account of their mobile, achieved identity—are concentrated, namely in cosmopolitan urban centres: Global cities (Sassen, 2005) have been trialled to maintain cohesion among increasingly diverse populations (Finney & Simpson, 2009), to reap the benefits of the ‘diversity dividend’ (Syrett & Sepulveda, 2011), and to embrace diversity as a political model of managing difference (Schiller, 2016). At the same time, the city of

the future is viewed as a site where traditional forms of governance must give way to ever-permeating networks of partnership (Amin & Thrift, 2017). The study of urban multilingualism tended to focus initially on descriptive inventories of language communities that share urban space (e.g., García & Fishman, 1997), on community language policy (e.g., Clyne & Kipp, 2006), and on methods of mapping language vitality (e.g., Barni & Extra, 2008), but it has since shifted its attention to practices and ideologies that call for novel conceptualisations of multilingual repertoires (Blommaert, 2010; Canagarajah, 2017; García & Wei, 2014; Heller, 2011; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015), new participatory methods of investigation (Cadier & Mar-Molinero, 2012; Stevenson, 2017), and new challenges for policy especially around issues

of inclusion and social justice (Piller, 2016; cf. also Matras, 2017).

Such questions often prompt practical considerations as to how research can help empower actors to embrace as legitimate everyday practices pertaining to their multilingual identities in an environment that continues to be dominated by monolingualist, nation-state oriented narratives and policy measures (cf., Arnaut, Blommaert, Rampton, & Spotti, 2016; Blackledge & Creese, 2010). One of the earliest examples of research-led policy initiatives is the Research Unit for Multilingualism and Cross-Cultural Communication, founded in 2001 by Michael Clyne (1939–2010) at the University of Melbourne to promote networking around community language policy and bilingual education. At the University of Edinburgh, Antonella Sorace founded Bilingualism Matters, an initiative devoted to promoting awareness of the cognitive benefits of bilingualism, especially for children, through research, training and consultancy. While a comprehensive survey of university engagement around urban multilingualism is beyond the scope of this paper, we refer to Malinowski (2016) for an example of how undergraduate teaching in Applied Linguistics can be made 'locally meaningful' by using the urban environment and its linguistic landscape as a setting for research-led learning, introducing an aspect of community awareness into the curriculum.

The Multilingual Manchester (MLM) research unit at the University of Manchester was launched in 2010 and has since been cited as an example of good practice by several authors, among them Rampton (2015) on project-led teaching, research, and civic engagement at university level; Bracken, Driver and Kadi-Hanifi (2016, pp. 137–138) on introducing language diversity into the school curriculum and inclusion agenda; Tietze, Holden and Barner-Rasmussen (2016, pp. 315–316) on the effects of language diversity on the local economy; Lucas (2016, p. 92) on the relevance of diversity to social work; and King (2015, pp. 187–188) on shaping local policy discourse on language diversity. Key aspects of MLM's work have been replicated at various research-intensive universities around the world including Graz (Multilingual Graz, n.d.), Melbourne (Multilingual Melbourne, n.d.) and NTU Singapore. These citations prompt us to recount the considerations and strategies that led to the initiative and to engage in a critical reflection on the way in which challenging circumstances can bring about creative solutions, as well as on the pressures and risks that are part of the package.

2. The Social Setting

Manchester is one of the world's first industrial cities and its social fabric has been shaped by waves of immigration since the mid-19th century. The post-war and post-colonial period saw immigrants from Eastern Europe, former colonies in South Asia, East Asia and the Caribbean, migrants and refugees from the Middle East and Africa

and EU-migrants settling in the city. Drawing on a triangulation of datasets and observations (Matras & Robertson, 2015) we believe that currently between 150–200 languages are spoken in the city among a population of some 530,000 residents. In the national Census of 2011, 16.6% of Manchester's residents—twice the national average—reported having a 'main language' other than English, while in 2015–2016 some 37% of school pupils were registered as having a non-English 'first language'. The largest language groups—Urdu, Panjabi, Chinese, Arabic, Polish, Bengali, Somali, Kurdish—give an indication of the city's language diversity (Greater Manchester is also home to one of the world's largest Yiddish-speaking communities).

The city flags its commitment to inclusion, equality and diversity in various documents such as the bi-annual 'State of the City: Communities of Interest' report and in mission statements of key strategic institutions such as the Communities and Equalities Scrutiny Committee, Manchester's Inwards Investment Agency (MIDAS) and the Manchester Forum. As part of this commitment, public services maintain various language provisions: The City Council has its own in-house translation and interpreting service; Central Manchester Hospitals, one of three main hospitals in the city, responds to around 48,000 interpreting requests annually for 100 different languages; and city-run libraries issue around 70,000 titles in languages other than English. The city's landscape features commercial signs in more than 50 languages and at least 40 community-run supplementary (weekend) schools teach community languages.

Following industrial decline in the late 1980s Manchester began to embark on a regeneration effort, adopting a so-called 'entrepreneurial urban governance' approach that regarded social cohesion not just as social justice, but as a way to boost competitiveness. It delegated planning and delivery to partnerships with the private sector and local communities and gave them a voice in governance bodies, seeking to promote a metropolitan identity that emphasised the city's diverse and cosmopolitan character (cf., Peck & Ward, 2002; Williams, 2003; Young, Diep, & Drabble, 2006). The introduction of austerity measures in 2010 saw a severe reduction in local authority budgets and an increase in the outsourcing of advice and support services to private and third (non-profit) sector providers, especially around activities to facilitate access to key services for disadvantaged groups. The healthcare and judicial sectors now rely largely on private contractors for interpreting and translation services, while schools often rely on private and third sector initiatives for classroom support such as bilingual assistants and cross-cultural training.

3. The University Environment

In 2010, the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) introduced 'non-academic impact' into the metrics of the Research Excellence Framework (the pe-

riodical mechanism for assessing universities' research performance). Research Councils UK (RCUK), which brings together the country's public research funding bodies, defines non-academic impact as 'the demonstrable contribution that research makes to society and the economy', measured in terms of 'fostering global economic performance, and specifically the economic competitiveness of the UK, increasing the effectiveness of public services and policy, enhancing quality of life, health and creative output' (RCUK, n.d.). In the latest assessment exercise in 2014, universities were required to submit a number of impact case studies proportional to the number of research-active staff, as public debate highlighted non-academic impact as a way of guaranteeing a return on the state's investment in research. The new procedure coincided with the raising of university annual tuition fees to £9,000, a move that was defended by referring to graduates' higher earning potential coupled with the argument that society as a whole should not have to pay for the economic advantage gained by individuals.

These two measures introduced significant changes to the country's higher education environment, strengthening trends toward the economisation of research (measuring success in terms of revenue to the university and economic benefit to society) and the commodification of teaching. The metrics of the new Teaching Excellence Framework, introduced in 2017, are expected to rate universities more strongly than ever before on the basis of student satisfaction surveys, the academic level of entrants, and graduates' success in finding highly skilled employment ('positive graduate destinations'); universities that score high are expected to be allowed to raise tuition fees even further. This has already led to a wave of structural changes among some universities in England to replace staff and reduce degree programmes predicted to be 'unsustainable' in relation to the new criteria.

To meet expectations of impact and graduate employability, universities had long begun to engage in regional development programmes (cf., Chatterton & Goddard, 2000). For the Arts and Humanities, where demonstrating impact on policy and society is seen as particularly challenging, Comunian, Gilmore and Jacobi (2015) embrace the term 'creative economy' to designate the interplay of knowledge and cultural production with economic processes and propose a model of knowledge transfer in which universities provide 'third spaces' where regional exchange and collaboration networks with and among external partners can be developed. In relation to teaching and learning, universities around the globe have been embracing models of Social Responsibility that aim to educate students toward active citizenship by creating community partnerships and leadership schemes (see Shek & Hollister, 2017). Buffel, Skyrme and Phillipson (2017, p. 201) describe the University of Manchester as the first of England's 'civic universities', founded in the 19th century with an explicit

mission to serve the regional economy and culture. They draw a connection between this history and the institution's current mission statement, describing how in 2012 it adopted Social Responsibility as one of its three core goals alongside Teaching and Research. They go on to describe a research co-production model on Ageing, which develops links with local interest groups, trains older people from the community as co-investigators, and organises dissemination events with local stakeholders. The project opens a pathway to impact by involving policy actors in the research design and through targeted dissemination to policymakers and practitioners. Leggio (2017) reports on another co-production project based at the University of Manchester—MigRom (n.d.)—where researchers worked in partnership with members of the local community of Roma migrants from Eastern Europe and the local authority to support social inclusion. Leggio describes how the project empowered its Roma participants through what Harney, McCurry, Scott and Wills (2016) define as a 'process pragmatism' approach to participatory research that embeds knowledge production in reciprocal relationships and creates alliances to facilitate action.

4. MLM: The Launch of a Non-Linear Model of Participatory Research

'Process pragmatism' is a distinct approach to co-production that views research itself as part of a process of social change. Rather than engaging in inquiry around a pre-determined problem, its guiding principle is to bring together different groups of people to find common ground and then, through this mode of participatory inquiry, to identify issues for investigation, building on these relationships (Harney et al., 2016, pp. 318–324). This approach lends an interpretation to the notion of 'participation' that differs from Participatory Action Research (Cameron & Gibson, 2005; Cox, 2015), where external stakeholders are invited to use academic space as a platform for mobilisation. Instead it adopts a somewhat flexible position on a continuum of models ranging from partnerships that serve tokenistic functions, to those that are genuinely transformative of participants' practices. Common to most of these models is nonetheless a need to define the position of non-academic partners in relation to the power that academics maintain over their own space: Participation is seen either as 'invited' and thus aimed at facilitating research, or as 'reclaimed' and geared toward transferring power over academic space to others (cf., Cornwall, 2008, pp. 275–281).

MLM offers a different kind of participatory model, where the question of ownership is revisited thanks to the inherently reciprocal nature of the process. Engagement-oriented academic models are typically characterised by linearity, whereby teaching is informed by research, research is facilitated by access to data and observation settings, impact and knowledge exchange are derived from research, and external stakeholders are

invited into the academic space. Social responsibility is regarded as an overarching ethos that guides the university's overall contribution to society, for instance by setting good practice standards for environmental sustainability or equality and diversity, and in some cases through practices like applied research and student volunteering (cf., Shek & Hollister, 2017). MLM breaks this linearity and replaces it with a dynamic relationship, where teaching and learning enable student research that can have its own impact, issues articulated by stakeholders can guide research, student volunteering can offer an observation setting, and initiatives for mobilisation and social change can come from academics and be taken up by external stakeholders. In this way, the common division of roles between researchers, students, and non-academic stakeholders gives way to an organic process in which various actors have ownership of different activities at different times, and their cumulative contributions gradually develop into a theme-based and purpose-oriented network.

The Commonwealth Games, held in Manchester in 2002, gave the city's image a significant boost. During the decade between the two Censuses in 2001 and 2011, Manchester recorded the highest growth of a young population in England. Thanks to a merger and re-structuring in 2004, the University of Manchester became the country's largest single-site university, winning a significant government investment in infrastructure and attracting record year on year growth in student numbers. MLM was born in response to growing class sizes, benefiting from new opportunities for digital learning and the emerging Social Responsibility agenda: around 150 students enrolled in 2009 in a new second year undergraduate module on Societal Multilingualism. In order to effectively manage creative assessment, students were guided to conduct group projects on any aspect of multilingualism in Manchester. The pilot introduction of a digital platform for coursework submission in the same year offered an opportunity to archive project reports, and a grant of £1,000 from the first round of the University's Social Responsibility in the Curriculum scheme enabled the design of a keyword-searchable website. Eight years on, this online archive contains around 130 project reports authored by some 500 undergraduate students—the largest online archive of original work on multilingualism in any city and in all likelihood the largest online research archive authored exclusively by undergraduate students (Multilingual Manchester, n.d.-a). The published reports attracted the attention of local schools and the National Health Service, which approached the MLM team with requests for guidance on local language communities. The principle was thus born of community-based student research triggering interest from stakeholders and leading to collaborative ventures with a potential for high-impact research. That very model was written into the course unit description, flagging employability skills in the area of 'diversity management' such

as gaining awareness of population diversity, developing tools to assess the needs of diverse communities and strategies to assess existing provisions. Students were advised that such skills are high in demand in a variety of sectors and that projects offered opportunities for practical research work in the local community as well as a unique opportunity to disseminate insights to wide external audiences.

MLM's branding strategy was drafted in July 2009 with the help of the University's Directorate for Business Engagement and External Relations, with the explicit goal of setting up a centre with potential for high-impact research, public engagement and community outreach. Conversations with University managers about an organisational framework stalled, however, and a launch event with local stakeholders did not take place until October 2010. In February 2012, MLM created an interactive exhibition at Manchester Museum, which was documented in an online video¹ and received enthusiastic feedback. With the launch of a new University agenda to 'enhance the student experience' as well as a new University-internal Social Responsibility Strategic Investment Fund, MLM received a small grant in January 2013 to support part-time student research. This resulted in a comprehensive and ground-breaking report on language communities and language provisions in Manchester (Gopal, Matras, Percival, Robertson, & Wright, 2013), an accompanying fact sheet and video, a stakeholder event with local public services, and the launch of the University of Manchester's very first theme-based student volunteer scheme (see below). In July 2015, the University made a 3-year award to cover a full-time staff position, which quickly helped boost successful external grant capture from the national research councils ESRC, AHRC and British Academy. In February 2016, MLM launched *LinguaSnapp*, the University of Manchester's very first smartphone application for teaching and research, designed to document images of multilingual signage (Multilingual Manchester, n.d.-b). Students have used the application for original coursework research; the app has been included in Manchester City Council's online portal as one of just two external sources on data and intelligence, and versions have been rolled out to other cities including Melbourne and Jerusalem.

5. A Social Inclusion Agenda

The launch of the University of Manchester's Social Responsibility goal featured internal discussions about ways to identify performance indicators around the chosen motto 'Making a Difference'. What makes MLM distinct is that both its research and public engagement are guided by a vision of the way in which appreciation of language diversity can make a difference toward a more inclusive society. This vision identifies three principal pillars: First, language provisions are a key to *Access* (to services such as health and education, to employment, to

¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dwC_rfpcKrA

social networks and to media and information). Removing barriers to access is the first step toward ensuring social equality. From a planning perspective, the process requires tools for needs assessment and an evaluative overview of models of good practice for the delivery of provisions (such as interpreting and translation services, support for learning English as additional language, and more). Next, languages represent cultural *Heritage*, the protection of which is key to ensuring community cohesion and building confidence within and among communities. Exploring and documenting language heritage and equipping communities with the tools to safeguard their heritage support inclusivity and help counter marginalisation. Finally, in a globalised economy, languages are key *Skills* that open up opportunities for growth and development. By cultivating awareness of the skills potential of knowing languages (including home or heritage languages) and developing strategies to harness those skills, civic communities can reap a 'diversity dividend' (Syrett & Sepulveda, 2011) and make the heritage of minority groups work for the benefit of the majority.

Collection, analysis and triangulation of data are central to profiling Manchester's multilingualism and understanding the language needs of the city's communities. In the MLM model, this process takes a number of shapes. It can be, for example, student-led: the above-mentioned student reports present a range of data on language use in various domains. Student groups sometimes draw on specific knowledge of a language, a neighbourhood, an institution or a technical method to collect their data, which lends a unique insight to their analysis. In 2013, MLM developed a survey tool to record data on the home languages of schoolchildren, having identified limitations of the official School Census. The School Language Survey was piloted initially by a student group as part of their assessed coursework, which provided an opportunity to test the method before the MLM team undertook a wider pilot study (Matras, Robertson, & Jones, 2016). Since, students of other disciplines and teachers have been trained in the method. In 2015, the team published a report based on interviews with staff and pupils from community-run supplementary schools, which flagged communities' commitment to maintaining linguistic and cultural heritage (Gaiser & Hughes, 2015). The data provide insight into the skill potential of the next-generation workforce. The interview process helped to establish a collaborative network of contacts, which is still active. MLM research has also been responsive to questions of interest raised by local stakeholders. In 2014, NHS Manchester co-sponsored research into language provisions and access to healthcare (Gaiser & Matras, 2016). *LinguaS-napp*, launched in 2016, offers an opportunity for public and student involvement in data collection, while the Language Data Tool, currently under development, will allow public users to query datasets relating to languages in Manchester and visualise them geographically, responding to the vision of the future city as a 'smart city' where networks of actors pool data (cf., Amin & Thrift, 2017).

Each year, over 200 students from different academic disciplines register to participate in MLM's student volunteering scheme. Volunteers offer practical support to the work of host institutions, largely in the public and community sectors. At the same time, they benefit from a unique insight into the challenges facing service providers in a multilingual city and the opportunity to learn more about the experiences of other residents and about Manchester's diverse communities. Students often report that the scheme is not only academically stimulating and useful for employability, but also offers them a new perspective on the city. Projects range from accompanying interpreters to record patient experience testimonies of non-English speakers at Central Manchester Hospitals, delivering weekly English conversation sessions for refugees and new arrivals at local community centres, and gathering public feedback on and redrafting letters that Greater Manchester Police uses to communicate with victims of crime (Multilingual Manchester, n.d.-c). The design of these activities often emerges in early discussions with organisations about their practices and the challenges that face them; sometimes, as in the example of Greater Manchester Police, a request for practical support in improving service delivery is a point of departure and the resulting student volunteering activity provides an immediate, flexible response that leads to and cements longer-term engagement and opportunities for collaborative research.

In February 2017, MLM launched a Supplementary School Support Platform as a way of offering curriculum enrichment activities, training, networking opportunities and help with logistical issues to community-run language schools. A network of supplementary schoolteachers from schools teaching different languages meets on a semi-regular basis with the MLM team to share experiences and jointly design activities. Scientists from the University deliver interactive sessions in the community language, exposing pupils to new uses of their language, introducing the University, and broadening researchers' community engagement opportunities.

Language documentation itself opens up new avenues to support people in defending their civil liberties and creates pathways for inclusion. The Kurdish (Multilingual Manchester, n.d.-d) and Arabic (Multilingual Manchester, n.d.-e) databases have potential to shift the parameters in supporting refugees and their legal representatives to scrutinise decisions in cases involving Language Analysis for Determination of Origin, where public policy and practice has often come under professional criticism (cf., Patrick, 2012). Training delivered to practitioners in the public sector on risk management in interpreting has drawn on research to support front-line service providers in making their provision more inclusive.

In this way, the civic university can play a role in alleviating the pressure on resources and gaps in provision caused by austerity, and contribute directly to social inclusion by empowering disadvantaged groups, improving communication, and nurturing a generation of gradu-

ates who are sensitised to social inclusion themes. It also has a role in shaping public discourses on language and as a broker of good practice. MLM's cross-sector workshops have involved representatives from local authorities, the health and judicial sectors, community organisations, schools, supplementary schools, and more. Levenshulme Language Day, a multi-venue, family-friendly community event to celebrate language diversity, has attracted many hundreds of local residents.² Such events have inspired the gradual consolidation of a city narrative on policy and planning around the theme of languages (Multilingual Manchester, n.d.-f).

Raising confidence is an important key to social inclusion. MLM's targeted events with particular audiences have helped build confidence around heritage languages. Activities with schoolchildren and families offer opportunities to enter into wider partnerships with external stakeholders including public sector practitioners and private sector organisations: NHS speech and language therapists approached MLM to create a resource, for use by practitioners, that could give confidence to parents raising their children in multilingual homes; the team engaged student volunteers to make a short film that features local families offering guidance based on their experience.³ An education project delivered in collaboration with Community Rail Lancashire saw primary school pupils create artwork featuring community languages for display in a local train station.⁴

6. Managing Risks

Buffel et al. (2017, p. 213) identify a number of risks of the co-production strategy, notably the time commitment from researchers needed to coordinate a collaborative and participatory project with multiple partners, the need to negotiate power relationships between different stakeholders, and the fact that co-production might raise expectations about the implementation of possible solutions to problems. Leggio (2017) raises further issues, discussing the challenges encountered by the MigRom project when it sided with its Roma participants in formulating a critique of narratives that were being disseminated by an organisation with close links to the project partner, Manchester City Council, thereby testing the stability of the partnership (see also Matras & Leggio, 2017). All these can be considered 'external' risks, which arise through dealing with stakeholders that are based outside the higher education sector. MLM's participatory research strategy shares some of these risks, and demonstrates others as well, including some that are 'internal'.

Expectations from stakeholders that the activity can provide longer-term solutions to service gaps (for example, recording patient experience or providing English conversation support) risk creating a form of dependency. At the same time, the University's engagement in

a form of service provision risks being seen by third sector agencies that depend on service delivery contracts as competition, and this can be an obstacle to a fruitful relationship with such organisations. Public sector agencies and their private contractors alike may regard the University's involvement in assessing provisions as a form of uninvited and therefore unwelcome scrutiny. External partners who are not yet thoroughly familiar with the University's public engagement agenda and with MLM's specific vision sometimes view its activities as driven primarily by a short-term interest in gaining access to research data and are not always appreciative of the sincerity of the commitment to engagement or of the genuineness of the 'Making a Difference' motto.

Internally, managing a student volunteer scheme in which students are relied upon to make a direct and sometimes essential contribution to the work of the host organisation brings with it responsibilities of pastoral care, for instance when students working in the health sector environment or those supporting refugees are exposed to moving personal stories that may be emotionally challenging, or feel a responsibility toward managing the learning progression of their pupils in English conversation sessions. Ironically, one of the biggest risk factors in MLM's work is its continuous dependency on the University's commitment to its Social Responsibility agenda and on short or middle-term investment from the University in dedicated support staff. Such dependency is inevitably accompanied by uncertainties as it is caught up in volatile processes of prioritisation and internal competition for resources.

A key to managing many of the external risks is the opportunity to demonstrate a long-term commitment to supporting stakeholders, involving partners in shaping performance indicators and milestones, and maintaining full autonomy of all parties in the partnership, especially by accommodating to the priorities and delivery modes set by host or partner institutions. Thus, student volunteers join activities on terms set by the host institutions and with a focus on the needs defined by the partners rather than in a form of either work experience or shadowing where the students themselves are primary beneficiaries; the support offered to supplementary schools derives from a two-year consultation process through which needs, priorities and operational approaches were identified. Pastoral care of student involvement is managed partly by prompting student participants to active reflection and feedback, and using veteran students as role models and facilitators. The time effort consideration noted by Buffel et al. (2017) is one of the key structural challenges. MLM currently maintains three fixed-term project managerial staff positions (in addition to research staff and academic lead) of which one is funded by the University and two from external grants. These are academically-related staff roles, for which training in the

² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IOfhRbxeHWI>

³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8VJZ5ZCjIRg>

⁴ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mkstv9Euw_Q

relevant subject area and research experience are essential. Their task is to build and maintain long-term relationships of trust with external stakeholders and manage the complexity of placements, outreach, public engagement and publicity. Continuity is therefore key to the building of the reputational and practical capital that lends credibility to the 'Making a Difference' motto. But this rests primarily on the University's willingness to make a long-term commitment to providing core resources, on which competitive bids for research grants rely, and to recognise the value of specialised support staff whose roles are quite distinct from those of administrative managers.

7. Concluding Remarks

Models of 'process pragmatism' have benefited, as Harney et al. (2016, p. 326) note, from the move to encourage impact, knowledge exchange and public engagement in higher education. The structural opportunities provided to MLM reflect the drive to increase impact case studies in the Arts and Cultures, the need to demonstrate employability and innovative 'student experience' in order to attract fee-paying students, and the overall flagging of a Social Responsibility agenda. The initiative's institution-internal value is thus measured in response to pressures set by a changing funding environment. The activity's value to external stakeholders has, by contrast, a more perpetual nature, as the challenges and opportunities of language diversity to social inclusion are independent of higher education policy. Nonetheless, here too political developments such as austerity (the withdrawal of local authority structural support) and concerns over commitments (both ideological and material) to an inclusive society in the aftermath of the Brexit vote in 2016, create needs for practical as well as discursive-argumentative input. MLM's unique selling point is a participatory research model in which ownership of space is not linear, but revolves around concrete tasks that are shared and coordinated in a stable network of partnerships: Students own their research work, developed under guidance and through access to research sites; host institutions own the objectives and deliverables of student volunteer engagement and of co-produced research and public events; and the stability of partnerships based on such revolving ownerships opens up unique opportunities for the research team to develop insights of its own. The major challenge remains the need to reconcile continuity and stability, which is a prerequisite for the reputational capital on which the partnerships rest, with the institution's ability to maintain its practical commitment to the civic university vision.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

“Hindi Bayani/Not a Hero”: The Linguistic Landscape of Protest in Manila

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Abstract

This article examines the linguistic landscape of Manila during a protest march in November 2016 in response to the burial of deposed president Ferdinand Marcos at the *Libingan ng mga Bayani* (Heroes’ Cemetery). This article is situated among linguistic landscape of protest research (Kasanga, 2014; Seals, 2011; Shiri, 2015) where data is composed of mobile posters, placards, banners, and other ‘unfixed’ signs, including texts on bodies, t-shirts, umbrellas, and rocks. Following Sebba (2010), this article argues that both ‘fixed’ linguistic landscape and ‘mobile’ public texts are indices of the linguistic composition of cities, linguistic diversity, and ethnolinguistic vitality (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Through a qualitative analysis of selected pictures produced during the protest march and uploaded onto social media, the multilingual nature of Manila is rendered salient and visible, albeit temporarily, and strategies of dissent are reflective of the language of the millennials who populated the protests.

Keywords

ethnolinguistic vitality; linguistic landscape; ‘mobile’ public texts; multilingualism

Issue

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1. Introduction

In November 2016, major cities in the Philippines were rocked by intermittent protests as a result of the Supreme Court’s decision to finally entomb the late Philippine president Ferdinand Marcos at the *Libingan ng mga Bayani* (LNMB) (Heroes’ Cemetery), the country’s final resting ground for its national artists, soldiers, and past presidents. Marcos, ousted following a people’s uprising in 1986¹ because of government corruption and human rights violations in the 1970s and 80s, was exiled to Hawai’i where he died in September 1989. Although his body was allowed back into the country in September 1993 by then-President Fidel Ramos, Marcos was never accorded a state burial nor were his remains reposed in the hallowed grounds of the national cemetery; rather, his remains were believed to have been buried under-

neath a wax statue encased in glass in a mausoleum that was open to the public for viewing in his hometown in Ilocos Norte. In November 2016, President Duterte granted the Marcos family’s wish to bury his remains at the LNMB. Nationwide protests erupted as a result of that decision, decried as an attempt to rehabilitate the legacy of Marcos, turning him into a “bayani” (hero) and thus deserving of a spot at the Heroes’ Cemetery. Subsequently, anti-Marcos burial protests dominated the discourse on social media, fueled in part by the millennials who populated the protest marches and were relentless in their online engagements to oppose the current administration’s support for the Marcos family. Through the heavy use of digital and social media, the protesters—also dubbed “anti-revisionists”—used a variety of protest signs, from sturdy banners and placards showing large bolded letters to hastily scribbled phrases on sheets of paper, card-

¹ It is also known as the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution because of the number of people who turned out on the Epifanio Delos Santos Avenue (EDSA), a stretch of road spanning 23.8 km of highway, from Caloocan in the north to Pasay in the south. EDSA has come to be synonymous with the toppling of a dictator, as well as a place where one goes to protest.

board, umbrellas, t-shirts, rocks, and even on their arms and faces (Inquirer.net, 2017).

A long, strong history of activism is, therefore, a feature of the Philippine landscape. In recent years, researchers have become increasingly interested in linguistic landscape (LL), a lens through which the use, display, and placement of languages in public spaces is understood. Although a relatively new field in sociolinguistics, LL research is fast gaining attention among researchers in linguistics, semiotics, sociology, media studies and anthropology for reflecting linguistic diversity and ethnolinguistic vitality (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Other scholars argue that:

rather than reflect[ing] the vitality of their respective language communities and the extent of language use, the publicly displayed texts which make up the LL may provide evidence—to be understood in contexts—of power relationships between languages (or rather, the groups who ‘own’ those languages) and policies designed to manage and control just those relationships. (Sebba, 2010, p. 62)

Studies of this kind help unmask the language ideologies subsisting in a specific time and space. LL studies in the Philippines may be considered to be in its infancy, and studies on Manila’s LL—in particular focusing on the language of protests—have yet to be written. In this article, I argue that LL methods can be applied in making sense of the LL of protests. As linguistic events, the staging of protests requires the presence of “agents who are inextricably bounded to the social context” and whose protest signs may be seen as “mediational means par excellence” (Kasanga, 2014, p. 23) of their individual decisions and expressions. Examining mobile and transitory protest signs may yield insights into language use different from insights generated by observing the fixed LL. Languages that appear in the public space for a limited time may thus pose a challenge to existing understandings of the LL. In undertaking this study, I hope to render salient and visible the multilingual nature of Manila’s transient LL, even as previous studies point to a ‘unilingual’ English reading of the LL (Delos Reyes, 2014; Magno, 2017). Most importantly, the task is to show that the “political genre of resistance [is] a legitimate form of LL” (Shiri, 2015, p. 240).

Composed of three parts, this article reviews studies on LL, the linguistic situation in the Philippines, and the transient LL of protest. A short discussion of the methods I employed when carrying out this research and the results of the study follow, with concluding thoughts wrapping up the paper.

1.1. *Studies on Linguistic Landscape (LL)*

The concept of LL—which refers to the language of “public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on gov-

ernment buildings” (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 25)—paved the way for texts in public spaces to be seen as dynamic and endowed with power, authority, and influence in both informational and symbolic ways. According to the authors, the LL provides informational function to its citizens by demarcating territories via public signs, reflecting the sociolinguistic composition of its cities through the use of unilingual, bilingual or multilingual signs, and facilitating access to services for its citizens within those territorial limits. Symbolic function is communicated to members of in-groups or out-groups by encoding power and authority through the placement, size, and number of signs in the in-group’s language(s). Landry and Bourhis (1997) interpreted the quantity of signs in particular languages as emblematic of the major or minor positions languages occupy in linguistic communities. In addition, the authors distinguished government signs (public signs used by national, regional, or municipal governments on streets, roads, public buildings, and public transport stations) from private ones (commercial signs and advertising billboards) and claim that private signs may “most realistically reflect the multilingual nature of a particular territory, region, or urban agglomeration” (p. 27). Other authors argue that not only does the LL reflect the relative power and status of languages in use in any given community, but that the LL also has the power to shape the linguistic behaviors of the participants in that geographic area (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006).

Current research now includes “discourses in transit” (Sebba, 2010) which refer to ephemera that form part of the ‘mobile’ public texts—such as handbills, flyers, stamps, tickets, and mobile texts on the backs of vehicles—which should not be seen in isolation from other types of public texts that are not fixed in space. Moreover, Sebba (2010) argues that the reading of both fixed and ‘unfixed’ LL may require similar ways of reading because both may encode authority and authenticity in similar ways. More importantly, shining the spotlight on the ‘non-fixed’ LL—which have periods when they serve overt purposes and periods when they do not—helps in making sense of the functions of both fixed and non-fixed LL:

We can conclude that public texts, whether fixed or mobile, have to be read in the context of all other public texts which participate in the same discourse(s) and which impinge or may impinge on the consciousness of readers. (Sebba, 2010, p. 73)

Other authors claim that impermanent signs that are part of a landscape may better track the shifting and changing nature of language in place (Burdick, 2012) and that, although mobile LL are also ideologically mediated, they may be usefully invoked in analyzing language ideologies in linguistic communities.

Other scholars (Kasanga, 2014; Rubdy, 2015; Seals, 2011; Shiri, 2015) have pushed the boundary of LL further afield by looking at transient linguistic events—such

as the staging of protests, mass demonstrations, and occupy movements—in order to uncover the saliency and visibility of languages that temporarily enjoy public spaces. Made of mostly non-durable materials, protest signs perform linguistic acts such as express anger and dissent, contest narratives, and encourage participation from their immediate and non-immediate audiences. This can be done for local and global audiences through multiple platforms of social media. Observing what languages appear during protests may help us better understand a linguistic community.

1.2. *The Linguistic Make-Up of the Philippines*

Language issues have always been a thorny topic and the subject of bitter debates in the Philippines. Like many postcolonial countries, it has two official languages—Filipino (based on Tagalog) and English—which are used as media-of-instruction in schools. In addition, a considerable number of regional or “auxiliary” languages that are used at home and count as many Filipinos’ mother-tongues make literacy a special challenge. According to the 1995 census reporting on the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the Philippines, there are 14 major languages considered to be mother tongues² of Filipinos: Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilocano, Hiligaynon/Ilonggo, Bikol, Waray, Kapampangan, Boholano, Pangasinense, Meranao, Maguindanao, Tausug, English, and Chinese (which encompasses the Hokkien dialect spoken by the Filipino-Chinese, putonghua, and other dialects) (Hau & Tinio, 2003). Many researchers, among them Kaplan and Baldauf, Grimes and Grimes, McFarland, and Dutcher, claim that there are between 120–168 languages spoken in the country (Dekker & Young, 2005, p. 182), while Ethnologue (n.d.) lists as many as 183 living languages in the Philippines.

English is a late, if the most potent, addition to the mix of languages in the Philippines. When the Americans came to these islands at the turn of the 20th century, English gained official status through the mandate of the use of English in Philippine classrooms. Act No. 74 (*An Act Establishing a Department of Instruction in the Philippines*) made English the basis of all public school instruction, supported by the arrival of the first tranche of American teachers on board the *USS Thomas*, thereafter referred to as the “Thomasites”. The Thomasites would help establish English as the language of the colonizer and of the rich and educated, in the process crowding out vernacular languages in use in these islands even prior to Spanish colonization. Filipinos took to English warmly such that an initial survey into the use of English revealed that, by 1918, 28% of the surveyed population claimed to have the ability to read English (Thompson, 2003) and speakers of English would jump from 0 speaker in 1898 to 26.6% of the population by the mid-1920s (Gonzalez,

1998; Hau & Tinio, 2003). The Monroe Survey Commission in 1925, however, found that the public education system was in disarray because of the ‘foreign language handicap’ (Bernardo, 2004), but recommended the continuation of the English-only policy in spite of its flaws. In 1940, the Commonwealth Act 570 designated Tagalog (renamed ‘Pilipino’ in 1959) as an official language alongside Spanish and English. Mother tongues were allowed in the first and second grades, but only as ‘auxiliary’ (a word not defined in any form in the document) media-of-instruction, with English still being the principal medium of instruction. The 1973 constitution under President Marcos’ martial law showed a shift in state policy in the realm of education and adopted the policy of a bilingual education. On 16 March 1973, the Department of Education and Culture issued Order No. 9 which articulated the goal of developing individuals able to communicate in both Filipino and English (Tupas, 2000) by enriching subjects in the Pilipino and English domains. In the first policy review made ten years after its implementation, Gonzalez and Bautista (1986) found that the Bilingual Education Policy had not been implemented years after its introduction. Other findings attributed the decline in students’ English proficiency to it as well (Gonzalez, 1998; Hau & Tinio, 2003).

Despite the changing of the guards shortly after the EDSA Revolution and the reworking of the 1987 Constitution, the language-in-education policy has remained essentially unchanged. Article XIV stated that:

For purposes of communication and instruction, the official languages of the Philippines are Filipino and, *until otherwise provided by law*, English. The regional languages are the auxiliary official languages in the regions and shall serve as auxiliary media of instruction therein. (emphasis added)

The policy did not articulate substantial changes. The following provisions remained:

- the use of English and Pilipino (changed to Filipino) as media of instruction from Grade 1 onwards: English, in Science, Mathematics and English; and Filipino in Social Studies, Character Education, Work Education, Health Education and Physical Education.
- the use of regional languages as auxiliary media of instruction as well as initial languages for literacy (as spelled out in Department of Education, Culture, and Sports Department Order No. 54, series 1987). (Nolasco, 2008, p. 3)

A real threat to the privileged status of English arrived in the form of a persuasive landmark report made by the Congressional Commission on Education of 1991 which

² An updated census of Philippine languages in 2000 placed the majority of the population speaking any of the following languages (in millions): Tagalog 21.5, Cebuano 18.5, Ilocano 7.7, Hiligaynon 6.9, Bicol 4.5, Waray 3.1, Kapampangan 2.3, Pangasinan 1.5, Kinaray-a 1.3, Maguindanao 1, Tausug 1, and Meranao 1 (Gunigundo, 2010; Nolasco, 2008).

recommended that all subjects, except English, be taught in Filipino at the elementary and secondary levels. But this recommendation was never carried beyond the halls of Congress. In fact, in 2003, the Arroyo government issued Executive Order No. 210 entitled “(E)stablishing the Policy to Strengthen the Use of the English Language as a Medium of Instruction”:

- English shall be taught as a second language, *starting with Grade 1*;
- English shall be the medium of instruction for English, *Mathematics and Science from at least Grade 3*;
- English shall be the primary MOI in the secondary level, which means that the time allotted for English in all learning areas shall not be less than 70%;
- Filipino shall continue to be the MOI for Filipino and social studies (emphases added by the author; Nolasco, 2008, p. 3)

On 14 July 2009, through Department Order 74 (s. 2009) entitled “Institutionalizing Mother-tongue Based Multilingual Education”, a watershed moment in Philippine education recognizing the important role of the home languages in education was finally enacted. An important provision states:

2. Mother-tongue-based Multilingual Education, hereinafter referred to as MTB-MLE, is the effective use of more than two languages for literacy and instruction. Henceforth, it shall be institutionalized as a fundamental educational policy and program in this Department in the whole stretch of formal education including pre-school and in the Alternative Learning System. (Department of Education, Culture and Sports, 2009)

Against this linguistic backdrop, English continues to occupy a privileged niche in academia, despite the attention now accorded mother tongues in education, or attempts towards making Filipino students become fully bilingual. The presence of monolingual signs in English in Philippine universities (Figure 1) is a telling reminder of what language has always been valued in academic settings. In fact, in a study of Cebu’s Higher Education Institutions, Magno (2017) found that “monolingual English was the prevalent language utilized in the linguistic landscape” (p. 101) dominating the 51 billboard displays in the five universities that were surveyed in the study. Although a major language in Cebu, Cebuano lagged behind Filipino and English in the number of billboard displays, despite individual preference of reading in multiple languages of English, Filipino/Tagalog, and Cebuano-Bisaya) of students who were surveyed. Magno (2017)

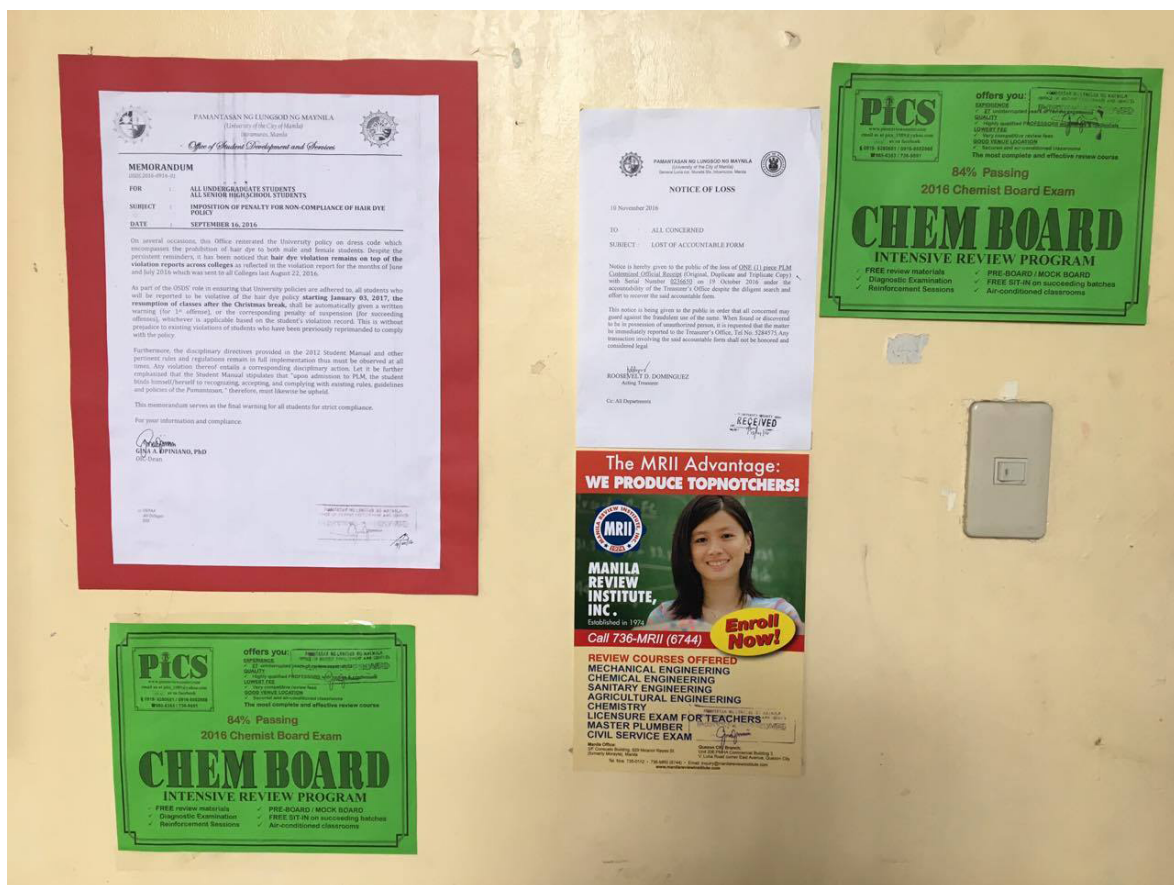


Figure 1. Monolingual signs. Announcements in English, whether for official or promotional purposes, are found on walls and billboard displays in many public and private universities in the Philippines.

writes that “the students still appreciate and find multilingual posts more appropriate than just using the local language” (p. 98).

The predominant use of English in universities is not unique to the academic landscape, however. English dominates the public space of transport stations as well. In a LL study made of Manila’s transport stations—the Light Rail Transit (LRT) 1 and 2 and the Metro Rail Transit (MRT)—Delos Reyes (2014) found that there were more monolingual signs in English than in Tagalog. English is the language of choice inside LRT and MRT train stations where over 50% of top-down signs (i.e., government-produced signs) were written in monolingual English. Owing to the status and prestige of English in the country, the top-down signs are deemed to inspire best behaviors among Filipino commuters as well as reflect the government’s preference for English in formal contexts. Delos Reyes (2014) further observes that commuters speak any number of Philippine languages, but the English code choice reflects the language beliefs and ideologies of the sign creators (p. 37).

In fact, majority of Filipinos weave in and out of Tagalog, English, ‘Taglish’ (the code-mixed variety of Tagalog and English), ‘gayspeak’, along with any major languages, such as Bisaya, Bicolano, or Tausug, spoken in the streets of Manila but are never acknowledged, much less reflected in the fixed LL. In the case of Manila, a diglossic language situation prevails where the high-status language, English is the default language of the public signs but spoken only by a minority of the population (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Thus, investigating the mobile or transient LL is necessary for a more nuanced understanding of Manila’s LL of protest.

1.3. Dissent and the Transient Linguistic Landscape of Protests

The transient or mobile LL may present a much more complex linguistic picture in a multilingual city such as Manila. Analysis of the LL requires that non-fixed LLs be considered as well since “space can be reappropriated and reinvented to create visibility for a suppressed minority” (Seals, 2011, p. 190). Furthermore, the act of displaying languages in public places is a political act (Barni & Bagna, 2016). Seals (2011), Shiri (2015), and Kasanga (2014) articulate the potent use of transient protest signs in achieving concrete and practical political ends. Investigating the factors that led to the ousting of Tunisian president Ben Ali in 2011, Shiri (2015) points to the “subversive, counter-power genre” (p. 255) protest signs that were responsible for the success of the Tunisian demonstrations during the four-week period between 17 December 2010 and 14 January 2011. Drawing on all the languages in the protesters’ linguistic repertoire, including English, protest signs expressed their opposition to the Tunisian president’s repressive administration and mobilized support for the protest march across the region. In addition, the heteroglossic protest signs sub-

verted the power structure enjoyed by local media, eloquently expressed the evolving goals of the march, and ‘memed’ protest march slogans outside of the country (p. 255). Likewise, Seals (2011) shows how an abstract space can be turned into a ‘landscape of dissent’, where protest signs come and go to constantly re-invent the landscape. On 21 March 2010, during the National Immigration Reform March, minority languages that were not normally represented in public spaces transformed the landscape into one of “visibility and power” (Seals, 2011, p. 190). Kasanga (2014) illustrates how code choice in protest signs in Tunisia and Egypt was determined less by protesters’ linguistic repertoires than by the target audience for whom the signs were made. English, when used in protest signs, was a tactical choice to appeal to audiences outside Tunisia and the Arab world, especially for international media that could help push the revolution along. Interestingly, English in such a space is a ‘safer’ language than French, with whom the Tunis have a tenuous colonial linguistic relationship.

Anchored in this and similar research, this paper asserts that through the transient LL of protest which employed mobile and partly impromptu protest signs, the multilingual nature of Manila emerges.

2. The Study

The current study addresses the following questions: (1) What language/s appear in the transient LL of protest in Manila?, (2) What strategies and linguistic devices are employed to express dissent?, and (3) How can the transient LL of protest challenge the fixed LL?

In this study, data sets are limited to pictures of posters, placards, embodied texts of the transient LL that have been uploaded on the internet. Limited to selected protest signs ($N = 103$), data will further be delimited to those produced and displayed in mid-November 2016 in sites of protest in Metro Manila only, although the Marco Burial protest was nationwide.

To address the question of sampling: Gorter (2006) poses methodological problems of data collection and selection, since the field of LL research is still in its infancy, especially so in the case of transient or mobile LL. I adopt Backhaus’ definition of a sign as “any piece of text within a spatially definable frame” and as such use the individual protest sign as the unit of analysis (Gorter, 2006, p. 3). Each protest sign is a token only if it is unique. Multiple posters containing the line “Marcos is not a hero”, count as only one linguistic token. This research is limited to representative sample pictures of protest signs that were uploaded to social media sites Facebook, Twitter, and Messenger, and the online magazines Rappler, PhilStar and Inquirer.net. This study is well aware of the challenges inherent in using the transient data of mass protests that now only survive as photos and videos on the internet.

Following previous research in transient LL of protests (Kasanga, 2014; Seals, 2011; Shiri, 2015), the

language of protest signs was categorized into types. The languages represented on the protest signs were English, Tagalog, ‘Taglish’, Ilocano, ‘gayspeak’, and other symbolic languages, such as Facebook’s ‘angry’ and ‘poo’ emojis, numbers, and flags. Signs that protested the burial of Marcos at the LNMB, or which decried President Duterte’s decision to entomb the body at the LNMB, were considered data. ‘Counter-protest’ data³ had not been analyzed in this study.

3. Findings and Discussion

During the protest rallies in November 2016, a total of 103 pictures of protest signs were collected from social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and Messenger, and online magazines such as Inquirer.net, Philstar, and Rappler. Many of the first protest signs from the near-impromptu march were hastily scribbled signs on coupon

bond papers, cardboard, construction paper and other flimsy materials, with the exception of occasional vinyl banners (see Figure 2).

The millennial-led mass action uncovered the saliency of a transient LL of protest, where expressions of dissent took many forms. The hastily scribbled protest signs showed the different languages used by Filipinos on the ground, such as Tagalog, English, ‘Taglish’, Ilocano, ‘gayspeak’, as well as multimodal forms that included emojis, numbers, and flags (see Table 1).

Code choice indexed Filipinos’ diverse linguistic repertoire which were creative, allusive, oftentimes sarcastic. I argue that although the country’s official languages are English and Filipino and that the fixed LL of Manila reflects these languages in varying degrees of saliency, the transient LL of protest reflects many other languages in use on the ground that are not rendered visible unless through the LL of protest (Seals, 2011).



Figure 2. Monolingual protest sign (English). College students from a university in Manila, along with student organizations, make their feelings known via a large vinyl banner announcing “Marcos is not a hero”. (“Kalayaan” in ‘Kalayaan College Student Organizations’ is Tagalog for ‘freedom.’) (Photo by Terzeus S. Dominguez for Philstar.com).

Table 1. Languages used in protest signs.

Category	Quantity (Individual Tokens)
English	30
Tagalog	29
‘Taglish’	29
‘Gayspeak’	8
Ilocano	3
Multimodal (use of emojis, numbers, flags)	4
Total	103

³ The local government under the Duterte administration staged a ‘counter-protest’ to the November 2016 Protest March. While these ‘protesters’ had also used posters, placards, and other protest paraphernalia, they were not analyzed because ‘protest’ in this study is defined as action taken against the current administration’s decision to entomb Marcos’ body at the LNMB.

3.1. The Multilingual Nature of Manila’s Transient LL of Protest

In expressing disgust and anger towards the Marcoses, as well as in opposition to the Supreme Court’s ruling to bury the deceased president alongside other heroes at the LNMB, the protesters made most of the signs up as they marched along, using whatever linguistic resource is available to them. Anger was expressed in protest signs through the use of swear words in monolingual English, Tagalog, Ilocano; bilingually in the use of colorful ‘Taglish’ swear words, and multimodally through the use of Facebook’s ‘angry’ icon brandished during the protest. Protesters also used Marcos’ native language, Ilocano, to

denounce him bitterly (Figure 3).

One of the goals of the protest in November 2016 was to push back against the portrayal of the former president as a ‘hero’ and thus deserving of a hero’s burial. The Filipinos who took to the streets were chafing under the historical revisionism perpetuated by the administration for trying to portray Marcos as the greatest president this country has ever had, as well as a decorated soldier and war hero who deserved to be buried with military honors. Expectedly, many signs proclaimed that Marcos was not a hero (Figure 4).

Protest signs identified with Labor groups used ‘academic’ Tagalog to express dissent, taking on an ideological stance against the use of English. Latinate words, such

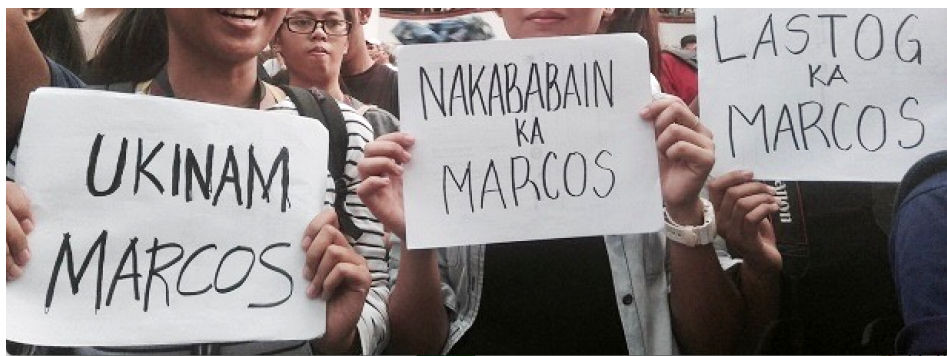


Figure 3. Monolingual protest signs. Young women express dissent by swearing at Marcos in ‘colorful’ Ilocano (‘Ukinam, Marcos’). Two other signs call him shameful (‘nakababain’) and arrogant (‘lastog’). (Facebook photo).



Figure 4. Monolingual and bilingual ‘Not a hero’ protest signs (clockwise, from bottom left): A girl prays during the protest, with “Marcos no hero” written on her face (Inquirer.net photo); A word-for-word version of “Marcos no hero” in Tagalog, above (From Kevin Mandrilla Facebook page); ‘Gayspeak’ protest sign asserts “No way is Marcos a hero” (left) (Facebook photo); and, a sign in slang above proclaims “Girl, don’t try to convince me that Marcos is a hero” (Facebook photo).

as ‘pasismo’ (fascism), and ‘estado’ (state) expressed dissent in line with the protesters’ ideological beliefs (Figure 5). Outside of protests and marches, however, these academic Tagalog are not commonly used by ordinary citizens. In contrast, one protest sign (Figure 6) alluded to the historic leftist engagements in mock, self-conscious ‘millennial-speak’. Although playful, many signs nevertheless captured the zeitgeist of the youth protest: colorful signs were humorous and sarcastic, articulating the protesters’ dissent by drawing from all linguistic resources available to them and mobilized their linguistic capital. Although only temporary, the transient LL of protest challenged the current reading of the LL of Manila as ‘unilingual’.

3.2. *Strategies of Dissent: Allusion, Puns, and Humor*

Mostly college-educated Filipinos, the millennials who populated the protests drew from a wealth of linguis-

tic, cultural, and social capital to launch a mass protest to oppose the current administration’s stance regarding the place of Marcos in Philippine history. Framing the protest within a modern, liberal, and democratic framework of an honorable, just, and decent society which the protesters felt the Marcos family and President Duterte were intent on ignoring, the Filipinos protested the current administration’s willingness to move on from a legacy of impunity by giving in to a ceremonial burial at the LNMB. Through their protest signs, the rallyists also extolled the virtues of soldiers, heroes, and past presidents entombed at the LNMB and referenced the patriotic lives of national heroes Jose Rizal and Andres Bonifacio who fought the colonizers, and the heroic participants of the 1986 People Power to remind the Duterte administration of its responsibility in upholding these values (see Figure 7).

Like the protest signs studied by Shiri (2015) in Tunisia and Kasanga (2014) in Egypt and Tunisia, the tran-



Figure 5. Bilingual protest sign. A poster of Marcos is hit by a group of laborers with their ‘Marcos no hero’ mallets. The poster reads “Marcos is an executioner of laborers” in a mix of Tagalog and Spanish words.

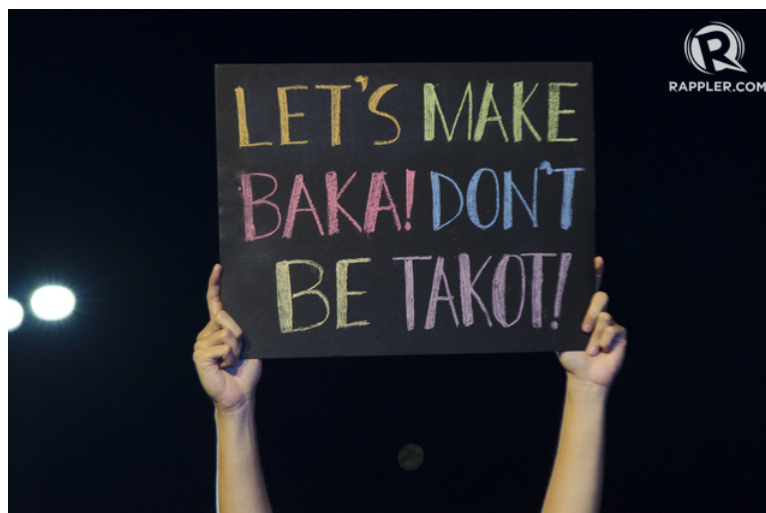


Figure 6. Bilingual protest sign. A playful way of encouraging the youth to ‘engage’ and to not be scared using a mock-activist tone, where ‘baka’ means ‘engage’, a word often used and associated with protests and mobilizations by the radical Left (Rappler photo).



Figure 7. Bilingual English protest sign. ‘Libing’, which means ‘bury’, is a pun of the phrase ‘living a lie’ which references the life of Marcos, who had been accused of having war medals he didn’t earn. “Hukayin si Marcos” is Tagalog for “Unbury Marcos” (From Kevin Mandrilla Facebook page).

sient LL of protest in Manila also drew from intertextual references from a variety of genres and contexts, as well as icons of courage from Western pop culture, like Superman and Harry Potter. Some signs also referenced computer games and television anime (‘Voltes V’) which Marcos suppressed in the 1980s. Clearly, the millennials’ linguistic resources and tech-savviness mobilized in a time of protest were designed to appeal to a predominantly young audience, whose support they were courting because of their shared interests. Some protest signs also underscored the tradition of protest in the country, linking the November 2016 protest to the 1986 EDSA revolution that toppled Marcos.

Although ‘Taglish’ and ‘gayspeak’ do not normally appear in the fixed LL of Manila, they are the languages majority of Filipinos use in the streets of Manila. ‘Gayspeak’, which uses Filipino slang such as “beshies” (best friends) and “mumshies” (mothers), is mostly employed for hu-

morous effect, and for many Filipinos, as a show of solidarity for friends in the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) community. Similar to popular American slang, such as “stay woke” (derived from “stay awake” which means ‘to be aware of what’s happening in the world’, the Tagalized “pakyu” (fuck you), parody of Tinder “Ang tinde” (“Very ridiculous”), and other similar ‘gayspeak’ lingo popularized in the social media underscores the participants’ creative linguistic inheritance. Puns that use both Tagalog and English, such as “libing a lie” make sense to those who have access to both Tagalog and English, creating for the Filipino audience a layer of meaning not available to foreign audiences. A clever mention of ordinary concerns, such as healthy eating and dieting, succeeded in making protest topics both collective and personal (see Figure 8). Other protest signs exploited the rhythm and onomatopoeia of Tagalog words and phrases, including “potpot” (the sound car horns

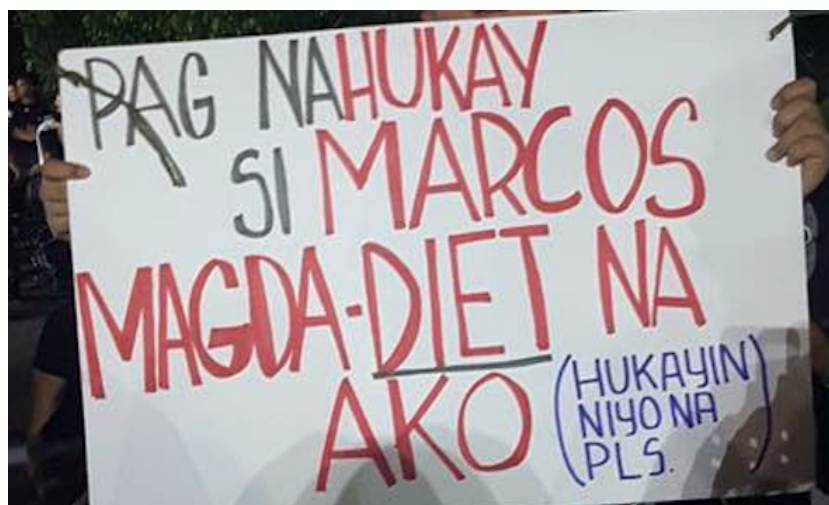


Figure 8. Taglish protest sign. A protest sign that announces that the bearer “will go on a diet as soon as Marcos is unburied” highlights the personal nature of protesting social issues. The bearer pleads further: “Please unbury him now”. (From Kevin Mandrilla Facebook page)

make), “busina for hustisya” (‘honk for justice’), and “No to Macoy, yes to Chicken Joy”, the latter being an unmistakable reference to the hugely successful Filipino fast-food chain *Jollibee*. Each of these signs shows that a protest march in the Philippines could be festive and entertaining while grappling with a very serious social issue.

4. Conclusion

In analyzing the LL of protest in Manila, my interest was to see what language/s appeared in the transient landscape of protest and what linguistic resources were deployed by protesters in expressing dissent. In addition, a transient linguistic event like the staging of protests is instructive in determining the position of different languages in linguistic communities and which can pose a challenge to the fixed LL. Since the fixed LL may be highly regulated because of policies on languages in public, and so may not accurately reflect languages on the ground, transient LL of protests could represent the actual number of languages in use. Mobile LL allows the presence of diverse languages to become visible, too. Thus, while previous research indexes a ‘unilingual’ LL, research on mobile LL may yield a more nuanced reading of a linguistic community. Seals (2011, 2015) claims that the “reappropriation of space on multiple levels strengthens visual power and symbolic power” (p. 201) and can transform the landscape of dissent from erasure to visibility. As was the case in the transient LL of Manila, the languages of the protest signs—many of which are not normally represented or are mostly absent from Manila’s LL—became visible, such as Ilocano, ‘Taglish’, and ‘gayspeak’. Finally, the transient LL of protest also reflected young people’s linguistic creativity and capital as they drew from many sources to express their opposition or dissent. Through humor and sarcasm, puns or swear words, the protesters were able to find their voices within the space of a transient LL of protest.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Appendix

Classified according to languages, the following tables contain 103 selected protest signs collected in November 2016 from social media sites, such as Facebook, Twitter, Messenger, and the online news outlets Rappler, Philstar, and Inquirer.net.

Tagalog	English Translation
1. Marcos, hindi bayani/Hindi bayani si Marcos	1. Marcos is not a hero
2. Ingat kayo sa mga diktador	2. Beware of dictators
3. Putang ina mo, Marcos! Nag-aaral dapat ako	3. You're a son of a bitch, Marcos! I should be at home studying
4. Laban muna bago landi	4. Fight for the country first before we flirt
5. Pakihanap si Allan Peter [Cayetano]	5. Please find Allan Peter [Cayetano, President Duterte's running mate]
6. Baron, sana yung libingan na lang inihian mo (hindi si Ping)	6. Baron, you should have peed on [Marcos'] burial plot (not on Ping)
7. Marcos, taksil sa bayan	7. Marcos is a traitor to the country
8. Hukay./ #Hukayin	8. Unbury [Marcos]. #Unbury
9. Marcos, berdugo ng obrero	9. Marcos is the executioner of workers
10. Labanan ang pasismo ng estado	10. Oppose state fascism
11. Marcos hindi bayani. Labanan ang pasismo ng estado. Ipagpatuloy ang pakikibaka para sa kalayaan at demokrasya. Itigil and Oplan Bayanihan!	11. Marcos is not a hero. Oppose state fascism. Continue the fight for freedom and democracy. Suspend Project Bayanihan!
12. KKB [Kanya-kanyang bayad] kami dito, mga ka-DDS [Duterte Die-Hard Supporters.]	12. To our fellow Duterte Die-Hard supporters, we pay for our own way here.
13. M-agnanakaw A-yaw namin R- C- O- S- Basta!	13. M- thief A- we do not want R- C- O- S- Whatever!
14. Walang hustisya! Tatahimik ka na lang ba?	14. There is no justice! Will you just keep quiet?
15. Digong, tuta ni Marcos	15. Digong [President Duterte], a Marcos lackey/stooge. [Actual translation of "tuta" is "puppy"]
16. Ang pagtahimik ay pagpayag sa panggagahasa sa bayan	16. Silence means tacit approval of rape and plunder of the country
17. Tangina mo, Marcos!	17. You son of a bitch, Marcos!
18. Marcos ako, huwag tularan	18. I am a Marcos. Do not imitate
19. Huwag payagang muling umiral and dilim.	19. Do not allow darkness to exert its hold over us once again.
20. Huwag magpakabulag.	20. Don't be willfully blind.
21. Busina para sa hustisya.	21. Honk your horn for justice.
22. Lumaban....'86, Lalaban....2016 Para sa Pilipinas, Layas, mga Marcos, Hukayin & itapon	22. We fought in '86; we will fight in [20]16 for the Philippines. Get lost, Marcoses! Exhume [Marcos' corpse] and throw it away
23. Pilipinas, ginagago na naman tayo.	23. Philippines, they're taking us for fools again.
24. Berdugo, hindi bayani.	24. Executioner, not a hero.
25. Diktador, hindi bayani.	25. Dictator, not a hero.

Tagalog	English Translation
26. Marcos, duwag.	26. Marcos is a coward.
27. Marcos, magnanakaw hanggang sa huli.	27. Marcos is a thief to the very end.
28. Taksil, hindi bayani.	28. [Marcos is] a traitor, not a hero.
29. Mga bayani, buwis buhay. Marcos, buwis natin nilustay.	29. Our heroes sacrificed their lives. Marcos embezzled the nation's money.

English

1. Andres Bonifacio: Temperamental brat
2. Marcos is no hero/Marcos is not a hero/Not a hero
3. Marcos the man of steal
4. Factboys 100, not fuckbois
5. I'm here for free! #Marcosnotahero
6. Be the Lumos Maxima in this country full of Imperio, Crucio, and Avada Kedavra
7. Stop making martial law happen, it's not gonna happen!!!
8. No to Macoy, Yes to Chicken Joy
9. Mr Marcos, Tell Satan the President says hi
10. You can never oblivate us!
11. Sandro, you can't sit with us!! On Wedsnedays [sic] we wear black
12. Down with this sort of thingie
13. No! Justice first for all! #NeverAgain
14. No honor for dictator/No honor for tyrant
15. Meeple Power, Tabletop gamers against Marcos
16. Don't insult Rizal. Marcos is not a hero.
17. True heroes fought Martial Law [on a t-shirt]
18. #NotoMarcosBurialinLNMB
19. #NeverForget, #NeverAgain
20. Let's revolt in versus injustice
21. Scholasticians against Marcos
22. Fire is catching. If we burn you, burn with us.
23. Rally today, review tomorrow.
24. #BeBrave, Resist dictators
25. Stop historical revisionism!
26. Stop extrajudicial killings!
27. Silence aids the oppressor
28. Pro-country, pro-justice, pro-truth
29. Fantastic thieves and where to send them.
30. Fighting the Marcoses like my father before me.

'Taglish'	English Translation
1. Beshies against bardagulan	1. Bestfriends against street fighting
2. Diktador not a hero/Diktador hindi hero	2. Dictator, not a hero
3. No to Marcos burial in the Libingan ng mga Bayani	3. No to Marcos burial in the Cemetery of Heroes
4. Fuck you po, Marcos #NeverAgain	4. Fuck you, Marcos. #NeverAgain
5. Nawawalang tuta [picture of Senator Alan Cayetano.] If found, please call 8888!!	5. Lost puppy [picture of Senator Alan Cayetano.] If found, please call 8888!!
6. It's a Match! Made in HELL [pictures of former president Marcos and President Duterte] Ang tinde. Send a message, keep protesting	6. It's a Match! Made in HELL [pictures of former president Marcos and President Duterte] Amazing shamelessness. Send a message. Keep protesting.
7. [on a shirt]: Libing a lie #HukayinsiMarcos #Marcosnotahero	7. [on a shirt]: Libing [burying] a lie #Hukayinsimarcos #Marcosnotahero
8. Lokohan 2016	8. Fooling in 2016

'Taglish'	English Translation
9. Magnanakaw AF [ass fuck]!	9. Thief AF [ass fuck]!
10. Galawang Marcos (Pakyu)	10. Move like a Marcos (Fuck you)
11. Nagresearch na ako, sabi ng research ko pakyu po.	11. I already conducted my research, and according to it, fuck you.
12. Make busina for hustisya	12. Honk for justice
13. Let's make baka! Don't be takot!	13. Let us engage! Don't be afraid!
14. Sa Ex ko lang ako mag mo-move on	14. I will only move on with my ex-boyfriend/girlfriend.
15. Babalikan mo ba Ex mo na gumago at umabuso sa yo? Di ba #YouDeserveBetter?	15. Will you go back to your ex-boyfriend/girlfriend who screwed you over? Don't you think #YouDeserveBetter?
16. Pag nahukay si Marcos, magda-diet na ako (Hukayin nyo na pls.)	16. I will go on a diet when you exhume Marcos. (Please hurry up and exhume him.)
17. Marcos hukayin, not a hero	17. Exhume Marcos' body, not a hero
18. Apologies, not apologists. Marcos magnanakaw	18. Apologies, not apologists. Marcos is a thief.
19. Justice, hindi just-tiis	19. We need justice, not just-put up with it.
20. Bumagsak man grades ko, wag lang bayan ko.	20. I don't mind failing grades, but my country I cannot allow to fail.
21. Make potpot to show your poot.	21. Honk to show your anger.
22. Make some ingay to unbury the bangkay.	22. Make some noise to unbury the dead.
23. Hatol ng kasaysayan, Marcos not a hero	23. History has judged Marcos—not a hero.
24. Buwis mo. Sapatos ni Imelda, mukha ni Imee, tuition ni Sandro. #Magnanakaw	24. Here is where your taxes go: Imelda's shoes, Imee's face [enhancements], Sandro's tuition fees. #Thief
25. Imee: Personal life funded \$, Princeton, Wedding in Ilocos, Phil Airlines to pick up breastmilk #MarcosMagnanakaw	25. Imee: Personal life funded \$, Princeton, Wedding in Ilocos, Phil Airlines to pick up breastmilk #MarcosMagnanakaw (Marcos is a thief)
26. Pakyu, Marcos!	26. Fuck you, Marcos.
27. Botox ni Imee, Tuition ni Sandro, Pera ng bayan	27. Imee's botox and Sandro's tuition fees are the country's money
28. Di porket Christmas season na ay naka-sale din ang hustisya.	28. Just because it's the Christmas season doesn't mean justice is also on sale.
29. Marcos burial sa LNMB? Unlike!	29. Marcos burial at LNMB? Unlike!

Ilocano	English Translation
1. Ukinam, Marcos	1. You're a cunt, Marcos.
2. Nakababain ka.	2. You're an embarrassment.
3. Lastog ka, Marcos	3. You're arrogant, Marcos.

'Gayspeak'	English Translation
1. Witchikels bayani si Marcos.	1. No way is Marcos a hero.
2. Marcos hero? Wag ako, gurl.	2. Is Marcos a hero? Don't try to win me over, girl.
3. Marcos, don't me.	3. Marcos, don't try to convince me. Not me.
4. Marcos is so not fetch.	4. We do not approve of Marcos.
5. Mumshies against Marcos.	5. Mothers against Marcos.
6. Whatever, Marcos.	6. Whatever, Marcos.
7. Stay woke.	7. Stay aware of what's happening in the world.
8. My gahd I hate Marcos.	8. My God I hate Marcos.

Emojis and other miscellany

1.



2. Marcos



3. 2 cruel 2 be 4gotten

4. Philippine flag



Article

Language Planning and Policy, Law and (Post)Colonial Relations in Small Island States: A Case Study

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Abstract

Language planning and policy (LPP) in postcolonial island states is often strongly (co)determined by the former colonizer's state tradition. Comparable to the examples of the development of LPP in Cabo Verde (Baptista, Brito, & Bangura, 2010), Haiti (DeGraff, 2016), and Mauritius (Johnson, 2006; Lallmahomed-Aumeerally, 2005), this article aims to illustrate and explain in what way the current situation of the dominance of Dutch in governance, law and education in Aruba (and Curaçao) can only be explained through path dependency and state tradition (Sonntag & Cardinal, 2015) in which, time and again, critical junctures, have not led to decisions that favour the mother tongue of the majority of the population (Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010; Mijts, 2015; Prins-Winkel, 1973; Winkel, 1955). In this article, three perspectives on LPP in small island states are explored as different aspects of the continuation of the former colonizer's state tradition and language regime. The first part will focus on the (non-)applicability of international treaties like the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) on the challenges of small island states. The point will be made that international treaties, like the ECRML, do not (currently) provide sufficient basis for the protection of languages in former colonial islands and for the empowerment of individuals through language rights. The second part explores the meaning of fundamental legal principles and specific demands, deduced from international treaties. The point will be made that the structure of the Kingdom of the Netherlands brings with it several limitations and obstacles for the autonomous development of LPP. The third part will focus on the way in which current Aruban legislation reflects the dominance of Dutch in governance, the judiciary and education. While bearing in mind that choices for legislation on language for governance, the judiciary and education are rooted in very diverse principles, a critical reading of existing legislation reveals an interesting dynamic of symbolic inclusive legislation and exclusive practices through language restrictions that favour the Dutch minority language. Recent research, however, demonstrates that law/policy and practice are not aligned, as such creating an incoherent situation that may call for a change in legislation and policy.

Keywords

colony; Dutch; island; language; law; planning; policy

Issue

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1. Introduction

Language planning and policy (LPP) in postcolonial island states is often strongly (co)determined by the former colonizer's state tradition. Comparable to the exam-

ples of the development of LPP in Cabo Verde (Baptista, Brito, & Bangura, 2010), Haiti (DeGraff, 2016), and Mauritius (Johnson, 2006; Lallmahomed-Aumeerally, 2005), this article aims to illustrate and explain in what way the current situation of the dominance of Dutch in gov-

ernance, law and education in the Caribbean parts of the Kingdom of the Netherlands can only be explained through path dependency and state tradition (Sonntag & Cardinal, 2015) in which, time and again, critical junctures, have not led to decisions that favour the mother tongue of the majority of the population (Dijkhoff & Pereira, 2010; Mijts, 2014, 2015; Prins-Winkel, 1973; Winkel, 1955). The lack of legal acceptance and consolidation of creole languages is illustrative of the dominance of the languages of the former colonizer in the decolonized Caribbean islands but also in other decolonized small island states and decolonized areas. Even though often the vast majority of the population of these countries does not speak the language of the former colonizer as a home language, that language is chosen and maintained as the official language. The home language often does not get official status.

Decolonized small island states face special challenges in the development of language policy and planning for education, government and law. These challenges are often similar to the ones faced by larger decolonized states, but the scale often restricts rational development of a policy that fits the needs of that specific community. In most cases, the state tradition of the former colonizer is followed, adopting the former colonizer's constitutional and legal framework as well as the educational system and most of the educational language policy. Innovation in the different domains of language use in the public sector in these countries is likely to follow the developments of the former colonizer's systems. Quality control—either in government, the judiciary or the educational system—follows the tracks of the former colonizer's systems, and often, the quality control agencies of the former colonizer are invited to impose their frameworks on the small island state's systems. The private sector institutions appear to follow their own paths, developing their own language practice in all three domains, even including the development of—sometimes problematic—contracts that are not composed in the language of the law (the colonial heritage language) but in English. As such, the development of language policy and planning in the public and private sectors are running at different speeds and in different directions, resulting in a disconnect between the educational system and societal practice.

In this article, three perspectives on LPP in small island states are explored as different aspects of the continuation of the former colonizer's state tradition and language regime. The first part will focus on the (non-)applicability of international treaties like the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) on the challenges of small island states. The point will be made that international treaties, like the ECRML, do not (currently) provide sufficient basis for the protection of languages in former colonial islands and for the empowerment of individuals through language rights. The second part explores the meaning of fundamental legal principles and specific demands, deduced from international

treaties. The point will be made that the structure of the Kingdom of the Netherlands brings with it several limitations and obstacles for the autonomous development of LPP. The third part will focus on the way in which current Aruban legislation reflects the dominance of Dutch in governance, the judiciary and education. While bearing in mind that choices for legislation on language for governance, the judiciary and education are rooted in very diverse principles, a critical reading of existing legislation reveals an interesting dynamic of symbolic inclusive legislation and exclusive practices through language restrictions that favour the Dutch minority language. Recent research, however, demonstrates that law/policy and practice are not aligned, as such creating an incoherent situation that may call for a change in legislation and policy.

Numerous publications point out that the way in which the Caribbean islands of the Kingdom of the Netherlands deal with their multilingual populations is sub-optimal and that a revision of the policies and practices in governance, the judiciary and education would be greatly beneficial to the populations of these islands. Many of the publications from a legal perspective focus on criminal proceedings (Raad voor de Rechtshandhaving, 2017; Reintjes, 2010; Van der Velden, 2008), but criminal law is only a very small aspect of the language policy and law conundrum that affects the population of the islands; accessibility through language of governance and education are key factors in socio-economic inclusion (e.g., Liasidou, 2012; Tollefson, 2013a, 2013b) and the language of policies, ordinances and official publications is not regulated. As we will demonstrate in the case study of language legislation in the Kingdom and in Aruba that follows, minimum legal guarantees have been created for language use by the government, but no clear inclusive policy has been developed. Language policy and language practice are often not aligned, as in practice individual language skills often enable the accommodation of linguistic diversity in civilian—government interactions, but these practices do not offer the civilians guarantees for access through language facilities. Insufficient data is currently available on the extent of inclusive language practices in these domains in the Caribbean islands of the Kingdom of the Netherlands nor the translation of these practices into policy and legislation. Multiple publications point out that current language policy and practice in the Caribbean part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands is not yet inclusive and considerable changes are necessary in order to improve access and socio-economic mobility through language (e.g., Garrett, 2008; Mijts, Kester, Lozano Cosme, & Faracías, 2014; Pereira, 2012). Insufficient multidisciplinary research programs have been effected yet that can lead to socially acceptable research data that can help policy makers make successful decisions on LPP. The importance of such multidisciplinary research agendas for the development and acceptance of inclusive language policies in other multilingual societies has been sufficiently demonstrated by long-term projects like the Flemish-

South African Studies in Language Policy in South Africa of Du Plessis, Deprez, Cuvelier, Meeuwis, Webb and others, Ricento and Bale's Multidisciplinary Approaches to Language Policy and Planning, or Tonkin's study group Language and the UN.

For a better understanding of LPP in the Caribbean countries and territories of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, some information has to be provided on the quasi-federal structure of the Kingdom. The Kingdom consists of four countries, namely the Caribbean countries of Aruba, Curaçao and St Maarten, and the Country of the Netherlands. It is important to bear in mind that the Country of the Netherlands is just one of the four Countries of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The three Caribbean countries are rather small: they have only 40.000 (St Maarten), 105.000 (Aruba) and 160.000 (Curaçao) inhabitants; the Country of the Netherlands has 17.000.000 inhabitants. Since 2010, when a restructuring within the Kingdom took place (the Country of the Netherlands Antilles was dismantled), the much smaller islands Bonaire, Statia and Saba, with 17.000, 3550 and 2000 inhabitants, respectively, became part of the Country of the Netherlands.¹ Therefore the Country of the Netherlands has a European part as well as a Caribbean part, the so-called Caribbean territories.² The relations between the three Caribbean countries and the Country of the Netherlands, as well as the relations between the European part and the Caribbean territories of this country, are complicated for a variety of reasons that will be examined below.

Discussions on LPP focus on many different topics including culture, identity, religion, economy, technical questions, etc. While recognizing the validity of the discussions on these topics and domains of language use, in this article we focus on the interaction and tension between language of and in policy and law in the achievement of an inclusive society.

In this article, we first consider the minimal guarantees and opportunities as presented in international treaties. Subsequently we examine the role of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the structure of the Kingdom in the development of LPP, and finally we discuss language legislation in Aruba as a case study of law as discourse on LPP. In the conclusion we propose a new multidisciplinary research agenda for the study of the relation between language, policy, law and practice for inclusive island societies.

2. International Treaties and LPP

Some international treaties applicable to the Kingdom of the Netherlands and its four countries contain minimal

guarantees and opportunities for LPP. These treaties can be categorized as follows. Firstly, there are treaties which have direct relevance for LPP, whereas others only have indirect relevance. Secondly, some treaties are binding, whereas others are not. A distinction may also be made between treaties and principles which address individual rights and those which address group rights, especially minorities.

Article 2 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, establishes the right of minorities to use their own language, and the right to effective communication and participation. However, this declaration is not binding. Article 27 of the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) reads: 'In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.' The ICCPR is binding but its relevance is relative, since it is actually Dutch which is the language of a minority, not Papiamentu (Leeward Islands) or English (Windward Islands).

Binding, too, are some fundamental rights established in treaties: the protection of private life, the freedom of expression, association and assembly, the right on political participation, the principle of democracy, the principle of non-discrimination, and the principle of equality. These are fundamental rights in the ICCPR as well as in the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR) and in the European Charter on Fundamental Rights of the European Union.³

It is well-known that there are also special legal demands in case of a criminal charge or prosecution, inter alia in the ECHR, namely in Article 5.2: 'Everyone who is arrested shall be informed promptly, in a language which he understands, of the reasons for his arrest and of any charge against him.' Furthermore Article 6.3 states that: 'Everyone charged with a criminal offence has the following minimum rights: (a) to be informed promptly, in a language which he understands and in detail, of the nature and cause of the accusation against him;...(e) to have the free assistance of an interpreter if he cannot understand or speak the language used in court.'

These provisions for a criminal charge or prosecution are adopted (repeated) in legislation of the countries of the Kingdom.⁴ The wording and the level of guarantees are, in fact, the same, alluding to the use of a language the prosecuted person can understand (instead of his mother tongue). This is particularly important for

¹ Being realistic, not disrespectful: as left-overs.

² The Kingdom of the Netherlands is Member of the European Union. Nevertheless, European law is only fully applicable in the continental European part of the Kingdom. Since the beginning of the European Union, all Caribbean islands have had Overseas Countries and Territories (OCT) status. Today they still have this status. At the same time the people of the OCTs of the Kingdom have European citizenship.

³ The European Charter is possibly applicable to the Caribbean countries and territories (all OCT) in relation to European citizenship of the inhabitants of the countries and territories.

⁴ See, e.g., Article 1.5, Section 3, sub a, Staatsregeling Aruba, and Article 28, Section 4, sub a, Staatsregeling St Maarten.

the Caribbean countries and territories of the Kingdom where, as we will explain, Dutch is the dominant language in criminal (and other) court procedures.

It is indisputable that in case of a criminal charge or prosecution extra guarantees are applicable. Moreover, discussion on language and law pertains relatively often to criminal law, not administrative or civil law (although quantitatively people are dealing considerably more often with administrative and civil law).

The implementation and enforcement of binding treaties pertain to powers of the government of the autonomous countries of the Kingdom. The Kingdom has no power in this domain. There is one exception. When a breach of a treaty implies a breach of principles of good governance and the Rule of Law, the government of the Kingdom (in practice the Dutch government) has the power to intervene.⁵ There are currently no examples of this type of infringement by a country of the Kingdom with regards to a treaty provision concerning LPP as such. This is not surprising, considering that the treaties involved contain minimal guarantees.

3. The Kingdom and Its Limitations and Obstacles for LPP

3.1. Preliminary Remarks

LPP has to be in accordance with language rights in treaties and fundamental legal principles such as accessibility to law, foreseeability of law and legal certainty, the equality principle, transparency and participation.⁶ The previous section of our contribution clarifies that most treaties do not contain firm and binding guarantees for LPP. Fundamental legal principles are binding. They are particularly important for social inclusion. Those who have no access to the law, for example, can be excluded from their rights and treated differently from those who do have access and are able to realise their rights. An infringement of the equality principle implies that an individual person or a group of persons is legally and socially excluded. Fundamental legal principles are the foundations of a society that bridge law and sociology.

Fundamental legal principles are vague and need interpretation. This involves much leeway or, in legal jargon, discretion. In discretionary cases the prominent question is which authority has the responsibility to interpret and apply the vague principles involved. Regarding the Caribbean islands of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the answer is clear: the governments of the (autonomous) countries of the Kingdom are competent. However, these governments, especially those of the Caribbean countries, encounter difficulties as a consequence of legal and political relations within the Kingdom; the integration of these countries in the Kingdom

entails limitations and obstacles for LPP, de jure as well as de facto.

3.2. The Kingdom, the Caribbean and the Influence from the European Netherlands

The first reason pertains to the constitutional make-up and powers of the Kingdom. This make-up and these powers are laid down in the Charter of the Kingdom. This Charter qualifies the principal authorities from the Country of the Netherlands, namely the King, the Parliament, the government and the Council of State, as authorities of the Kingdom, some of them supplemented with members from the Caribbean countries. This implies that constitutionally the position of the Country of the Netherlands is very dominant: there is an *imbalance* in power between the Country of the Netherlands and the Caribbean countries.⁷ The explanation for this is quite simple, namely the big difference in size between the Country of the Netherlands and the Caribbean countries.

On the other hand, the powers of the Kingdom are narrow.⁸ It is crystal clear that LPP is a country issue, not a concern for the Kingdom. Only when it is evident that treaty law or a fundamental principle like accessibility to law, legal certainty or the equality principle is violated, the Kingdom is permitted to apply its power. Such principles are violated when it appears that, as a consequence of insufficient language provisions, groups of people are excluded from (information about) social aid or licences, for example. In the Caribbean countries there is no tradition of (empirical self-)evaluation. Indications that the current LPP implies an urgent problem of exclusion of groups of people are weak (if any indication exists). Contrary to criminal law procedures, where specific guarantees are applicable, this is especially true for governance and public administration. Even if there is a hidden problem, there is not any motive for the Kingdom to intervene. Only when a Caribbean country infringes treaty law or fundamental legal principles, does the Kingdom have the power to intervene. It is important to note that, according to Article 50 of the Charter, it is only when a *Caribbean* country violates such a norm that the Kingdom's power to intervene is applicable. In case of violation by the Country of the Netherlands, the Kingdom has no power to intervene. This can be seen as an expression of the big overlap between the Kingdom and the Country of the Netherlands.⁹ It does not matter, because it is very likely that the Kingdom will not interfere with Caribbean LPP.

The second reason for the complexity of the relations within the Kingdom and with respect to the Country of the Netherlands is the *colonial history* of the Kingdom. It goes without saying that the colonial period left its marks, or more precise, its scars. As a result, the Kingdom (officially the Kingdom's government, in practice

⁵ See Article 43 of the Charter of the Kingdom.

⁶ The latter as an aspect of democracy.

⁷ And between the European part and the Caribbean territories of the Country of the Netherlands.

⁸ See Article 3 of the Charter.

⁹ Cf. Santos do Nascimento (2017, p. 287). Santos do Nascimento concludes that the Kingdom of the Netherlands is still a colonial state.

the Dutch government) is very reluctant to intervene in the Caribbean countries, especially where culture and languages are at stake. With respect to LPP, the Kingdom has never officially intervened and any discussion to do so has never arisen.

Certainly, another result of the colonial history is the dominance of the Dutch language (although a minority language) for Caribbean legislation, governance and judiciary. The legislation of the Caribbean countries states that Dutch and Papiamentu (Aruba),¹⁰ Dutch, Papiamentu and English (Curaçao),¹¹ or Dutch and English (St Maarten)¹² are the official languages.¹³ The Caribbean legislation is always in Dutch.¹⁴ The predominant role of Dutch is not only a residue of colonial times. Even today there are intelligible explanations for this role of Dutch, at least where legislation and the judiciary are at stake. Regarding *legislation* it must be recognized that the law of the three Caribbean countries is strongly inspired by the law of the European Netherlands: the Dutch law from The Hague (Dutch government city) can be seen as *legal transplants* in the Caribbean. To put it briefly, legislation of the three Caribbean countries is usually a previous version of Dutch legislation.

The legislation regarding language in the *judiciary* is as follows. The starting point is the Rijkswet Gemeenschappelijk Hof van Justitie (the Kingdom legislation on the Caribbean judiciary). This legislation establishes Courts of First Instance (Gerecht in Eerste Aanleg, GEA) and a High Court (Gemeenschappelijk Hof van Justitie, GHvJ), with the possibility of an appeal in cassation at the Supreme Court (Hoge Raad) in The Hague. The language of procedure is one of the official languages. In practice this is often Dutch. The decision of all courts is always in Dutch.¹⁵ The dominant position of Dutch as the judiciary language has to do with the *participation of Dutch judges* in the Caribbean judiciary.

Closely connected to the above-mentioned imbalance in power and the phenomenon of legal transplants, there is another relevant aspect, namely the *small state character* of the Caribbean countries. From a global perspective the Country of the Netherlands is a rather small country. Nevertheless, within the framework of the Kingdom this country is by far the biggest country and has by far the most human and financial resources needed for law-making. In the prevailing constitutional and political view, it is emphasised that the Kingdom of the Netherlands consists of four equal countries.¹⁶ Actually, the Dutch influence in the Caribbean countries of the

Kingdom is very strong, inter alia where legislation (legal transplants) and judiciary (Dutch judges) are involved. This is enhanced by the so-called *concordance principle* of Article 39 of the Charter, which says that in all countries of the Kingdom private, criminal and other law, mainly administrative law, must be regulated in a corresponding manner. So, there is a legal mission of legal convergence; legal items should be as much as possible regulated in the same way in all the countries of the Kingdom. Caribbean law as a set of legal transplants from Dutch law and the participation of Dutch judges in the Caribbean judiciary effectuate the reality of the concordance-principle.

Is therefore the use of Dutch in Caribbean legislation and legal procedures unavoidable? From a legal point of view, the answer is no. The concordance principle does not compel the use of unidirectional legal transplants, let alone the use of Dutch in legislation and the judiciary. Translations are always an alternative; however, the law is a profession of words. From this perspective, a dominant position of English, and especially Papiamentu, can be a real obstacle for the participation of Dutch judges in the Caribbean judiciary, since they are typically employed in the Caribbean for only a few years.

Hitherto, this question has not been discussed profoundly. In the past some debates took place, but in the end it seems as if the use of Dutch is taken for granted. The main reason behind this acceptance of the dominant position of the Dutch language seems to be a pragmatism where small scale societies are involved. Illustrative (and remarkable) is the report *Consequenties van Meertaligheid voor de rechtshandhaving in Caribisch Nederland* (Consequences of multilingualism for law enforcement in the Dutch Caribbean territories), published by the Raad voor de Rechtshandhaving (Law Enforcement Council).¹⁷ This council states that in the Dutch Caribbean territories 'the exception is the rule': normally the national language is the language in law enforcement, whereas in the Caribbean territories Dutch is the formal language of law. Most striking is the overall conclusion that 'the Council finds no reason to discuss Dutch being the formal language of law. The fundamental and practical arguments for such a change do not weigh up against the fundamental and practical objections.'¹⁸ This main conclusion, that there is no reason for even *discussing* the issue, has been adopted by the Minister of Safety and Justice.¹⁹

The report of the Law Enforcement Council on multilingualism concerns the Dutch Caribbean territories

¹⁰ Article 2 Landsverordening officiële talen Aruba.

¹¹ Article 2 Landsverordening officiële talen Curaçao.

¹² Article 1 lid 2 Staatsregeling Sint Maarten; article 2 Landsverordening officiële talen Sint Maarten.

¹³ In the territories Bonaire, Statia and Saba, which are a part of the Country of the Netherlands the official language is Dutch and Papiamentu (Bonaire) or English (Statia, Saba). See Invoeringswet BES hoofdstuk 2b, 'De taal in het bestuurlijk verkeer'.

¹⁴ Whereas the discussion in Parliament about this legislation is in Papiamentu or English.

¹⁵ Article 9 Rijkswet Gemeenschappelijk Hof van Justitie.

¹⁶ Completely different is the view of Rycond Santos do Nascimento, in his dissertation of 2017.

¹⁷ March 2017. Appendix of TK 2016/17, 29 279, nr. 392. With summary, examination and recommendation in English (pp. 12–18), and in Papiamentu (pp. 19–24).

¹⁸ Appendix, p. 13.

¹⁹ In his letter of 3 July 2017 to the Parliament, TK 2016/17, 29 279, nr. 392.

(from the Country of the Netherlands), but one may say that its arguments pro and con the use of Dutch instead of Papiamentu or English are applied mutatis mutandis in the context of the Caribbean countries of the Kingdom.

The language regulation is most pronounced on legislation and the judiciary. For governance, Dutch, Papiamentu and/or English qualify as official languages. In the practice of public administration Papiamentu and English are often used. For the Caribbean territories it is stated in legislation that Dutch is the main official language, and that Papiamentu and English can be used too, sometimes, unless this is a disproportionate burden for governance.²⁰

At the Kingdom level it is stated that Dutch is the leading judiciary language. At the level of the Caribbean countries, choices are made about the use of languages for legislation and communication between the public administration and the citizens, and within the public administration.²¹ Overall, the dominance of Dutch is striking.

3.3. Multilingualism and the Future of the Kingdom

It is rather evident that LPP in the Caribbean countries and territories of the Kingdom of the Netherlands still have sharp colonial features. Moreover, LPP is a responsibility of the (autonomous) countries of the Kingdom, not a task of the Kingdom. In this respect, the Kingdom has no limitations or obstacles for a shift to a stronger position for Papiamentu or English (and Spanish). One can easily jump to the conclusion that change is desirable and necessary, but it is not that simple; there are diverse concerns and even implications for the future of the Kingdom.

Practical concerns are, for e.g., the need for more interpreters, the availability of law literature and study materials about the law of the Caribbean countries in Papiamentu or English, and financial aspects. A practical and essential concern is how to organise an independent and impartial judiciary where the role of Dutch judges possibly comes under pressure when these judges have to switch over to Papiamentu (regarding English the problem probably can be overcome). In the Caribbean countries and territories the need for judges from the European part of the Country of the Netherlands is generally accepted. It must be recognised that the Caribbean countries and territories of the Kingdom of the Netherlands are small scale societies. As a consequence, in general, it is difficult to suppress partiality and nepotism. The Caribbean people are aware of this. Although they complain about the dominance of judges from the European part of the Country of Netherlands, most of them accept the necessity of these impartial and independent judges for the sake of the Rule of Law and the economy, in particular the tourism sector. This also applies to an important dimension of governance, namely oversight, where

co-operation between supervisory authorities of different countries of the Kingdom is generally appreciated.

In the long run the development of a law system in the Caribbean countries in Papiamentu or English can reduce co-operation in the field of governance (supervision) and the judiciary. As a consequence, the concordance principle can be harmed. It may be that the concordance principle and the (colonial or idealistic?) ideas connected with this principle are the greatest obstacles for changes in LPP. Leaving behind this principle and these ideas may conjure up an image of four (autonomous) countries drifting apart, with an uncertain future for the Kingdom itself. On the other hand one can argue that court (and supervisory) procedures are very exceptional and therefore cannot be a decisive criterion for LPP in the Caribbean.

4. Law as Discourse: What Aruban Legislation Tells Us About the Position of and the Relation between the Official Languages of Aruba

This section will focus on the way in which current Aruban legislation reflects the dominance of Dutch in governance, the judiciary and education. While bearing in mind that choices for legislation on language for governance, the judiciary and education are rooted in very diverse principles, a critical reading of existing legislation reveals an interesting dynamic of symbolic inclusive legislation and exclusive practices through language restrictions that favour the Dutch minority language. Recent publications, however, demonstrate that law/policy and practice are not aligned, as such creating an incoherent situation that may call for a change in legislation and policy to better fit reality. In the following lines, we will present a non-exhaustive deconstruction of Aruban legislation on language from a decolonization perspective in which, following Ball (1993, p. 13), the textual interventions of the law are not only seen as agents of change, but also as agents of the way things stay the same or of the way change is different in different settings and—possibly—different from the intentions of policy authors.

The Papiamentu language, the home language of about 68% of the population in Aruba, is one of the two official languages of the island state, next to Dutch, which is the home language of 6% of the population. Before 2003, Dutch was the only official language in Aruba; since that date, both languages have official status. In many publications, this status of Papiamentu is acclaimed as Papiamentu having the same legal status as Dutch and as such having full legal recognition. In practice this is not the case. The dominance of Dutch in governance, the judiciary and education is usually explained through the importance of the Dutch language for unity and uniformity in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the role of Dutch as the language of the supreme court of the Kingdom of the Netherlands which is the highest court for the Aruban

²⁰ Article 4b-4j Invoeringswet BES.

²¹ In accordance with treaties, with extra language rights in the domain of criminal law.

judicial system as well, the perceived inadequateness of Papiamentu as a language for governance, the judiciary and education, and the expected high expenses for translation and interpreting services. On the other hand, in the report on a recent study on language in the judicial system in the BES islands, the Dutch Law Enforcement council 'does see cause for restricting the use of Dutch within law enforcement where possible' (Raad voor de Rechtshandhaving, 2017, p. 13).

We will make the point that despite the presumed equality of Papiamentu and Dutch in the official languages ordinance, Aruban law confirms the dominant position of Dutch over Papiamentu as a continuation of European Dutch state tradition in government, education and law/legal practice. The Official Languages Act was a start, but this start is not yet enough to reach full access and inclusion in legislation, governance and education.

5. The Official Languages Act Aruba and the Primary Education Act

In 2003, the Aruban Official Languages Act was passed, bringing about an apparently big change in official language policy. Before 2003 Dutch was officially the only language with legal status for governance, legislation and education in Aruba, but with the introduction of this act, the status of Papiamentu was confirmed in law and citizens and government officials in Aruba were granted the formal right to use Papiamentu as well as Dutch in oral and written interactions. Article 2 of this act stipulates that Papiamentu and Dutch are the official languages of Aruba.²² Interesting is that in this article, contrary to common practice, Papiamentu is named before Dutch, maybe even symbolically contrary to alphabetical order and suggesting that Papiamentu has risen to a full status. Article 3 regulates language use between citizens and administrative bodies. It empowers everyone to use both Papiamentu and Dutch in oral and written interaction with the government²³ and empowers government to use both languages in oral and written interaction (both with citizens as well as internally).²⁴ For written documents, a translation in the other official language can be requested by the citizen that can prove to have an interest in that document. The term for the translation is four weeks and the government body that supplies the translation can require the payment of a non-specified fee for the translation except for special conditions accord-

ing to the Aruban administrative legislation.²⁵ No specific stipulations or guarantees are made for oral communication.²⁶ As such, this legislation fails to provide the authority for citizens to demand government communication in two languages.

Article 4 of the same languages act regulates the formulation of oaths, promises and declarations. This article stipulates that the wording of an oath is legally prescribed and that *instead of* the legally prescribed Dutch wording, one has the authority to pronounce the equivalent text in Papiamentu, after which the article prescribes the Papiamentu wording for oaths, promises and declarations.²⁷ This article has been formulated in such a way that Dutch is represented as the norm, and Papiamentu as an alternative for the language that is the norm that can be used *instead of* the norm. This article has not been written from a perspective of putting Papiamentu on the same level as Dutch, but from the perspective of allowing Papiamentu next to Dutch. A more neutral formulation would simply stipulate that you can use either one language *or* the other.

Article 5 is exclusive: it stipulates that the language of legislation is Dutch, and article 6 stipulates that the official legal language, as stipulated in article 1 of criminal proceedings, is Dutch. This is interesting; every citizen is supposed to know the laws of the country and apparently these laws are only provided in one language, Dutch. When confronted with criminal charges this is a very threatening thing a government body can do to citizen: suddenly confront him with a monolingual Dutch system. Despite the fact that in practice Papiamentu and also English are regularly used in court, the Dutch orientation of the judges does not support accessibility of the court (the majority of the judges consists of temporary Dutch judges), nor does the false assumption that Aruban suspects speak Dutch. The use of interpreters and translators does not solve that issue, as the availability of interpreters is a minimum requirement, not a guarantee of reliability, and in general the need for an interpreter is based upon the suspect's or lawyer's disputable (self-)assessment of the suspect's own language skills. As such, the current legislation frames the majority language speaking Aruban in a minority language position for which special facilities have to be created to adhere to minimal international guarantees of orderly process.

Article 9.1 of the Primary Education Act²⁸ (1989) states that Papiamentu is the language of instruction

²² Article 2 Landsverordening officiële talen Aruba: *De officiële talen van Aruba zijn het Papiamentu en het Nederlands.*

²³ Article 3.1 Landsverordening officiële talen Aruba: *Een ieder is bevoegd zowel het Papiamentu als het Nederlands te gebruiken in de mondelinge en het schriftelijke verkeer met een bestuursorgaan.*

²⁴ Article 3.2 Landsverordening officiële talen Aruba: *Een bestuursorgaan is in het mondelinge en schriftelijke verkeer bevoegd zowel het Papiamentu als het Nederlands te gebruiken.*

²⁵ Landsverordening Administratieve Rechtspraak (AB 1993 no. 45).

²⁶ Article 3.4 Landsverordening officiële talen Aruba: *Indien een bestuursorgaan een schriftelijk stuk heeft gesteld in één van de officiële talen, verstrekt het daarvan op verzoek binnen vier weken een vertaling in de andere officiële taal, indien de verzoeker belanghebbende is. Het bestuursorgaan kan voor het vertalen een vergoeding verlangen.*

²⁷ Article 4.1 Landsverordening officiële talen Aruba: *Hij die ter uitvoering van een wettelijk voorschrift mondeling een eed, belofte of verklaring moet afleggen, is bevoegd in plaats van de wettelijk in het Nederlands voorgeschreven woorden de daarmee in het Papiamentu overeenkomende woorden uit te spreken, tenzij de woorden van de eed, belofte of verklaring bij of mede bij de Staatsregeling van Aruba zijn vastgelegd.*

²⁸ Article 9.1 Landsverordening Basisonderwijs Aruba.

for the first two years of education; the following years, Dutch is the language of instruction. Only after explicit approval by the Minister of education, Papiamentu can be used as an instruction language. Article 9.3 states that the Minister can deviate from article 9.1 for one or more courses for languages other than Papiamentu and Dutch.²⁹

These legal stipulations are a strong representation of the complexity of the roles and uses of the former colonizer's language, Dutch, and the predominantly Papiamentu-speaking society of Aruba, and the way in which legislators fail to create legal constructs that are sufficiently inclusive. The state tradition of Dutch governance, the judiciary and education is continued through the legal protection of Dutch, and there is a lack of legal promotion of Papiamentu in governance and all other domains, as such continuing some of the former colonizer's language policies without direct interference from the former colonizer. At best, current language laws in Aruba can be seen as symbolic legislation that, in the end, reinforces the role of Dutch in certain domains of the judiciary and education and fails to provide the population with guarantees for the use of language in communication with government in written and oral form.

6. Conclusions

Multidisciplinary research agendas for the development and acceptance of inclusive language policies in other multilingual societies and our description and analysis of the LPP of the Caribbean countries and territories of the Kingdom of the Netherlands suggest that the current language policy and legislation does not lead to a linguistically inclusive society in which the majority of the island's populations is optimally included. On an individual basis there are sincere efforts to reach inclusive solutions. The complexity of this issue—institutional aspects which possibly concern the future of the Kingdom are at stake—sometimes seems to be the excuse to deny the problem. We are convinced that that should not be the case. Multidisciplinary research and analysis of current policy and practice must lead to approaches of the language challenges in the Caribbean part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands that could also be exemplary for similar states with similar challenges.

As far as they are relevant for the Caribbean part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, international treaties seem to pose no legal problems. However, empirical data is lacking. Because of the applicability of special (treaty-based) demands, special attention is paid to criminal law, often neglecting the study of LPP in governance and administrative and civil law. Regarding the (binding) fundamental principles, a deeper study of the literature on language policy and law in other multilingual societies should reveal possible bottlenecks in social inclusion.

From this analysis, we can conclude that LPP in the Caribbean countries and territories of the Kingdom

of the Netherlands have features that strongly reflect (post)colonial relations. However, LPP is not the Kingdom's responsibility, it is the responsibility of the (autonomous) countries of the Kingdom. Argumentation for the unifying function of the Dutch language in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, also referring to the concordance principle in the Charter for the Kingdom of the Netherlands, is another postcolonial complexity of this study of LPP in the Caribbean.

The position and need for judges (in the case of the Dutch Caribbean, also supervisors) from the European part of the Netherlands seems to be important for LPP in the judiciary and legislation in the Caribbean. On the other hand, court (and supervisory) procedures are very exceptional in the day-to-day life of the populations of these islands, and therefore cannot be a decisive criterion for LPP in the Caribbean. In practice, the civilian in the legal process in the Caribbean is often framed as a 'foreign language speaker' of the judicial system.

This publication is a description of aspects of legislation at different levels of authority on LPP. Conclusions are crystal-clear, however, there is currently a need for further investigation of underlying and hidden challenges and solutions in education, legislation, governance and the judiciary along the lines of practices of inclusion and exclusion on the basis of language. The execution of that follow-up research should result in multidisciplinary advice on the inclusive alignment of policy legislation, law, governance and practice.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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²⁹ Article 9.3 Landsverordening Basisonderwijs Aruba.

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Article

Beyond the Nation-State? The Ideology of the Esperanto Movement between Neutralism and Multilingualism

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Abstract

Since its launch, Esperanto has attracted people involved in language politics. For them Esperanto provides an equitable solution when international problems are discussed, overcoming the barrier posed by the use of national languages and identities. However, its relation with the nation-state is far from being straightforward. Although a significant majority of the Movement claims Esperanto to be a *neŭtrala lingvo*, a neutral language, this has been fiercely contested by Esperanto activists committed to advancing particular programs for changing the world. From a sociolinguistic point of view, all Esperanto speakers are at least bilingual and quite often multilingual, without exception, so they always belong at least to one speech community in some way connected with a nation-state. This article illustrates the different facets of the Esperanto Movement from its beginning in 1887. Particular attention is paid to the concept of neutralism and how it has evolved in time. From the *belle époque*, Esperanto has been forced to re-define its position according to changes in sociopolitical contexts. In the current era of ‘glocalization’, where the spread of English worldwide is counterbalanced with old and new forms of local identities often linked with minority languages, Esperanto represents an alternative to the idea that global English leads to more social inclusion.

Keywords

Esperanto; globalization; glocalization; language; language politics; linguistic justice; minority language; mobility; nation-state; neutral language

Issue

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1. Introduction

The traditional Westphalian model of the relation between nationalities and languages has been challenged in recent years—for instance, by Beaulac (2004)—for failing to account for the complexity of language and identity in the contemporary world. According to that model, languages are homogeneous, and citizens of a given nation-state are monolingual: sociolinguistic variations and multilingual areas due to the presence of minority languages are a threat to the social cohesion of the nation-state. The aim of this article is to

present the multi-faceted ideology of Esperanto, historically one of the first critiques of the Westphalian model. In particular, we will delve into the relation between Esperanto language loyalty and the Esperanto speakers’ sense of belonging to their respective nation-states is examined. Methodologically, three analytical approaches have been used to this end: first, the author’s observation of the Esperanto community over the last 20 years, using the analytical tools of linguistic anthropology; second, discourse analysis of the most influential texts presenting the ideologies involving Esperanto; third, sociology of language and sociolinguistics, as language-in-use

reveals some distinct aspects which are relevant to our study. The main thesis of the article is that Esperanto identity is far more complex and fluid than the monolithic presentation often found in accounts on the phenomenon written by people outside the Esperanto community. In particular, the ideological positioning of the role played by the nation-state and religion as entities fostering social cohesion—and therefore permitting social inclusion—have dramatically changed since the early days of the Esperanto community.

Esperanto is a planned language created in 1887 by Ludwig Lejzer Zamenhof, an Ashkenazi Jew living in the Tsarist Empire. The term ‘planned language’ (Blanke, 1989) refers to languages invented by a single person to be suitable for human communication. The main difference between planned and natural languages is that natural languages respect the historical priority of speech, while planned languages—along with sign languages—do not (Gobbo, 2012). In other words, artificiality in planned languages is only a matter of degree (Stria, 2016). However, what they lack when they are published—yesteryear in a book, nowadays on a web site—is a community of speakers. The vitality of various planned languages after publication was measured by Blanke (1989, 2006) according to their success among the public. Most planned languages remain in the project phase: their vitality relies entirely on their language planners, and therefore when they die, their linguistic creations are no longer in use, and their names are known only by specialists and aficionados. A few projects survive their language planners thanks to a community of practice formed around the planned language itself. According to Eckert (2006), a community of practice is a group of people involved in a social practice that defines their sense of belonging, regardless of their sociological traits (e.g., class, gender, ethnicity) or co-presence (e.g., place of living or workplace). A typical example is the community of practice of chess players, who define themselves by playing chess (the object level) and talking about chess and its philosophy (the meta-level): this process of collective sense-making builds their sense of belonging, which comprises specific cultural traits, including a jargon and a distinct sense of humour, often expressed through specific metaphors (Astori, 2015). In our case, it is the practice of using the planned language that forms the community (Janton, 1993). It is important to note that speakers of planned languages are always multilingual; in other words, monolingual speakers of planned languages do not exist. Therefore, belonging to a community of practice of a planned language implies practicing some form of multilingualism. In the case of Esperanto, attitudes towards multilingualism have changed dramatically over time. In particular, there is a stigma in applying code-switching and code-mixing strategies while speaking in Esperanto, represented by the metaphorical use of *rokodili*, i.e., “to behave like a crocodile” (Astori, 2015, p. 141).

While in the 20th century there were some consistent communities of practice for rival languages of Esperanto, such as Ido (Garvía, 2015), nowadays new communities of practice are formed around Hollywood languages, such as Dothraki (Gobbo, 2017; Peterson, 2015). In any case, there is a wide consensus that only Esperanto can be considered a fully-fledged planned language, because of the size of its community of practice. Estimates vary, but even the lowest figures number around 10,000 active speakers, while people being in contact with the language through online courses such as Duolingo (2017) are more than a million. Moreover, as of 2017, the community has enjoyed 130 years of uninterrupted use. Most commentators cite three factors for the relative success of Esperanto over its rivals. The first factor is its time of publication (1887), as all rivals appearing afterwards had to compete with an already established Movement (Large, 1985), i.e., a set of non-governmental institutions representing the language outside the community of practice as well as providing services for its members. The second and perhaps most important factor is the Esperanto language representation, that is, the discourse made by the Esperanto community of practice on the meta-level, expressed in discourse and documentation by members directly in the language itself. Language ideology is an important part of language representation, and is formed by the set of purposes, objectives and goals that supporters associate with the language itself, in response to the external public. The third factor is the linguistic structure of Esperanto, which is so clear and regular in its general lines that anyone can start to use it after a little study. The exact amount of time for acquisition varies according to a student’s repertoire, motivations, and other variables (Gobbo, 2017). In the rest of this article, we will mainly explore the second factor, which is the Esperanto language representation, examining how it was re-defined by the community of practice and presented to the general public according to the varying contexts of the times. In particular, the concept of ‘neutrality’, in a positive and negative sense, is discussed as well as how this relates to the image of the nation-state from Esperanto supporters’ point of view. Finally, the possible role of Esperanto in fostering social inclusion is investigated.

We can identify five main historical periods of the life of Esperanto: the pioneers’ period, when Zamenhof, the Esperanto language planner, was still alive (1887–1917); the interwar period, when a distinct left-winged Esperanto Movement emerged (1917–1939); the persecution period, when Esperanto was considered a “dangerous language” (Lins, 2017) by totalitarian regimes and persecuted during the Second World War (1939–1945); the modern period, when the Esperanto Movement was reconstructed in the aftermath of the war (since 1946). While it is possible to distinguish different sub-periods after the Second World War, for the purpose of this paper a uniform modern period suffices.

2. Zamenhof's Philosophy of 'Neutrally-Human Language'

To understand a planned language, it is necessary to start with the language planner, whose role is crucial, especially after publication. After publication the first phase of the vitality of the planned language starts, when it is just a project. Ludvig Lejzer Zamenhof was born in Białystok in 1859. At that time Poland did not exist on the political map of Europe, being part of the Tsarist Russia. As he recalled in a famous letter, his city was divided into four ethnic groups and religions as well: the Jews, who were the majority and who practiced their own religion; the Russians, who held the political power, Orthodox Christians and Catholic Poles, who struggled for political independence; and finally, a minority group of German Protestants. According to Zamenhof's biographer, Korzhenkov (2010), Esperanto was only part of a larger philosophical project which aimed at renewing humankind. Zamenhof, looking through the lens of the Haskalah movement, the Jewish version of the Enlightenment, saw two barriers that impeded human beings from living in "perpetual peace" as postulated by Immanuel Kant: the diversity of religions and the diversity of languages. As a Jew, he initially proposed his philosophical project to his own people. He envisioned Jews as founding Israel on the banks of the Mississippi River, similar to what the Mormons had already done in Utah. He thought they should speak a new language that reflected the Slavic-Germanic spirit of Yiddish as well as the Sefardi languages, which were influenced by Romance languages and Greek. Jews and non-Jews alike were to learn this language to communicate on an equal footing, thus promoting a "neutrally-human" culture. This kind of culture was to be based on the universal values of monotheistic religions, with neutral rituals, calendars, temples and festivities to be shared by all the believers of monotheistic religions. The adepts of this way of life would form speech communities in urban areas of tolerant countries, such as Switzerland. Zamenhof initially published his proposal in Russian, calling his moral philosophy 'Hillelism'. The name comes from Hillel the Elder, an important Jewish figure at the time of Jesus (Cherpillod, 2005). Zamenhof believed that Hillelists—the adepts of Hillelism—would all be multilingual, speaking Esperanto in their circle, the language(s) of their hosting culture in the public sphere and their heritage languages among family members. However, Hillelism was of limited interest to Jews living in Russia in the last part of the 19th century, as proto-Zionism held more appeal for them.

Hillelism was Zamenhof's solution to the Jewish question, where Jews and non-Jews could live side-by-side in peace and respect for each other. That solution appeared unrealistic to most Jews at that time. There is some parallelism between the revitalization of Hebrew and the promotion of Esperanto, as both proto-Zionism and the Esperanto Movements were formed in the same years (Halperin, 2012, Künzli, 2010). Zamenhof

played a minor role in Zionism's early days (Gishron, 1986; Holzhaus, 1969; Maimon, 1978). Unlike Eliezer Ben-Yehudah, the father of Modern Hebrew, Zamenhof did not believe that Hebrew could be fully revitalized. History proved Zamenhof wrong, as Modern Hebrew is now a fully naturalized language (Berdichevsky, 2014). The more the destinies of Jews were linked with Palestine and Israel's foundation of Israel there, the more Hillelism lost its appeal among (Russian) Jews, and the more Zamenhof took distance from Zionism. In the last years of his life, Zamenhof re-defined his philosophy in a new form, without any reference to Jewishness. The new version of his moral philosophy was named Homaranismo, which is Esperanto for "a brotherhood of humanity", and, although published in Esperanto, Zamenhof believed it should be transcribed in the major languages of the world, for its message was not limited to the Esperanto community (Korzhenkov, 2010). In this new version, there were no more references to neutral temples or to calendars or speech communities to be formed: the whole philosophical proposal became a code of conduct for single individuals rather than a political project. It proposed a sort of practical monotheism, suitable for both believers and non-believers. The role of the other languages is unclear; however, the more Esperanto was spoken, the less the other languages would be used for international communication. In any case, Zamenhof's efforts were mainly directed to promoting his "neutrally-human language". By 'neutrality' Zamenhof meant that the language belonged to anyone who wanted to adopt it, regardless of his or her nationality or religious beliefs: Esperanto speakers would not converse as members of a definite nation but in a big human family circle, like brothers and sisters. Though not strictly a political stand, the consequences of this position proved to be very controversial, resulting in Esperanto becoming the language of pacifism and anti-chauvinism.

According to Van Parijs' view of global linguistic justice, Esperanto is not a neutral language, as it is "very far from being neutral in the demanding sense of being equidistant from all existing languages" (Van Parijs, 2011, p. 40). We have one such language, Loglan (Cooke Brown, 1960), based on a statistical equidistance from all languages of the world. Its spectacular failure—along with its offspring Lojban—shows that planning a language on a statistical basis results in an idiom so obscure and cryptic that it lacks any appeal for learning (for an account, see Okrent, 2010). Esperanto's main rivals in the 20th century almost invariably eliminated its Slavic and drastically reduced its Germanic traits, citing Latin and Romance languages as the foundation of Western civilization. Most language planners were intellectuals and scholars living in Western countries, such as France or the United States. On the contrary Zamenhof's primary target population were Jews and non-Jews living in Europe, speaking Germanic, Slavic and Romance languages, the three language family groups which Esperanto is based on, at least for its lexicon (Gledhill, 2000, p. 20).

Compared to its rivals, Esperanto is more neutral than its rivals.

We argue that we should distinguish *absolute* neutrality, i.e., the “equidistance” advocated by Van Parijs, from *ethnic* neutrality. Absolute neutrality is virtually impossible, as nobody knows all the 7,099 living languages (Simons & Fennig, 2017). Ethnic neutrality implies that the language belongs to its community of practice, as defined above, where ethnicity plays no part in acceptance by the group. The Esperanto Movement built its language representation and ideology upon this ethnic neutrality. Absolute neutrality, though theoretically appealing, is infeasible and should be discarded.

3. The Definition of Neutrality in the Pioneer Esperanto Movement

The Esperanto Movement is the collection of men and women—the latter being a consistent percentage (33% circa) of the total since its early days (Garvía, 2015)—belonging to the Esperanto community of practice (i.e., Esperanto speakers) as well as the “friends” of the language, i.e., people who may or may not use the language but nevertheless support the idea (i.e., Esperantists). It is important to emphasize that Zamenhof’s philosophy was rejected by the vast majority of his contemporaries as being too radical, and in particular a possible threat to the Westphalian model as cited in the Introduction. Therefore, Esperanto became a home for very different ideologies linked to the languages, according to varying historical contexts. In other words, the only prerequisite for belonging to the Esperanto Movement was to support the language without introducing structural changes that could jeopardize the consistency of the language itself. Changing a part of the grammar, for example the pronominal system and the gender balance, would constitute *de facto* a new planned language project derived from Esperanto. In the first decades of the 20th century there were dozens of such projects, variably called “reforms” or “improvements” of Esperanto (Garvía, 2015). In particular, one of them, Ido, gained the attention of some European scholars and intellectuals until the First World War (Gordin, 2015). While rivals were challenging the existence of Zamenhof’s creation, the Esperanto Movement started to define Esperantism, i.e., its language ideology as articulated by its supporters. A key trait of the mainstream Esperantism is political and ideological neutrality. In fact, in the first World Esperanto Congress organized in Boulogne-sur-Mer, France, in 1905, participants formulated the Declaration of Esperantism, in which Article 1 states:

Esperantism is the endeavour to spread worldwide the use of this neutral, human language which, “not intruding upon the personal life of peoples and in no way aiming to replace existing national languages”, would give to people of different nations the ability to understand each other [...] All other ideals or

hopes tied to Esperantism by any Esperantist is his or her purely private affair, for which Esperantism is not responsible. (Dietterle, 1929, p. 237, my translation from Esperanto)

Moreover, the Declaration of Esperantism (1905) states that Esperanto is nobody’s property, in other words nobody can claim a copyright or put a trademark on the language. The text of the Declaration was left ambiguous in two key areas: first, how the Esperanto Movement was to influence the world in the public sphere; second, what the relation is between national identity and Esperanto identity. The word “Esperantist” is the traditional term used to indicate believers of Esperantism and therefore supporters of the Esperanto Movement, even if they do not actively use the language. This term is sometimes contested by some Esperanto speakers, who define themselves “Esperantophones”, to emphasize their belonging to the community of practice while not sharing the ideals of the Esperanto Movement. For them, the value of Esperanto depends on the language itself and in its active use, regardless of its impact on the world outside the community.

Since 1905, the debate within the Esperanto Movement has raged as to what exactly “neutral language” means (Sikosek, 2006). Francophone Esperantists, the most important groups in the early days of the 20th century, came up with two different interpretations of neutralism based on the Declaration in Boulogne: Swiss neutralism and French neutralism. The key figure of the first interpretation was Hector Hodler, who founded the Universal Esperanto Association (UEA) in Geneva, in 1908. For him, the UEA was to be the “Red Cross of the Soul”, and membership was granted on an individual basis. His aim was to establish a network of “consuls” (*kon-suloj*) to provide service for travelling Esperanto speakers, as well as a network of “cultural Esperanto centres” (KCE, *Kultura Centro Esperantista*) where to run year-long cultural programs in Esperanto and language courses—something similar to the modern British Council for English or the Goethe-Institut for German. For Hodler, ethnicity in general and nationality in particular were not to play special roles in being Esperantist. The multilingualism of Esperanto speakers was taken for granted.

Esperantists in France had a different interpretation. As of the year 1900, the majority of Esperantists were no longer citizens of Russian territories but French, according to the membership listing of Esperanto associations (Garvía, 2015). When the centre of the Esperanto Movement shifted to France, Zamenhof understood that his philosophy could not be accepted by Esperantists, so he stepped down from the leadership of the Esperanto Movement. The key figure of this second interpretation, i.e., French neutralism, was Louis de Beaufront, the “second father of Esperanto” (Korjenkov, 2015), who founded the Society for the Propagation of Esperanto (SPPE) in 1898. He stressed the practical utility of the language and succeeded in gaining the attention of impor-

tant figures in the French society of his time. His publications were mainly bilingual French-Esperanto, and Esperantists organized themselves in local clubs in cities and towns scattered around the country, with a national association as the head office (Garvía, 2015, p. 81). In his view, Esperantism was a secondary identity after nationality, and the organization of Esperanto Movement had to respect the borderlines lines of the political map, i.e., Esperantists had to be members of their own national Esperanto associations, not cosmopolitan associations like the UEA in Geneva. In other words, while Swiss neutralism emphasized Esperanto's role among individuals in creating a new world order in international relations, French neutralism considered the language as a bridge between nations, and perceived Esperanto as a commodity. In fact, French publications depicted the language as an instrument for doing things internationally in a more efficient way. Examples of this include publications of original scientific results, tourism, international commerce and diplomatic relations.

4. The Interwar Period: Non-Neutrality in the Esperanto Movement Arises

Since its beginning, Esperanto has attracted people who are inclined to change the world where they live through social engagement. For them, neither Esperanto's practical use (French neutralism) nor the vague secondary identity it conferred (Swiss neutralism) was enough. Instead, they saw the language as a means of advancing the world in a direction determined by an external ideology. We will consider collectively such Esperantisms as non-neutral. For example, the first nucleus of the International Vegetarian Movement met in Dresden in 1908, thanks to Esperantists who were also vegetarians (Sikosek, 2005). Perhaps the first consistent non-neutral Esperanto Movement was started by Catholics in 1902. Their idea was that the Christian Churches (Catholics, Protestant, Orthodox) could reunite by using a common language to spread the word of Christ (Matthias, 2002). There was a consistent presence of pacifists in the early days of the Esperanto Movement. Alcalde's research (2015a) showed that "we can find numerous supporters of the international language among the leaders of the main pacifist currents of the time: scientific pacifism, feminist pacifism, religious pacifism and proletarian internationalism". The World Esperanto Congress, planned for Paris in 1914 would have been the greatest congress of pacifists up to that time, but unfortunately it did not take place due to the outbreak of the First World War. Zamenhof died before the end of the war in 1917, some months before the Bolsheviks took power from the Tsar in Russia. His last public statement was very political: he published a bilingual Esperanto-English appeal to diplomats in 1915, urging the reconstruction of Europe along the lines of the United States of America. Esperanto—or another ethnically neutral language—would be the common language of the new

political entity, shaping its linguistic landscape in order to abolish:

Racial names of the countries...for the unfortunate name will not only seem to justify the most despicable interracial abuses in those countries of eastern Europe where the races are mingled, but even in more civilised countries it will always warp the judgement of even the most right-minded citizens, ever perpetuating in them the belief and impression that the country belongs only to that race whose name it bears, and all its other races are but aliens there. (Zamenhof, 1915, p. 55)

Zamenhof's worldview admitted national identities if they do not claim to be superior by nature to others. In other words, patriotism was tolerable but chauvinism had to be eradicated.

After the end of the First World War, a non-neutral Esperanto Movement emerged, based on the new ideas of internationalism, whose first concrete manifestation was the USSR. A left-winged Esperanto Movement grew alongside and rivalled the neutral one. Anarchists, but also Socialists and Communists considered Esperanto an instrument for the emancipation of the proletariat. Proletarians were not to speak "bourgeois languages", which are inevitably nationally-based, but rather an ethnically neutral language. A neutral language could prevent the idea of war, a bourgeois phantasy built into national languages (Caligaris, 2016, p. 80). The main association fostering this non-neutral political interpretation was SAT (Worldwide Association of Anationalists), founded in Prague in 1921, the same year when many Communist parties were founded across Europe. Its founder was Eügeno Lanti—his name being adapted to Esperanto, Lanti meaning "l'anti", lit. "the one against". Lanti programmatically wanted to denounce the UEA's brand of Swiss neutralism as well as the national-based French neutralism as hypocritical and counter-productive (Lanti, 1922). Unlike Zamenhof, he considered national identities an absolute Evil per se, and therefore to be eliminated. The case could be made that national languages should be eliminated too as a direct consequence. We should remember that at that time Marr's linguistic theories were popular in the Soviet Union. For Marr, multilingualism was formed by the presence of different social classes, and when the proletarians unified the world, monolingualism would finally be a reality, and the world would speak only Russian (Yaguello, 1991, pp. 67–81). During the 1920s the various left-wing Esperantisms were relatively successful, but with the rise of totalitarian regimes in many countries across Europe, most notably Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union, the two souls of the Esperanto Movements took different political directions. In fact, the neutral Esperanto Movement tried forging an impossible alliance with Hitler and Mussolini in the name of neutralism, but this did not prevent the Nazis and Fascists from banning Esperanto and its speakers.

Relations with the Soviet Union were more complex; in any case, Stalin clearly persecuted Esperantists as prime suspects for passing information across Soviet borders (Lins, 2017; Minnaja, 2007). The limits of the Declaration of Boulogne emerged with tragic clarity when Gestapo agents learned Esperanto in order to infiltrate Esperantist groups and eventually had them killed in lagers. The persecution of Esperantists in extermination camps and gulags would forever change the Esperanto language representation. First of all, Esperantists would start considering themselves as victims: second, persecutions strengthened the idea that Esperanto was not just an intellectual hobby but, on the contrary, relevant, otherwise totalitarianisms would not care about it. After the Second World War, the Esperanto Movement was forced to rethink itself and its language ideology. The Second World War also demarcated a boundary in the relations between Esperanto and national identities: although Zamenhof tolerated patriotism and Swiss and French neutralisms did not contest the existence and relevance of nation-states, it is also true that the Esperanto ideology in all its facets proved to be incompatible with any form of racism, racial supremacy, and xenophobia.

5. The Modern Esperanto Movement: From the Language Problem to the Acknowledgement of Multilingualism

Eventually, in re-defining the Esperanto Movement, the French interpretation won over that of the Swiss one: nation-state boundaries became an unquestioned reality that re-formed the Esperanto Movement internally. The new worldwide association leading the Esperanto Movement since then has retained Hodler's original name for it, the UEA. It has acted as an international headquarters while at the same time accepting national Esperanto associations—along with their local clubs. The key figure of the new UEA was Ivo Lapenna. He wanted Esperanto to become a working language of the UN, using his personal contacts with diplomats. He did not succeed, but managed to obtain a resolution in 1954 (Resolution IV.4.422–4224) in favour of Esperanto because its results “correspond with the aims and ideals of Unesco”. The UEA, thanks to his work, started to be in “Consultative arrangements with UNESCO 1962 Category B”. Lapenna was fiercely against Communism, so UEA sided with the West under his leadership. Moreover, the UEA started to act as the point of reference for the national Esperanto associations on an international level: while the former had their respective nation-states as their horizon, UEA would deal with international institutions mainly. Consequently, Esperanto discourse recognized the role of the nation-state, and therefore it became normal to say “Dutch Esperantists” or “Italian Esperantists”. Notably, the Esperanto political map does not always coincide with nation-state boundaries, as the cases of the Scottish and Catalan Esperanto societies demonstrate. In any case, even with these important exceptions, the re-

ality of nation-states and the concept of nation in general would no longer be disputed. Unfortunately, the left-wing of the Esperanto Movement was drastically reduced in numbers after the Second World War, and this led to the crisis of SAT, Eŭgeno Lanti's association, which would never again challenge UEA's leadership as the most important institution of the Esperanto world. To sign up as a member of both SAT and UEA became not unusual, unlike what had happened before the war. Lapenna did not consider Esperanto a variable in a multilingual panorama. He concentrated exclusively on formal relations among nation-states. He argued that the acceptance of a single national language for international communication was unrealistic, as the other nations would never accept it. Therefore, he considered multilingualism as a problem and Esperanto its solution (Lapenna, Lins, & Carlevaro, 1974). After a decade, it became clear that English was increasingly being accepted as the *de facto* lingua franca on the Western side of the Iron Curtain, while Russian was the lingua franca on the other side. The initial enthusiasm for a rapid acceptance of Esperanto for diplomatic relations began to fade, while a new generation of Esperantists proposed different perspectives for the language. In 1956, a distinct “youth movement”, the Worldwide Esperanto Youth Organization (TEJO), took shape within the UEA. In 1969, during a meeting of young Esperantists, the Declaration of Tyresö was signed, proposing a new interpretation of Esperantism.

If we apply with consistence the concept of conserving the integrity of individuals, you will condemn linguistic and cultural discriminations in any form, and also the so-called solution of the language problem, which is based on discrimination, and we find that until now we have not paid enough attention to the destruction of the cultural and linguistic background of many peoples. This destruction is nothing less than a tool of linguistic imperialism. (in Tonkin, 2006, p. 151, my translation from Esperanto)

This directly contrasts with Lapenna's view (see the “so-called solution” phrase) while also proposing Esperanto to protect minority language rights—even if it was unclear how to do this in practice. Since 1974, the most influential person in the Esperanto Movement is Humphrey Tonkin, who, beside his commitment to Esperanto, spent most of his academic career at the University of Hartford. He fostered the relationship between the Esperanto Movement and language rights. The organization of the renewed Esperanto Movement adhered to the political map of nation-states and therefore in principle was not particularly consistent in sustaining the rights of minority languages. However, there are some interesting exceptions: Catalan and Scottish associations do exist, distinct from Spanish and British respectively. Pietiläinen (2010) analyses the discourse regarding multilingualism in Esperanto publications. He found that in the 1970's there was Soviet influence in several Esperanto

circles that denied the very existence of language conflicts in socialist states. Thus, the only remaining struggle for Esperantists on both sides of the Iron Curtain was the fight against the spread of English. In 1980 a new collective document came out by the new generation of young Esperantists, called Rauma Manifesto, from the town in Finland where it was signed. Their point of departure was the failure of the previous generations to get Esperanto officially recognized as a working language at the level of international institutions. Its role in UNESCO yielded no concrete results, apart from the mere recognition of the language by an external institution. The Rauma Manifesto was the most debated document in the Movement for at least twenty years, creating two ideological parties pro and con “Raumism”, the ideology underlying it. Such a split had never occurred before, at least within the neutral Esperanto Movement. The following passage explains what and why it happened:

We believe that...the downfall of English is neither a task nor a concern of Esperantists: in the end English merely plays the role of an auxiliary language, like French in its time...: Zamenhof never proposed that the Movement fight against French, because he had in mind another, more valuable, alternative role for Esperanto....Esperantisticity [sic] is almost the same as belonging to a self-elected, diasporic, linguistic minority. (in Pietiläinen, 2010, p. 785, my translation from Esperanto)

The situation of the Jewish people before the foundation of Israel, the Diaspora, was used here as a metaphor for Esperanto speakers as a people with a language but no home. However, important distinctions should be made. In particular, attempts to find a territory to set up a state for Esperantists have sporadically been made for tiny territories, such as the Neutral Moresnet (Dröge, 2016), or the Island of the Rose (Astori, 2011), but have never been taken seriously by Esperantists. In particular, no Esperantist really moved there, like Jews did to Palestine. There is no “question of the land” here: *Esperantujo*, Esperanto Land, is a place of the heart, not a piece of territory on the map unlike the settling of Jews in Palestine, unlike the diaspora where people were forced to move away from a distinct piece of land they considered home. A possible source of this confusion might be found if the Esperanto community of practice is identified with speech communities of traditional minority languages in Europe such as the Welsh in Britain or the Frisians in the Netherlands. However, speech communities are defined not only by language but also by non-linguistic variables such as ethnicity, birthplace, family bonds, religious habits, cooking traditions and so on: no such variables are part of the Esperanto identity. In order to overcome the existence of two ideological parties pro and con “Raumism”, a new Manifesto was needed. Some elements of the Raumism had to be integrated with the mainstream neutralism. A new Manifesto was signed in Prague in 1996 and re-

mains the final word regarding the language representation of Esperantists. More than twenty years after its publication, there has been no serious ideological debate as to its currency. And with it, for the first time an Esperantist Manifesto was published not only in Esperanto but also in several languages of the world, minority languages included, validating Tonkin’s linking of Esperanto to human rights in general and linguistic rights in particular. In particular, Alcalde (2015b) frames the scholarly work on Esperanto in the field of linguistic justice in a way that suggests that post-Raumist ideology is highly compatible with the school of thought of multiculturalism represented by authors like Kymlicka, or Patten’s classification of language rights. In the current debate on linguistic justice, Esperanto represents an alternative point of view to the idea that the spread of English as a global lingua franca leads to more social inclusion. In the internal discourse about Esperanto, some supporters even claim that on the contrary, English leads to a kind of global diglossia, increasing the gap between the elites and the masses, while Esperanto can be mastered in considerably short time compared to English, so that this diglottic situation would not appear if Esperanto was more commonly used.

In any case, analysis of the Prague Manifesto shows that Zamenhof’s ideals still underlie Esperanto language representation. No more is it considered a commodity by its supporters, as the Declaration of Boulogne seemed to suggest (Gobbo, 2016). In the last few decades attitudes toward multilingualism have deeply changed. According to Caligaris’s (2016) sociolinguistic research of Esperanto speakers, multilingualism is considered a positive value per se within the Esperanto community of practice. The importance of language rights also seems to be widely recognized by Esperanto speakers, according to the data. Unfortunately, more comprehensive surveys on this topic are still not available to confirm Caligaris’ results. However, Font’s survey (2012) of Catalan Esperantists confirms the relatively high degree of multilingualism among Esperanto speakers, which had already been found in previous local studies on German and Flemish Esperantists. On average, an Esperanto speaker’s repertoire consists of 3.3 languages, something they are all proud of (Font, 2012, p. 27). The latest generation of Esperanto speakers seems to understand the current situation of multilingualism in terms of ‘glocalization’ (Bastardas i Boada, 2012) which consists of *globalization*, which emphasises the role of English worldwide as no other language in the history of humankind, and *localization*, where various movements in support of traditional minority languages challenge the Westphalian model of nation-state from within. Parallely there is support for the rights of new minority communities formed as a result of mobility, in particular, forced migration. Esperanto now is increasingly considered a linguistic tool for communication in a scenario of complex multilingualism, but no longer the one-shot solution for all language problems. Since the time of Lapenna, not to mention

that of its pioneers, the Esperanto Movement has come a long way.

6. Conclusions

Analysis of the Esperanto community's language ideology over the course of more than a century reveals a rich palette of political colours, and a considerable amount of evolution. If religion played a distinct role in Zamenhof's vision, the language representation has tended to downplay it since then. The mainstream Esperanto Movement has always fostered neutralism, as well as the ethnic neutrality postulated by Zamenhof after his original philosophical project, Hillelism, failed. Although his influence is still relevant to the ideological discourse of the language, several contributions were brought in by succeeding leaders. Persecutions during the Second World War had a considerable impact: the left-winged ideas were pushed to the periphery of the Movement, while the existence of the nation-states was no longer challenged. Esperantists nowadays find and form themselves in groups within the concept of nation. Meanwhile, relations between linguistic minorities and Esperanto are still unclear, as Esperanto is the official language of no state, so, in some sense, it is similar to minority languages, and above all it is unclear how it can help the cause of minority languages in concrete terms. Table 1 sums up the main ideological viewpoints within the mainstream Esperanto Movement contrasted with Lanti's Anationalism.

A counter-intuitive finding is that Esperanto's language ideology nowadays seems to be saying that it does not pose a threat to national social cohesion

but supports the idea of multilingualism—if it includes Esperanto—as reinforcing mild nationalism, in a framework of multiculturalism and mutual respect for everyone's language diversity. In the current scholarly literature on the actual crisis of the Westphalian model, the contribution of the Esperanto Movement should not be underestimated, as it represents an original perspective on many issues and in particular on linguistic justice.

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Conflict of Interests

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Table 1. The importance of nationality and religion within the mainstream Esperanto Movement across time.

Position	Year	Main level of action	Nationality	Religion
Zamenhof's Hillelism	1901	Individual > national	Tolerated (to be overcome in the long run)	New monotheistic cult
Internal idea	1905	Underspecified	Respected	Irrelevant
Swiss neutralism	1908	Individual > national	Ignored	Irrelevant
French neutralism	1911	Individual < national	Respected	Respected
Zamenhof's Homaranismo	1913	Individual > national	Respected (inside multicultural federations)	Practical monotheism
Lanti's Anationalism	1921	Individual > national	To be overcome through Esperanto	To be overcome
Lapenna's neutralism	1948	Individual < national	Respected (against Fascism and Communism)	Respected
Tonkin's neutralism	1974	Individual < national	Respected (inside language rights for minorities)	Irrelevant
Raumism	1980	Individual > national	Irrelevant (Esperanto speakers are a minority)	Irrelevant
Prague neutralism	1996	Individual < national	Respected (Esperantism in 7 key concepts)	Irrelevant

Notes: years indicate the moments of publications; reformulations thereafter are ignored.

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Article

Politics of Multilingualism in Roma Education in Early Soviet Union and Its Current Projections

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Abstract

This article presents the history of the politics of multilingualism (or lack thereof) in regard to Roma (formerly known as ‘Gypsies’). In the 1920s and 1930s in the newly established Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, against a backdrop of proclaimed principles of full equality of all peoples¹ living in the new state, commenced a rapid creation of schools for Roma children with instruction in Romani mother-tongue along with special training of Roma teachers. The results achieved were impressive in regard to the general literacy of Roma communities, but nevertheless in 1938 the ‘Gypsy schools’ have been closed and Roma children were enrolled into mainstream schools lacking any elements of multilingualism. After World War II individual countries of Eastern Europe implemented various forms of special education for Roma children, neither of which however with elements of multilingualism. Only after the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, in the conditions of transition and the subsequent Euro-integration, various singular countries in the region have developed individual elements of multilingualism and educational policies targeting Roma children (e.g., introducing under various forms a Romani language instruction). Sporadically there even appeared proposals for teaching instruction conducted entirely in Roma mother-tongue, which were debated and rejected (including by Roma themselves).

Keywords

education; Gypsies; language; multilingualism; Roma; Romani language; school; USSR

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1. Introduction

The so-called Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917 and the subsequent Civil War (1918–1921) led to radical social changes. The former Russian Empire was replaced by a new, fundamentally different state, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, officially as of 1922), characterised by new economic relations, social structure and reality. The authorities started to pay more attention to the national and ethnic issues in this vast coun-

try populated by tens of different peoples. The dominant Government line towards these issues was the ‘Leninist’ national policy (designated in contemporary academia usually as ‘Korenizatsiya’²), based on the principles of equal rights for the individual peoples of the USSR and comprehensive support for their national development, including the creation of a written language and literature for those people that have been lacking it until then (Hirsch, 2005; Martin, 2001; Slezkine, 1994; Suny & Martin, 2002;). These fundamental principles, however,

¹ The term ‘narod’ used in the Soviet Union is translated here as ‘people’, to designate nation, nationality, ethnic group, citizens, etc. For historical accuracy, we keep this term also later in the text.

² ‘Korenizatsiya’ translated literally from Russian is ‘putting down roots’. It corresponds to the Russian term ‘korennoe naselenie’ [root population] used for native/indigenous population. The policy of ‘korenizatsiya’ implied promotion of indigenous people, development and introduction of local languages, and support of native culture.

were applied differently, depending on the specific interests of each Soviet state and those of the individual communities. A typical example in this regard is the national policy in the USSR regarding Gypsies.

At this point a terminological clarification is needed. In the Russian Empire, and later on also in the USSR, the official name of the community is Tsygane, usually translated into English as ‘Gypsies’ (in spite of some differences in the meaning of this word). The designation Tsygane, however, includes not only Roma communities (and small number of Sinti merging with Roma), but also the Lom (named by the surrounding population Boshha or Posha) and Dom (named by the surrounding population Garachi or Karachi) communities in the South Caucasus, as well as Mughat (named by the surrounding population Lyuli or Jughi) and other ‘Gypsy-like’ communities (Mazang, Tavoktarosh or Sogutarosh, Agha, etc.) in Central Asia (Marushiakova & Popov, 2016). The policy of the Soviet state, however, in practice was directed almost exclusively at Roma (and only to a lesser extent, to other communities), i.e., in this particular case the terms Roma and Gypsies can be regarded and used as synonyms; and, therefore, in the text below we will stick to the terminology of the sources.

According to the 1926 population Census in the USSR, the total number of Gypsies at the time was 61,299, of whom 64.2% (40,900 people) identified Romani language (Romanes) as their mother tongue; a relatively small number of Gypsies, 20.9%, lived in towns and cities, more than two-thirds of them were still nomadic (Crowe, 1996, pp. 175–176; *Perepisi naselenia Rossiiskoi...*, 2012; Wixman, 1984, p. 40). The Gypsies, who were city dwellers, were in their vast majority members of the Gypsy musical and artistic elite established already in the times of the Russian Empire and closely linked to the top social estates in the former Russian Empire. Palpable, those Gypsies who lived in the large cities were the first who started to be engaged with social and political activities in the new state. They were the first ones to go under the banner of the new communist, proletarian ideology. Under the control and by the practical guidance of the Communist Party and the Soviet state in 1925 was established the *All-Russian Union of Gypsies* (Crowe, 1996, p. 192; Druts & Gessler, 1990, p. 281; Kalinin, 2005, p. 36; Kenrick, 2007, p. 259; O’Keeffe, 2013, p. 41; Rom-Lebedev, 1990, p. 163), an organisation which existed only for a relatively short period of time but nevertheless succeeded to accomplish numerous tasks. It was dissolved by a Decree of the People’s Commissariat for Internal Affairs from 15 February 1928 (Demeter, Bessonov, & Kutenkov, 2000, p. 205; Druts & Gessler, 1990, p. 281; O’Keeffe, 2013, p. 60), but most of the *All-Russian Union of Gypsies* members, including the bulk of its leadership, continued to be involved in Soviet policy in different ways. In fact, the dissolution of the Union did

not influence the Government’s policies towards Roma, and even more, this policy became quite more active and more efficient.

2. Codification of Romani Language and Romani Literature in USSR

An important component of the national policy of the Soviet state with regard to the Gypsies was the development of a standardised codified Romani language and literature and, on that basis, the comprehensive education of the Gypsies. Similar policies for the creation of a written language and literature applied then for many other peoples, but what makes the Gypsy case unique is that unlike other ethnicities without own codified written language the Gypsies didn’t live compactly on a certain administrative territory and the majority of them led a nomadic way of life. Thus, education could encompass relatively easy only a small segment of Roma—those who lived in cities or in collective farms, the so-called kolkhozes, dispersed on the vast territory of the new state.

Gypsy education was set to develop on the basis of own language, which until then existed only as oral one; thus, the primary task became the issue of turning the Romani language into a literary writing language. On 8 June 1925, the daily broadsheet newspaper *Izvestia*³ [in translation ‘delivered messages’], a newspaper which expressed the official views of the Soviet government (as published by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR) issued an article devoted to the development of literature and international relations. This article expressly listed Gypsies among these peoples who are entitled to receive education in their own language. In 1926 a research section was set up at the *All-Russian Union of Gypsies*, which however failed to do any substantive work. Activities became more substantive when the Government stepped in. In 1926 again the *Izvestia* newspaper published an article ‘Ob obraztsakh tsiganskoy pismennosti’ [On the samples of the Gypsy script], which described the first version of the Gypsy alphabet, and standardised and codified language developed by Nikolay Pankov and Nina Dudarova on the basis of the dialect of the Ruska Roma (Kalinin, 2005, p. 42).

After Anatoliy Lunacharskiy, the head of the People’s Commissariat on Education (Narkompros) of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, issued the Decree on Creating a Gypsy Alphabet on 10 May 1927 (O’Keeffe, 2013, pp. 79–80), there was a meeting between representatives of *Glavnauka* [The Chief Directorate of Science at the Narkompros], *Sovnatsmen* [The Council on National Minorities] and the *All-Russian Union of Gypsies*. At the meeting, which was held in May 1927, it was decided to develop a Gypsy alphabet on the basis of the Russian alphabet and a Committee was established to work

³ The full title of the Newspaper during this period of time (1923–1938) is *Izvestiya TSIK SSSR i VTSIK Sovetov rabochikh, krestyanskikh, krasnoarmeyskikh i kazachikh deputatov* [Delivered messages of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers’, Peasants’, Red Army and Cossack Deputies].

on the development of the Gypsy literary language. The committee consisted of Prof. Maxim Sergievskiy from Moscow State University, his assistant Tatyana Venttsel, N. Rogozhev, and two All-Russian Union of Gypsies members—Nikolay Pankov and Nina Dudarova (Druts & Gessler, 1990, p. 295). A Commission on Gypsy Studies was established in 1927. The Commission was a division of the Institute for Teaching Methods and was responsible for coordinating teaching and publishing activities of works in Romani language.

The Commission was quite active. Prof. Maxim Sergievskiy prepared a Gypsy Grammar (Sergievskiy, 1931), followed by a Gypsy-Russian Dictionary compiled by Maxim Sergievskiy and Aleksey Barannikov (1938) under the editorship of Nikolay Pankov. The *Romany Zoria* [Gypsy Dawn] journal came out in 1927, with a total of four issues (published at irregular intervals). In 1930 this magazine was replaced by the *Nevo Drom* [New Way] which had 24 issues by 1932. In 1932 the first (and last) issue of the *Butiaritko Rom* [The Working Gypsy] journal (Kalinin, 2005, p. 43) was published. The journals were written exclusively in the Romani language and contained all sorts and all literature genres including Gypsy folklore and literary works.

Publishing literature in the Romani language was a quite impressive activity. A Gypsy department was set up at the Tsentrizdat [The Central Publishing House] in 1930. It published the following main types of literature: socio-political; Marxist and Leninist; kolkhoz; industrial and technical; popular science; fiction (by Gypsy authors or translations in Romani of classics). By 1932 there were already Gypsy departments in four other publishing houses: Selkolkhozgiz, publishing books and brochures about kolkhoz-related and agricultural issues; Molodaya Gvardia—publications for students and young people, established by the initiative of the Central Committee of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League; GIHLO [State Publishing House for Fiction]; and Uchpedgiz—text books and teaching aids for Gypsy schools and for adult training. In 1936 a total of eight publishing houses had published books in the Romani language (Kalinin, 2005, p. 49).

The total number of books issued in Romani language between 1931 and 1938 was around 250 (Rusakov & Kalinin, 2006, pp. 266–287; Zahova, 2014, pp. 130–141). These publications were diverse; quite a few of them were Soviet-era propaganda with revealing titles, e.g., *Amaro znamyo—Lenino* [Our Banner—Lenin], *Rakiribe vash leninizmo* [Conversation about Leninism], *Palo vlast Soveten* [About the Soviets' Rule], *Koli vrago na zdelape les haskirna* [which is translation of the famous article by Maxim Gorky, *If the Enemy Does Not Surrender He Is Destroyed*], *So diya sovetsko vlast Romanechyake* [What the Soviet Rule Gave to the Gypsy Girls], etc. (Anonymus, 1933; Bezlyudsko, 1932a; Dudarova, 1929; Gorky, 1931; Karpinsko, 1934).

There were many literary works which aimed at educating Gypsies about kolkhozes, agriculture, various as-

pects of factory work and different occupations. A number of publications were dedicated to practical problems in the life of a Gypsy family, e.g., *Pervo pomoshch dro nabahtalo sluchyai* [First Aid in Case of an Accident], *Dzhyuvlyakiri gigiena* [Women's Hygiene], etc. (Berlyando, 1931; Levi, 1935). There were, however, some educational publications which could hardly be expected to be of any pragmatic interest to Gypsy readers, such as *Pal mamontoste* [About the Mammoth], *Dre rozrodibe palo timinitka minerali te rudi* [On the Extraction of Useful Minerals and Ores], etc. (Fedorovskiy, 1933; Dmitriev, 1935). The fiction that was published contained many translations in Romani of classics, such as books by Alexander Pushkin (short novels, fairy tales, the famous Poem 'Gypsies'), Lev Tolstoy, Prosper Merimee (*Carmen*), Maxim Gorky (including *Makar Chudra*), etc. (e.g., Gorko, 1932; Merime, 1935; Pushkin, 1937a, 1937b; Tolstoy, 1933, 1936). There were also more than 40 published books by Roma authors, such as Aleksandar Germano (1930, 1931, 1932, 1934, 1935, 1938); Maxim Bezlyudsko (1932b, 1932c, 1933); Olga Pankova (1933, 1936, 1938); Ivan Rom-Lebedev (1930, 1931); Evdokiya Orlova (1933); Mariya Polyakova (1931); Alexey Svetlovo (1938); Ivan Khrustalyov (1936); Ilyinsko (1932, 1934); Georgiy Lebedevo (1930); and others. The genres of these books included mainly prose and poetry, and theatre plays. It even inspired the beginning of a new genre, which nowadays is especially popular in Romani literature—the comics, with the main character Rom Pupyрка (Polyakova, 1929, p. 49, 1930, p. 63).

There is no doubt that the literature published in the Romani language influenced the development of the Gypsy community. It touched however only a relatively limited layer of the community, concentrated mainly in Moscow. It's understandable that nomadic and illiterate then members of the Gypsy communities did not feel the need for such literature and that the Gypsy activists were unable to distribute the books widely among many of them. Thus, it is hardly any surprise that part of the literature in Romani never reached its intended readership from Gypsy communities and years after part of publications were discovered unopened in some funds of Moscow libraries.⁴ One may ask question why publications with such a low demand were released at all: was it a matter of short-sightedness of authorities, or it was matter of making a political point. The answer is in the spirit of the time: The Soviet government listed Gypsies among those people who are entitled to receive education and literacy in their own language. The prescribed national policy was to publish, and whether somebody read the publications did not matter.

3. Roma Education in Early Soviet Union

A great number of publications were devoted to issues of Gypsy education, and numerous textbooks and teaching aids appeared (till now we were able to dis-

⁴ This observation shared with us late Lev Cherenkov, renowned Romani Studies scholar, in June 2001.

cover 34 of them). A total of 13 primers on Romani language were published (Kalinin, 2005, p. 58), among them not only primers for pupils in Gypsy schools (e.g., Dudarova, 1932b, 1933; Dudarova & Pankov, 1930), but also for literacy of illiterate Roma adults (e.g., Dudarova, 1928, 1932a, 1934; Pankovo, 1934). The first published primer was *Nevo drom. Bukvaryo vash bare manushenge* [New Way. Primer for Adult People] by Nina Dudarova and Nikolay Pankov (1928), and this is the first-ever such publication for Gypsies in the world; the last one was *Lilvari piro romani chib* [Text-book on Roma Language] by Tatyana Venttsel and Aleksandar Germano (1937). Together with this, a number of textbooks in different school disciplines, like literature, mathematics, geography, natural and social sciences, etc. were published (e.g., Dudarova, 1933; Nikitino, Polyakovo & others, 1932; Pankovo, 1933; Taranovo, 1932; Terekhova & Erdely, 1934; Tetyurev, 1935).

Gypsy schools used textbooks and teaching aids were written in the dialect of Ruska Roma, which was codified and accepted as standard. This was understandable because in the early Soviet Union the group of Ruska Roma was the most numerous and majority of the Gypsy intelligentsia and activists originated from it. On the territory of the country lived however also other groups speaking different dialects of Romani, such as Servi and Vlaxi in Ukraine, Krimurya, relative new arrived groups of Kelderari and Lovari, small communities of Sinti, Kishiniovtsi, Plashchuni, and along with them non-Romani speaking Gypsy groups of Dayfa, Dom, Lom and Mughat. The members of these Gypsy groups found it more or less difficult to understand the dialect of Ruska Roma and this is why sporadic attempts were made to teach students by using a dialect they understood. Especially known is the work of P. Kravchenko, a teacher who worked in the boarding school at the *Krasniy Put* [The Red Road] kolkhoz near the town of Sumi, the Ukraine in 1931, and who taught his students in the dialect of Roma group of Servi (Kalinin, 2005, p. 50).

The second half of the 1920s witnessed a strong drive to bring literacy and education to adult Gypsies and to open Gypsy schools, crèches and kindergartens. Adult training was delivered in different ways: through the so-called *likbez* [i.e., eliminating illiteracy] actions—when through individual tutoring by members of *Komsomol* [Communist Youth Organisation] the adults were taught to read and write, and through opening evening classes. Gypsy schools and kindergartens however weren't separate educational establishments, they were often a distinct part of already existing schools. In Moscow, in 1932, functioned three Gypsy schools—in the Proletarskiy, Marina Roshcha and Zamoskvorechye districts. The number of Gypsy schools was unstable because new schools were constantly opened at many places; for instance in Gypsy kolkhozes, but some schools were soon after closed down due to different reasons, such as poor facilities, lack of skilled teachers, and Gypsy children's insufficient interest or because dissolution of individual

Gypsy kolkhozes. The total number of Gypsy schools (or smaller units called *Groups of Gypsy Children* having the same status as schools) which existed for some time in the USSR between 1926–1938 was 86. In 1938 there was one elementary school (up to 7th grade) and 25 primary Gypsy schools (up to 4th grade), as well as 12 separate *Groups of Gypsy Children* in some primary schools. In addition to these schools, there was a Gypsy boarding school (in the village of Serebryanka, near the town of Smolensk). *Groups of Gypsy Children* existed in two additional boarding schools and four children's homes (Druts & Gessler, 1990, pp. 297–299; Kalinin, 2005, pp. 51–52).

The instruction in Gypsy schools was supposed to be provided only in Romanes and this raised the issue of teacher training. The first Gypsy teachers were trained through Gypsy educational courses introduced in 1927 and were conducted by the first Roma teacher-trainers, Nina Dudarova and Nikolay Pankov. The *Qualification Enhancement Institute* in Moscow introduced Gypsy pedagogical courses in 1931. The first class consisted of 30 people who had been selected out of 80 candidates on the basis of a competitive examination. These courses were furthered by the so-called *Off-site accelerated summer courses* in Toropets (Kalinin Region), Nevel (Pskov Region), Serebrianka (near Smolensk), Harkov, Ivanovo, Saratov, Sverdlovsk, Leningrad, Orel... During the same year, a *Gypsy Department* was founded in the Pedagogical School in the town of Dorogobuzh (Smolensk Region). The department had two sections (training of educators and training of teachers) and total of 28 people had been trained (Bezlyudsko, 1932a; Druts & Gessler, 1990, pp. 299–300; Kalinin, 2005, pp. 53–54).

The training of teachers for Gypsy schools and the integration of Gypsy children into the educational system increased pace after the Decree of the Narcompros from 18 April 1932 'On the Measures to Boost Training and Education of Gypsy Children and Training Teachers for Gypsy Schools'. As a result of this Decree, the Gypsy pedagogical courses in Moscow were reorganised into a Pedagogical Vocational School with a Gypsy department. By 1938 the new vocational school had trained between 120 and 140 (different sources give different figures) Gypsy teachers (Druts & Gessler, 1990, p. 300; Kalinin, 2005, p. 54).

The work in the Gypsy schools was accompanied by some specific problems. The archives preserve a number of documents reflecting difficulties of these schools and of the Gypsy Pedagogical Vocational School (GARF, f. P-1235, o. 127, d. 8). On the one hand, the vocational school's management constantly asked for new premises or repairs of the old school equipment, for more students' scholarships, more places in student boarding houses, etc. On the other hand, however, there are numerous reports which communicate the attitude of Roma parents towards Gypsy schools. In many places in the country (and especially in the cities) the parents did not want their children to be educated in Gypsy schools; they preferred to send them to the mainstream schools,

which were thought to secure better inclusion in the society. These reports were the first warning about ushering of divergence in the visions for the development of Roma education (and more generally the overall development of the community) between the 'new Soviet Gypsy elite' and the 'broad Gypsy masses'.

Having been trained in Gypsy Pedagogical Vocational School, the teachers went to work in the countryside where they were supposed to develop the Gypsy schools. Important source of information about their work and also everyday tasks and problems encountered could be found in the letters exchanged between Nikolay Pankov (one of their trainers), and his students. The most often reported common problem was connected to local authorities who, because of an urgent need for trained teachers also for mainstream (often ethnically mixed) schools mostly in villages, preferred to use the teachers there and not to open new Gypsy schools. Thus, the majority of the trained Gypsy teachers did not in fact do what they had been trained for (to educate Gypsy children) (Druts & Gessler, 1990, pp. 305–306). To illustrate the above point, we may quote an excerpt from a letter to Nikolay Pankov written by Liuba Miholazhina, who went together with her husband, Dmitriy Kambovich, (also a graduate from the Gypsy pedagogical courses) to work in the Checheno-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, was appointed in local (non-Gypsy) school and was perceived by local population as ethnic Russian. What makes this letter interesting are the thoughts of the newly-created Gypsy intelligentsia and their social views on Soviet realities:

I strongly dislike those...who not only do not help their nation but also give it up. I managed to reach the level of the Russians and to prove that we do have abilities too. Now I am working in Caucasus and not among my Gypsies. What made me come here is that I wanted to learn about the life of the Caucasian people. It is very difficult and dangerous to live here. For example, an inspector was murdered today up in the mountains on his way to our regional centre Vedeno. There are many such occurrences here: murders, robberies, raped girls thrown down from the high banks into the river. Going out in the yard at night ... is dangerous because somebody may hit you on the head with a stone. They [the local Chechens—authors note] hate the Russians and treat us as conquerors. They have no idea about the existence of Gypsies and think that I am Russian. (Druts & Gessler, 1990, pp. 301–302)

4. The End of Romani Language Education in Soviet Union

The Government policy towards Gypsies changed radically in 1938. The National Commissariat for Education was reorganised and the responsibility for the peoples living outside own Federal Republics or Autonomous regions or for the people without own ethnic authorities

and administrative units was delegated to the authorities of their place of living. On 24 January 1938 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) issued a Memorandum on the Closing Down of Ethnic Schools and the Ethnic Sections in the Schools. This Memorandum ordered local authorities to close down 18 ethnic sections in the educational system and the existing schools of 16 different nationalities. The nationalities included in the list were selected according to different criteria and ranged from Armenians living outside the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, Poles and Germans to Kurds, Assyrians and Gypsies. At the end, all Gypsy schools were closed and the Gypsy children were transferred to the mainstream education system (Demeter et al., 2000, p. 207). The decision to close down the schools of 16 nationalities was a political one, and not based on study of the efficacy of mother-tongue medium teaching or studies comparing it with Russian (or other) medium teaching (and such studies were not conducted at all).

Along with this, the state supported publication of the books in the Romani language ceased and only sporadically folklore texts in academic publications continued to be published. Even the famous Theatre Romen began to use Russian during its performances with only some fragments and songs in Romanes. The new Soviet Gypsy elite accepted only unwillingly this radical change in the state policy. In 1938, the famous Gypsy educator Nikolay Pankov wrote a personal letter to Stalin trying to convince him about the need to continue the 'Gypsy cultural revolution', and to develop further the Romany language and literature, to involve the Gypsies in 'socially useful work', etc. (Druts & Gessler, 1990, p. 304). It was not before 1941 that NKVD (the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) representatives visited Nikolay Pankov to tell him that Comrade Stalin had read his letter and thanked him for it, but the situation didn't change (Kalinin, 2005, pp. 56-57). The graduates of the Gypsy pedagogical courses wrote similar letters too. There was no reply to these letters and there was no change in the state policy towards Gypsy mother tongue education until the collapse of the USSR in 1991.

Both in the past and even nowadays, the assessment of USSR's policies towards the Gypsies, including in the education system, remain highly politicised, often in the spirit of the Cold War, and is pointed as another crime of Stalinism against fundamental human rights (in this case human rights of the Gypsies). In context of our topic we are not discussing the issue from Human rights point of view, but as a unique historical experiment for the creation of a new codified written language for an illiterate internally heterogeneous community speaking different dialects and to establish a comprehensive education system for the education of Gypsy children in their Romani language.

Under the conditions of USSR, this experiment turned out to be unsuccessful, and it was relatively quickly abandoned. Explanations of this failure of Soviet

policy have to be sought in different directions. On the first place it is because the 'Gypsy issue' itself (i.e., the issue of the overall social integration of Gypsies in Soviet society) is too circumferential for Soviet national politics. After the 1930s, the Soviet state returned to it only in 1956, when a special Decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR 'For the inclusion to work of vagrant Gypsies' was passed. By virtue of this decree, the Gypsy nomads (majority of the Gypsies in the USSR at that time) were forced to settle and their speeded social integration (including in the field of education) was realised in a short period of time. The circumstance that Gypsy children were included in the education system without any use of teaching aids in their mother tongue appeared not to be a serious obstacle, and quickly a relatively small circle of Gypsy intelligentsia with good (including university) education came into being. The most famous among them was Professor Georgiy Demeter, Doctor of pedagogical sciences, author of the book *Lenin on the Protection of Workers' Health and Physical Culture* (Demeter, 1969), which underwent five reprints during the Soviet era and was translated into several languages within the former Soviet bloc (including even two translation into Vietnamese!).

5. Romani Language in Roma Education and Public Space after WWII

As far as the very idea of offering to the Gypsies a full-fledged education in their native language—it was completely forgotten soon, and not only in the USSR but worldwide. After the Second World War in the so-called Socialist camp in Eastern Europe, various special educational policies towards Roma were conducted, but none of them involved the use of their mother tongue in education. Similarly, several projects related to the education of local Gypsies were implemented in then Western Europe, but also without making use of the mother tongue in teaching. The first vague attempt at an international level to raise attention to the need of Romani language in schooling was made in 1971 at the meeting, which led to the creation of International Romani Union. Among decisions adopted by the meeting was:

It was agreed that all Gypsy children should receive education in Gypsy culture and (where it was still spoken) in the Romani language. Gypsy teachers should be appointed in schools with large numbers of Gypsy children, where the local population wanted this. Further research should be conducted into the value of caravan schools for nomadic groups. (Kenrick, 1971, p. 104)

The issue of learning and using the Romani mother tongue in the school system has become a reality again after the fall of the communist regimes in the countries of Central, Southeastern and Eastern Europe and the virtual collapse of the socialist camp after 1989. In most

of these countries, the right of the Roma (as well as of all other national minorities) to study their mother tongue within the general education system has become legislatively or even constitutionally guaranteed (Bakker & Rooker, 2001, pp. 1–37; Matras, 2005a, pp. 1–19). In practice, however, in the countries of the region this study is very limited and impermanent (Matras, 2005b, pp. 31–44). This is true even for Romania, where activities to introduce Roma language learning into education and teacher training are relatively more developed as a comprehensive system. In other countries, Romani language teaching is absent or incidental, realised in the framework of individual projects of international organisations (e.g., Save the Children) and mostly local NGOs. Similar project implementations and the introduction of Romani language in education flow in the same time in some countries in Western Europe, such as Sweden and Austria (Englund & Dalsbro, 2004; Halwachs, 2012a, 2012b).

Here it is necessary to make one important clarification that in these cases it is above all an issue of studying the Romani language within the educational system as an optional subject or in extracurricular forms and it is not about its wider application under different forms of multilingual education. Moreover, in the public sphere, the very idea of autonomous Romani schools with comprehensive education of Roma children entirely in their mother tongue (as it was in Early Soviet Union in 1920s and 1930s) is almost completely absent. It is not envisaged in the numerous national and European programs and strategies, nor in the NGO sector projects. We witnessed only two cases when the usefulness of autonomous Romani schools, versus integration into mainstream schools has been discussed at all. The first case we observed was in 1990 in Bulgaria when a non-Roma NGO (closely connected to renowned international organisation the Minority Rights Group) put the issue of autonomous Romani school as a requirement for the Bulgarian state. The second case is from the beginning of the 21st century, when a group of international Roma activists announced the upcoming opening of the International Roma University in the city of Košice (Slovakia) with full instruction in Romani language. In the latter case, it is obviously about a publicly expressed desire, which was expected to become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Except this announcement nothing more happened, and it has not become clear at all whether somebody really intended to establish such a university. Yet there was no serious public debate about an International Roma University neither in Romani circles, nor in the media. The first case, however, is more interesting because, immediately after the proposal was made, really a heated discussion among the Roma activists in Bulgaria started whether it is necessary to move towards a comprehensive education of Romani children in the Romani language or not. In the end, however, it turned out that almost all (with only one exception—the famous Roma leader Manush Romanov) Roma activists in Bulgaria categorically rejected this idea.

Their arguments were mainly pragmatic: it will be not only a very expensive, difficult and lengthy process, but it will not help the overall social integration of the Roma, on the contrary, it will even make it harder for them (because the pupils of this type of schools with Romani language teaching will be uncompetitive to their peers who have completed regular mainstream schools with Bulgarian language of instruction). In this way, it turned out that the very idea of comprehensive Romani language school instruction did not meet the support of the Roma community itself and its leaders (and even less of the authorities, who do not bother to discuss it at all), and it sank into oblivion.

Within the framework of national policies and projects of local authorities and the NGOs for the improvement of Roma education in the last quarter of a century have been issued a large number of various Roma-language teaching materials (cf. Bakker & Daval-Markussen, 2013; Bakker & Kyuchukov, 2003). This includes both mother tongue primers (e.g., Grigorchenko & Longvinyuk, 2008; Hübschmannová, 1998; Jusuf, 1996; Kyuchukov, Yanakiev, Malikov, & Penkov, 1993; Kyuchukov, Yanakiev, & Iliev 1995; Mănuș, 1996; Sarău, 1994; Zătreanu, 2001) as well as teaching materials with wider content, including materials on Roma history, folklore, literature, and even mathematics (Ionel & Costin-Ion, 1997, 1999; Kjučukov, 1997, 2000, 2001ab, 2002; Kruezi, 2003; Sarău, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c; Sarău & Stănescu, 2005). These teaching resources target the Roma in the respective countries (or in individual localities), but there are also internationally oriented materials supported by international institutions such as the Council of Europe (Kurtiade, 1992, 1994). Parallel with this in Romani are translated numerous texts, e.g., international, European and national human rights documents, charters, resolutions, reports, etc. Similarly to publications in Romani in early Soviet Union they are mostly unread.

The common thing also among all educational publications is that they all targets Roma with a command of literacy in their respective national or state language (Matras, 1999, p. 482), and are used only for a certain time and only by a limited circle of Roma children encompassed in frames of specific projects (or even are only published and are not used at all), and after completion of the projects concerned, they are abandoned and forgotten. The only exception here again is Romania, where the published teaching materials are in constant use, but also there only a relatively low number of Roma pupils are attracted (compared to the number of Roma children included into general education system).

Looking across national frameworks, the pan-European institutions (and primarily the European Commission and the Council of Europe) are eager to support, direct and coordinate the programs and the projects to improve Roma schooling, but face a number of problems, and little is achieved in this respect (see New, Hristo Kyuchukov, & de Villiers, 2017). The *European*

Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992) applies for Romani too and even more, Romani is included in the list of minority languages in need of protection and promotion. The Charter, however, is not signed or ratified by all member states of Council of Europe and only 16 states that have ratified it, apply it to Romani: Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Czech Republic, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Montenegro, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden, Ukraine. The Charter's education article (Part III, article 8) applies to even less countries: Bosnia and Herzegovina, parts of Germany, Hungary, Montenegro, Poland, Serbia and Slovakia (*Application of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages*, 2016); however, also there, a real implementation of the article 8 is yet to be achieved. Roma education is pointed as one of the main priorities in *EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies* (European Commission, 2011), and in the respective National Strategies too. The decision as to how and in which extent Roma language should be used in national education systems, however, remains a prerogative of individual states and the responsibility rests with individual governments, which in many cases are unwilling to deal with this issue at all. Therefore, despite numerous recommendations from linguists and educators pointing to the usefulness of learning mother tongue (cf., Matras, 2005b, p. 42), the European policy as a whole can be defined as very cautious and inconsistent.

Apart from the reluctance of the authorities, another significant obstacle for introducing Romani language as part of multilingual education is the lack of its standardisation and codification on a national and international level, despite long-standing discussions between Roma activists and numerous attempts in this direction (see Kyuchukov, 2016, pp. 63–80; Matras, 1999, pp. 481–502; Friedman, 2001, pp. 103–133). The only one exception is the Slovak Republic, where in 2008 Romani language was officially standardised with a state act, but nothing followed. In fact, Romani language continues to function as a system of more or less distinctive dialects (even within a country), and for large parts of the Roma in Central, Southeastern and Eastern Europe it is not a mother tongue at all, and their native language could be also Turkish, Greek, Albanian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Romanian, Hungarian, Ukrainian, etc. (Marushiakova & Popov, 2015, pp. 26–54). Even the alphabets used for writing the Romani language differ. Most commonly, in the teaching materials an adapted version of the country's alphabet is used, but there are some exceptions, for example, in Romania is used the uniform 'polylectal' Roma alphabet, created by the French linguist Marcel Courthiade (1992, p. 9), and in Bulgaria (in order to underline transnational character of Romani language) an adapted version of the Latin alphabet is used rather than Cyrillic used by Bulgarian speakers.

Nevertheless, in the absence of a standardised codified language, something like Romani lingua franca emerged during last 2–3 decades among small circle of

international Romani activist used for communication among speakers of different Roma dialects at gatherings in Budapest, Strasbourg, Brussel or elsewhere. Similar communicative lingua-franca, composed by mixture of dialects and/or using simultaneously more than one dialectal variety accompanied by introduction of adapted international words, is used also in written form (Matras, 1999, pp. 481–502). This is characterised by some linguist as ‘emergence of linguistic pluralism’ and use of the linguistic pluralism in Roma language policy, including in language education is recommended (Matras, 2005b, pp. 43–44). Till now, however, no official institution nor Roma organisations or Roma authors took a stand on this recommendation. Against this backdrop, however another proposal was made recently—to accept English language as an international language for the Roma around the world that will enable them to ‘build a truly international Romani community’ (Lee, 2017). According to the author of this proposal, this must be done through the programs of the Central European University in Budapest which are funded by the Open Society Institute of the famous billionaire George Soros and are central for Roma empowerment.

Returning to the issue of the use of the Romani language in the framework of the contemporary education system in Europe, it can be summed up that it is being implemented only on very limited scale and in diverse forms. The reasons for this state of affairs is varied, and they should not be confined to the reluctance of individual nation states to seriously engage in this issue and to difficulties connected with the specificities of Romani language and lack of trained teachers. This is only one side of the issue, but there is another one—the lack of real interest on the part of the Roma themselves in such a type of education where the teaching of the main subjects will be in the Romani language. This is not an expression of kind of aspirations for voluntary assimilation, but simply a pragmatic approach by parents to the future of their children, whose future professional and social realisation will inevitably be not within the Roma community but within the framework of a macro-society in which they live. Therefore, in the Central, Southeast and Eastern Europe it is common that parents deliberately decide not to speak in Romani with their young children wanting their first language to become the language of the country, in which they live and Romani to be their second language. Particularly noteworthy is that the leading Roma activists (both national and international ones) understand and share this position. The leading Romani political activists Andrzej Mirga and Nicolae Gheorghe wrote about the introduction of manuals for teaching Romani: ‘How will it enable these children to advance beyond their parents’ status in the future? What prospects will it open to them in a modern world ruled by achievement and competition?’; ‘the education in Romani language would strengthen their ethnicity, but it

would also limit opportunities for overcoming the inherited underdevelopment of the Roma and for diminishing the gap between them and the majority’ (Mirga & Gheorghe, 1997, p. 22).

6. Conclusion

As it became clear from what has been said so far, at this stage, the idea of an autonomous Roma education (as in the early USSR) is totally unacceptable for Roma themselves. The parents’ and main Roma activists’ reluctance to have mother-tongue based multilingual education indicates that they are trapped in the pursuit of noble purpose of achieving social integration and in their quest to go out from the limits of often segregated and unequal education. This leads to neglecting of massive world-wide research on mother-tongue based multilingual education and positive results from it in both general school achievement and even the knowledge of the country’s official language.⁵

The opportunities for Romani children to be taught at least partially in the Romani language, in present-day Europe, in spite of efforts of some stakeholders and of minority laws, are still limited. Whether it will come a time when this idea will be revived again, or whether linguistic pluralism or some form of multilingual education will be adopted, it is difficult at present to foresee.

In any case, the importance of the social experiment in the field of Roma education in the early USSR in the 1920s and 1930s remains part of the history of Roma, as well as part of the history of education.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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⁵ Similarly neglected are also the rare works of individual Roma scholars in this direction. See Kyuchukov (2014, pp. 211–225, 2017, pp. 290–300) and Kyuchukov, Samko, Kopcanova and Igov (2016, pp. 50–62).

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Article

Accommodating Multilingualism in Macedonia

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Abstract

The period since the independence of the Republic of Macedonia in 1991 has shown the political importance of language, as well as the political tensions that can arise over language-related issues. For a long time, multilingualism in Macedonia was a problem that threatened the unity and stability of the country. In 2001 the armed conflict in Macedonia showed that governmental policies of ignoring certain issues fueled ethnic divisions and facilitated a climate of insecurity. In order to terminate the armed conflict, Macedonia has since introduced constitutional changes relevant to linguistic diversity. The constitutional amendment regulating the official use of languages in Macedonia was as a result of a necessary compromise to terminate the armed conflict. The amendment is formulated in a vague and contradictory manner; full of loopholes, views provided on official languages leads to different interpretations and is still subject to disputes between experts, as well as party leaders in Macedonia. This vagueness led to politicians using the topic of the official use of languages as a talking point in every electoral campaign since 2001. This article will examine the challenges and possibilities that came from the constitutional amendment on the use of languages in Macedonia. It will also analyze the loopholes of the legal norms on the use of languages, and the problems of its implementation.

Keywords

ethnic rights; language policy; language rights; Macedonia; multilingualism; official language

Issue

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1. Introduction

Ethnic questions have been part of the central issue of politics in Macedonia since its independence in 1991. As is the case with other Balkan states, Macedonia has had difficulties in learning that “the failure to carefully protect the rights of minority groups greatly jeopardizes the integrity of the state and the stability of the democratic processes” (Kolarova, 1993, p. 23).

Macedonia struggled with the challenge to grant ethnic rights, and to preserve state sovereignty and territorial integrity. The reconciliation of these “divergent objectives is imperative to resolving tension between minorities and majorities in [the] state-centered world we live in” (Porter, 2003, p. 53).

The ethnic issues have been a major point of friction in Macedonia due to the belief that “[r]ecognition, protection and promotion of minority rights is more than

symbolism, as it alters the inherent social, economic and political relations of power between the majority and minorities,” prevailed in the political discourse (Tully, 2001, p. 15). In Macedonia, the conflict between Macedonians and Albanians “has tended to focus on the legal and political status of the Albanian population and on the political and cultural character of the Macedonian state” (Engström, 2002, p. 6). There was a dominant fear that the granting of ethnic rights would change the status of Albanians and could threaten the unity and stability of the country.

In the debates over ethnic issues in Macedonia, linguistic rights of ethnic communities have taken a central part. The issue of language is very important because:

The language is often central to feelings of community and culture, of tradition and ‘belonging’ which makes any menace, disrespect or attack on its use or exist-

tence capable of arousing strong emotions and potential cause of a conflict. (De Varennes, 1997, p. 138)

Thus, language is “a marker of membership in community” and “a possible red flag for intolerance and discrimination”. (De Varennes, 1997, p. 138).

However, the psychological effects that language policies have upon individuals should not be minimized. The language is intimately associated with the individual, and:

Language is a particularly easy tool to use in political control. Therefore, when language policies establish boundaries between people and government the effects are likely to be quite significant: alienation, distancing and political impotence. (Perea, 1992, p. 335)

Thus, proper regulation of the use of languages has affects not only on the boundaries between people and governments, but also on the relations between people of different languages:

Achieving harmony and peace among peoples of different languages and cultures has depended on making all peoples feel that they are part of a given political entity, that their existence is not threatened. (Kibbee, 2008, p. 79)

There is no doubt that accommodating multilingualism should be a question of highest political importance in every country today. This issue is an important task for constitutional designers, because:

The failure to manage linguistic conflict through constitutional design has the potential to lead to an escalating set of demands—for official-language status in shared institutions, to territorial autonomy, and ultimately, to secession. (Choudhry, 2009, p. 578)

2. Official Language—No Single Definition

In contrast to religion, the state cannot be neutral in choosing the official language. The constitutional designers solve this question in different ways: by choosing one official language; by choosing several official languages with equal scope of use; by giving to some minority languages partial official status in some domains on national level and in some smaller territorial units; or, by giving some minority languages official status on local level. However, there is no universal definition of what an official language means.

The official use of language of the majority is self-implied because the “state functions may be exercised most efficiently by using the language known to the greatest percentage of the population in a country”, but it does not “indicate that establishing the official language (official languages) of a country is considered as an issue of a mere technical or practical relevance” (Korhec, 2008, p. 460).

The decision of which language becomes the official language of the state has much to do with the power perspective. In nation states, a:

Language of the group in power, became the dominating paradigm for communication with and within the state guaranteeing that specific groups dominating the language of the nation state formation could take control of the state’s governance structures. (Marác, 2014, p. 46)

Marác explains that the power element is always present in the relationship between majority and minority languages and cases of “linguistic hegemony and multilingual communication that result in far more complicated linguistic and communicational patterns [that] trigger conflicts” which are essentially political.

The language groups not controlling the state language are excluded from power and the groups being excluded from power are struggling for recognition in order to get access to the power structure of the state in their first language. (Marác, 2014, p. 46)

In addition to this struggle is the recognition that “language policies are never exclusively about language and are often understood as embedded in wider social, political and economic contexts” (Zappettini & Comanaru, 2014, p. 403) and “language use is an element central to constructing domination in organizational settings” (Wodak, Krzyżanowski, & Forchtner, 2012, p. 158). This will be shown in the Macedonian case of accommodation of multilingualism.

In many countries, there are varying degrees of official use of some minority languages, and the minority language can often be used as the official language in distinct institutional contexts. Alan Patten and Will Kymlicka (2003) provide a useful taxonomy of the distinct institutional contexts in which the choice of official language must be made. The states must choose an official language for legislatures, courts, and the executive. Further distinctions can be made within each of these categories. A further distinction can be drawn between the internal language of government and the language of public services (e.g., education); between procedure in the legislature and in its committees; or the manner of use of minority language in judicial procedures.

Several factors influence the degree of the official use of minority languages, as do:

The number and territorial concentration of individuals belonging to a particular linguistic minority, the status of the minority language historically, long standing ties of a linguistic minority and a particular territory (autochthonous character), the influence and pressure imposed by the kin-state to achieve recognition of the official use of particular minority language, political influence of the minority itself de-

manding to achieve official status of its language, and the expressed demand and need of speakers to use the minority language, etc. (Korhecz, 2008, p. 464)

All of these factors have influenced the promotion of the official use of the Albanian language in Macedonia. The analysis of the official use of minority languages in Macedonia will also confirm Grin’s statement that despite the constitutional positioning of the minority language as official, three conditions must be met for members of language minorities to use their language. These conditions are: capacity, opportunity, and desire (or willingness) (Grin, 2003, pp. 43–44). As minority language-speakers are typically bilingual, people’s *willingness* to use their language depends, among other things, on whether they perceive their language as the most appropriate one to use within a certain institution. “If that is not the case, even the highest level of regional or minority language protection and promotion in the ‘legal’ domain would then fail to prove effective” (Cardi, 2007, p. 21).

3. Ethnic Structure and Political Context in Macedonia

Analysis of the accommodation of multilingualism in Macedonia will consider the “law in context” approach. The methodology that will be followed refers to public policy analysis. The legal and institutional framework of the use of languages will be analyzed. Then, the implementation of the language regime’s legal framework will be evaluated and possible policy actions will be considered.

The most recent official numerical data for the ethnic structure of the country are from the last census, held in 2002. Another census was planned for 2011. Parliament adopted the law regulating the tasks of the bodies that were supposed to carry the census, the surveying methodology, etc. The Government appointed twenty-five members of the State Census Commission (SCC). The census started, but four days before the census deadline, all members of the SCC had filed irrevocable resignations, suspending all of its activities because “there are no basic preconditions for continuation of the census”, as it “cannot provide relevant data” (Marusic, 2011).

The ethnic Macedonian and Albanian members inside the SCC could not agree on some of the basic rules of the census, and announced that the census had been suspended because different field interpretations of the surveying methodology could not guarantee reliable data (Karajkov, 2011). The difference in the interpretation of the surveying methodology actually influenced the numbers within the ethnic structure of the country.

Some Albanian members are thought to have counted people who had been living abroad for more than a year, as well as accepting photocopies of ID cards as a basis for data. Macedonian members were strongly against this. (Marusic, 2011)

It was clear that the dispute in SCC was ethnically and politically driven, and was not a “scientific” dispute over methodology. In every state the results of the census are the basis for the formation of reforms, road maps, agenda setting and decision making. Moreover, in the case of Macedonia, it was not just a conflict, but also an attempt to manipulate the future agenda. The SCC was not only appointed but also controlled by the Government, i.e., the ruling coalition. The SCC’s members that were from DUI—the ruling political party that represented Albanians in Macedonia at the time, chose a methodology that made it possible to strengthen their group representation numerically. The SCC’s members that were from VMRO-DPMNE—the ruling party that represented Macedonians, opposed the strategy of DUI. So, the coalition partners in the government decided to “kill the census” in order to give the chance for “the ruling coalition to survive” and continue to lead the government. The resignation of the SCC, supported by methodological explanation, was used as a solution.

According to data from 2002, Macedonia is a country in which Macedonians make up the majority of the population (64.18%). The largest minority group is Albanian (25.17%). There are several other minority groups living in Macedonia, all of which are smaller (the second minority group is Turkish, with 3.85% of total population) (see Table 1).

The ethnic structure in Macedonia is reflected in its linguistic diversity. The Macedonian language is the mother tongue to 66.49% of the population; the Albanian language is the mother tongue to 25.12%; Turkish language to 3.55%; Roma language to 1.91%; Serbian language to 1.22%; Bosnian language to 0.42%; Vlach language to 0.34%; and some other languages are mother tongues to 0.95% of the population.

Most of the ethnic Albanians are compactly settled in the western part of the country in an almost continuous strip along the Macedonian border with Albania and Kosovo, and in some villages near Skopje. From a total of 85 municipalities plus the city of Skopje, Albanians are the majority population in 16 municipalities (from which five are urban and 11 rural) and in 13 units of local self-government, consisting of more than 20% of the population.

Table 1. Population structure according to national affiliation in 2002 census.

Macedonians	Albanians	Turkish	Roma	Vlachs	Serbs	Bosnians	Others
1297981	509,083	77,959	53,879	9,695	35,939	17,018	20,993
64.18%	25.17%	3.85%	2.66%	0.48%	1.78%	0.84%	1.04%

Source: State Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia (2002, p. 194).

Other minorities are not compactly settled, with few exceptions. Turks are the majority in two municipalities and consist of more than 20% of the population in two other municipalities. Romas are in the majority in one municipality, and Serbs make over 20% of the population in one rural municipality. What we have in Macedonia today “is continued contact and mutual influence among local languages at local levels” (Friedman, 2012, p. 121).

The Albanians are backed by their kin-state, and this has contributed to a divisive ethnic situation. The influence of the proximity of a kin-state to the readiness of the ethnic communities to demand respect of their rights is already recognized in the existing analysis (De Varennes, 1997, p. 160). But in Macedonia, the proximity of a kin-state of Albanians together with the territorial concentration and number of Albanians in Macedonia, as well as the fight for the independence of Kosovo, raised the fears of the existence of a “hidden agenda for [the] creation of Great Albania” and concerns about the unity of Macedonia.

These fears were fueled by the separatist demands of some Albanian political leaders in the beginning of the transition. Other Albanian political leaders have not addressed the assumptions that they intend to pursue a separatist policy to de-escalate the situation that contributed to inter-ethnic frictions and distrust.

Insecurity and desperation for survival of the Macedonian nation as an independent state in a “hostile neighborhood” also “fueled” the inter-ethnic relations. Since independence, the existence of a Macedonian nation, language, state and church has been denied by neighboring countries: Bulgaria does not accept the existence of the Macedonian language; the Serbian Orthodox Church does not accept the autonomy of the Macedonian Orthodox Church; Greece disputes the right of the country to use its constitutional name and delays or objects to the integration of the country into the international community.

In such political circumstances, Macedonian governments have been among those governments in Eastern Europe and Central Asia for which “language and ethnic diversity are, if not a threat to national unity, at least an inconvenience” (De Varennes, 1997, p. 135).

But despite the ethnic frictions during the period of obtaining independence, “the Macedonian state has nonetheless been more inclusive in terms of its non-Macedonian population than have most other former Yugoslav republics since 1991” (Engström, 2002, p. 6).

One of the reasons for this is due to the multiculturalism and multilingualism that have been present in Macedonia for some time. Macedonia had been a part of Yugoslavia, which consisted of six republics (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro) and had three official languages: Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, and Macedonian. According to the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution, these three official languages had equal status on a federal level, but in practice the Serbo-Croatian language was dominant in fed-

eral institutions. The Constitution also guaranteed the right of national minorities to use their languages in official communication. The Albanian and the Hungarian languages were in official use in the two autonomous regions in Serbia: Kosovo and Vojvodina.

In Macedonia, according to the 1974 Constitution, the Macedonian language was official, and the languages of ethnic minorities were in official use at local level in the municipalities where the minorities were the majority or were in significant number. However, as a result of the wave of nationalism that was present before the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the Constitution of Macedonia was amended in 1989 and limited the linguistic rights of minorities, which led to ethnic frictions and the widespread dissatisfaction of minorities in the process of obtaining independence.

Since independence, Macedonia has been struggling to reconcile the demands of the ethnic communities with the need to be a unitary and indivisible country. In fulfilling that aim in the past, intricate, prolific and sometimes unclear legal norms on the use of languages were adopted. But despite all obstacles and doubts, fostering the rights of ethnic communities is a permanent tendency in Macedonian policies.

4. Accommodation of Multilingualism in Macedonia in the Period 1991–2001

The 1991 Macedonian Constitution is characterized by the “promotional” approach:

‘Promotional models’ are found in states that are characterized by a national majority but where national or ethnic minorities are constitutionally recognized and protected, and, thus, enjoy certain collective rights. (Engl & Harzl, 2009, p. 311)

According to the 1991 Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, the Macedonian language, written using its Cyrillic alphabet, is the official language of the Republic of Macedonia. At the time, on the local level, there were two possible situations for the designations of other languages as official. If some ethnic group was the majority in some municipality, its language was also official. If some ethnic group made up at least 20% of the inhabitants of a municipality, the municipal council could decide to use its language as the official language in that municipality.

Besides this, cultural protection of minorities was guaranteed, as was access to mass media in the minority language, state support to cultural institutions in minority languages, and rights in education, which provided the opportunity for linguistic minorities to educate themselves and maintain their identity. The public national radio and television channel, and public local media in municipalities where the minorities constituted 20% of the population, broadcasted programs in minority languages for a set amount of time. The state also financed the pub-

lication of one newspaper in Albanian and one in Turkish. A national theatre of ethnic minorities in Skopje, which offered Albanian and Turkish drama as well as some cultural-artistic associations and groups, was financed by the state budget.

The right to education in the language of minorities was guaranteed in primary and secondary schools. Instructions in the mother tongue have been recognized as a successful approach for the inclusion of linguistic minorities in the educational system, as well as for the protection of their cultural heritage and identity. In practice, primary education was offered in Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish and Serbian, while in secondary schools the languages of instruction were Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish. The reasons for organizing education in the mother tongue of only these and not the other minorities were due to the limited number of teachers and limited economic resources.

But Albanians in Macedonia also demanded higher education in their language, as well as the state-funded Faculty of Pedagogy in Albanian, with aims to “produce” Albanian language-teachers for primary and secondary schools. These demands for higher education in Albanian were intensified after 1995 when the University of Pristina was closed by Slobodan Milošević’s authoritarian government. Some professors who lost their jobs in Kosovo came to Macedonia and attempted to open an Albanian language university in Mala Rečica, a village near Tetovo. This university functioned illegally at the beginning.

In 2000 the first university in the Albanian language—the South East European University—was established with assistance from OSCE (the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe), the Council of Europe, and the United States. The Macedonian Government supported this university by providing the location and granting the use of land. Today, this university is regarded “as a model for multi-ethnic and multi-lingual higher education in South East Europe” (Xhaferi & Ibrahim, 2012, p. 674).

As explored, the first decade of Macedonian independence was characterized by divisive debates on language, especially minority-language education at university level; the registering of names at birth in minority languages; the use of topographical signs in a minority language; introducing Albanian language in state administration, etc.

Jenny Engström (2002, p. 6) points out that in this period:

Despite restrictions on the use of the Albanian language in higher education and political bodies, as well as *de facto* discrimination in employment, Albanians in Macedonia have by and large enjoyed extensive civil and political rights.

However, despite improvements in granting linguistic rights in 2000, “violent conflict between Macedonian se-

curity forces and armed Albanian extremists in the country” (Brunnbauer, 2002, p. 2), or a “mini-war” as it is called by Engström (2002, p. 11), began in Macedonia in January 2001, and ended in August 2001 with the Framework Agreement, which was signed by the leaders of the two biggest political parties in Macedonia, the leaders of the two political parties of the ethnic Albanians in Macedonia, as well as by the envoys from the EU and the United States, and the President of the Republic of Macedonia.

The implementation of the Framework Agreement needed constitutional and legislative changes. Hence, constitutional amendments were adopted in 2001. These amendments were followed by the adoption of more than thirty new laws and amendments on over thirty previous laws. Among the new adopted laws was the law on the use of languages.

5. Linguistic Rights in Macedonia after 2001

Constitutional amendments after 2001 introduced major changes in the official use of the languages of minority communities. The circumstances in which the Constitution was amended influenced the quality and clarity of new provisions addressing the issue of multilingualism, which caused different interpretations during their statutory regulation and everyday application.

The constitutional amendments make a difference to Macedonian language as the official language in the whole territory of the country, in the international relations of the Republic of Macedonia, and the official use of other languages spoken by at least 20% of the population. This threshold of 20% is fulfilled only by Albanian language. The Constitution defines the use of the Albanian language as official. Official, personal documents of citizens speaking other official languages are issued in that language, in addition to the Macedonian language.

Persons living in a unit of local self-government in which at least 20% of the population speaks an official language other than Macedonian may use that official language to communicate with the regional office of the central government. Such an office shall reply in that language, in addition to Macedonian. Also, any person may use any official language to communicate with ministries, which shall reply in that language in addition to Macedonian.

The Constitution also provides that in the state organs, any official language other than Macedonian may be used in accordance with the law. The provisions for official use of languages were included in different laws and in the special law for use of languages, adopted in 2008. The Parliament of the Republic of Macedonia “has opened its doors” for the Albanian language. Members of the Parliament and holders of public offices can speak in Albanian in the plenary meetings of the Parliament and during the work of the parliamentary commissions. The MPs can also use Albanian while presiding over parliamentary commissions. The laws that were adopted in

the Parliament are translated and published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia in Macedonian and Albanian language.

During the elections, all forms, ballot papers, and all electoral material for the municipalities in which at least 20% of the citizens speak an official language different from the Macedonian language were published in Macedonian and its Cyrillic alphabet, and in the other official language which is spoken by at least 20% of the population in the municipality and its corresponding alphabet. The name and surname of the person submitting the list of candidates, and the candidates of the elections printed on the ballot papers, are written in Macedonian and its alphabet as well as in the language and alphabet of the community to which they belong. With regard to the work of electoral commissions and electoral committees during the administration of elections, the municipalities in which at least 20% of the citizens speak an official language different to Macedonian, besides Macedonian language and its alphabet in official use, was the language and alphabet of the community with more than 20% of total number of the population in that municipality.

The official use of languages of minority communities in judicial procedures is also provided. Albanians in Macedonia, as participants in the criminal procedure, have the right to use their language in all phases of the procedure. The court would provide oral translation of the presentation by the Albanian participant in the procedure and of the documents and other written evidence. The court would provide written translation of the written material, which is of importance for the procedure or for the defense of the person who is accused. All other parties of the court proceedings, witnesses and participants in the procedure had the right to translation, free-of-charge, if they did not understand or speak the language in which the procedure is carried out in. The person participating in the court procedure would be advised of the right to translation. All pleadings and documents that are sent to the court can be sent in the Macedonian and Albanian language. If they are sent in Albanian language, they would be translated by the court. All documents that are sent to the parties of the proceedings (invitations, decisions, etc.) that speak Albanian are sent in their language in addition to the Macedonian language. Similar provisions are included in the laws on civil procedures.

The law also contained obligation for Macedonian Radio Television (MRT) to broadcast one TV channel and one radio channel in the Macedonian language, and one TV and one radio channel in minority languages. This further provides one channel on national TV in Macedonian, one in Albanian, and one in other minority languages.

Minority languages are also used in addition to the Macedonian language for the names of the streets, squares, bridges and other types of infrastructure in the municipalities in which they are official languages. Bilingual signs have a considerable psychological and symbolic importance. Language visibility takes the form of bilingual signs: road and traffic signs, street names, designations of official buildings, and general information:

Language visibility is an important policy measure because its official use and the generalization of minority language visibility has powerful (re)legitimization effect, which, in turn, impacts on people's attitudes. (Grin & Vallancourt, 1999, p. 18)

The education in mother tongue in primary, secondary and university level is provided in the Macedonian and Albanian language. The primary education is provided in Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish, Serbian and Bosnian languages and secondary education in Macedonian, Albanian and Serbian languages. Some of the schools provide instructions in two or three languages (see Table 2).

At the local level, languages other than Macedonian are official if they are spoken by at least 20% of the population. According to this, Albanian, Turkish, Roma and Serbian are used as official languages. The local council can decide whether languages spoken by less than 20% of the population of a unit of local self-government can be used as official.

The implementation of official languages in municipalities is not without difficulty. All municipalities in which Albanians are in the majority successfully give services in the Albanian language. But in some of them, Macedonians complain that the demands and applications sent in the Macedonian language receive delayed responses compared with the applications sent in Albanian. Or, said in fewer words, local administration in some municipalities with the Albanian population in the majority is more inefficient when responding to applications in the Macedonian language. The situation is the

Table 2. Primary and secondary schools according to the language of instructions in 2015–2016.

Language	Number of primary schools	Number of pupils in primary schools	Number of secondary schools	Number of pupils in secondary schools
Macedonian	725	119,550	98	54,858
Albanian	294	59,437	36	23,308
Turkish	64	5,591	12	1,574
Serbian	5	258	/	/
Bosnian	3	283	/	/

Source: State Statistical Office of the Republic of Macedonia (2017).

opposite in some municipalities in which Macedonians are the majority.

The municipality of Suto Orizari is a unique unit of local self-government in which the majority of the population are Roma and their language is one of the official languages. It is also a unique municipality in which the majority population doesn't use their mother tongue in communication with the municipality. The written communication of the Roma population with the local administration is in the Macedonian language. The main reason for this is due to the fact that most of the people do not know how to write in the Roma language because in primary (and secondary) schools they were educated in the Macedonian language. The presumption that the competence level of speakers of the ethnic minority language is one of the factors of its use in the official communication can be proven in this municipality.

The reasons for improper implementation of legal norms for official languages on local level are many: deficit of finances for providing services in the language of the minorities; lack of political understanding of the need and priority to offer services in minority languages; deficiency of demands for minority language use in contact with the local government; and lack of political will.

6. Language Issues and Political Mobilization in Macedonia

Since the independence of Macedonia, the implementation of linguistic rights in Macedonia has seen difficult negotiations and disputes. The analysis shows that the "Ohrid Framework Agreement further developed the constitutional and legal position of ethnic minorities in Macedonia." Macedonia has been given as an example for particular cases of "internationally orchestrated diversity-management efforts featuring the intensive involvement of the international community" (Engl & Harzl, 2009, p. 333).

The public opinion on the Framework Agreement was predominantly negative among Macedonian ethnicities in the beginning, as some Macedonian politicians:

Consciously articulated and at the same time manipulated widespread fears among ethnic Macedonians about their national identity, which many saw threatened by the terms of the Agreement. (Brunnbauer, 2002, p. 7)

The fear that the country's future existence is "under threat because the 'real' aims of the extremist Albanians were not the acquisition of rights but territories" has been raised (Brunnbauer, 2002, p. 8). These fears are fueled by the demands of Albanians "to be considered the second constitutive people of the Republic of Macedonia." They do not accept their "treatment as a minority" (Brunnbauer, 2002, p. 13).

With time, the acceptance and support of the Framework Agreement grew. But, despite that, nationalistic

rhetoric was present in the electoral campaigns of certain political parties (of Macedonians and Albanians) in the period. In Macedonia, from 1991 until the last elections in 2016, political parties were divided on the basis of ethnic lines, i.e., the ethnicity dominated partisan organizations. The Albanians in Macedonia were mainly supporting political parties of ethnic Albanians. The inter-ethnic mobilization in politics and civil society was weak. The reasons for political mobilization on the basis of ethnicity are several. According to Choudhry:

[U]nderlying political competition over official-language status is economic competition over public sector employment, which fuels political mobilization on the basis of language." (Choudhry, 2009, p. 596)

We must keep in mind that "democratic nationhood is composed of three key, independent elements: civil society, the state and ethnicity" (Schöpflin, 2000, p. 35). "[W]hen civil society and the state are weak, as they are in Macedonia, ethnicity comes to dominate" (Engström, 2002, p. 18).

However, what was new for the elections of 2016 was that one of the major Macedonian political parties succeeded to mobilize ethnic Albanians and get their support in the elections.

A characteristic of the political system of Macedonia is that from 1991, all governments were coalitional, including at least one political party of ethnic Albanians, which advocated mainly ethnic demands of the Albanians in Macedonia. As a result of this, during negotiations for governmental coalitions, ethnic issues were on the agenda. As a result, the law on official use of languages was adopted after the elections in 2008, and its changes were adopted after the elections in 2011. After the elections in 2016, political parties of ethnic Albanians demanded new changes in the law regarding the use of language in order to broaden the official use of their own language. The public perception, however, is that some of these demands for improving the status of the Albanian language are not an instrument of pragmatic intentions but a symbolic resource for political struggle and an attempt to increase the Albanian's political status in Macedonia.

7. Conclusion

There are many "historical lessons" where we are taught that the failure to properly respond to demands for improving ethnic rights can increase conflict in the state and can undermine social unity. Granting special rights to ethnic groups is necessary to enable their participation in political and economic decision-making, in order to implement substantive equality.

Unfortunately, Macedonia experienced these "historical lessons" on its own territory. Despite the fact that from 1991 Macedonia chose the regime of linguistic promotion, creating "positive" rights to key public services in

minority languages, this was not considered a sufficient response to the demands of Albanian ethnic groups.

In the creation of language policy there is always controversy and there is never consensus on appropriate policies. Such experiences from developed democracies add additional burdens to formulating linguistic policies in Macedonia as a country in transition. The key characteristic of the whole period, from independence to the present, is that language policy in Macedonia has been driven by the mistrust between ethnic groups and at the same time, stimulated that mistrust.

This mistrust among ethnic groups has been fueled by the political immaturity of most politicians who are “locked in ethnic suites” and who intentionally obstruct building inter-ethnic peace in order to manipulate their electorate, keeping them in fear of the “enemies” from other ethnic groups.

The legal provisions regulating the official use of languages in Macedonia were as a result of difficult negotiations. Because of this, some of the provisions are unclear and open to different interpretations. In addition, the lack of political will to ensure proper implementation of the legal guarantees for use of all official languages on both sides: from central government and local government, and from ethnic Macedonian and ethnic Albanian officials, additionally fuels the ethnic mistrust.

Macedonia needs mature political leadership with a systematic approach to the accommodation of multilingualism in the country, as well as a desire to build trustful interethnic relations that are essential for the stability of the country.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

Language Use and Social Inclusion in International Retirement Migration

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Abstract

The migration of older people in search for improved quality of life has become an important form of human mobility, and popular retirement destinations are often highly multilingual settings. This article explores language use and social inclusion in international retirement migration through a case study of Scandinavian retirees in the Alicante province in Spain. It examines the linguistic landscape they meet, their language use and their inclusion in their new home country. Interviews with retired migrants and key local individuals show that many migrants try to learn the host country language, but that these attempts are often not very successful. As a result, they frequently use either their native language or English for everyday communication. This article elaborates on three theoretical and political notions of inclusion—assimilation, multiculturalism and civic integration—and discusses how retired migrants' language use can be interpreted in the light of these notions.

Keywords

international retirement migration; language; multilingualism; social inclusion; Spain

Issue

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1. Introduction

Over the past few decades, international retirement migration has emerged as a significant form of migration, as growing numbers of retirees from the Western world have moved in search of improved quality of life (King, Warnes, & Williams, 2000; Migration Policy Institute, 2006). International retirement migration has an important linguistic dimension, as retirees often move to destinations where their native language is not the official or commonly spoken language. This creates a multilingual situation that requires linguistic adaptation—by the retirees, by local authorities, or by other actors in the host society. This, in turn, raises questions about social, cultural and linguistic inclusion.

This article draws on a case study of Scandinavian retirement migration to the Spanish province of Alicante.

It puts the analytical focus on the local multilingual setting and its implications for social inclusion. The article addresses the following questions: What are the main characteristics of the linguistic landscape that has developed in coastal Alicante as a consequence of extensive tourism-led retirement migration? How do retired migrants navigate this landscape and how do their linguistic practices affect their inclusion in their new home countries? More generally, how can we understand ‘inclusion’ in this specific context?

In the following sections, we briefly present the phenomenon of international retirement migration and the theoretical setting for the study. We then present our data and methods and describe the study's context. Subsequent analytical sections examine language use among Scandinavian retirees and local institutions in Alicante and different aspects of inclusion. A concluding sec-

tion discusses the conditions for social inclusion in the context of retirement migration and the role of language.

2. International Retirement Migration

Retirees may migrate for a range of different reasons. For example, retired labour migrants may return to their former home countries and parents may migrate in order to be close to their children (King, Lulle, Sampaio, & Vullnetari, 2017). However, this study, as is common in social science research, uses the term *international retirement migration* to refer to retirees from the Western world who move, permanently or temporarily, to a new country in search of a better quality of life (Herzog, 2016; Migration Policy Institute, 2006).

International retirement migration represents an important demographic and sociological phenomenon in a growing number of places across the globe. For decades, North American retirees have been moving to retirement communities in Mexico and the Caribbean (Migration Policy Institute, 2006) and North Europeans have moved to destinations along the Mediterranean (King et al., 2017). More recently, retirement migration has spread to other countries in Latin America, Africa, Eastern Europe and Asia, even though some of these newer migration flows have not yet been documented by scholarly research (e.g., Balkir & Kirkulak, 2009; Hayes, 2014; Wong & Musa, 2014).

In terms of migration motives, international retirement migration is a prominent form of 'lifestyle migration', according to the conceptualization of Benson and O'Reilly: '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, p. 621). A common reason for migration is the desire to live in a warm and pleasant climate that permits outdoor activities throughout the year. This is often associated with improved health, with numerous migrants primarily moving because of health problems. Natural or cultural values, a slower pace of life and vivid social environments often also play a role, together with economic factors (Casado-Díaz, Kaiser, & Warnes, 2004; King et al., 2000).

The socio-demographic background of retired migrants is diverse and varies between different destinations. Yet the general picture is that international retirement migration constitutes a relatively privileged form of migration, where individuals with high incomes and above-average education are overrepresented (Herzog, 2016; Casado-Díaz et al., 2004). Moreover, retirement migration is, by definition, pursued by people who are no longer dependent on labour incomes, but receive all or most of their incomes from pensions and savings. Hence, international retirement migration differs in several respects from those forms of migration—labour, refugee and family migration—which more frequently tend to be the subject of scientific research and political debate.

3. Social Inclusion

In current discussions on migration, immigrant inclusion and citizenship, social scientists have identified several different political conceptions of integration. A common distinction is between 'ethnos' and 'demos' (Borevi, 2010).

The ethnic notion ('ethnos') often implies an *assimilationist* approach to integration. In order to be included, immigrants are expected to assimilate into the culture of the host society and give up any linguistic, cultural or social characteristics that distinguish them from the majority population (Castles & Miller, 1998; Koopmans, Statham, Giugni, & Passy, 2005). An ethnic conception of citizenship may also lead to 'differentialist exclusionist' policies (Castles & Miller, 1998) or ethnic segregation (Borevi, 2010), with immigrants being denied important citizenship rights. The latter, however, is the very opposite of inclusion.

The civic-territorial notion ('demos'), suggests that integration should be based on equal rights and duties for immigrants and native citizens. Two quite different variants of this position have emerged (Borevi, 2010). The *multicultural* notion of integration suggests that host societies should acknowledge cultural diversity and, when appropriate, take specific measures to support minority cultures and to grant equal rights to minority groups (Castles & Miller, 1998; Kymlicka, 1995). The notion of *civic integration*, on the other hand, disregards ethnicity and cultural differences and understands integration only in terms of equal civic rights and obligations (Borevi, 2010; Koopmans et al., 2005). In recent years, proponents of civic integration have increasingly emphasised duties and obligations rather than rights and suggested language tests, mandatory civic orientations courses and 'integration contracts' for immigrants (Goodman, 2012). In the present paper, however, we use the concept of civic integration in its traditional and more neutral version.

4. Migration and Language Use

There are two important normative perspectives on migration and linguistic diversity. On the one hand, language issues are prominent in discussions on *immigrant integration*. It is often considered crucial that immigrants learn the host country language in order to gain access to the labour market, to be able to participate in political processes, as well as for cultural or symbolic reasons related to belonging and identity (Schäffner, 2009; Torkington, 2015). From this perspective, the preferred outcome is individual-level multilingualism—that immigrants learn the host country language in addition to their native language. A potential problem with this approach is that excessive demands for cultural (including linguistic) assimilation may, in reality, exclude immigrants.

On the other hand, there are policies of *language rights* for minority groups, which sometimes also apply to migrants (e.g., European Union, 2010). Such rights

imply that legal residents with another native language than the majority or official language should have the opportunity, at least under certain circumstances, to communicate in their native language. From this perspective, the preferred outcome is rather a societal-level multilingualism—that the host society provides information not only in the majority language, but also in relevant minority languages, and that interpretation or translation is available in certain situations. Whether such strategies promote or hinder social inclusion is subject to debate (Kymlicka & Patten, 2003; Schäffner, 2009). Several theorists argue that language rights should primarily apply to ‘native’ minorities and not (or only to a limited extent) to immigrant groups, as they fear that generous language rights may discourage immigrants from learning the host country’s language (Alcalde, 2015).

5. Data and Methods

The case under study is Scandinavian retirement migration to Alicante, Spain, with a focus on the Norwegian community in Alfaz del Pi and the Swedish community in Torrevieja. Semi-structured interviews were made with 34 people—14 Scandinavian retirees and 20 key local individuals. The retirees were six women and eight men, aged between 66 and 81, living permanently or on a seasonal basis in Alicante. Key individuals included Spanish officials, representatives of Scandinavian organizations and institutions, and various businesspeople and professionals (both Spanish and Scandinavian) providing services to Scandinavian retirees. They thus represent actors who play important roles in the inclusion of retired migrants.

The interviews focused on language use, language-related problems and different aspects of inclusion. Key individuals also provided useful contextual information about Scandinavian retirement migration to Alicante and the local linguistic landscape. The duration of the interviews varied from half an hour to almost two hours. All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim.

The interviews provided both factual information (e.g., about language use and local institutions) as well as insights into more subjective aspects (e.g., respondents’ understandings of inclusion and how it was related to linguistic matters). All transcripts were coded thematically. The main coding themes were linguistic abilities, problems and strategies, and retirees’ inclusion in Spain. Each main theme had a number of subthemes, partly derived from previous research and the theoretical framework summarized above, partly emerging inductively from the analysis of the interviews. The initial coding provided a basis for further analytical work, including interpretation and evaluation of the interviews in relation to different conceptions of inclusion.

6. Scandinavian Retirees in Alicante

The Spanish coastal areas are the most important European destinations for international retirement migration

(Membrado, 2015). In the wake of charter tourism, foreign retirees began moving to Spain already in the 1960s. British retirees are the most important group, but other North Europeans, including Scandinavians, have also arrived in their thousands. The warm climate and its association with good health and an attractive lifestyle stand out as the main reasons for moving, but lower living costs and taxes have also played a role (Gustafson, 2008; Laksfoss Cardozo, 2017).

Alicante is the Spanish province with the highest proportion of foreign residents, and the relative share of foreigners is particularly large among retirees (Huete, Mantecón, & Estévez, 2013). Official Spanish statistics report 7,306 Norwegian and 3,266 Swedish residents, most of them aged 60 or over (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, n.d.). Due to under-registration, real numbers are clearly much higher. Retirement migration to Alicante is closely associated with tourism and concentrated to the coasts. A number of municipalities have large proportions of foreign residents, often living in separate residential areas (Membrado, 2015). There is a sizable Norwegian population in and around Alfaz del Pi and a Swedish community mainly based in Torrevieja. A study by Casado-Díaz (2006) indicates that Scandinavian retirees in Alicante are mostly married or cohabiting couples, often with a background as managers, executives or as self-employed people. The vast majority of Scandinavian respondents in that study were seasonal migrants, who spent several months each year in their home countries.

7. Navigating the Linguistic Landscape

Foreign retirees who settle along the Spanish coasts encounter a diverse linguistic landscape. Spain is a multilingual country where several regional languages, in addition to Spanish, have official status. The province of Alicante is part of the Valencia region, which has two official languages—Spanish (*castellano*) and Valencian (*valencià*). Bilingualism exists among locals and in certain official settings. Yet Spanish has become increasingly dominant in the tourist areas, and most locals use Spanish in encounters with foreigners. Moreover, due to large-scale tourism and foreign settlement, the coastal areas of Alicante have been multilingual environments for decades, with English and certain other foreign languages being an integral part of the linguistic landscape (Mantecón & Huete, 2007; Membrado, 2012).

Our interviews showed that local authorities and businesses often provided information and services in English and sometimes also in other important tourist/immigrant languages. Several municipalities had foreign residents’ offices, sometimes in conjunction with the local tourist office, with bi- or multilingual staff.

There were vibrant Scandinavian environments in the area, including both Norwegian and Swedish consulates, churches, schools, clubs and social networks, and numerous Scandinavian businesses. They provided settings where the Scandinavian languages were used:

The problem in this area is that you don't really need to learn Spanish here....Because here you have a Norwegian doctor, dentist, plumber and everything you want in Norwegian. It may have been different in the beginning when the first Norwegians arrived. Perhaps you needed to know more Spanish in those days....Now there are Norwegians who offer anything that you may need. (Leader of a Norwegian organization)

Many retired migrants initially tried to learn Spanish. Yet, as several interviewees pointed out, these attempts were often not very successful and many Scandinavian retirees in the area had limited ability to communicate in Spanish. There were several reasons for this. Several retirees claimed they were 'too old to learn'. Many were seasonal migrants, who might take a Spanish course during the winter, spend the summer in Scandinavia without practicing Spanish, and then have to start all over again when they returned to Spain next autumn. Moreover, retirees spent most of their time in the Scandinavian communities, rarely met Spanish people, and therefore had few opportunities to practice their Spanish. In their occasional encounters with Spanish shopkeepers or service staff, they found that native Spanish-speakers talked very fast, possibly with an unfamiliar accent or in a regional language, and sometimes they switched to English when the retirees did not understand what was said.

As a consequence, Scandinavian retirees in Alicante often used their native language. They socialized with retired compatriots and often went to shops and service providers where Norwegian or Swedish was spoken. They could also use their native language when translation or interpretation was available. This might be public service interpreting provided by local authorities and institutions, professional language services paid for by the retirees, or language help from friends, neighbours or volunteers.

Another common alternative to native language communication was to use English. Many Scandinavian retirees today have a good knowledge of English, and English was often used by local authorities and service providers. Moreover, translation and interpretation were more often available in English than in a Scandinavian language.

Hence, retirees could often live a good life in their new home places without learning much Spanish. Serious linguistic problems were restricted to specific situations—mainly related to health problems, legal issues and emergencies—whereas retirees managed most of their day-to-day communication by using their native language, English, and/or not-so-good Spanish.

8. Dimensions of Inclusion

The linguistic landscape described above clearly had implications for Scandinavian retirees' inclusion in Spain. Further analysis of the interviews shows that retirees, as well as key local individuals, were often quite ambiva-

lent regarding inclusion and what one could expect from retirees—as well as from local Spanish authorities—in terms of linguistic adaptation. In this section, we first suggest that our initial theoretical distinction between different understandings of inclusion—assimilation, multiculturalism and civic integration—is useful for understanding this ambivalence. We then consider inclusion into Spanish society versus inclusion into Scandinavian communities in Spain, and possible implications for social cohesion.

8.1. Inclusion as Assimilation

An assimilation-oriented norm of integration was present in several interviews. This norm implied that immigrants should strive to become part of their new home country and that this required social and cultural adaptation. From this perspective, learning the host country language was crucial for inclusion and several Scandinavian respondents—retirees as well as key individuals—described it as a kind of moral obligation to learn Spanish. Those with insufficient knowledge of Spanish might express embarrassment or even shame, and several interviewees made comparisons with attitudes towards immigrants in the Scandinavian countries. Here are two retired Swedish spouses, none of whom had learned Spanish:

Woman: ...now that we are in Spain we ought to speak Spanish.

Man: We complain about our immigrants [in Sweden] when they don't speak Swedish, and...

Woman: ...and what do we do?

Man: What do we do? No, that's no good. Let's continue with the rest of the questions, shall we? [laughs]

This norm was also present—sometimes even more strongly—among migrants who spoke Spanish well, and who criticized those who did not. There were Scandinavian retirees in the area who were fluent Spanish-speakers and had made great efforts to learn. Describing oneself as 'integrated' may be a form of positive self-identification and social distinction in international retirement migration settings (Lawson, 2017), and speaking the local language is an important aspect of this. Several key individuals (both Spanish and Scandinavian) also complained about foreign retirees' isolation and unwillingness to learn Spanish, and a few Spanish interviewees argued that Spanish authorities should demand more linguistic efforts from immigrants.

8.2. Inclusion as Multiculturalism

In contrast to the understanding of inclusion as assimilation, there were expressions of a more multicultural ap-

proach to inclusion in some interviews. These highlighted the benefits of cultural diversity and cross-cultural encounters. Local officials described places like Alfaz del Pi and Torrevieja as vivid and welcoming multicultural environments that were enriched by immigrants from different countries:

The intention is that when someone comes to Torrevieja they should never feel like a stranger, like a foreign person, and we try to make it easy, by any ways and means; well, we try our utmost to assist them and make them feel integrated and welcome....Everyone who lives here together with others will become enriched!...Everyone learns a lot more than what would have been possible if you lived in a little town somewhere else. (Local official, Torrevieja)

The municipalities in the area took various multicultural initiatives. One local councillor mentioned the Europe day, the Day of the Associations, the Volunteers' Day, the Friendship Day and the 'Have-breakfast-with-us' events, all intending to highlight cultural diversity and promote inter-cultural encounters. Scandinavian clubs and institutions, too, made certain efforts to encourage meetings and contact. However, even those who praised the benefits of cross-cultural encounters regarded them as optional for individual retirees. In spite of these multicultural initiatives, Scandinavian as well as Spanish retirees mostly socialized within their own national and linguistic groups.

A multicultural understanding suggests that inclusion is not only the responsibility of the immigrants. Host society authorities should also make efforts to facilitate inclusion, possibly by granting immigrants the right to use their native language in certain situations (Castles & Miller, 1998). Interpretation was available in some public institutions, and there were also municipal contact or information departments, with at least English-speaking staff, intended to help foreign residents. Yet, apart from legal interpreting, most of these initiatives seemed to reflect everyday practical concerns rather than any consistent principles about migrants' language rights.

8.3. Inclusion as Civic Integration

When assimilationist and multicultural understandings of inclusion appeared in the interviews, they were often associated with some degree of ambivalence—most interviewees did not fully subscribe to any of these views. Instead, the predominant attitude was more pragmatic. Several interviewees pointed out that it was difficult for foreign retirees to learn a new language and become socially integrated in Spain, because of their age and because they were not working. In addition, a common attitude among retirees, and also among several key individuals, was that retirement in Spain represented pleasure and well-deserved relaxation after a long working life and that there was no urgent need to learn Spanish:

If I should somehow defend them, I feel that these older citizens, retirees, when they come here they've been working their whole life. They have their pensions and now they've found their little paradise in the sun. They want to play their golf or petanca or whatever they want to do. They don't really need to fill their heads with letters and verbs and stuff. They manage; they get along well without it. (A Scandinavian consul's secretary)

Moreover, many interviewees tended to regard foreign retirees in Spain as temporary visitors rather than immigrants. Retirees talked about themselves as Scandinavians living in Spain or 'guests in a foreign country'; local Spanish officials talked about 'residential tourism', 'international residents', or simply 'foreigners'. In addition, several interviewees emphasized that retirement migration, together with tourism, was economically beneficial to Spain. These accounts singled out Northern European retirees as a particular and desirable category, different from (other) immigrants. The implicit understanding was that for this category, the normal standards for integration did not apply. Both Scandinavian and Spanish interviewees in the study gave voice to this view, which served to defend and legitimize the retirees' insufficient linguistic abilities and their lack of integration into Spanish society.

In terms of inclusion, both Spanish and Scandinavian interviewees who made this type of argument stressed the importance of formal and legal matters. Retirees, they said, should follow Spanish laws and regulations, and make sure that they register as being resident in Spain. Spanish local governments receive State funding based on the number of residents registered in the municipality, so from their point of view, formal registration can indeed be regarded as an important form of 'inclusion'. Another common theme among Scandinavian interviewees was that they should be grateful for the hospitality they enjoyed in Spain. However, with respect to cultural, social and linguistic integration, these accounts implied a rather relaxed (or resigned) view, regarding it as a matter of personal choice rather than as a moral or societal norm.

Importantly, these arguments did not involve any strong linguistic demands on the host society. The general attitude was that one could not expect Spanish authorities to provide translation or interpretation services in the Scandinavian languages, but that it was primarily up to the retirees and their organizations to manage linguistic problems—if necessary by paying for professional language services. Taken together, these more pragmatic arguments come close to an understanding of inclusion as civic integration.

8.4. Scandinavian Communities in Spain

The analyses above mainly refer to inclusion into the host society. Yet very few retirees who migrated in their

old age could be described as having become included in Spanish society. Instead, most retirees experienced a high degree of inclusion in Scandinavian communities in Spain. They generally identified themselves as Norwegian or Swedish rather than as Spanish, and lived most of their lives within communities based on common national origin and language:

We thought in the beginning that we'd find ourselves a place where there weren't any Norwegians. But it's a long time since we gave that up. We've realized that this sense of security, being among people from our own country, we like that. (Norwegian retiree)

Scandinavian clubs, churches and businesses were key actors within these communities and had an ambiguous position in terms of inclusion. From a multicultural perspective, they were parts of a vibrant local multicultural milieu and could facilitate inclusion by providing settings where Scandinavian retirees could feel at home. From a civic integrationist perspective, they could also facilitate inclusion, by providing retirees with information and assistance to help them exercise their rights and fulfil their obligations in Spain. But from an assimilationist perspective, they obstructed inclusion by providing settings where retirees were more or less isolated from Spanish society and felt no need to learn Spanish:

There are lots and lots of Norwegians down here, who have lived here for many years but are still hardly able to order a glass of beer. Well, they manage the beer, but that's about it. And the reason is that the whole environment down here is so well organized, not least thanks to the Norwegian Club at Costa Blanca. They're fantastic, really. They've done a terrific job over the years. So people don't need [to learn Spanish]. (Interpreter at an international hospital)

Those Scandinavian retirees who learned Spanish obviously had better chances to become (and feel) included in Spanish society. Yet many of those who mainly used their native language felt included too but in the local Norwegian or Swedish communities. A relevant question here is what implications this particular combination of mobility and inclusion has for social cohesion in the broader Spanish society. Does the presence of large numbers of foreign retirees—living socially, culturally and often even geographically apart from the native population—undermine community and social cohesion? Does it create discomfort, tension, or even hostility in the native population? Fully answering these questions would require survey research in the Spanish coastal areas, which was beyond the scope of the present study. However, our interviews together with our review of previous research suggest that problems of this kind do exist but are relatively limited. Some Spanish interviewees expressed frustration about insufficient integration among foreign residents and about linguistic envi-

ronments where they could not make themselves understood in Spanish:

We sat down to have a cup of coffee and the waiter did not speak Spanish. Boy, if I am in my own country and I ask for a coffee and the waiter does not understand me, we have a problem. Then we are off track. (Advisor at the provincial office for foreign citizens)

Yet there were no accounts of xenophobia, hostility or overt criticism towards foreign retirees (cf., González Enríquez, 2016). On the contrary, it was a common understanding that foreign residents—together with tourists—were beneficial to the local economy. The tourist context is probably important here, not only because of its economic impact. Due to this context, the native population tends to regard foreign retirees as temporary visitors and not really expect them to assimilate or to participate in Spanish societal matters. Such attitudes may to some extent preclude retirees' inclusion but, paradoxically, they probably also reduce the risk that their low degree of inclusion will have a significant negative impact on social cohesion.

9. Conclusions

International retirement migration has become an important form of human mobility and numerous retirees today experience an improved quality of life due to their migration. The literature on retirement migration clearly shows that language is an important issue in such migration, yet it has rarely been the main topic in studies of international retirement migration.

An initial contribution of the present study was, therefore, to put an explicit focus on the linguistic side of retirement migration. In a case study of Scandinavian retirees in the Alicante province in Spain, we examined the linguistic landscape they met, their language use, and how this affected their inclusion within their new home country. Many retired migrants initially tried to learn the local language, but these attempts were often not very successful. As a result, they also employed a range of other linguistic strategies for their everyday communication. These strategies involved using either their native language or English, sometimes in direct interaction, sometimes through interpretation or translation.

A second contribution of the study was to highlight the factors which make retirement migration different from other forms of international mobility. These factors limit both the incentives and the opportunities for retired migrants to learn the host country language and to integrate into their new home countries.

To begin with, retired migrants are relatively old, they are mainly living on pensions, and their 'lifestyle' motives for migration often imply a desire for a calm and comfortable life. Many maintain strong social and family ties in their former home countries and return for visits or temporary stays, and they mainly identify with their countries of origin (Gustafson, 2008; King et al., 2000).

Important destinations for international retirement migration, such as Alicante, have long-established expatriate communities based on origin and language, where retired migrants can socialize with compatriots, buy goods from their home countries and obtain help and services from those who speak their own language (Laksfoss Cardozo, 2017). Due to residential developments in several destinations, many retirees also live in neighbourhoods with few native residents (Membrado, 2015).

Retirement migration has often developed in tandem with large-scale tourism. Local authorities and businesses generally regard tourism as economically beneficial and try to promote the tourism industry. This may involve providing information and services in tourists' native languages or in English (Torkington, 2015). Hence, foreign retirees benefit from linguistic settings adapted to visitors who do not speak the local language, and retired migrants are sometimes regarded as temporary visitors ('residential tourists') rather than permanent residents (Mantecón & Huete, 2007). Host societies therefore tend to have rather low expectations and few formal demands regarding social, cultural and linguistic integration, as long as migrants fulfil basic legal obligations, such as registering as being resident.

Another important aspect is the role of English. The English language today has an unrivalled position as international lingua franca (Hülmbauer & Seidlhofer, 2013). It is often, materially and symbolically, associated with globalization, mobility, opportunity and privilege (Torkington, 2015). This, together with the presence of large numbers of British tourists and migrants in many European retirement destinations, has made English a kind of 'second language' in places like Alicante. Local residents get better job opportunities if they learn English and those retired migrants who are not native English-speakers still often have better knowledge of English than of the local language.

A third contribution of the study was to analyse language use in retirement migration in the light of three different notions of inclusion. The analysis suggests that the Spanish host society did not expect or demand assimilation and individual multilingualism but was mostly satisfied with civic integration, largely making use of mediated forms of communication. Certain policy initiatives might also be compatible with a multicultural approach, although most of these initiatives did not seem to rest on any explicit conception of immigrant language rights. The de facto societal multilingualism that exists in retirement destinations like Alicante rather appears as a patchwork of pragmatic practices among individuals, ethnic associations, businesses and local authorities. This analytical approach invites further research, which may include both comparative empirical studies of language use and inclusion in different migration settings and theoretical work on different notions of inclusion.

However, large-scale international retirement migration raises a more fundamental question about inclusion: Inclusion into what? Current political and scientific discus-

sions on different integration models address inclusion into the host society. In the kind of international retirement migration settings examined here, it is clear, first, that many migrants—seasonal migrants in particular—retain strong connections with, and often a sense of belonging to, their countries of origin. Second, inclusion in their new home countries often takes place within expatriate communities rather than the host society and language stands out as an important reason for this.

A final point to make is that the linguistic landscapes described here obviously work as pull factors for retirement migration. Many retirees consider it more convenient to migrate to places where they can use their native language, or English, than to settle in places where they would have to learn a new language. There are probably also selection effects involved: Those retirees who are least able or willing to learn a foreign language are most likely to choose destinations and residential areas with established expatriate communities. The alternative for those retirees may not be to settle in a different area and learn the local language but to remain in their country of origin. The linguistic landscapes that characterize places like coastal Alicante thus facilitate a type of mobility that gives many retirees an improved quality of life, by allowing them to settle in attractive retirement destinations, while at the same time providing them with a sense of inclusion.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Language Provision in Education: A View from Scotland

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Abstract

A tension between mobility and inclusion can be seen in public sector attempts to respond to the increasingly multilingual nature of the Scottish population. Increased mobility has contributed to greater linguistic diversity, which has led to growing demand for multilingual public services. Legal instruments and education policy in Scotland provide a promising framework in terms of promoting language learning and multilingualism, but implementation is not always successful and responding to linguistic diversity among pupils is beset with challenges. This article will consider some of these challenges, both practical and attitudinal, reflecting on language teaching in Scotland and on issues raised during interviews with officials from the English as an additional language (EAL) services in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Language teaching often does not take into account the linguistic diversity present—despite the opportunity for a more inclusive approach offered by Scottish Government strategy—and this risks reinforcing negative beliefs about significant allochthonous languages in Scotland. In these circumstances, meeting the linguistic needs of increasingly multilingual school populations in an inclusive way is a challenging task.

Keywords

education; English; inclusion; language; mobility; multilingualism; school; Scotland; teaching

Issue

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1. Introduction

The United Kingdom’s (UK) position as one of Europe’s “largest immigrant-receiving countries” (Baldi & Wallace Goodman, 2015, p. 1153) has led to greater cultural and linguistic diversity and therefore a rise in demand for multilingual public services. One area in which multilingual support is necessary is education: schools are facing the challenge of responding to the practical educational needs of pupils who require support with their English, with limited resources. Meeting these needs in an inclusive way that, ideally, fosters positive attitudes towards linguistic diversity and multilingualism, is one facet of this challenge.

This is an example of the connection between mobility and inclusion; alongside the practical aspect of English as an additional language (EAL) services, they are also significant in terms of socio-economic inclusion. As

part of the Mobility and Inclusion in Multilingual Europe (MIME) project, François Grin has developed a concept referred to as the trade-off model, with which to analyse the compatibility of different policy goals (Grin, 2017; Grin, Marác, Pokorn, & Kraus, 2014). This model holds that society often tries to attain multiple goals, some of which correspond and others that diverge from one another, and a trade-off often occurs between those goals which diverge. The interaction between two such goals, and any trade-off that results, is not static or inevitable, but rather dynamic and influenced by numerous factors, one of which is policy, because policy that increases or facilitates one may hinder the other (Grin, 2017; Grin et al., 2014). Well-designed policy, therefore, can alleviate tension between seemingly conflicting goals. The trade-off model was specifically developed to analyse the goals of promoting intra-European Union (EU) mobility and social inclusion (Grin, 2017; Grin et al., 2014). According

to the trade-off model, although mobility and inclusion are not necessarily incompatible, a tension can exist between them.

There are a number of legal instruments and policies that could be discussed, but the focus in this article will be on the legal and policy norms established by—and the nature of the implementation of—the following: the Council of Europe’s European Convention on Human Rights, the UK’s *Human Rights Act 1998*, the European Council Directive 77/486/EEC and the Scottish Government’s 1+2 Language Strategy. The position of language in the UK’s *Equality Act 2010* and the Code of Practice for the *Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act 2004* will also be highlighted.

For the purposes of this article, this trade-off will be discussed in relation to education in Scotland, considering the tension between increasingly multilingual school populations and inclusive teaching. Legal and policy frameworks will be considered, and issues raised during several interviews carried out with members of staff from the EAL services, which work with schools and professionals to support pupils who are learning English, in Edinburgh and Glasgow will be discussed, highlighting practical and attitudinal challenges faced in service delivery.

These interviews are part of my research into the practical reality of local service delivery and the challenges faced in meeting service demand and legal and policy obligations. The EAL services are supported by the respective local authorities (the City of Edinburgh Council and Glasgow City Council) and similar themes emerged in the interviews with each service. Limited resources and increased service demand influence strategy choices, as services develop new ways of meeting the demand, such as a greater role for peripatetic teachers, and capacity building and training within schools. Alongside such practical challenges and responses, two key issues raised during interviews were the continued importance of challenging attitudes that approach linguistic diversity among pupils as a problem and of working with families and professionals to counter misconceptions and negative beliefs about the use of languages other than English at home, to encourage intergenerational transmission. The challenges highlighted during these interviews suggest that education services in Edinburgh and Glasgow still have work to do in adapting to the greater diversity resulting from increased mobility in an inclusive manner.

This is also the case in other aspects of the Scottish education system, such as the limited implementation of the Scottish Government’s 1+2 Language Strategy: many schools continue to prioritise European languages

such as French and German, while languages with significant speaker communities, such as Polish, are rarely included in the mainstream education system (Hancock, 2014, 2017). As a result, community-run complementary schools are a significant source of cultural and linguistic education for other allochthonous¹ languages and receive little state support (Hancock, 2014, 2017; Wang, 2011). Although there are opportunities for greater inclusion in the Scottish education system in terms of legal and policy frameworks, both practical and attitudinal constraints remain and there is a lack of truly diverse provision.

2. Legal Obligations and the Place of Language: European, UK and Scottish Instruments

When considering approaches to multilingualism and inclusion at the local level, such as in education services, it is important to note the legal and policy norms that affect such approaches and the number of levels at which such norms are established: supranational, national and local. The actual implementation of such norms may vary for a variety of reasons, including access to resources, political contexts and lack of understanding of legal or policy obligations, and the practical applications of a select few will be explored below.

For several relevant legal instruments, implementation is at present in a potentially precarious position in the UK due to political circumstances. It should be noted that with the UK’s decision to withdraw from the EU, key conventions and legal instruments relevant to equalities, rights and linguistic diversity will no longer be binding in the UK. They nevertheless remain relevant now. In addition, there is a degree of uncertainty about the position of the Council of Europe’s European Convention on Human Rights (European Convention), and subsequently the UK’s *Human Rights Act 1998*, because there has been discussion in the UK political sphere about withdrawing from the former—an instrument that has some significance in terms of language—and about replacing the *Human Rights Act 1998*. Given this political context, it is unclear what their future will be in the UK. At present, both legal instruments are still binding, and so they will be considered here.

The European Convention includes a general prohibition of discrimination, in addition to a prohibition of any discrimination that threatens the rights established within it, specifically referring in both cases to discrimination based on a number of grounds, including language, national origin and association with a national minority (Council of Europe, 2010). The *Human Rights*

¹ The terms ‘allochthonous’ and ‘autochthonous’ language(s) will be used in the article. ‘Allochthonous’ refers to languages that are not historically associated with Scotland, while ‘autochthonous’ refers to languages that are, such as Scottish Gaelic. Having originated in the field of geology (see Bekers, 2009), ‘allochthonous’ carries a more neutral connotation than other commonly used terms like ‘immigrant’, ‘migrant’, ‘community’ or ‘heritage’ language(s), which are often politicised and used to refer to particular languages or language communities, rather than to all allochthonous languages. There can still be problematic discourse surrounding the term ‘allochthonous’ because it means ‘from elsewhere’ and could arguably be alienating and pejorative—and also inaccurate, given that many members of these speaker communities are UK-born or naturalised citizens (McLeod, 2008). Additionally, the term has different connotations in different contexts (see Bekers, 2009, regarding Belgium and the Netherlands, for example). There may be no truly neutral term, but ‘allochthonous’ is preferred here as more neutral than other options.

Act 1998 incorporated the European Convention into UK law and includes the particular legal rights established by it, in addition to the prohibition of discrimination on language grounds that would prevent the enjoyment of these rights. It does not, however, include the general prohibition of discrimination found in the European Convention, because this prohibition is set out by Optional Protocol No. 12 (Council of Europe, 2010), which the UK (along with numerous other states) has neither signed nor ratified (Council of Europe, 2017). The *Human Rights Act 1998* does require public authorities to act in accordance with the rights set out by the European Convention, however, which therefore does establish a prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of language, national origin and association with a national minority, among others, for public authorities in the UK.

It is worth noting an EU legal instrument that requires member states to provide a certain degree of language teaching and support. The European Council Directive 77/486/EEC (Council of the European Union, 1977) establishes an obligation to provide the children of EU workers with free tuition in the official language (or one of the official languages) of the host state (Council of the European Union, 1977). On a practical level, competence in the dominant language of a host country is a useful skill and can facilitate access to the economic, cultural, social and educational opportunities available in the host state: “[e]vidence from all countries of immigration makes it clear that mastery of the national language(s) is fundamental to economic success” (Hansen, 2003, pp. 34–35). This can come at the expense of allochthonous languages, however; often the linguistic pattern for immigrants is that by the third generation full linguistic assimilation has occurred (Dunbar, 2007).

Directive 77/486/EEC does state that member states should “promote” teaching the children of EU nationals the “mother tongue” of their country of origin (Council of the European Union, 1977, Article 3). Since Directive 77/486/EEC, aimed to promote cross-border mobility within the EU, it was thought that the teaching of a mother tongue of the state of origin would ease return to that state, should an intra-EU migrant and his or her family wish to do so. These obligations apply only to the children of EU citizens, of course, and impose a lesser commitment concerning the teaching of European allochthonous languages, in comparison to specifically requiring free tuition in one of the host state’s official languages (Council of the European Union, 1977). Nevertheless, it does establish a legal framework that requires a certain degree of multilingual education to facilitate integration in the host state and in the country of origin, respectively.

Despite the establishment of these obligations by Directive 77/486/EEC, there appears to be limited implementation of the instrument and fulfilment of the obligations it sets out. A 2008 EU Green Paper questioned the influence that Directive 77/486/EEC could have on the development of national-level policy, describing its im-

plementation as “patchy” and “difficult” (European Commission, 2008, pp. 4, 13). Member states have developed their own policy approaches to the teaching of their official language(s), with seemingly little influence from Directive 77/486/EEC, while the more flexible requirement concerning allochthonous languages has had only “some patchy impact” (European Commission, 2008, p. 14). The increased intra-EU mobility following the 2004 and 2007 accessions was noted, as was the fact that Directive 77/486/EEC establishes obligations only regarding EU citizens; it does not address the educational rights or needs of children from outside of the EU (European Commission, 2008). This limits its scope and its application in relation to the demographic reality of many EU states (Atger, 2009; European Commission, 2009).

When considering the legal and policy context in which Scottish public services are developed, it is important to note the particular political structure that influences this, because it is not only shaped by supranational and UK-level national frameworks, but also by legislation and policy established by the Scottish Government and Parliament. The devolution agreement, which determined which areas would be under its control and which would remain under the control of the Westminster Parliament and the UK Government, is pertinent because several relevant policy areas, such as immigration, asylum and equal opportunities, are ‘reserved matters’ and thus the responsibility of the Westminster Parliament. However, other areas, including education, health and social services and law and order, are ‘devolved matters’, legislated on by the Scottish Parliament. This legal structure provides an interesting dynamic regarding mobility and inclusion in Scotland since, while immigration and asylum issues—mobility—are controlled at the UK level by the Westminster Parliament, many aspects of social policy that are related to inclusion are determined at the Scottish level.

Official EU principles establish linguistic diversity and multiculturalism in Europe as a cultural wealth to be safeguarded and promoted (Council of the European Union, 2008). At the UK level, however, although equalities legislation affords protection from discrimination, language remains relatively overlooked in domestic legislation. The *Equality Act 2010* (Chapter 15, Part 2, Chapter 1) identifies nine “protected characteristics”; language, however, is not one of them, which means that it is not directly protected under this piece of anti-discrimination legislation. It is possible that language could be indirectly protected under the “race” category, because this includes “ethnic or national origins” (*Equality Act 2010*, Chapter 15, Part 2, Chapter 1), but there is no specific reference to or inclusion of language in the legislation. Equal opportunities is a reserved matter under the Scottish devolution agreement, and so the *Equality Act 2010* applies in Scotland as well.

In Scotland, language issues are specifically engaged by the Code of Practice for the *Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act 2004*; the Act itself does

not list specific additional support needs, but the Code of Practice does list EAL as one of these needs, and identifies in-class EAL provision as an example of how education services can fulfil their legislative obligations (Scottish Executive, 2010).

There are therefore a number of legal and policy norms connected to language that apply to education in Scotland, but the obligations established are in several cases somewhat vague, or not explicitly applied to language issues. Although Optional Protocol No. 12 of the European Convention does not apply in the UK, and so the *Human Rights Act 1998* does not include its general prohibition of discrimination on the grounds of language, this prohibition does have a place because UK public authorities are required to uphold the rights protected by the European Convention. On the other hand, the *Equality Act 2010*, which is a key piece of legislation used by Scottish local authorities in service planning and delivery, does not explicitly protect against discrimination on the grounds of language.

Directive 77/486/EEC establishes obligations to provide free tuition in a state language and to promote the teaching of allochthonous European languages, which of course places (vague, in the latter case) obligations on Scottish schools, but only regarding EU citizens. This is nevertheless relevant to speakers of significant European languages such as Polish. Challenging inadequate provision as discrimination on the grounds of language, however, would be difficult, because Directive 77/486/EEC establishes only a vague obligation to promote allochthonous European language education, rather than to provide it. Scottish Government guidance on the *Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act 2004* explicitly refers to EAL provision (Scottish Executive, 2010) and these services do form an important part of local education services, but of course this is relevant only to pupils who are not proficient in English; for others, the Scottish Government's 1+2 Language Strategy is significant, but its implementation has so far been limited. Since the Strategy encourages an in-

clusive approach but does not require provision for specific languages, schools are relatively free to make their own language teaching choices.

The legal instruments relevant to Scottish schools therefore establish certain (sometimes limited) obligations regarding provision for specific pupils—EU citizens and EAL pupils, for example—but language remains relatively overlooked in UK legislation, and there is a lack of specific requirements that apply to all pupils.

3. The Linguistic Composition of Scotland and Language Choices in Education

As shown in Table 1, in the 2011 Scottish Census Polish speakers outnumbered those of other European allochthonous languages and those of non-European languages that had previously been among the most significant speaker groups, such as Urdu, Punjabi, Gujarati, Bengali and Chinese languages (National Records of Scotland [NRS], 2015). There is a practical need to respond to the increasingly multilingual nature of Scottish schools, and to provide linguistic support for those pupils who need it. In 2016, approximately 5.75% (39,342) of Scottish pupils had English as an additional language (Scottish Government, 2016a), which is a significant increase from 3.38% (22,740) in 2010, despite the much smaller increase in total pupil numbers (Scottish Government, 2010). In 2016, the most common languages spoken at home other than English were Polish, Urdu, Scots, Punjabi and Arabic (Scottish Government, 2016a). Although the focus here is on allochthonous languages, Scottish Gaelic language education should not be entirely overlooked. In 2016, approximately 0.6% (3,892) of Scottish school pupils attended Gaelic-medium education (Gaelic was the language spoken at home for approximately 0.08%, or 522, of pupils), while for approximately 0.04% (268) of pupils Gaelic was the only subject taught through the language and approximately 0.88% (6,055) of pupils attended Gaelic learner classes (Scottish Government, 2016a).

Table 1. 2011 Scottish Census: Language spoken at home (NRS, 2015).

Language spoken at home	Scotland
All usual residents aged 3+	5,118,223
People who speak only English at home	4,740,547
Arabic	9,097
Chinese*	27,381
French	14,623
German	11,317
Italian	8,252
Polish	54,186
Punjabi	23,150
Spanish	10,556
Urdu	23,394

* Includes Mandarin, Cantonese, Min Nan Chinese and 'unspecified' Chinese.

Note: Table 1 shows a selection of allochthonous languages with significant speaker numbers in the 2011 Scottish Census.

In 2012, the Scottish Government launched its Language Strategy, which included accepting recommendations to introduce the teaching of two languages at different stages during primary school education and to encourage the teaching of Scottish Gaelic and both European and non-European allochthonous languages—with specific reference to the home languages² of pupils and “local circumstances and priorities” (Scottish Government, 2012, Annex A, p. 18). The Scottish Government also accepted the recommendation to develop links with language communities, cultural organisations, local authorities and schools in order to “derive maximum benefit” from allochthonous language communities (Scottish Government, 2012, p. 24), although no specific connection was drawn between these links and allochthonous language teaching.

There has been some inclusion of non-European allochthonous languages in Scottish secondary education provision, but allochthonous language teaching remains relatively limited. The Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) has developed secondary education qualifications in Cantonese, French, Gaelic (Learners), German, Italian, Mandarin (Simplified), Mandarin (Traditional), Spanish and Urdu. Considering Directive 77/486/EEC, it is worth noting that in Scotland, secondary school provision for European languages other than French, German and Spanish is limited, and a “tilting” towards such “popular” European languages, particularly French, is common (Hancock, 2014, p. 174). This suggests that the Strategy’s implementation is often not inclusive and not in line with the linguistic composition of schools or communities; while it provides a framework that would allow for an inclusive approach that responds to the diversity present, in many cases this has not been realised.

The lack of provision in Scottish education for Polish is interesting, considering Directive 77/486/EEC establishes an obligation to promote the teaching of European allochthonous languages so that the children of EU migrants are able to integrate linguistically in their/their parents’ countries of origin. Although this obligation remains relatively flexible and does not impose any specifics on EU member states, it is noteworthy that the significant Polish-speaking community has received so little provision in the Scottish education system; particularly given the Scottish Government’s reference to pupils’ home languages (Scottish Government, 2012) regarding language selection under its 1+2 Language Strategy. This highlights the limited implementation of Directive 77/486/EEC and the fact that the European languages generally taught in Scottish schools do not reflect the demographic reality of Scotland. In addition to not fulfilling the EU’s aim to facilitate reintegration in the country of origin, the relative exclusion of a significant language such as Polish from mainstream education could hinder inclusion for its speaker community in Scotland, reinforcing negative beliefs about multilingualism and suggesting a low status for even the most commonly

spoken allochthonous languages. Additionally, even for children who do not return to their/their parents’ countries of origin, a lack of education in their families’ allochthonous languages could threaten intergenerational transmission and communication within communities and families. There a trade-off between mobility and inclusion: intra-EU mobility has led to the establishment of a significant Polish-speaking community but, in responding to this, the linguistic needs of this community have not been approached in an inclusive way within the Scottish education system.

Complementary schools are a significant source of linguistic and cultural education for allochthonous language communities, providing a space outside of mainstream education—usually after school or at the weekend—that can facilitate the intergenerational transmission of these languages (Wang, 2011). Complementary schools are community-based language schools that often rely on parent volunteers, or “parent teachers”, to teach the languages in question (Wang, 2011, pp. 2–3). This can be problematic because many parent teachers do not have teaching qualifications or experience, and many may not be familiar with pedagogy in the UK (Wang, 2011). Hancock (2014, p. 178) does argue, however, that complementary schools afford communities the chance to retain ownership of their linguistic and cultural education and that they can provide “safe spaces” for the negotiation of identities and linguistic development.

There is a range of approaches to organising complementary schools: the use of mainstream school premises or religious centres, affiliation with consulates or with “heritage” countries, or organisation by families or communities (Hancock, 2017). Complementary schools rely on financial support from consulates, restricted grants from local authorities and the campaigning of community members to raise funds; they are therefore limited by a lack of resources, and provision remains “patchy” (Hancock, 2014, p. 177). There has been an overall decrease in provision by complementary schools, as well as a lack of provision for asylum seekers and refugees (Hancock, 2017). Furthermore, Hancock’s (2017) research found that many complementary schools were not aware of the Scottish Government’s 1+2 Language Strategy and did not have any links with local authorities or with mainstream schools to further this awareness or to provide allochthonous language learning activities.

4. Linguistic Support and Language Learning in Scottish Education, and the Challenges Encountered

4.1. Practical Challenges

During interviews with officials from the EAL services in Edinburgh and Glasgow, certain themes emerged that illustrated challenges faced by public service providers in fulfilling obligations. There is often a lack of understand-

² ‘Home language(s)’ refers to allochthonous or autochthonous languages spoken at home.

ing of legal frameworks and equalities obligations—such as the provision of EAL support under the *Additional Support for Learning Act 2004*—and, where such knowledge exists, there are often insufficient resources to fully implement them, particularly as service demand increases (S. Scott, EAL teacher, personal communication, 7 August 2017). There are also challenges faced in disseminating this information within schools: EAL services provide training—including information about legal and policy instruments, and the value of linguistic diversity—but there is a need, often unmet, for that training and knowledge to be passed on within schools (S. Scott, EAL teacher, personal communication, 7 August 2017). Recent developments in EAL provision, however, have included a focus on capacity building within schools, both inside and outside the classroom (EAL official, personal communication, 17 August 2017). In Edinburgh, for example, there are pilot projects in place in a small number of schools, trialling intensified work with teachers to evaluate and improve teaching practices around linguistic diversity and EAL pupils (EAL official, personal communication, 17 August 2017). Such strategies may alleviate the pressure on services due to increased demand: expanding knowledge of good practice and challenging misconceptions can improve teaching practices and pupils’ experiences.

Resource constraints are a challenge, as UK EAL services operate with reduced staff numbers at a time when service demand is growing (Educational Institute of Scotland [EIS], 2014; National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum [NALDIC], 2011, 2014). The EAL interviews discussed strategy changes—including a greater reliance on peripatetic teachers and training within schools—and restructurings of services in order to meet increasing service demand without proportional resource increases (S. Scott, EAL teacher, personal communication, 7 August 2017; M. Walker, Head of Glasgow’s EAL Service, personal communication, 15 May 2017). The resulting increase in numbers of pupils and schools on staff caseloads worsens time constraints and creates difficulties in providing adequate support for schools and for individual pupils; this has a negative effect on pupils’ experiences (NALDIC, 2011; S. Scott, EAL teacher, personal communication, 7 August 2017).

4.2. Attitudinal Challenges

Constructions of national identity and group membership are increasingly connected to language: “belonging and the discursive construction of individual and collective national identities are becoming linked more and more to language policies” (Wodak & Boukala, 2015, p. 254), and the ideal of proficiency in English tends to be encouraged in the UK: “At government level, policymaking still seeks linguistic conformity for allochthonous populations” (Wright, 2016, p. 246). Although there are practical benefits to proficiency in the dominant language (Hansen, 2003), focus on the English language and neg-

ative attitudes towards linguistic diversity can hinder the intergenerational transmission of allochthonous languages and therefore lessen multilingualism in the UK.

A significant aspect of responding to the practical needs of pupils while facilitating inclusion within classrooms and school communities is fostering positive attitudes towards multilingualism and the allochthonous languages spoken by pupils; this was an issue highlighted during several interviews with officials from EAL services. The Director of Bilingualism Matters, Professor Antonella Sorace (personal communication, 2 May 2017), emphasised the importance of encouraging schools to recognise and promote their pupils’ home languages and of encouraging intergenerational transmission within families. This is particularly important due to the culture of monolingualism in the UK (McLeod, 2008). Hancock (2014, p. 174) described the “prevailing monolingual mentality” present in Scotland as “both a fallacy and short sighted” and argued that it hinders Scottish pupils economically, culturally and educationally.

While approximately 70% of respondents to a recent Scottish Social Attitudes Survey reported speaking a language other than English, only 26% of these respondents were able to speak as much as a few simple sentences or partial conversations and only 11% could participate in most or all of a conversation in a language other than English (Scottish Government, 2016b). There were also indications that social attitudes towards the teaching of different languages echoed the seeming prioritisation of “popular” European allochthonous languages (Hancock, 2014, p. 174) in the Scottish education system. The majority of respondents (89%) stated that learning a language other than English from the age of five was “very” or “quite” important, but 63% selected Western European languages (particularly French and Spanish) as the “most appropriate” choices (Scottish Government, 2016b, p. 3). If language teaching is to be diversified and adapted to better correspond to the linguistic composition of Scotland, it seems likely that work will need to be done to promote the value of non-Western European languages and non-European languages more widely.

Within education itself, the limited application of the Scottish Government’s 1+2 strategy might negatively affect pupils; the lack of provision for or promotion of a range of allochthonous languages may impact inclusion within the school community and the value attributed to allochthonous languages, which for many pupils are their home languages. If even the most significant allochthonous languages are not included in the Scottish education system—even under a strategy that explicitly promotes language learning—this suggests a low status for these languages and reinforces negative perceptions of them. This lack of mainstream provision and the reliance on community-led initiatives for allochthonous language teaching discourages intergenerational transmission (A. Sorace, Director of Bilingualism Matters, personal communication, 10 June 2013).

EAL services in Edinburgh and Glasgow have found that it is not uncommon for families to claim an inaccurate level of English language proficiency, through fear that their child's school enrolment or attainment may be at risk if they admit to low proficiency and to another home language (EAL official, personal communication, 17 August 2017; M. Walker, Head of Glasgow's EAL Service, personal communication, 15 May 2017). In many countries parents are advised (by teachers and professionals) that their children will be disadvantaged if an allochthonous language is spoken at home in place of, or in addition to, the dominant language (Akoğlu & Yağmur, 2016; Place & Hoff, 2011). This misconception was raised in all of my interviews; the EAL services in both Edinburgh and Glasgow, and the research organisation Bilingualism Matters, often encounter it. If parents believe this message, it can lead to "impoverished input" (A. Sorace, Director of Bilingualism Matters, personal communication, 10 June 2013), or "a restricted code" (Akoğlu & Yağmur, 2016, p. 718), in the dominant language. Such input is less useful to language acquisition than input from native speakers and can also hinder parent-child communication and the intergenerational transmission of the allochthonous home language (Akoğlu & Yağmur, 2016; Place & Hoff, 2011).

5. Conclusions

There are legal frameworks and strategies in place that theoretically offer inclusive approaches to linguistic diversity and positive developments for language provision, but in reality there appears to be a failure to include significant allochthonous languages such as Polish in the Scottish education system. Allochthonous language communities remain largely responsible for their own language teaching, with little cooperation with either local authorities or mainstream schools.

Education services in Scotland must respond to increasingly multilingual school populations, and face practical challenges in doing so, which can hinder the introduction of more inclusive approaches within schools. EAL services are adapting their service delivery strategies accordingly, but there is still significant progress to be made regarding improving teaching practices and increasing understanding of the benefits of linguistically diverse schools. Contesting negative beliefs about multilingualism and the value of allochthonous languages—both in schools and within families—also continues to be an important task.

This is complicated by stretched resources and growing demand, but the increased focus on training within schools may facilitate the shifting of existing views and shaping of more inclusive school communities. Challenging negative attitudes and promoting the value of a range of allochthonous languages is important given the lack of specific obligations established by instruments such as the Scottish Government's 1+2 Language Strategy. At present, the responses to increased mobility and multi-

lingualism do not appear to be entirely inclusive, suggesting that a trade-off between mobility and inclusion has indeed occurred.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

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Article

Why Context Matters: Social Inclusion and Multilingualism in an Austrian School Setting

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Abstract

This article draws attention to language choice and language use of Austrian bi- and multilingual school children. We explore some implications of their linguistic practices with regard to social inclusion in an Austrian educational school setting. Pursuing a Dynamic Systems and Complexity Theory approach, we hypothesise that before language users actually use a language within a certain context, they have to evaluate the respective communicative situation by taking multiple contextual factors into consideration, meaning language users choose to use, or not to use, a language based on the socio-contextual information at hand. We consider these contextual factors to be most relevant as they provide the basis on which speakers can actually make use of a certain language within a given context. By drawing on examples of empirical data obtained through a language background survey, we examine some of the complex and dynamic interactions of contextual parameters influencing language choice and language use in the formal educational setting of classroom instruction. Based on the results of this study, we display a selection of the dynamic and complex interactions of pupils' language use in one specific context as well as their language preferences and how these relate to social inclusion.

Keywords

complexity; context; education; language use; multilingualism; social inclusion; sociolinguistics

Issue

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1. Introduction

Over the last few decades Austria, like other European countries, has developed into a culturally and linguistically diverse country due to growing mobility and migration, as well as increasing globalisation. Thus, the Council of Europe (2014) eagerly promotes cultural and linguistic diversity through carrying out great numbers of initiatives and programmes to support EU member states' policy development for establishing a:

Democratic, socially inclusive, cohesive, healthy and just society with respect for fundamental rights and cultural diversity that creates equal opportunities and combats discrimination in all its forms. (Commission of the European Communities, 2005, p. 4)

Although the EU proclaims social inclusion and full respect for cultural and linguistic diversity (Franke & Mannella, 2017, p. 1; cf. also European Commission, 2000, p. 13), critical voices among scholars are raised concerning a gap between political intentions and enactments,

and their actual execution. Gal (2006) relating to Anderson (1983) shows her concern on this critical issue:

Yet, this emphasis on linguistic diversity is deceptive. To be sure, there is recognition of national language, minority and regional language, foreign, migrant and third-country languages; mother tongues, sign languages, lesser used languages, ethnic minority, indigenous and non-territorial languages. Nevertheless, all the linguistic practices considered worthy of mention conform to standardising and Herderian assumptions: they are named languages with unified, codified norms of correctness embodied in literatures and grammars. No other configurations of speaking are recognised. (p. 167)

Accordingly, linguistic knowledge and competence on national state levels and especially in educational contexts still seem to be measured against concepts of standardised language norms. In Austria competence in the standardised German variety therefore seems to be representative for language competence in general and is still considered an indicator for social inclusion. Thus, language competence almost invariably refers to the competence in the majority or national language of the host country. In the Austrian report on Migration & Integration 2016 the level of language knowledge of German and the level of education are identified as two out of five core indicators (Statistik Austria, 2016, p. 15) for integration (based of the National Action Plan), whereas other linguistic skills of bi- and multilingual language users are not taken into account. As Krumm (2003, p. 413f) points out, integration in Austria seems frequently understood as the command of the German language or, in other words, linguistic assimilation. Accordingly, the Federal Ministry for Education in Austria issued a regulation on language education in June 2017 which requires schools in Austria to identify and promote the oral competence of all pupils in the German language and argues that:

[T]he acquisition or the knowledge of the German language of instruction and education is the basis for participation in all educational processes and is therefore an essential prerequisite for school success and subsequent integration into the labour market as well as for participation in political, economic, cultural and social life Austria. (2017, p. 1, translated by the authors)

German is here clearly presented as the target language upon which educational, political, economic, cultural, and social participation is based. Consequently, educational language programmes, particularly those which strongly emphasise the teaching and learning of German only (e.g., courses like German as second or foreign language), are promoted by the Federal Ministry for Education. However, such programmes and courses, as well as language instruction in Austrian schools in general, do not usually pay enough attention to findings of cur-

rent research on multilingualism with regard to language learning. Research on language learning in the context of multilingualism shows that making use of already existing linguistic resources supports and benefits further language learning processes (e.g., Herdina & Jessner, 2002; Hufeisen & Marx, 2014). Nevertheless, pupils' linguistic resources, their knowledge of languages and language varieties, as well as their knowledge about language systems other than the German standard variety, are insufficiently considered as relevant existing knowledge on which to build when teaching and learning a second, third etc. language (in this case German). Consequently, language learning instruction in Austrian schools, as well as special German-teaching programmes in Austria, predominantly follow a tradition which is based on notions such as one-language-one-nation, the standardised variety of German as well as an idealised native speaker. Apart from that, little or no consideration has been given to contextual framework conditions that provide opportunities for pupils to make use of their full linguistic repertoires and resources.

Focusing on the latter aspect, this article aims at a better understanding of the complexity of contextual factors which provide pupils with opportunities to actually make full use of their language resources in education contexts. To do this, we will have to identify contextual factors that must be considered individually as well as in their interplay. We therefore address the question of which factors influence multilingual pupils to choose, activate, and actually use certain languages in educational contexts. We hypothesise that contextual factors such as situational setting, interlocutors, and communicative needs are among the main driving forces for language choice and language use. By taking these factors into account, we wish to contribute to a deeper understanding of probable reasons for prioritizing certain languages over others in educational contexts, thus affecting linguistic and, consequently, social participation at school.

In the following, we will first outline some relevant educational-political considerations regarding the Austrian context. Secondly, we will provide the conceptual and methodological frames and thus, the lenses through which contextual factors are approached with regard to language choice and language use at school. To make sense of the complex multicultural and multilingual encounters in the context of diversity, we consider the framework of Dynamic Systems and Complexity Theory (henceforth DSCT) most appropriate. In the study, we present findings from a language background survey of bi- and multilingual school children attending New Middle School (comparable to secondary modern school) in Innsbruck (Tyrol/Austria). The aim of the current study is to investigate the interrelations between contextual factors and language choice and use of bi- and multilingual pupils in an Austrian school context, and relate them to issues regarding teaching methods and social inclusion.

2. Multilingualism in the Austrian Educational Context

2.1. Austrian Language Policy and Status Quo

According to the Language Educational Policy Profile: Country Report Austria (2008):

Austria has successfully developed a language policy for schools and in general education that is geared to supporting plurilingualism, as well as effective structures for the planning and discussion of language policy issues: in concert with decisions and programmes of the Council of Europe and of the European Union, these undergo consistent further development. By way of contrast, the linguistic wealth of migrants, and that of minority and neighbouring languages, is hardly made use of in educational practice. (Federal Ministry for Education, Arts and Culture & Federal Ministry for Science and Research Austria, 2008, p. 28)

As it becomes obvious in the Language Educational Policy Profile (2008), Austria's worthy endeavours in promoting multilingualism have not yet become effective in educational teaching and learning practices. Although linguistic diversity and intercultural dialogue have been promoted, Austria's focus is still on reinforcing the acquisition of the standardised German variety as the single official, national state language (Federal Constitutional Law, 1930/2005). Despite official governmental acknowledgement of minority languages (e.g., Hungarian, Czech, Slovenian, etc.), the government stands by its position that German is and has to be the only target language through which social inclusion is to be legitimized. According to the Austrian National Education Report 2015 "weaknesses in the language of instruction [German] are a risk to school success" (Bruneforth, Lassnigg, Vogtenhuber, Schreiner, & Breit, 2016, p. 28, translated by the authors).

Thus, broadly speaking, migration and little command of German are still indicators for social and educational inequality and high risk in Austria. As stated in the recently published Austrian National Education Report 2015, more and more children predominantly using everyday languages other than German are classified as pupils with special educational needs (SPF). The SPF-ratio of 7.1% for young people at grades five through eight who use other languages than German on a daily basis is considerably higher than for German-speaking pupils whose ratio is 4.1%. Children with non-German heritage languages thus have a 54% higher risk of receiving an SPF (Bruneforth et al., 2016, p. 98).¹ At the same time, these children attend classes with high proportions of fellow-pupils with non-German everyday languages, which is considered a strong factor of educational segregation:

Since the change in the school and class composition is only limited by the influence of school policy action,

the question arises as to which measures are necessary to improve the quality of teaching in this segregated education. (Bruneforth et al., 2016, p. 44)

2.2. The Role of Teachers and Schools in Austria

Presently, teachers in Austria face the challenge of managing language learning during classroom instruction in a tailored way, e.g., conducting standardised language tests normed on monolingual German native speakers. These tests are first and foremost designed and executed to evaluate the pupils' level of proficiency in the German standard variety. Although there have been international efforts to develop tests that are valid for several languages and/or to take metalinguistic competences into account (e.g., Jessner, Hofer, & Pinto, 2015), critical research on language testing (e.g., Shohamy, 2001) shows that tests are still mainly developed against the background of western cultural concepts of socialisation (Lengyel, 2012, p. 17). Most tests may thus still be seen as instruments of educational and socio-political power, both neglecting and excluding any other of the pupils' linguistic resources than the standard target language variety. Accordingly, the notion of one-language-one-nation still seems to be resonating and thus indicating that traditional European language ideologies are (sought to be) preserved (e.g., Weber & Horner, 2012, p. 18f). The difficulties that arise are that results of those legally binding language tests in Austria build an important basis for teachers' educational practices. At the same time, teachers in Austria are obliged to follow the curriculum and thus have to incorporate all of their pupils' linguistic resources in class (Federal Ministry for Education, 2012, p. 8). If, however, the pupils' competence in the standardised German variety is considered to be most crucial for educational success in the Austrian school system, as well as for social inclusion, teachers may give top priority to teaching the standardised German variety. Due to lack of appropriate alternative testing instruments, little didactical and methodological knowledge on how to include (all) their pupils' linguistic resources in class, and—last but not least—lack of time, opportunities for pupils to make use of their linguistic resources other than German has been reduced to a minimum.

Thus, teachers in Austria are faced with contradictory and thus challenging contexts and interests. Teachers and schools are obliged to follow and act out national state and governmental interests (and power) which are still based on latent ideas of homogeneity (uniformity) such as homogeneity of languages, homogeneity of cultures, and homogeneity of populations, which are at the source of state ideologies of language and identity. Consequently, children equipped with diverse sets of linguistic resources cannot yet equally make use of their language knowledge and competences within educational settings since they still find themselves embedded in monolingually and monoculturally biased school

¹ Gomolla and Radtke (2009) present similar results for Germany with regard to the proportion of migrant children in special schools.

contexts (e.g., Gogolin, 2008). However, schools need to be:

[U]nderstood both as sites of production and distributions of all kinds of resources, including linguistic ones, and as sites of discursive construction of ideologies of language, identity and nation, and of social categories. (Heller, 2012, p. 27)

Thus, in order to learn more about the consequences derived from this difficult positioning of teachers and schools in Austria, we need to look more closely at the complex composition of educational contexts and what implications they have for pupils' linguistic and thus social participation.

3. Conceptual and Methodological Frames

3.1. Dynamic Systems and Complexity Theory (DSCT)

Making use of linguistic resources in various contexts depends as much on the individual's linguistic competence, his/her language knowledge and his/her willingness or desire (Kristeva, 1980) to use a specific language as it does on the specific socio-cultural and socio-political contexts, which can either elicit, restrict or, at worst, even prohibit the activation and making use of language resources and thus—at least to some extent—inhibit social participation.

Trying to follow these complex, and multi-layered structures of language choice and language use, we depend on scientific approaches best suited to address the complexity of interactions of a multitude of factors at different levels. Such an approach is offered by the DSCT and its application to second language acquisition (e.g., De Bot, Lowie, & Verspoor, 2007; Dörnyei, MacIntyre, & Henry, 2014; Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008) and multilingualism (Herdina & Jessner, 2002). Instead of perceiving entities, actions, and their interactions as isolated, bound, static and linear, DSCT tells us to shift our focus of attention to the transmutational and emerging quality of interconnections between entities and (inter)actions. Thus, DSCT forms an appropriate framework for our discussion of the interconnections between contextual factors involved in language choice and use in a formal education setting.

However, apart from the large frame of DSCT, we need some kind of prism or lens that allows for analytical and critical inquiry of the actual practice of language use within the realms of educational contexts in which pupils enact their choice of specific linguistic resources. Such a lens is offered by one of the conceptual and methodological frames of interactional sociolinguistics which examines socio-cultural, socio-political, and ideological conditions under which languages are used in certain contexts (e.g., Irvine & Gal, 2000; Silverstein, 1979; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994) and thus complements the DSCT approach.

3.2. Concepts of Context

The concept of context is of constitutive importance when it comes to investigating the complex dynamics of language choice and use. Researchers in the field of post-structural interactional, educational and cognitive (socio)linguistics promote and argue for a DSCT understanding of context(s) through which language evolves. Pursuing a DSCT and interactional sociolinguistic approach (e.g., van Dijk, 2010), we hypothesise that before language users actually use a language within a certain context, they have to evaluate the respective communicative setting by taking multiple parameters (that constitute a specific communicative situation) into consideration—i.e., language users make their choice to use or not to use a particular language based on the socio-contextual information at hand. Their ability to recognize, interpret, and make (communicative) use of this information is influenced by a variety of contextual factors—all of which constituting a language user's multi-competence, which Cook describes as “the overall system of a mind or a community that uses more than one language” (2012; Cook & Li Wei, 2016, p. 3). Moreover, the choices language users make index their subject positions. Davies and Harré define a subject position in the following way:

A subject position incorporates both a conceptual repertoire and a location for persons within the structure of rights for those that use that repertoire. Once having taken up a particular position as one's own, a person inevitably sees the world from the vantage point of that position and in terms of the particular images, metaphors, storylines and concepts which are made relevant within the particular discursive practice in which they are positioned. At least a possibility of notional choice is inevitably involved because there are many and contradictory discursive practices that each person could engage in. (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 46)

Accordingly, language users position themselves by deciding to use or not to use a particular language (variety, register, etc.) within a particular context (e.g., Kramsch, 2015, p. 20; Pennycook, 1994, p. 128). Interactional contexts, therefore, are not to be considered as simply consisting of given social structures pre-defined by objective parameters but rather as dynamic systems that are constantly (re-)created through the interactions between language users, the intersection of contextual parameters (e.g., culture, social class, social role, social setting, political discourse), the users' communicative goals, communicative needs and—in particular—the emerging structures resulting from these interactions.

However, since a direct link between contextual structures and how people speak (or which language they use) cannot be observed, we can only relate language use to contexts through the mind of language users (e.g., Kecskes, 2008, pp. 385ff). This perspective is

in accordance with DSCT, which considers the mind as an open system, where there is no separation between mind and environment, and was outlined, for example, by Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008): “An open system cannot be independent of its context since there is a flow of energy or matter between system and environment; the context is part of the system and its complexity” (p. 34). Thus, the concept of context can be seen as a relational one consisting of:

[F]ive dimensions: linguistic, situational, interactional, as well as the cultural and intertextual. It is shaped by people in dialogue with one another in a variety of roles and statuses. Because language is at the intersection of the individual and the social of text and discourse, it both reflects and construes the social reality called “context”. (Kramsch, 1993, p. 67)

In this article we focus on the first three dimensions, which are linguistic, situational, and interactional, in an educational setting and try to find out more about the complex interrelations between these dimensions creating contexts and thus influencing pupils’ language choice and use. Contexts, however, are not to be perceived as static and fixed. When it comes to language teaching and learning in inclusive settings in particular, it seems of utmost importance to arrive at a well-informed understanding of how even the slightest shifts, changes, and differences in weighting of factors constituting these dimensions may create totally different conditions for choosing to use or not to use a particular language or draw on a particular linguistic resource (register, variety, etc.). From a DSCT approach, contexts can thus be regarded as emergent systems which are by definition neither fixed nor precisely predictable, since they are constantly (re-)constructed. Accordingly, Herdina and Jessner (2002) present the perceived communicative needs of the multilingual individual as a crucial element of language development, meaning that learning and using a language or languages are defined and formed by the societal framework in which communication and learning take place.

By trying to take these aspects into account, we attempt to raise awareness for the dynamic interplay between contextual factors in order to arrive at a dynamic understanding of language choice and language use in linguistically diverse educational contexts. We thereby hope to contribute to a more inclusive understanding of contextual factors providing pupils with opportunities to draw on specific linguistic resources.

4. The Austrian Study

The present study aims at investigating the complexity of pupils’ making use of their reported linguistic repertoires in a formal educational context. It forms part of a large-scale study carried out by Mayr-Keiler (forthcoming). This article will specifically answer the following questions:

- (1) Can bi- and multilingual pupils make use of languages other than German in a formal educational context? If so, which languages can they make use of?
- (2) Which contextual factors affect the actual making use of languages other than German for bi- and multilingual children in a formal educational setting?

Within the context of this article ‘formal context’ is defined as the official, educational school context, in which pupils use language during lessons to interact with their teachers in order to participate in class on or off-task.

4.1. Methodology

4.1.1. Subjects

The subjects of the large-scale study are 437 pupils attending three New Middle Schools in the urban area of Innsbruck, Tyrol, Austria. All three schools are located in school districts with a high proportion of migrants and thus are culturally and linguistically diverse.

4.1.2. The Language Background Questionnaire

Data for the study were collected through a pencil and paper questionnaire based on the language background scale of Baker (1992) and Extra and Yagmur (2004). The questionnaire was designed to collect data on the language choices and the oral language use of mono-, bilingual and multilingual pupils attending a New Middle School between the ages of ten and fifteen years. Since the test was conducted in German, we considered question formats pupils are most likely to be acquainted with. The first section of the survey collected background information concerning age, gender, school attendance, school grade, and language history. In the second section participants were asked about their language choices and use in detail and it contains, among others, questions on the following aspects:

- Individual linguistic repertoires (e.g., With how many languages and with which languages did you grow up?);
- Oral language use in the three different contexts.

Since this article focuses on language choice and use in a formal educational setting, we present only the questions dealing with formal context (Which languages are you taught at school and for how long?; Which languages do you use with your class teacher during classroom instruction (additional ranking of languages was asked); Which languages do you use with your classmates during lessons?; Which languages do you use for chatting during lessons?)

- Language attitudes (What are your favourite languages and why/why not?).

Furthermore, subjects were asked to provide information concerning the languages they use for specific topics with their friends, the languages they use on the phone (and with whom), for listening to music and watching TV. Other questions concerned the pupils' favourite and non-favourite languages. All sections provided the possibility for multiple answers with closed questions as well as the possibility for additions provided by the pupils in open questions. Moreover, subjects were asked to rank their answers according to priority.

4.1.3. Data Analysis and Methods

The present study relies on results gained through univariate and bivariate analyses of the input variables mono-, bi- and multilingualism, German, English or other languages reported by the participants as L1, L2, L3 and Ln as well as the oral use of these languages in the formal educational context. This analysis was performed using the computing environment R (R Development Core Team, 2005). In addition, we performed an intersection analysis of the following contextual variables included in the data:

- Provision of optional language courses at the schools investigated;
- Pupils participation in optional language courses provided at school;
- Duration of attendance in optional language courses (time of exposure).

We thus created intersecting sets to show which of the reported languages included in the pupils' linguistic repertoire are actually used in a formal educational

setting and to show how these contextual variables influence the pupils' opportunity to actually make use of languages other than German. In this study, we will only refer to results concerning the language use of bi- and multilinguals.

5. Results

5.1. General Findings

Of the 437 subjects who participated in the study 39.36% reported to be bilingual (N = 172) and 10.07% stated to be multilingual (N = 44). Bilingual pupils reported the following languages as their L1: Turkish (N = 55), Bosnian-Serbian-Croatian (BKS) (N = 40), Iranian languages (a variety of Kurdish or Persian) (N = 3), Arabic (N = 5), Romance languages (Italian or Rumanian) (N = 10), other languages (N = 11). 48 of the bilinguals mentioned German as their L1. As for the multilingual pupils (N = 44), 59.1% stated to have an L1 other than German (N = 26). Among the multilingual pupils' (N = 44) reported L1 we find the following languages: Turkish (N = 6), a Romance language (Italian, Portuguese, French, Spanish or Romanian) (N = 6), an Iranian language (a variety of Kurdish or Persian) (N = 5), other languages (N = 4), Arabic, a variety of German dialect and English were each mentioned once.

However, taking all the languages reported by bi- and multilinguals either as L1, L2, L3 and L3+ into account, we can define a set of languages (henceforth referred to "reported linguistic repertoire") and see the following languages included in the bi- and multilinguals reported linguistic repertoire based on the number of responses (N = 481) (see Figure 1).

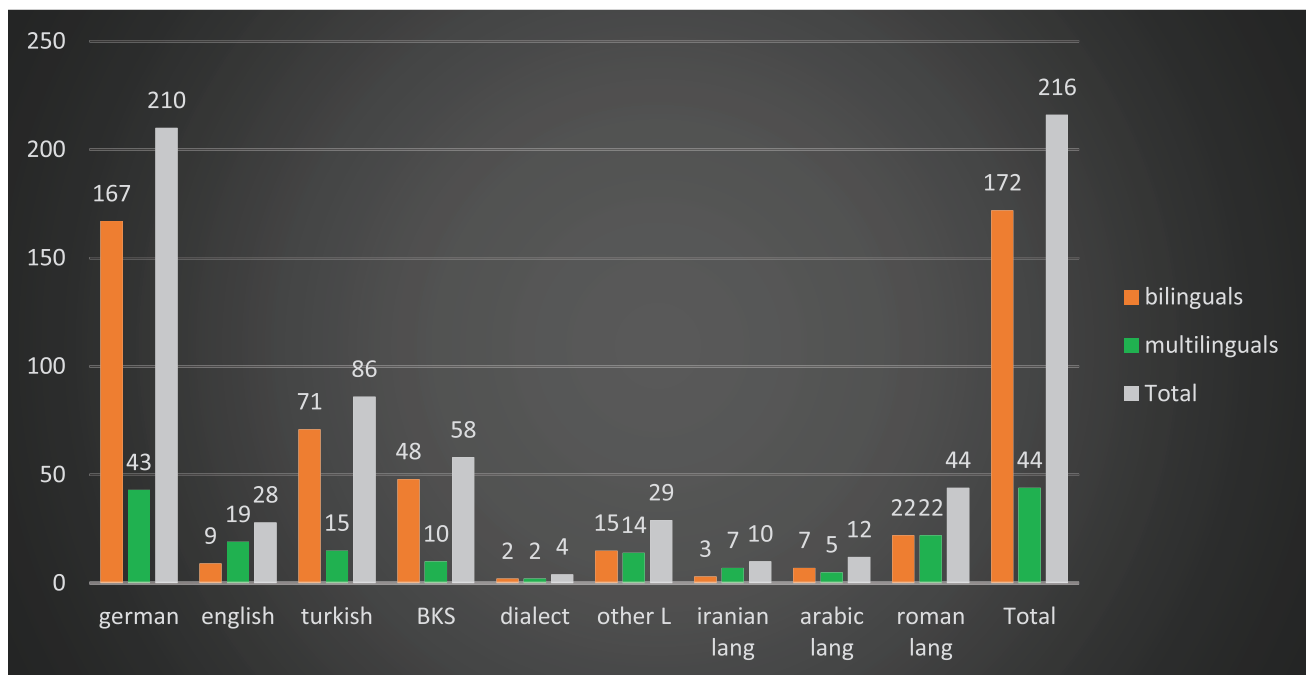


Figure 1. Languages included in bi- (N = 172) and multilinguals' (N = 44) reported linguistic repertoire.

As shown in Figure 1, 210 out of 216 bi- and multilinguals have German in their reported linguistic repertoire. Turkish, BKS and Romance languages have the greatest share in the bi- and multilinguals' reported linguistic repertoires. Findings, however, (cf. Section 5.2 in this article) will show that most of the languages included in the bi- and multilingual pupils' linguistic repertoire are rarely or not used at all as a resource for interacting with their class teachers during classroom instruction. The only languages used (except for German) are English or a Romance language. Therefore, we focus on these two languages in the following.

5.2. The Use of Italian and English in a Formal Educational Context

Since German is the language of instruction and education in Austria (see introduction) results correspondingly show that 98,6% of the bi- and multilingual (N = 216) pupils use German as a first language with their teacher during classroom instruction. As outlined before in Section 2.2 in this article, however, social (including linguistic and cultural) inclusion means to provide pupils with opportunities which allow them to make use of their (linguistic) resources other than German to support their learning, so attention is also drawn to if and how bi- and multilingual pupils can make use of these linguistic resources in a formal educational context.

Results show that about 60% (129 out of 216) of the bi- and multilingual pupils actually make use of an additional language other than German, namely Italian and English, during classroom instruction. Both of them are first or second foreign languages which are obligatorily offered at schools in Austria. English and Italian can therefore be considered as socially "unmarked" languages within a formal educational context. Most of the other languages included in the reported linguistic repertoires of bi- and multilingual pupils are rarely or not used at all as a resource for interacting with their class teachers during classroom instruction.

5.2.1. Bilingual Pupils

55.8% of the bilinguals (N = 96) reported to use an additional language with their class teachers. 81 pupils reported to use English as a second language with their class teachers (see Figure 2). However, only 9 of them reported to have English included in their linguistic repertoire (see Figure 1). This means, we can find a discrepancy between the existence of English in their repertoire and their actual use of English as a second language in the formal educational context with their class teacher.

Among those bilinguals who listed a Romance language (Romanian, N = 10; French, N = 1, Spanish, N = 1; Italian, N = 10) in their linguistic repertoire (N = 22; cf. Figure 1) only 5 of those who mentioned Italian (N = 10) actually use Italian with their class teacher (cf. Figure 2). In contrast to the bilinguals' use of English, Italian is only used by those bilinguals who have Italian included in their linguistic repertoire.

5.2.2. Multilingual Pupils

75% of the multilinguals (N = 33 out of N_{total} = 44) reported to use an additional language with their class teachers. 24 out of 44 multilinguals reported to use English as a second or a third language with their class teacher. However, 19 of them reported to also have English included in their linguistic repertoire. In contrast to the bilinguals, there seems to be a greater concordance between reporting English included in the linguistic repertoire and making use of English in the formal educational context.

22 multilingual pupils mentioned having a Romance language in their repertoire (cf. Figure 1) whereby 13 mentioned Italian and 9 pupils either mentioned Rumanian (N = 3) or Spanish, French, or Portuguese (N = 6). Again, those 13 multilinguals that mentioned making use of Italian during classroom instruction (see Figures 3 and 4), are those who have Italian included in their linguistic repertoire. Multilinguals listing other Romance languages mentioned not making use of these languages in the formal educational context.

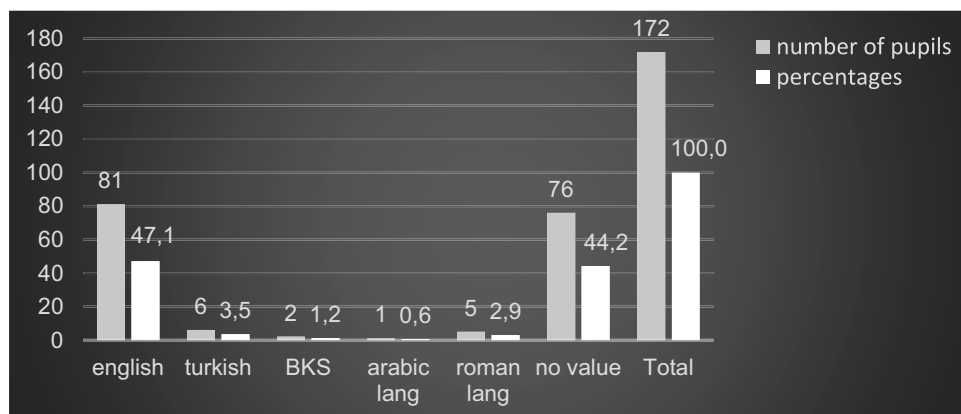


Figure 2. Bilingual pupils' reported languages used as a second language with class teacher.

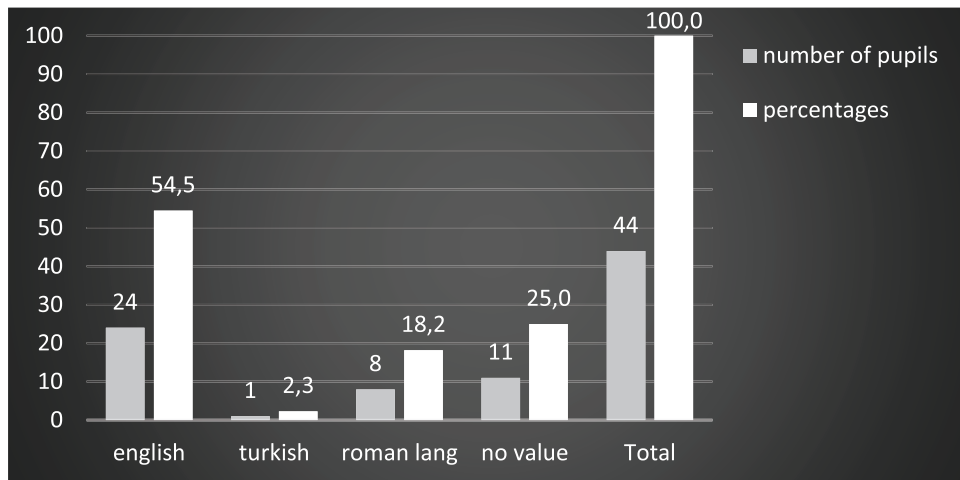


Figure 3. Multilingual pupils' reported languages used as a second language with class teacher.

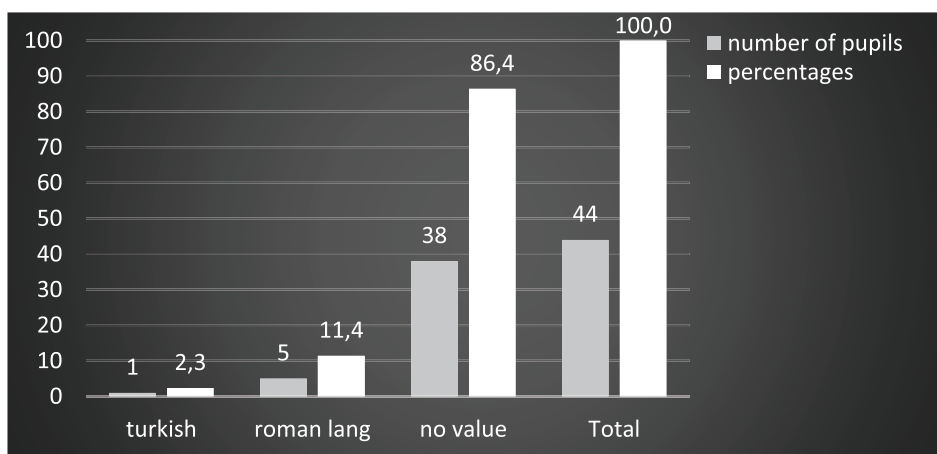


Figure 4. Multilingual pupils' reported languages used as a third language with class teacher.

In summary, we find a discrepancy concerning the actual use of English in the formal educational context and its inclusion in the pupils' linguistic repertoire. While for the bilinguals there seems to be no direct relation between 'English included in their linguistic repertoire' and their making use of it for interacting with their class teacher, multilinguals show to have a greater concordance between these factors. Concerning the use of Italian, however, only those bi- and multilinguals that have Italian included in their linguistic repertoire actually make use of Italian in the formal educational context. Moreover, both bi- and multilingual pupils rarely or never make use of other languages included in their linguistic repertoire. The question now is, which other contextual factors have a beneficial effect on those bi- and multilinguals so that pupils actually use Italian during classroom instruction.

5.3. Contextual Factors

Since only those bi- and multilinguals who have Italian included in their linguistic repertoire actually make use of Italian in the formal educational context, we now briefly

refer to results concerning additional contextual factors that support bi- and multilingual pupils to make use of Italian as a second or third language for interaction with their class teacher (cf., Mayr-Keiler, forthcoming) for a deeper and more complex analysis.

Based on the results of the intersection analysis, we identified the following four factors influencing the pupils' use of Italian in the formal context with their class teacher during lessons:

- (1) Italian is included in the pupils' linguistic repertoire: as stated earlier (cf. Section 5.2 in this article), if Italian is included in the pupils' linguistic repertoire, they are likely to make use of Italian. However, whether pupils actually make use of it strongly depends on the following additional factors;
- (2) School culture which is favourable of cultural and linguistic diversity;
- (3) Pupils attend an optional Italian course offered at school: if Italian is offered as an optional course at school, pupils are more likely to make use of Italian after participating in this course;

- (4) If pupils attend an optional Italian course, the duration of participation is relevant.

Summarising the findings, bi- and multilingual subjects actually make use of Italian only if all contextual factors (1)–(4) exist and are thus valid. In fact, those 5 bilinguals and 13 multilinguals who use Italian with their class teacher have Italian in their linguistic repertoire, attend a school aiming at integrating cultural and linguistic diversity into its school programme, attend an optional Italian course at school and participated in that course for five or more years. As for their use of English in the formal educational context, we have seen a discrepancy between the bi- and multilingual pupils. Additional analyses will have to be performed in order to find out more about the interdependencies between the contextual factors that become affective here. Concerning the use of languages other than German, in our case English and Italian, we have seen that bi- and multilinguals rarely make use of them or rather pupils are not provided with opportunities (the right set of contextual factors) which would allow them to make use of other languages.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

Statistical and intersection analyses revealed that the actual use of a language other than German within a formal education context depends not only on individual contextual factors but rather on the dynamic interplay and coexistence of such factors. Apart from the fact that interaction with teachers in formal educational contexts are still dominated by German, languages taught as a second or third language at schools, such as English or Italian, seem to be used and consequently accepted for classroom interaction. From an applied linguistics point of view, it would be possible to provide an inclusive formal educational setting e.g., by integrating Romance languages (Rumanian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, etc.) already included in the bi- and multilingual pupils' linguistic repertoires. Since all these languages belong to the same language family and thus share common grammatical structures and lexical items, their linguistic similarities could be used as resources for a more integrative language learning setting in schools. However, as outlined in Section 2 in this article, the linguistic resources of most migrants, and that of minority students are hardly made use of in educational practice (Federal Ministry for Education, Arts and Culture & Federal Ministry for Science and Research Austria, 2008, p. 28). Consequently, multilingual approaches to language learning such as raising multilingual awareness by using meta- and cross-linguistic interaction methods would be necessary to provide bi- and multilinguals with opportunities to make use of their resources and thus support their learning (Jessner, Allgäuer-Hackl, & Hofer, 2016).

The possibilities of interpretation we are suggesting here build on already existing research in the field of sociolinguistics focusing on social inclusion and language

practices in linguistically and culturally diverse contexts (e.g., Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005; Otsuji & Pennycook, 2011; Wei, 2011), studies concentrating on crosslinguistic interactions and language learning in the context of multilingualism (e.g., De Angelis, Jessner, & Kresic, 2015; Jessner et al., 2016) as well as on educational linguistics dealing with language teaching and learning in multilingual classrooms (e.g., Busch, Jardine, & Tjoutuku, 2006; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Conteh, 2014; García & Sylvan, 2011).

Moreover, we have tried to show that language use cannot be regarded as independent of its context since there is complex and dynamic interplay between language practice and the contextual factors creating a specific context. Providing educational frameworks and settings in which linguistic and cultural diversity are not only acknowledged as valuable resources, but where linguistic skills and knowledge of and about languages other than German become integral parts of (language) learning at school, is essential in order to develop a linguistically and socially inclusive school system in Austria.

Finally, the possibilities of interpretation make no claim to completeness and can only briefly hint at the variety of factors and criteria which have to be examined when it comes to trying to understand how bi- and multilingual practices are employed in a formal educational context. What can be seen from these practices, however, is that a deeper and more reflective understanding of the dynamic and complex interactions of contextual and individual factors concerning language choice and use with the aim of social inclusion is needed. Only if schools and teachers come to learn more about these factors may they derive implications for language learning and teaching in inclusive educational settings and thus be able to meet the multilingual challenge (Jessner & Kramersch, 2015).

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Fostering Social Inclusion through Multilingual Habitus in Estonia: A Case Study of the Open School of Kalamaja and the Sakala Private School

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Abstract

After the restoration of independence in 1991, Estonia continued with a parallel school system with separate public schools operating for Russian- and Estonian-speaking children. Seen as a developmental 'growing pains' of a transitional state, during the last 27 years the separate school system has contributed to infrastructural difficulties, educational injustice, and societal segregation. This article investigates the role of private schools in addressing this injustice from the analytical angle of new institutionalism, structuration and intergroup contact theories. How do these institutions challenge and aim at changing the state language regime or path dependency in the language of education? Two case studies are presented in this article: The Open School, established in 2017 for children with different home language backgrounds and targeting trilingual competences; The Sakala Private School, established in 2009, offering trilingual education with Russian as a medium of instruction. During this period of nation-state rebuilding and globalization, we investigate whether developing a multilingual habitus is a way to address the issue of social cohesion in the Estonian society in. So far, no other studies of private initiatives in Estonian language acquisition planning have been done.

Keywords

democratization; Estonia; integrated school; language acquisition planning; multilingual habitus; social inclusion

Issue

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1. Introduction

In our article, we claim that the link between Language Acquisition Planning (LAP) and democratization is a two-way process; furthermore, we argue that plurilingual education, based on the current view on plurilingualism as a cultural and societal enrichment, requires a certain level of democratization in a society. We investigate how the private schools Kalamaja and Sakala contribute to the changes of the state language regime and path dependency in the language of education and examine the role of those private institutions in addressing social injustices in Estonia from the analytical angle of new in-

stitutionalism (Peters, 2011; Sonntag & Cardinal, 2015), the structuration (Giddens, 1984; Siiner, 2012), and intergroup contact theories (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Moreover, we contribute to the increasing body of research that studies the role of language policy agents other than the state, in Estonia in facilitating change (Siiner, Koreinik, & Brown, 2017). To our knowledge, this is the first study addressing the role of private schools in paving the way to change in LAP in Estonia; finally, we argue that initiatives like these are necessary for finding an alternative solution to the problems of separate education and segregation in the Estonian society. To exemplify this, we present case studies of two private schools from Tallinn, the capi-

tal of Estonia, that provide multilingual education and are open to both Estonian and Russian speaking children. We conceptualize these initiatives as private language policy agents aiming at changing the separate school system that has been a serious upset to social cohesion. First, we present a short overview of the parallel school system genesis; second, we outline our theoretical and methodological framework for the study; lastly, we apply it to our analysis of the two private school initiatives. We finish this article with a discussion of the social action and process our cases indicate, and the changes they might bring to language education policy in the future.

Robert Cooper extended the notion of language planning and policy (LPP) to LAP alongside with status and corpus planning, referring to the “organized efforts to promote the learning of a language” (Cooper, 1989, p. 157). In contrast to status and corpus planning research, which was primarily concerned with state initiatives, LAP was a complex task to solve via legislation and by institutional means (Cooper, 1989, p. 185). Through LAP research focusing on language users and their communicative repertoires, acquisition needed for access to various opportunities in society, an understanding emerged that LPP is not only about managing linguistic diversity but about managing social inequality in a society (Hornberger, 2006, p. 28). LAP research revealed how social inequality is often caused by state language policies (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996), and how decentralization and democratization, especially the agency taken by the other policy stakeholders besides governmental educational institutions, can reduce inequality (Canagarajah, 2005). With increasing focus on the agency in a variety of categories, such as families (King, 2001), educational institutions became the important sites for LAP research, as they reveal mechanisms of ideological reproduction and preservation of state traditions.

The present article is about LAP in Estonia, where a parallel Russian and Estonian school system was inherited and kept functioning as a part of its Soviet legacy. Because of the large share of people who identified themselves as Russians (1/3 of the population in 1991), continuous fear of Russian aggression (Galeotti, 2017) and lack of economic and pedagogical resources (considering that many teachers in Russian schools were monolingual (Kiilo & Kutsar, 2013, p. 479)), the inclusion of Russian children into Estonian schools was not carried out as part of the general normalization processes in the transitional state (Smith, 2003). Instead, amendments to the Law on Basic and Upper Secondary Schools were made to change the situation within the existing institutions, and a gradual transition to the Estonian language (at least 60% of the curriculum) was planned (Heidmets et al., 2011). The focus on language (of instruction) concealed the fact that institutions kept alive what Brown (2017) calls a “policy drag”, the production and reproduction of attitudes and ideologies from the previous state. Many teachers of today have acquired the foundations of their practices and ideologies in the past; therefore, those out-

dated language policies last beyond the formal life of the policies (Kiilo & Kutsar, 2012). During the Soviet occupation, schools with the Russian language of instruction followed the curriculum of Russian Socialist Federative Republic (RSFR), while Estonian schools adhered to the local national curricula (Masso & Soll, 2014, p. 519). Even if both schools had to follow a common curriculum after 1991, the Russian schools in many cases continued to see the schools in RSFR as a model and kept using Soviet time methods and textbooks (Lindeman, 2013, p. 51).

The separate school system also contributed to the development of children’s monolingual habitus based on an assumption that a school class should be culturally and linguistically homogenous, and language education is about teaching children the standardized state language norm (Gogolin, 2008). The linguistic diversity experienced by children in their surroundings was not valued nor considered in the classroom interaction; moreover, it was often conceptualized as a disturbing factor (Siner, 2012). Current research provides evidence of harmful impact and deepening division stemming from separate or segregated education systems that could be alleviated by inclusive multilingual schooling (Kiilo & Kutsar, 2013, p. 475). In the meanwhile, the EU experienced a gradual shift from linguistic diversity recognition towards a plurilingual language education model (The Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe, 2017). With many new member state languages, the European Union is becoming increasingly multilingual; moreover, inclusion and communicative abilities are becoming essential for participation in democratic and social processes. Tolerance and acceptance of multilingualism are also framed as important for developing democratic citizenship (Byram, 2008). Those aspects are often missed in the Estonian LAP discussions. Most importantly, researchers failed to create a clear link between the absence of a unitary public school system and a common public platform for discussing the central issues, such as the problems of social inclusion, and of minimizing social inequalities between Estonians and Russian-speakers.

2. Parallel School System: The Current Status

After the independence, a number of external and internal factors, such as security concerns vis-à-vis Russia, lingering presence of Russian military on Estonian territory, the hardship and discrimination experienced by Estonians during the period of Soviet occupation, a much bigger share of Russian-speakers in Estonia and Latvia, as compared to Lithuania, made the countries perceive it as a serious threat to security and survival of their languages (Hogan-Brun, Ozolins, Ramonienė, & Rannut, 2008; Schneider, 2015; Włodarska-Frykowska, 2016). That is why, using the argument of ‘state restoration’ and other legal instruments, Latvia and Estonia established more restrictive citizenship, language policies and did not extend the status of historical national mi-

nority to the diverse population of Russians, considering that at the time of independence the number of people speaking Russian constituted 71.88% of the Estonian population (Ehala, 2017; Kuutma, Seljamaa, & Västriik, 2012; Ryazanova-Clarke, 2014). Lithuania could “afford” more liberal citizenship and language policies resulting in a greater success with linguistic integration. In Estonia, the restrictive policies did not bring about the desired result—the creation of a civil society and common information space in one language. The two language communities still live in cultural and linguistic segregation. After the post-Soviet language status reversal, the social inequality increased between the titular group and the Russian speakers, who were used to a privileged position but found themselves now in the low-income group. To a large extent, the Russian speakers also remained to a large extent in the information space of the Russian media, where different views on Estonia’s present and past political developments circulated, the main controversy being the illegitimate Soviet occupation vs legitimate annexation of the Republic of Estonia by Soviet Union (Estonian Institute of Human Rights, 2015). The issue at stake was also the legitimacy of those Russian-speakers who moved to Estonia during the occupation, whose life in separate information space further increased the distrust between the two language groups (Siiner & L’nyavskiy-Ekelund, 2017; Vihalemm & Hogan-Brun, 2013).

The transition reforms outlined above failed largely due to the fact that the language of instruction in the lower secondary schools run by municipalities remained Russian only, and children who graduated from the lower secondary schools had insufficient Estonian language competence (minimum required level B1) (Lindemann & Kogan, 2013). Russian schools lacked qualified teachers who could teach their subjects in Estonian and would move to the mostly Russian cities in the northeastern corner of Estonia. For a while, the issue of Russian schools was perceived by Estonian politicians as a developmental “growth pain” that Estonia would eventually pass (Pöder et al., 2017). Although the number of Russian schools has been diminishing, the “policy drag” and social inequality it caused may last long into the future (Vihalemm & Siiner, 2013). Focus on the language of instruction and linguistic integration has concealed the fact that Russian schools are part of a bigger (infra-) structural deficiency—the ethno-demographic residential and social segregation. Scarcity of regional development in the areas with a large share of Russian speakers, where the majority of Russian medium schools are located, is one important impact factor, and so is the distrust between the two language groups, the central government and the Russian speakers, who felt they were left behind (Kello, Masso, & Jakobson, 2011; Siiner, 2014). In Tallinn, the tactics of gaining trust among the Russian-speaking population by fueling the distrust between the Russian-speaking

population and the central government used by the ruling Center party have guaranteed them the majority of seats in the Tallinn city council. The discussions about the fate of Russian-medium schools have largely been hampered because of the distrust between the Russian-speaking minority, the Tallinn city council, and the central government.

The ethno-linguistic and residential division of Estonians and Russian speakers had emerged already in Soviet years when labor immigrants settled in newly built housing areas on the outskirts of the largest cities. These residential areas with a high density of Russian speakers and their schools have been connected by some researchers with a downward mobility (Leppik & Vihalemm, 2015, p. 488). The census data from 2011 show, that while the residential areas where Russian speakers reside have remained mainly low-income, some areas, where Russian-speakers originally lived and that used to be low-status areas due to poor living conditions like Kalamaja, Pelgulinn, and Telliskivi, are now experiencing gentrification and have turned into high-status areas (Pöder et al., 2017) increasingly preferred by new Finnish and English speaking migrants (2011 Census data). While Estonians previously escaped areas with Russian speakers, now multilingual neighborhoods like these are gaining popularity, and a new type of transnational and multilingual identity is emerging in Estonia, also shaping the views on language education policies. The most prominent advocate for the early multilingual education is the present Estonian president Kersti Kaljulaid,¹ who has resided in Luxembourg for 12 years. These contextual and discursive changes have been decisive for the private school initiatives that we will outline below. But first, we explain the conceptual basis for our study.

3. Theoretical Basis

Our analysis is partially based on the new institutionalism framework that studies formal institutions as well as individual actors (Peters, 2011), as it provides the insights into resources and support for the continuation of societal rituals and traditions that prevent unwanted change (Giddens, 1984). Institutions that are based on rituals and traditions can continue to work even if they are no longer functional. In the field of education, institutionalization is especially needed to guarantee stability and predictability. In his structuration theory, Giddens illuminates the constitutive, although amenable to change, character of social structures, a set of rules, which individual or collective social agents draw on to enact or change social practices. The social actors’ agency is based on its access to necessary authoritative and allocative resources (Giddens, 1984). Authoritative resources available to the agent determine the agent’s position in the social hierarchy and decide whether the agency is possible at a given time in a given context. The alloca-

¹ The speech given on 2 February 2017, where the Estonian president Kersti Kaljulaid addressed multilingualism and intercultural competencies as important 21st century skills can be found here: <https://president.ee/et/ametitegevus/koned/13056-2017-02-15-08-00-59/index.html>

tive resources determine whether the act is doable—i.e., whether the available discursive and material resources are sufficient (Siiner, 2012).

In this article, we study private educational institutions. The public educational institutions often follow a state tradition and are path dependent—they exist until the state or municipality dissolves them (Sonntag & Cardinal, 2015). As a rule, private educational institutions are more flexible and created when a group of founders has identified a need for a different educational approach than the one present in the public educational system. Private schools are subject to the market forces and depend on a market in order to attract pupils. Parents, as consumers, also have a greater influence in private schools than in public schools; thus, it is more likely that private schools can be game-changers; and parents, whose needs are in turn directed by discursive and sociopolitical changes in the society, would often dictate their direction. It is not always enough to have authority to take agency (for the change)—it is also important to have the necessary authoritative and discursive resources, i.e., that one's position and authority is accepted by the larger society and that one's voice will be heard.

The available discursive resources depend on the agents' position within society but also on the discursive changes in language ideological debates (Blommaert, 1999). In the recent years, the instrumental value of Russian and English has increased—these two languages are often used to supplement Estonian in the public space, as so many signs, public web pages, events, etc., became trilingual (Berezkina, 2015). Learning Russian is again gaining popularity among young people for practical reasons, and Estonian parents want their children to learn it from the early age. It is within this changed societal context that we will look at the two private schools founded in Tallinn that aim to contribute to multilingual education. Based on structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) and the new institutionalism (Sonntag & Cardinal, 2015), we argue that a certain level of democratization has been taking place for such private initiatives to happen. Those initiatives are born from the tension between the gradual understanding that the existing institutions are not capable of guaranteeing societal and political change, the need to offset the segregating effects of the separate schooling, the need to balance the interests of different ethnic groups, and the need for a change to guarantee better social equality and cohesion.

A number of challenges for educational institutions in transitional societies pursuing institutional changes and the goals of social cohesion are identified by Loader and Hughes (2017, pp. 3–6): (1) to provide quality education in state language and mother-tongue while achieving societal integration aims; (2) to reconcile competing visions of multilingual integrated habitus with staff and parents; and (3) to promote the goals of social cohesion in the context of societal segregation and inequality. Our case selection interest and its analysis are

also driven by the results of testing of the Intergroup Contact Theory (Allport, in Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), which confirms that an intergroup cooperation that is driven by common goals, supported by authorities and laws reduces intergroup prejudice. An investigation of societies with separate education systems due to prior conflicts, residential segregation, linguistic and religious preferences presented by Loader and Hughes (2017, p. 4) demonstrates that the preservation of such systems with monolingual schooling lacking intercultural contact usually results in the entrenchment of ignorance, prejudice, and segregation.

When it comes to finding educational solutions for balancing the interests of different ethnic groups, meeting the changes, and building a cohesive society, a study of two minority groups, Hungarians and Crimean Tatars, in Ukraine by Kulyk (2013) shows that exclusive instruction in Hungarian successfully reproduces the group's language and identity but curtails students' social mobility due to poor majority language skills. In contrast, the situation with Crimean Tatars demonstrates the danger to the group's language and identity reproduction due to lack of funds, no teachers trained in Crimean Tatar, and a diminished value of the language due to the number of external factors resulting in children being educated in other languages than Crimean Tatar (Kulyk, 2013).

At the same time, there are examples of separate education that can promote "beliefs and values consistent with social cohesion" (Loader & Hughes, 2017, p. 4), such as a system of "shared education" initiated in Northern Ireland in 2007 and now supported by a large body of empirical evidence. The system promotes school's collaboration, facilitates sharing and pooling together financial resources, and creates consistent opportunities for schools to attend each other's classes for interacting and learning together while maintaining their unique cultural character. We will argue that the system of multilingual education gradually built by the administration of Sakala School has the characteristics of this strategy.

Working on the case of Kalamaja Open School, we understood that the system of integrated schooling (Loader & Hughes, 2017, pp. 3–5), a private ground-up initiative also started by a group of concerned parents in Northern Ireland in 1981 and bilingual Jewish-Arab integrated schooling first founded in 1984 in Israel, is now offered in Estonia. The original initiative was aimed at bringing to the same classroom students from the groups usually educated apart; in the Northern Ireland, at first, it was supported by philanthropists and charities but later received full government funding and has grown to educate about 7% of students (Loader & Hughes, 2017, p. 5). The studies of integrated schooling provide evidence of both positive and problematic effects produced by the system. Israeli and Northern Irish students' surveys found that "reduced social distance" promoted positive attitudes towards the other group as well as development of more adaptable, fluid and complex cultural identities; some of the critique of integrated schooling in both countries, a tendency to

accentuate cultural differences in case of Israel and a tendency not to use the opportunities to challenge prejudice in case of Northern Ireland, seem to reflect the coping difficulties that educators have themselves, rather than the system's deficiencies (Loader & Hughes, 2017, pp. 4–10).

4. Methodology and Study Design

Our research methods are inspired by the ethnographic approach and interpretive analysis to language and education policy which is particularly sensitive to research conducted in local contexts with emphasis on the role of local agents, language policy actors in (re)shaping and implementing institutional policies in practice (Canagarajah, 2006, pp. 153–154; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; McCarty, 2015, pp. 91–92). Studying the LAP agency, we have therefore analyzed the authoritative and allocative resources of two successful private schools, and what has made their agency possible. In our analysis, we have therefore studied the available information about the schools—their web pages and official documents. In addition, we conducted live semi-structured interviews of the school leaders, Iiris Oosalu (IO) and Jekaterina Gridneva (JG) from Sakala, a parent activist from Kalamaja, and social network-based questionnaires supplemented by semi-structured online interviews of 16 Sakala School students and graduates. The semi-structured interviews of the headmasters were initially conducted on Skype in June–July 2017; then, the transcripts were provided to the interviewees with an invitation to elaborate on the issues during the second interview. One hundred and sixty high-school students and recent graduates of Sakala gymnasium received the initial questions about their school choice, the importance of languages of instruction, their proficiency in Estonian and plans for the future; the answer rate 1/10 provided us with 16 respondents who returned the initial questions and were willing to provide additional information with a guaranteed anonymity. Since the Kalamaja School opened first in September 2017, a similar study was not possible in their case. In our results' interpretation, relying mostly on qualitative and interpretive data analysis (Schwartz-Shea & Janow, 2013), and the theories and empirical evidence mentioned above, we focused on the genesis of the institutions, resources available to them that made it possible, and how they address multilingualism in their school mission, bringing additional values to society. The students' interviews provided us with their personal insights into the separate educational system of Estonia they got to experience first-hand. The results of the analysis are outlined in the two case studies below.

5. The Open School of Kalamaja

Not only English but also Russian language competencies are increasingly valued by Estonians with middle and high income. It has been argued that due to gentrification in these mixed areas multilingualism and cultural di-

versification are gaining value again as a factor contributing to a higher life quality (Leetmaa, 2017). Young Estonians moving to these areas are engaging in improving the life quality of the neighborhoods, forming local associations and actively participating in area planning. Therefore, it is not surprising that the first private school promoting trilingual language immersion in Estonian, Russian and English, with programming and digital competences as the fourth "language skill", The Open School of Kalamaja, was founded in one of those areas. The integrated classes (years 1 and 2) composed of the equal numbers of Estonians and Russian speakers and open to children with other home languages will start this fall of 2017. As a private school, the Open School is able to accept children from outside of the catchment area, but contrary to other private schools that carry out tests to cream off the best pupils in town, The Open School does not select students and accepts those first in line. The only criteria are that each class has an equal share of Estonian and Russian speaking students. Our parent activist reported a stronger interest in the program from Estonian-speaking families. The founders wanted to contribute to an open and strong society by rising open-minded, engaging and grounded children.

We did not start with language focus; our goal was not to innovate language education policy. We wanted to found a school that could provide an excellent education to all children. We reached to this multilingual model through our search for research-based effective teaching practices/methods and community focus. Northern Tallinn is a multilingual area and you need languages here. The trilingual language immersion model and the community constitute a coherent whole. [IO]

The Open School is the first school in Estonia that will practice two-ways language immersion with one teacher using only one language (usually his or her native language) without translation. Teaching basic subjects and project work alternates between Estonian, English or Russian, keeping a predetermined weekly balance between languages. The teaching is based on national curriculum and follows a model where 60% of the subjects are taught in Estonian, 25% in Russian and 15% in English, depending on the grade. In the beginning, 55 percent of the classes will be taught in Estonian, 40% percent in Russian, and 5% percent in English. Each semester kids engage in a five-week project that can be in all three languages.

Russian kids need to have a good command of their mother tongue, but they also need Estonian because it is the official language, and the majority of upper secondary schools and vocational schools are in Estonian, so with no command of the Estonian language, the child will have very limited choices. For an Estonian-speaking child, multilingual competences

are important for doing well in the open society of tomorrow. [IO]

Many of the children who will start at school are already multilingual with multiple home languages, some have been living abroad. The positive value of multilingualism was implicit in the staff interviews. On the school's web-page a quadri-lingual competence is approached from the instrumental angle—in the future labor market we need languages and programming skills. Bringing the equal share of Estonian and Russian-speaking kids into one classroom is clearly seen as a necessary means of democratic education:

We cannot go on forever talking about the Russian and the Estonian school. It is about the time to talk about the SCHOOL. Some periods of history have different interpretations among the Estonian and Russian population. We do not have an answer how to handle that. For us, the cultural plurality is important. Kids in our school have different language and cultural backgrounds. It is important to deal with this aspect from early on. It's important to talk about politics and that people have different opinions. It is OK not to agree, but we need to have those issues on the table. [IO]

The founders of the school were very clear and aware about the agency they take by founding the school. All founding members had a background either as entrepreneurs or had been active in an NGO with educational aims like the NGO KIVA, the anti-bullying program at schools or the NGO *Noored Kooli* that solves the challenge of the lack of qualified teachers at schools by bringing young specialists to teach at schools for a year. They wanted the school to be open for all and represent a cross-section of the society. The original idea was to open a new municipal basic school based on a trilingual model. No new municipal schools have been established in Tallinn since the restoration of independence. New schools have emerged through the merging of two schools or as private schools. But before they could become a municipal school they need to prove that the school model works: "It is typical to Estonia that new ideas are started by social entrepreneurs and eventually adopted by the state or municipality" [IO]. The founders had also experienced that the structural segregation has reached to the minds of people:

When we had our half-hour meetings with the parents so that they could get to know our school, we recognized that several Estonian families were worried whether Russian families would apply and that Russian families were worried about the same. See, we live side by side but how much contact do we have? The advantage of our school is that we bring these communities together and make them sit around the same table. We have already had our first family day

in May when families got together. We did not divide them into different language groups but invited them all together. About four or five said that they do not speak Estonian, but some people volunteered to translate. [IO]

The founders approached the de facto multilingualism in the globalizing Estonian society as a mode of living, a rule that children should learn to live by and that the school should, therefore, prepare them for. The sort of multilingual habitus that this school aims to foster is not a precondition for social cohesion but something that an education for fostering open and socially aware children brings along.

6. The Sakala Private School

Russian private schools may have had a harder time in influencing the language education policy due to lack of their broader acceptance or legitimacy in the society. Russian language education is in general strongly politicized, and private school initiatives have previously gained media attention as attempts to avoid Estonian language instruction requirement (Siiner, 2014). Gaining trust from municipal politicians and the rest of society is easier for Estonian private schools. Below we will analyze how a Russian vs. an Estonian private school can advocate for a plurilingual educational model.

Sakala private school with the Russian language as the main medium of instruction was founded in 2009 in place of the old private school whose founder, for various reasons, could not continue running the establishment. The school location was determined by the building available at the time, in a prestigious location close to the Old Town in Tallinn. The school was founded to provide an alternative to public education and to "alleviate many of shortcomings in municipal schools by offering smaller classes, better student/teacher ratio, and a multilingual high-quality education" [JG]. The same advantages were reported by the students who emphasized the home-like atmosphere, small classes, and in-depth learning with a demanding program.

The school deliberately does not include "Russian" in its name, as the school's administration considers Estonian education system as unified, multilingual and democratic for supporting various educational choices with an option to use various languages to support the learning outcomes if needed, and due to the high politicization of the language question in Estonia, the school is trying to avoid. The school's mission statement (www.sakalaera.ee) outlines a set of society- and individual-oriented competencies:

Our goal is to promote maximal tolerance and education of the loyal citizens to their land. Unfortunately, the question of Russian as medium of instruction is very politicized and polarized: some politicians want to keep it at the level that would deprive the

students of equal opportunities in Estonia but make them supportive of the ruling party's agenda for being allowed not to master the majority language, while the others want to eliminate it altogether....We want to raise self-standing, self-assertive individuals who would not care which language to use. And we are paying a special attention to the formation of those competencies while adhering to the high levels of academics. [JG]

The importance of instruction in Russian language lies in the strong interest of Russian-speaking community in giving students a chance to learn in their native language, and "it provided the opportunity for the students to focus on the academics and devote more time to language learning" [JG]; furthermore, the teachers saw that mastering difficult subjects in their native language ensured a good skills transferability when students had to switch to learning in other languages; moreover, "having three languages in their arsenal, excellent Russian (which is still in demand for practical reasons), free Estonian and English, and the opportunity to learn additional languages after school also provides the students with a competitive advantage, which would be simply stupid to eliminate" [JG]. About 40% of the students also confirmed that mastering difficult academic subjects in Russian was important, the other 30% said that they could do it in Estonian, but learning Russian was also to their advantage as it is spoken at home, among friends and gives more choices in life.

Originally, the school was not selecting the students with better academic aptitudes, but the school's popularity and a high-ranking allowed to apply certain criteria to the candidates in order to keep the demands of education program at the levels that attract families interested in academics. As a private institution, Sakala school has a lot of possibilities to decide how things should be done with the school's Guardian Council, parents, and the Student Council; moreover, for the superior authorities "the result is the most important, and we have good results, meaning that what we are doing works" [JG]. Early on, the school discovered that the language immersion system used for Estonian and Russian was not producing the desired results: the students could speak and read but were lacking written skills, even in Russian, so the school took an innovative approach to language education:

A few years ago the parents were concerned that our students spoke English better than Estonian. The standard program allocates two hours a week for Estonian, but the children forget everything in such short time of teaching, plus the topics of immersion program may not be interesting or relevant to them, so we decided to teach Estonian the same way we teach the native language. Now we have 5 hours of Estonian per week, 5 hours of Russian and teach Estonian grammar, just like we do it for Russian. [JG]

Promoting social cohesion by ensuring the equal opportunities for its students, the school is particularly proud of its achievements in language teaching as the students receive the highest scores taking Estonian language exams, 90–92% average in B1, B2 and some in C1 levels. 15 out of 16 students indicated that it did not matter what language they had to use, as they were comfortable using their entire linguistic arsenal, 4 out of 5 school graduates reported successful entries to Estonian universities. "We will work on our Estonian bloc, but not for political reasons, for our students. We cannot live in the national state and be autonomous, this would be a dead end" [JG].

One of the school's goals is to teach most of the non-academic subjects using at least two languages and mostly in Estonian: however, the problem is finding the specialists that could teach arts and crafts and use Estonian and Russian, if needed.

Establishing and maintaining intergroup contacts has been an important part of school's administrative effort. Sakala school has a partner, an Estonian language school of Saaremaa, with which they organize ski camps on the regular basis. The school is trying to participate in inter-school events as much as they can, but considers Saaremaa as a "strategic partner". After meetings like that, positive changes were noticed not only in the attitudes towards Estonian students but the whole country as well, with personal relations being formed and the fear of the "others" being gone away. The difficulties, yet again, lie with the school's older teacher's limited Estonian language skills, which excludes them from taking part, "Young Estonian teachers do not speak Russian, they speak English and that is a problem for our teachers as well. In general, the students have a lot easier ways of finding the common language" [JG]. Difficulties with regular intergroup contacts at the schools' level are compensated by the level of Estonian competence, as 95% of Sakala students reported that their level of Estonian allows them to participate in after-school activities mostly in Estonian without any limitations. All students that transferred to Sakala in search for better education and future prospects agreed that school's teaching methods made them reach a level of Estonian that allowed them to be engaged in all activities held outside the school, to make Estonian friends and successfully pass the exams.

The school's difficulties, according to the Headmaster, are associated with Russian schooling traditions:

It often feels like the school is trying to progress with the brakes on, while Estonian schools are freer and quicker to change and adapt to the new ways of Western teaching. Due to language limitations, our teachers are easily influenced by the information from the Russian sources and do not accept the changes easily. Also, Estonian schools have unarguable advantage—they do not have to maneuver between the languages. [JG].

As a headmaster, professional educator, and the entrepreneur, Jekaterina considers as her duty to follow, be open-minded and to keep the school open and responsive to the changes in the country, people's attitudes to languages and education, the fast-changing world of her students, and responsibilities that come with the mission vested in the system of education.

7. Discussion

In our article, for the first time, we analyzed how private, bottom-up initiatives in LAP are made possible by the democratization processes in Estonian society. The parallel school system in Estonia, separated along the language lines, is tied to the residential enclaves and differences in socio-economic status. The parallel school system also keeps alive the state tradition of the monolingual habitus. Dissatisfied parents are faced with an option to send their child to a school using a different language, move to a different school district or to commute solutions that do not solve the main problem (Siiner, 2012). A better solution could be the municipally supported private schools founded by parents that exist in Sweden, for example.

The two schools described are the examples of language political agency from below, but the case studies revealed important differences. The Estonian private school founders do not feel the urge to prove the existence of their school model by selecting the students and focusing on receiving the top results in national tests. They are confident with focusing on a holistic integrated education for children that goes in hand with community development and has proven to be successful by receiving a full municipal funding in the other countries with societies in transition. The Russian private school had to be more focused on the results as the way of proving the legitimacy of its existence, as well as on maneuvering the boundaries of language politics and downplaying the ethnic differences. They also seem less confident about having a voice to define the future of language education in Estonia, even though the school has been approaching the methods of a successfully working model of "shared education".

The study is limited by sampling only two schools in the capital of Estonia where two main linguistic groups are represented almost in equal proportions, thus providing the opportunity for the students to establish private contacts via extra-curricular activities, maintain and improve their language skills. The study would benefit from more extensive cross-sectional sampling from different private and municipal schools and regions of Estonia. The educational models analyzed here and the international experience of their implementation may provide salient solutions for the municipally supported "inclusive classroom" models in urban settings and "shared education" solutions in the areas densely populated by other linguistic groups.

8. Conclusion

Three separate processes have influenced the appearance of private multilingual schools we have analyzed in this article. First, the general movement towards private social entrepreneurship as a way to solve societal problems. Second, a response to the actual language situation and societal segregation in Estonia by the group of social entrepreneurs/educators by providing high-quality multilingual and mother-tongue minority education. The third one is a generally positive and instrumental attitude towards multilingual competences in the Estonian society.

None of the two schools have an explicit intention to change LAP, rather, they are interested in running an inclusive institution that educates engaged and open-minded citizens able to manage the future society. This reflects a deep-rooted language ideology in the Estonian society that language political decisions belong to the realm of the state. What these schools have managed is to contribute to language ideological debate and challenge the monolingual habitus that the present LAP is based on. What concerns a shift in LAP, the jury is still out and will depend on the popularity of the schools.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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