THEORIES AND LINGUISTIC RIGHTS

MINORITY AND MIGRANT LANGUAGES

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CONTENTS

WE DEDICATE THIS BOOK TO OUR BELOVED FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE Richard Baldauf Jr.

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PREFACE

THIS BOOK CONTAINS SEVEN TEXTS THAT FOCUS ON THE PROBLEMS faced by communities of speakers in unfavourable situations. It is aimed at those who are interested in education and language planning; especially to students in the field of Linguistics, Anthropology, Sociology, Law, Education, and issues of language conflicts.

Terborg and Velázquez focus on a discussion about the evaluation of language policy and the impact that such policy may have on its speakers on a daily basis. Kaplan and Baldauf reflect on possible links between language planning at education on a micro level. By using many examples, they show us a clear picture of the effects of a language policy on a community. Language planning is seen as a national struggle to change or modify the behaviour of others for some given reason. However, the concept of Eco-linguistics is also used to discuss the movements as a result of a given LP. The actors barely deal with all the languages that co-exist in a linguistic system; they usually are interested in the most important ones, and maybe other two in the organization. These authors make an account on how new languages are introduced into an eco-linguistic system and its possible consequences. Evangelization is a clear example, where pidgins and creoles are a result of these contacts.

With the example of Singapore, four possible ecologies can be explained in which Chinese, English, Malay, and Tamil coexist in different ways. This reunion leads to the affirmation that the place planning, whether formal or not, has changed Singapore in a sociolinguistic setting. Although the place's language planning

has focused on maintenance and balance between languages (if this is possible), there is resistance too. This manifests itself through social movements and criticisms that make us wonder whether they can maintain a peaceful society as shown to the outside world.

Kaplan and Baldauf point out that for a successful language planning situation, this should not only be seen in a top to bottom approach, like in the case of Singapore, but from the classroom's view, which is bottom up, in what they call micro linguistic planning or local linguistic planning. LP must also recognize that language modifications can´t be contained within a particular nation-state boundaries (or any other for the purposes of debate), but that in fact they always remain in a larger context.

In the next chapter, De Varennes starts a discussion about how language gets along with power. This author states that there is no such thing as superior languages, although there are situations related to power that benefit some and affect others, such as the case of Spanish in the US or indigenous languages in Mexico. Tibet is an example where most of the population speak Tibetan and very few speak Chinese, which serves to explain that power has nothing to do with the number of speakers. Here, power is measured in terms of education, business and administration; the opportunities for growth in this place, created by the Chinese. In legal terms it seems that there is nothing to do—until recently, jurists believed that there was no discrimination when a government maintained language policies in favour of an official language. In addition, if a language is not official then you cannot link other rights to it (including legal rights). However, it has been seen that close ties exist in-between human and linguistic rights.

On the other hand, Díaz Courder analyses public and private sectors in terms of language in Mexico. Some aspects in the design of Mexican language policies have ideological and political bases, leaving aside other important elements such as public policies that are launched by the state. The Mexican constitution recognizes cultural differences but they do not have a direct impact on

the political organization of the State. Likewise, linguistic pluralism is actually a cultural pluralism, where public policies are left aside and attention is focused on the calling for cultural preservation.

So far, most parts of the language policies are focused on changing attitudes, beliefs, and people's values in the private sector. With this it is believed that public behaviour can be modified, but this approach seems to be totally wrong. The government should lay the basis for the use of indigenous languages' regulation, not only as a possibility but also as a speaker's right.

In Mexico, one has the freedom to choose a language; however, this freedom seems to be limited by not having the possibilities nor the conditions to use it, as it is established by other legislations (e.g. the Law of Linguistic Policy of Catalonia or the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights). For an individual to really be free to choose which language to speak in public domains, institutions must offer this possibility as an essential requirement. For this reason, it is necessary to expand the strategies implemented so far, focusing not only on the 'preservation of tradition' but also on a public integration of the state towards linguistic communities. Attention should not only be given to value and tolerance incorporating politic strategies that have influence on attitudes, values, and beliefs of speakers and non-speakers, but also towards the use of indigenous languages in public spheres.

Louis-Jaques Dorais begins his chapter stating that speakers of a minority language are often faced with the problem that most hegemonic speakers have never heard of their language. They feel as if their language has been looked down upon socially and economically and they usually fight for it to be recognized as an official one. Because of this situation the linguistic preservation and the well-being of the group have to deal with a conflictive relationship.

The case here presented has to do with a discussion about a Native American Indian group from Canada, the Wendat tribe in Wendak. They have succeeded in maintaining a good socio-economic status in Canada but their language has been replaced by

the French of Quebec. Dorais talks about the relationship between the language and the identity of this small community. He points out that even though there has been a loss in language because of the relationship that the group has with the majority of citizens, the sense of identity still remains. It is because of this sense that they have made strategies to help preserve the language, like teaching it in elementary school, standardizing both its pronunciation and spelling, besides the Yawenda revitalization project.

He concludes this discussion by answering why this group decided to keep up the effort so that their language could be revitalized even when that wasn't needed for their livelihood. He affirms that the answer to this question lies in their sense of identity. He looks at this as a symbolic fact in which the group finds wellbeing by being acknowledged as Native Americans.

On the other hand, Giancarlo Chiro based his discussion in the so-called cultural values, the ethics of identity, and the linguistic maintenance seen through a social and humanitarian focus. Modernity is at stake when the sense of preserving a local language and belonging to a globalized world collide; when groups have to move in and towards certain linguistic codes. However, these main values keep changing, for example the 9/11 attacks made a highlight on the Muslim religion and its immigrants or, in the case of Germany, where Merz focused a debate on cultural dominant elements of this country and the immigrants.

Migration puts at risk a group and its identity when changes occur because of the interaction of a group with the mainstream culture. Then a question arises, which group has more movements: the majority and their nationalist values or the minority and their core values? Humanistic sociology is the one in charge of observing groups' cultural values and it explains that cultural reality is based on socially shared meanings. In the book *Core values and cultural identity,* Smoliczs sees this more as an interactive system of symbols in which any object, person or social relation has a cultural value that can be accepted and shared by any member of that community. Even more, cultural identity implies the importance

of the ideological value that symbolizes and represents the group and its members.

Since not all values are part of this nucleus, it can be said that those that belong to it can help to the linguistic maintenance of a group. Chiro's text considers the implications of the fundamental values of the personal identity and a group's identity in order to explain the ongoing concern about migration and security. An intercultural model of language and culture for the maintenance is proposed, based on the fundamental values that come up in the cultural systems of a group and by the interaction of the minorities with the majority in multicultural situations.

Finally, Helle Likke Nielsen talks about the situation in Denmark—how Danish is considered the language that maintains the welfare of the state and about the pressure that other languages, such as English, exert in this community by means of globalization. She tells us that in this country it is the state the one that takes care of mostly all of the services, and they are given to all the people regardless of their social situation, race, income, gender or religion. The state also takes care of the poor depending of their personal needs. The benefits that Denmark offers make it an attractive place to migrate; it's because of this situation that migratory politic conditions imply the right use of Danish, a positive strategy for the preservation of the language.

On another note she discusses the educational system of Arabic and its people, who have a strong impact in this country. In order to enjoy the privileges that this state provides by having such knowledge of its language, educational policy provides immigrant children with training in Danish, especially in basic levels like kindergarten, elementary school, and junior high. Unfortunately, in higher education levels there is a high demand by those wanting to learn Arabic, primarily there is a high request for certified interpreters when the state comes into contact with migratory situations and the policies that support many of their needs. This request doesn't have a solution; the government argues that this type of training is very expensive and because of

this it is better to hire a native Arabian speaker rather than certified ones.

It all sums up that this system reinforces and focuses its attention on the teaching of Danish, but by doing so, the Arab immigrants cannot professionalize themselves in their language although there is a real demand to do so.

Virna Velázquez and Roland Terborg

I. THE NEED OF LANGUAGE PLANNING FOR WELLBEING

ROLAND TERBORG AND VIRNA VELÁZQUEZ

INTRODUCTION

OVER 10 YEARS AGO, LUIS FERNANDO LARA PUBLISHED THE CHAPTER: "Why aren't there language policies in Mexico?" This started as follows:

> After almost 500 years from the Conquest, time from which we can ask historically documentable and appropriate questions about the relationship among the languages spoken in Mexican territory... it does not look like the Mexican State has any clear ideas or consequential policies towards Spanish, the probable hundred living Native American languages and the various foreign languages used in the country. We could even say that the Mexican State does not show the will to recognize de different situations of contact and linguistic conflict that are produced daily in its territory, and to work in consequence. (2006: 489)

We want to talk about the need of language planning (LP). When we talk about politics and language planning, many people react with strangeness. Some linguists even react with skepticism and imagine an imposition from above); that is, from political actors in power. Sometimes, people imagine these rules reflect the will of those who have plenty of time to think about linguistic changes that are not needed for our daily lives or for our wellbeing.

Such people are also thinking about planning the linguistic corpus; specially the "correct grammar" or the "authentic vocabulary". They cannot imagine how important the impact of LP (language planning) can be for our wellbeing. Our intention here is to highlight in the importance of LP; especially in multilingual countries such as Mexico.

It is common to think that languages do not need any external help. One supposes that human beings communicate successfully in their own language and that there is no need for interventions —we learn to speak as a natural and unavoidable phenomenon, we say. A child will always learn how to communicate even if it is born deaf or if its tutors aren't interested in his learning. Likewise, as language learning is inevitable, it is inevitable that a communication system will emerge from human contact. There is no human group without a communication system. Consequently, when languages emerge, they don't depend on planning. All linguistic systems are born as a result of communicative practice. From this we deduce that we can get rid of both language policy and LP for good. At all events, it seems that LP could be a whim of those who want to plot in order to purify the communicative system, as we mentioned before, from "strange elements" such as linguistic loans or "bad words'. Given that LP requires economic resources, one could think about using those resources for something much more relevant for the population's welfare. In this sense, it is not always easy to understand why it is convenient to intervene consciously in the communication system. As we have just affirmed, languages emerge unplanned. So, why do we need language policies and planning?

In other words: if languages emerge inevitably along with human communication, is it possible to let them evolve without conscious intervention? And how does intervention or its absence affect the welfare of society? When asking these questions, we have kept in mind the situation in Mexico; however, we consider that the answers should be valid for other places, especially those with multilingual situations.

In this chapter, our purpose is to emphasize the importance of LP for society's wellbeing and that sometimes it is necessary to intervene in the development of communication systems. We will try to support our ideas by providing literacy examples, multilingual situations, and the emergency of unfair and unfavorable situations for some people who will always have to be helped; and of how these situations could possibly be prevented.

LANGUAGE PLANNING

Language policy emerged a few decades ago, and some opinions can be sustained by experts so as to clarify our purpose below. Nevertheless, we want to emphasize that it is by no means our intention to give a general and exhaustive outlook on what was published in the 1970s, when the idea of language planning was born. We just want to bring out its most important aspects in the Linguistic fields.

We have already mentioned both the language policy and the LP, but we haven't made any distinctions between both notions. As for language policy, Kaplan and Baldauf state: "Indeed, anyone who posts a sign anywhere for any purpose can be laid responsible for making language policy without meaning to." (1997: 13)

Making language policies with no means to do so includes unconscious acts. This is one of the differences from language planning:

> What is language planning and how is it accomplished? Language planning is a body of ideas, laws and regulations (language policy), changes, rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities. (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997: 3)

Scholars in this area distinguish between corpus planning and status planning (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 28; Zimmermann,

1999). Ager also includes acquisition planning as a relevant field. "Language planning is usually divided into three fields of application: status, corpus and acquisition planning" (2001: 6).

Language policy isn't a new topic and on occasion its effects are powerful (see Baldauf and Kaplan in this volume). What is a new topic, however, is the concept and notion of the language planning which began in the 1970s. It was Einar Haugen (1969) who gave the notion of "language planning" (also known as linguistic planning or linguistic policy) later on Mackey referred as "aménagement linguistique" (language administration). Different academics consider LP as focused on different problems and different perspectives. For example, to Williams (1992) LP is the most practical task in Linguistics, since we can observe and evaluate what in practice is implemented in a certain community. For this author:

> Language planning appeared as the practical side of the linguistic endeavor. Clearly what passes as language planning is not that new, [...] the idea that language can be planned has a long story. However, its emergence as an academic sub-discipline of some force derives from the past thirty years. (1992: 123).

According to Fishman (1951), LP tries to look for organized solutions for different problems that are introduced in a country in a utopian way. He tries to explain how a certain language is chosen by a linguistic community, how it is set up and what is implied for the speakers in a community when a code is used instead of another. From a political point of view, LP tries to choose a national language, an official one often referred to as the standard, and from an educational point of view it tries to see the issues in a language that makes it more stylish.

Fishman was conscious about the troubles that surrounded LP in terms of different existing conceptions, as well as the need to have a general theory so that concrete cases could be explained and appreciated. He pointed out that "we are particularly limited

with respect to any systematic social theory-guided approach to why certain selective, elaborative, and codification attempts succeed (i.e., why they are accepted by the desired target populations), whereas others fail". (1971:11)

According to Tollefson (1994) one could say that LP has focused on the search of strategies that attend people's linguistic necessities, whether they are learning a new language for educational purposes, governmental services, political participation or employment. When speaking of LP, one tries to modify both the function and structure of the language; within these we are conscious of the spelling, standardizing programs and the assignment of specific functions in a place where more than one language is spoken (Tollefson; 1994). In addition, LP recounts the struggles that affect a language in structure and function, as well as the domains of use in a determined community, and the problems that focus on language teaching or education.

IS LANGUAGE A NATURAL PHENOMENON, OR IS IT PLANNED?

After this brief overview, it could be understood that it is nothing but necessary. Based on this, let's go back to our questions related to the necessity of whether there is a possibility to go without LP (since language is organized by itself), and if it's possible to let communication systems evolve without intervention. An example of a phenomenon that our society could not function without is the capacity of reading and writing.

Since the beginning, language and communication have been oral. Written language doesn't emerge in the same way as spoken language does, because its acquisition and transmission require a sensitive effort. Therefore, in order to make most of the population literate, guided instructions and formal education (LP) are needed.

There are other important fields in LP that aim towards bilingual and multilingual situations. Even though many people believe in

the idea that every country must have its own language and that ideally there should be a monolingual country, actually there is still contact between languages. For this reason a correct plan has to take in account the origin of this contact and its actual development. Although the natural learning of a second language is common, it is the planned teaching and acquisition that offer advantages, especially when it's directed towards a community. In other words, planned teaching can homogenize acquisition; this could mean advantages to some extent. So for bilingualism to be developed with success, it is necessary to lay out a plan that's similar to literacy.

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:13) stated that when we communicate, we are always making language policies, even if that is not our purpose. Language policies are always present, and they may or may not be of our own benefit, but they are always inevitable. The challenge is for this to happen in the best possible way for a society. There has to be a beneficial planning system and it has to be implemented.

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) point out that LP is part of the planning of a country's human resources. The wellbeing of a country with few natural resources is the consequence of a good prospective in human resources. The situation may not be comprehensible for everyone, but Varennes demonstrates in his chapter (see below) that even people's health depend on language.

Speakers are the ones in charge of their languages' future. When there's a conscientious and organized decision, it can be called LP. Fasold (1996: 246) says that speakers have the linguistic alternative to choose whether a language stays in a community or leaves, because they have the power to pass them on to the next generation.

After agreeing the goals and decisions, one must choose what strategy and action must be taken depending on a given situation. Without the specific information of the situation at hand, LP may fail. An ethnographic study is required to avoid this failure or a study of the sociology of language to search a suitable method and to contemplate possible secondary consequences of LP in

general. This area is concerned with fundamental points, such as the problem of choosing a code in terms of the official policy of a group in power, the stabilization of a code and the refinement and differentiation that is made of a given language. To this effect, preliminary ethnographic studies are absolutely needed. Frequently, politicians and other actors propose to take actions over a language. Consequently, they act as if the LP could be carried out on the basis of their intuitions, beginning with decision making. This may lead to the planning goals' failure.

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:118-9) propose five steps to have a successful LP. First, a sociolinguistic study of the situation as well as ethnography of the communication process. The results of the study should be presented in a report (step 2), which serves as the basis for step 3, the decision making to set the planning goals. Step 4 is the implementation of the plan and determines the actions that lead to its execution, which would be the last step. In this sense, sociolinguistic studies can serve for future language planning in the community in question.

Language planning is thus translated into actions. These actions are related to education, even though education may not be the main focus. Another major approach to language planning is legislation—the creation of laws that seek to influence the status and prestige of the languages in question, especially if they refer to linguistic rights (see the chapters of Varennes and Diaz-Couder in this volume). Here we also mention the media whose role is essential in LP.

A discussion of the concepts is needed in order to know if the actions of the LP are correct. The situations of bilingualism and multilingualism are related to migration and to native languages. The shift of a language as well as their actions for maintenance is directed to the languages of migrants and natives. Among the phenomena of an LP are: minority language's shift, linguistic rights, and the teaching of languages. These areas are interrelated and have different problems that can change according to their nature and on the researcher's perspective.

What can be considered as a problem? What should be taken care of? We restudy a phenomenon before mentioning that under certain circumstances it may be a problem that requires action. We refer to the illiteracy that a few decades ago was normal in many regions, but now it is considered a problem. According to Bastardas-Boada (2003) if a phenomenon is considered or not a problem it depends of both objective and subjective circumstances. In that sense, we can also talk about the natural and mental reality.

These two kinds of realities influence our lives; it may not seem so obvious, but collective perceptions affect our well-being. Language situations depend on the economy, education, legislation, beliefs and policies at local and global level. Meanwhile, reality depends on our beliefs, about what a language or dialect is or is not. Therefore, an ecological point of view of languages is necessary since these, and their speakers, are always in context (Massip and Bastardas, 2013).

Sometimes the same phenomenon is considered and not considered a problem. Most of world's languages are spoken by only few people, and these languages are in danger of disappearing, which may or may not create a problem for the speakers who perceive it. The reality of the problem can be mainly mental, which results in an effort to achieve social equality with the majority group by learning the language of that group. But the loss of the minority language can also be perceived as a problem, although this does not affect the economy of the speakers (see, for example, the Dorais chapter).

Speakers of a minority language are often excluded from opportunities that majority-language speakers can enjoy. Even more, speakers of the dominant language can enjoy these opportunities without the effort of learning a second language. This means a disadvantage for speakers of a minority language and it is one of the reasons that may explain why they stop talking and transmitting their own language. The phenomenon of shift of minority languages is considered a problem and has been investigated since the 1950s. Peter Sercombe (2002) presents a

panorama of the important studies in which he points out "Languages in contact" by Uriel Weinreich (1953) as a point of reference in the language maintenance and language shift (LMLS). He mentions ten variables: Geography, indigenism, cultural or group membership, religion, gender, age, social status, occupation, and rural vs. urban residence. Years later, Haugen (1985) suggested other important variables like family, neighborhood, political affiliation, and education. Mackey (1994) proposed that LMLS has been determined by the duration of contact, contact frequency, and contact pressures derived from economic, administrative, cultural, political, military, historical, religious or demographic sources. Fishman (1971) based his ideas on psychological, social and cultural factors. In most of his studies he deals with this phenomenon as a problem (Dorais in this volume). The problem varies for speakers and depends on the process and LMLS.

As we have said before, all languages are in contact with other languages or dialects and all of them belong to an ecology context that influences them. Thus we can speak of a linguistic environment that can be altered (see the chapter of Baldauf and Kaplan) or that can become more stable. For example, industrialization and education are possible factors for an alteration. So, the situation of a minority language is mainly the reflection of disadvantageous phenomena for speakers, whose effect is perceived in the language and at the same time comes from the language itself, as it can affect unprofitable phenomena and cause them to increase. Therefore, the disadvantageous phenomena and the weakening of a language form a vicious circle as a complex system.

In every environment each change can have side effects (see Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997) and some of them are undesirable. Therefore, if among several languages one is supported, it can have either positive or negative effects on the others. As an example, compulsory teaching of English in primary schools can be detrimental to indigenous languages that are not subject of formal education (Terborg, 2000).

Obviously, it is impossible to predict with certainty what will happen in a specific ecology. However, that doesn't mean that everything must be allowed without planning. That would mean that future generations shouldn't be educated either. It is necessary to study the ecology in hand and make probabilistic forecasts about the future of the language and linguistic communities, as well as what might be the consequences of the implemented actions. Even though we cannot determine linguistics' destiny, we always have to determine the direction of the language and its use, towards the destination that most suits the nation. This is a problem with minority languages, which come in different forms. There are some endangered languages that are autochthonous of a certain place and they are menaced by an invader language. Such is the case for Mexican indigenous languages or for Huron-Wendat in Quebec (see Dorais' chapter). At the same time, the menaced language can be the lungs of immigrants who come from different territories (see Quiro's chapter). The process of language shift has a lot in common in both cases. In this sense, Nielsen (Chapter 7) points out the importance of language teaching for planning their status and prestige. De Varennes states (chapter 3) that in order for a language to maintain its place as an important one, it is a matter of power.

To illustrate the aforesaid, let us present some examples of problems that arise with the maintenance and shift of Mexican indigenous languages. In the first half of the past century in Mexico, schools have been installed in cities as well as in the country. There have been many different teaching methods amongst indigenous populations, which have led to different results that were sometimes successful but other times, a failure. A teaching method was the direct one (Ramírez 1980) to provide literacy to the population by means of "hispanization". In many cases this hispanization was a traumatic experience for children who spoke an indigenous language. An otomí speaker from San Cristóbal Huichochitlán in Toluca, who was a primary school in the sixties, said this:

> At school, one can get deep traumas. One cannot really become involved in the classes, because the language is new. Everything is confusing. One still hasn't learned proper Otomí when you have to begin primary school... and teachers discriminate us a lot, because sometimes we are very bad students. Sometimes, they cannot see the problem: that we get really confused because we have two languages in our brains. But had I known Spanish at home, if I had known only Spanish, I am sure I would have been a different person, school would have been very different. I would have learned some more.

This example allows us to see what needs to be considered when planning a language and what needs to be avoided when it comes to education. In the example above, the person didn't live in poverty regardless of his adverse circumstances. However, there are a lot of children who haven't completed primary school due to their linguistic problems in their education, on which many mistakes have been committed. Then, preserving the language wasn't so important an objective. Providing literacy, as well as its hispanization, was the aim. No teacher who worked in this situation had any special preparation. During that time people who were unable to speak Spanish were at a disadvantage in comparison with Spanish speakers. Thus, welfare between populations was not equal due to the lack of opportunities suffered by speakers of indigenous languages.

In the past century, there were just a couple of serious studies comparing the local situations of indigenous communities and, as we have pointed out, this is necessary for a successful language planning strategy. For example, education in the schools of the said communities was no different from the other schools in the country, where children spoke Spanish. Different strategies were required for education in different places.

CONCLUSIONS

In order to arrive to a linguistic policy (language planning for us) in Mexico, we have to take into consideration the questions raised by Luis Fernando Lara. Is it possible to let it grow without consciously intervene for the welfare of all society? How does the intervention or the absence of it affect the welfare of society? He has tried to answer these questions by showing some examples of providing literacy, education in bilingual situations, and the possible emergence of inequalities and disadvantages. There is no need to explain that knowing how to write and read is essential for modern societies' functioning. Welfare depends on a literate population too. If we accept that formal education is part of linguistic planning and human resource planning, then currently there cannot be any prosperity or welfare without good planning of linguistic resources.

Literacy is a most in planned education, as well as the objective of a bilingual society that requires a planned education. The European Community, for instance, has established as an objective that every citizen should acquire at least two languages besides their first language. This objective requires planning based on education too. Of course it is normal that in multilingual scenarios, several languages be acquired in a natural way without any planning, yet with education, conscious and organized acquisition aims towards more favorable directions by means of language planning can be achieved. In other words, the emergence of language and communication as previously mentioned, may take different paths, some of which may be more favorable to the society and others not so much. With a language planning system, it is possible to aim for linguistic evolution towards more desirable directions when completing actions upon a base or preliminary studies. In this sense, languages in contact are a challenge for human resources planning in many countries, since they are part of an even bigger planning where each country has to plan language according to the situation in their territory and the specific problems of their local environment.

Finally, we would like to mention an important aspect related with social justice, which makes language planning necessary. Just like languages arise from communication, so do inequalities, disadvantages, and social injustices. This happens in every linguistic situation, even in monolingual systems. But this phenomenon becomes more obvious in multilingual communities. Thus, the emergent disadvantages negatively affect the welfare of a part of the population. It is this situation that requires a planning status.

We argue that 1) to provide literacy is not possible without formal education; that constitutes a part of linguistic planning. 2) When it comes to an ordinate form of multilingual evolution, not only do we have to attend education, but also the legislation that could help to determine the functions of each language. 3) It is necessary to attend to disadvantages and emerging inequalities as mentioned in the extract from the interview in San Cristobal Huichochitlán. Every aspect mentioned represents problems that need to be dealt with by means of language planning. Finally, why linguistic policies and language planning are needed? The former is unavoidable and the latter is needed if we want to solve community problems. If Luis Fernando Lara is right, then Mexico is still far away from solving such problems.

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LANGUAGE ECOLOGY AND MICRO-LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION PLANNING: IS THERE A CONNECTION?

RICHARD B. BALDAUF JR. & ROBERT B. KAPLAN

INTRODUCTION

LANGUAGE POLICY (DIRECTIVES) AND *PLANNING* (DOING) (LPP) grew out of the optimism found in the social sciences after World War II to the effect that social issues could be solved with the aid of science. While *covert* LPP has always existed, the *overt*, formal discipline began as a way of planning for the de-colonization process in the 1950s and 1960s, spread to include LPP for all polities and now has taken on a more critical and local focus. (For an historical perspective, see, e.g. Ricento 2000.)

In a general sense, language planning has been conceived as an effort, usually at a national level, to change the language behavior of some population for some stated or implied reason. Initial language policy and planning activity sometimes has been characterized as involving a wide range of social, political and linguistic input (e.g., Jernudd & Baldauf 1987) to arrive at status planning decisions. Because early language planning often developed out of the need to choose a language for decolonization, it is perceived as having a national function, and actual policy development has tended to focus more narrowly on developing a national/official language within a particular polity[1]. As such, language planning within a particular polity often has as its focus the *learning* of a single common national/official language and/or a single minority language[2] (or a small group of minority languages) and, therefore, the responsibility for language policy and

planning is often delegated to the education sector. (See, e.g., Crowley 2000, Daoud 2001, Djité 2000, Gynan 2001, Hornberger 1989, Kaplan & Baldauf 2003, King & Haboud 2002, Mangubhai & Mugler 2003, Medgyes & Miklósy 2000, Neustupný & Nekvapil 2003, Nyati-Ramahobo 2000, Tosi, 2004; cf. Kamwangamalu, 2001.)

In addition, contrary to early thoughts on the matter within the discipline (e.g., Rubin & Jernudd, 1971), language planning is commonly understood as a political—rather than a linguistic—activity; that is, status-planning decision-making occurs in the political sector rather than in the education one, even when the planning task has been allocated to the education sector (Baldauf & Kaplan 2003).

Furthermore, such language-in-education planning decision-making is constrained at least by budgetary considerations dictated by the rigidity of the academic calendar and structure, and by considerations dictated by the dominant philosophy of education—that is, by decisions about what languages will be taught, about when and for how long they will be taught, and about the population sectors who will teach them and who will learn them, without reference to the readiness of either teachers or students to engage in the activity. As van Els (2005: 989) has pointed out, "the normal practice in second language learning and teaching planning – as in all education planning, for all we know – still is for uninformed laymen to develop policies without any recourse to empirical findings or expert advice."

Other factors that limit the potentiality of the education sector for success (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997) include:

1. Only a single generation of children attends educational institutions at a given time;
2. Adults beyond the age of compulsory schooling are, by definition, exempt from training;
3. Financial and manpower resources are often limited;
4. The education sector's focus deals primarily with the schools, their administrators, teachers, students and their parents;

5. The education sector is isolated; i.e., its efforts do not often reach other governmental sectors;
6. The education sector feeds the manpower needs of the private sector, but has no direct influence on it;
7. Resources to train teachers appropriately for activities in language teaching and learning, to develop appropriate teaching and assessment materials, etc. are rarely available; and
8. Time given to language teaching is rarely adequate to ensure success.

Furthermore, the education sector is rarely concerned with all the languages that coexist within a given polity and certainly not with the co-occurrence of those languages in proximate polities; rather, its attention is riveted on the national/official language and, perhaps, on one or two larger minority languages or foreign languages in that polity. Thus, there is rarely any understanding on the part of planners that modifications in any of the languages of the polity are likely to have unpredictable consequences with respect to all the other languages in the polity. Finally, the effect of such policy and planning on languages in proximate polities is rarely a consideration (But see, e.g., Asmah Haji Omar 1975 for Malay/Indonesian, Willemyns 1984 for Dutch-Flemish).

This condition is very much a product of the "one-nation/one-language" myth. That myth is itself a product of the notion that national unity is completely dependent on the existence of a single universal language and that the entire population must be homogenized linguistically to assure universal communication deemed necessary to national unity. (In the more recent past, this notion has carried over to national security as well.) The myth in combination with international politics also suggests that, when two nations share a particular language, it may be expedient to designate those languages with different names, as in the case of Hindi/Urdu for India and Pakistan or Serbian and Croatian that emerged with the breakup of the former Yugoslavia. The mythology frequently leads to a misunderstanding of the nature of literacy and of the potential benefits implicit in bilingualism.

As this brief introduction to language and language-in-education policy and planning suggests, despite the rather narrow way that language has been traditionally viewed in some social and political circles, languages interact with and affect one another both within and across polities—a reality increasingly being recognized by those involved in language planning.

TYPICAL LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING PROCESSES

Having briefly discussed some of the practical realities of LPP, it is important to note that, over the last 35 years, a number of language planners have put forward their ideas about what might constitute a model for LPP (e.g., Ferguson, 1968; Neustupný, 1974; Fishman, 1974; Haugen, 1983; Cooper 1989, Haarmann, 1990), while others (e.g., Annamalai & Rubin 1980, Bentahila & Davies 1983, Nahir 1984) have concentrated on defining the nature of language planning goals. Hornberger (1994) brought these two strands together in a single framework while Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) have argued that the framework is situated within an ecological context, and have provided an expanded framework with illustrative examples of goals drawn from polities in the Pacific basin (Kaplan & Baldauf 2003).

This framework for language policy (goal setting) and planning (doing) objectives reinforces the notion that language planning is a complex process, consisting of status planning, corpus planning, language-in-education planning and prestige / image planning goals – although not all of these categories of goals may apply at any one time. As the previous discussion has already indicated, such goals may be overt (explicit) or covert (implicit) and may involve a number of actors (goal setters), often politicians (Baldauf & Kaplan 2003). In addition, language-in-education policy and planning, with all its limitations, has often been the main focus of LPP.

In this paper we want to focus on two specific aspects of the framework which may be less apparent to those involved with LPP:, language ecology, or the language mutual interrelatedness of the decision making inherent in the framework, both within and across polities, and level of implementation, with a focus particularly on the micro level, as it is the site where most practionners actually to work.

	Approaches to Goals	1. Policy Planning (on form) Goals	2. Cultivation Planning (on function) Goals
Productive Goals	1. Status Planning (about society) (van Els 2005)	*Status* *Standardisation* § Officialisation § Nationalisation § Proscription	*Status Planning* Revival § Restoration § Revitalisation § Reversal Maintenance Interlingual communication § International § Intranational Spread
	2. Corpus Planning (about language) (Liddicoat 2005)	*Standardisation* Corpus § Graphisation § Grammatication § Lexication Auxiliary Code § Graphisation § Grammatication § Lexication	*Corpus Elaboration* Lexical modernisation Stylistic modernisation Renovation § Purification § Reform § Stylistic simplification § Terminological unification Internationalisation
	3. Language-in-Edn (Acquisition) Planning (about learning) (Baldauf & Kaplan 2005) (Corson 1999)	*Policy Development* Access Personnel Curriculum Methods & Materials Resourcing Community Evaluation	*Acquisition Planning* Reacquisition Maintenance Foreign language / Second language Shift
Receptive Goal	4. Prestige Planning (about image) (Ager 2005)	*Language Promotion* Official/Government Institutional Pressure group Individual	*Intellectualisation* Language of science Language of professions Language of high culture Language of diplomacy

Figure 1. A framework for Language Planning and policy (Kaplan & Baldauf 2003: 202)

In order to be able to focus more clearly on the issues of language mutuality, language planners have begun to talk about language ecology. Mühlhäusler (1996, 2000) has examined the case of language planning and language ecology in the Pacific Basin, particularly in relation to pidgins and creoles, but also more generically. He notes that linguistic ecologies provide a 'structured diversity' in a particular area and that "the first manifestations of ... linguistic imperialism is not the reduction of the quantity of indigenous languages but the destruction of the region's linguistic ecology, a fact often overlooked by those who write about language decline" (1996: 77).

It should be noted that the issue of creating a sustainable language ecology, with all its biological and ecological metaphors as a utopian solution for resolving problems of minority language rights, has been fiercely debated in the context of language policy and planning. (See, e.g., May 2003 for a recent summary; see also Pennycook 2004.) The discussion of this debate goes beyond the scope this paper, which uses the term *ecology* in a more general sense. All languages exist in a context, of other languages, dialects, ways of speaking, etc., or to put it another way: in a particular language ecology. This is a fact that is frequently overlooked in language planning and policy making and may not be taken into account in the plan's actual implementation either.

Indeed, it can be argued that it is the linguistic ecology that constitutes a real language planning and policy problem in many situations. A polity may plan changes in a particular language without understanding that its planning may have an unknown impact on that particular language in proximate polities or in those polities elsewhere in the world in which the particular language has some role. France's 1994 *Loi Toubon,* for example, which mandated specific changes in French usage, had influence not only on the French language in France, but on French in all those other participants in the *Francophonie* in Africa and the

Pacific, as well as in all those polities in which French is a favored foreign language taught through the education sector.

Another way in which the language ecology may have been altered is through colonization (and neo-colonialism), where new languages (and new language functions) may be introduced into the local linguistic ecology; that is, in the most widely discussed forms of colonization, European languages were introduced into non-European contexts, although historically other languages like Arabic or Chinese may also have had some major impact on such languages as Bahasa Indonesia, Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese. In addition, in many instances, literacy in the colonizing language was introduced (but not necessarily in the local vernacular). Since much colonization was accompanied by the inculcation of some particular religious view (in parts of Africa, the Americas and the Pacific, Christianity; in the Middle East, North Africa and parts of Southeast Asia, Islam; in Asia, Buddhism, Confucianism, etc.), missionary activity, often present, was seen to have some influence through two separate forms of language related activity:

1. on the one hand, *language spread*, the spread of the new language(s) (not previously part of the language ecology) through direct proselytization accompanied by the spread of literacy through the teaching of the word of God in the colonial language, without benefit of translation;
2. on the other hand, *language translation*, often in the case of Christian missionary activity, the translation of the gospel into the indigenous language(s), resulting in the introduction and spread of literacy in previously unwritten languages. (See, e.g., the work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics/ Wickliffe Bible Translators.)

This translation activity may have resulted in another intrusion into the existing language ecology; since missionaries were rarely trained linguists, and since their functions were inherently prag-

matic, their practical requirement for a 'standard' indigenous language sometimes constituted a misperception of the indigenous language, resulting in the creation of a new language in the ecology (Makoni, Mashiri & Meinhof In Press, Masagara 1997). But even when the outcome was not a 'new' language, it was frequently a new pidgin, a language form that morphed into a new Creole. (See, e.g., Crowley 2000.)

It can be argued that, in the post-colonial era, the English language has become a world language through its econocultural functions (Brutt-Griffler 2002), creating an increasing demand for English, and thereby increasing the pressures on other languages in particular language ecologies. While at the national level, this may lead to the sort of stable bilingualism predicted by Brutt-Griffler for Asia and Africa, its increasing inclusion in the curriculum must, by definition, take time from other subjects, often other languages, thus altering the language-in-education ecology.

Of course, the issue of language change and the alteration of language ecologies is not a recent phenomenon. However, in recent times the impact of such changes on language ecologies has become more noticeable as the pace of language change has accelerated, and languages have been in more widespread contact. In addition, planned language change has become a formal function in many polities, adding to the pressures for change found in any given language ecology. Nevertheless, some aspects of these ecologies have been resistant to, or generated resistance to (Canagarajah 1999) such changes, perhaps because of their links to identity.

SINGAPOREAN LANGUAGE ECOLOGY: AN EXAMPLE

By way of illustration of what we mean by a language ecology, consider the language situation in contemporary Singapore (See, Kaplan & Baldauf 2003). Singapore, which is relatively small in size, both physically and in terms of its population, is a Chinese society in a Malay world. Given its size, there are both possibilities

and pressures to do things linguistically that would not occur in a larger, more powerful society. For these reasons Singapore provides an interesting illustration of the notion of language ecology issues of language and (political) power, as well as its relationship to language planning and their inter-relationships both historically and across polity boundaries. One aspect of language ecology that Singapore illustrates is that proximate language ecologies must be taken into account in any language planning activity and that changes do not stop at political borders —those made in one polity effect the situation in others.

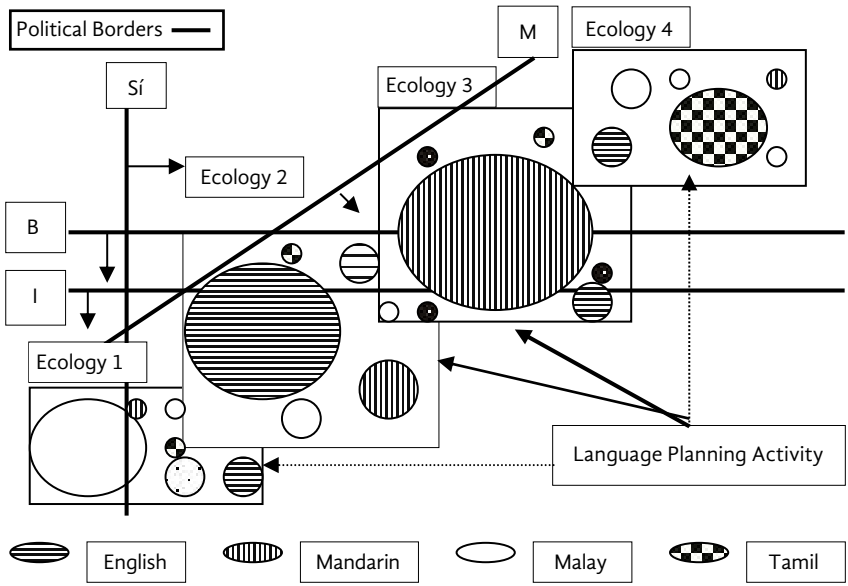

Figure 2. Effect of an ecological perspective on a language planning activity (Kaplan & Baldauf 2003: 138)[1]

[1] The figures do not concern individual languages; rather the figures represent the interactions among the languages, and, collectively, the 3 figures show the changing interaction over time. The question "What language is it?" simply creates a problem where none exists. Each image in each of the figures represents a language, so (for example) English is represented by a circular body containing a varying number of horizontal lines. The size of the circular body changes in each figure and the number of horizontal lines changes too but it always represents English; the variability in size and number of lines changes only because the size of the circular body changes, but is always English. Each figure is presented at the bottom of the figure with the list of languages represented. The

Figure 2 illustrates the four major language ecologies found in Singapore—Chinese, English, Malay and Tamil. It will be noted that the principal language in each of these ecologies occurs as a minority language in the proximate ecologies and that the arbitrary political borders for Singapore (S), Malaysia (M), Brunei (B) and Indonesia (I) do not coincide with the ecological borders. The heavy line indicates that the principal target of Singaporean language planning activity is Chinese and then English, with lesser attention to Tamil and Malay. The placement of the political borders indicates that Brunei and Indonesia are not concerned with the language ecology of Tamil, and only partly concerned with the ecology of Chinese. English is important to all four polities, but plays a lesser role in Indonesia than in the other three. Singapore, while concerned with the language-in-education ecology of Malay, simply accepts the advice of the Majalis Bahasa Brunei Darussalam-Indonesia-Malaysia (MABBIM) on Malay linguistic matters.

Looking at these language ecologies, if, for example, the major language in *Ecology 2* is English, the major language in *Ecology 1* is Bahasa Malaysia, the major language in *Ecology 4* is Tamil and the major language in *Ecology 3* is Mandarin, then at least some of the minority languages in Ecology 3 would be other Chinese dialects (e.g., Hakka, Hokkien, Cantonese). Furthermore, some of the minority languages in *Ecology 2* might be Singlish, and even more distantly languages like French and German (i.e., languages of overseas education, trade and tourism), some of the minority languages in *Ecology 1* might represent Bahasa Indonesia, Bazaar Malay, or Baba Malay and some of the other languages in *Ecology 4* might be other Indian languages. The figure suggests the complexity of the situation and the fact that political boundaries may be irrelevant at least to language planning problems.

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languages appear in all of the figures. The size of each language across the figures shows the relative attention that particular language was given at the various times over the recent history of Singapore.

The other aspect that is illustrated by Singapore is that the particular language and language planning history of a polity, and the leadership that is exerted by various individuals or even language related things that are not done, provide a diachronic view of how planning, either formal or informal, can change the sociolinguistic environment, i.e., how the language ecology shifts (e.g., Mackey 2001/1980, Daoud 2001: 41). If we take the case of Singapore as an example, these changes over time in the language ecology can be illustrated graphically as in Figure 3.

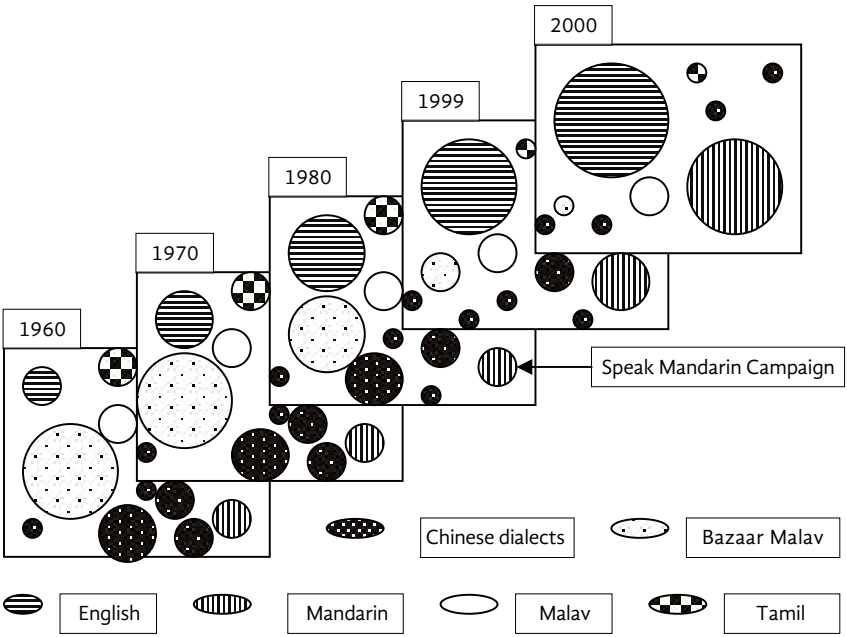

Figure 3. Effects of time ion a linguistic eco-system (Kaplan and Baldauf 2003: 139)

The figure shows that between 1960 and 2000 the use of English was on the increase after the 1956 decision to adopt 'first language'-English bilingualism. After the 1979 'speak Mandarin' campaign began, we see the growth of Mandarin and a corresponding decline in the use of Chinese dialects (i.e., Cantonese, Foochow, Hakka, Hokkien and Teochow). Standard Malay and Tamil have declined marginally, Tamil more than Malay, while

Bazaar Malay has declined quite substantially as English and Mandarin have taken over as lingua francas. The figure has been simplified in that a number of languages are not represented and, as Singapore is bilingual, the circles in the figure should overlap —especially with English to indicate bilingual language use.

As this Figure illustrates, the language shifts evident in Singapore are transforming the language ecology within the polity, making Singapore a more linguistically homogeneous community. An English-knowing bilingualism is being encouraged via language-in-education measures. The loss of the indigenised exoglossic languages—such as Tamil—does not of course endanger them, as they are for the most part large languages spoken elsewhere (except Baba Malay). But, it does reduce the linguistic and cultural diversity within the polity that perhaps helps to create a unique Singaporean identity.

Another consequence of the current policy that links language and ethnic identity is that the range of bilingualisms has decreased. In the past there were many more Malay-knowing bilinguals in the Chinese community and more Chinese-knowing and Tamil-knowing bilinguals in the Malay community. English-knowing bilingualism has now become the bridge for Singaporeans, but that bridge lacks a community cultural basis (Pakir 1991). In some respects this may serve to isolate communities from each other, as there are fewer people with deep cross-community understandings. It could be argued that this is not a healthy situation.

Another issue which this example highlights is the continued growth of English, and the attempts by the government to downplay the language and shore up support for the community languages, i.e., to maintain a continuing bilingual system. Tan Su Hwi (1998: 48) suggests that Singapore may be moving to a *linguatocracy* where English performs a gatekeeping function, as in 1990 only 7.6 per cent of households with incomes of less than S$1,000 a month reported using English, while 33.5 per cent with incomes over S$4,000 did so. While increased wealth may bring with it a renewed interest in community languages, as it has in Australia,

it may be the economic developments in China (and India) which ultimately make the other ethnic languages more attractive and therefore bilingualism more sustainable.

The history of language planning in Singapore has been about creating and maintaining a balance between languages, cultures, and value systems. While being very 'top-down' and directive, there has been an attempt to depoliticise the issue (Kuo & Jernudd 1993) and to fine-tune the solutions as they develop. Combined with a heavy-handed approach to quashing criticism, this has spared Singapore the anguish of the May 1969 race riots in Malaysia or the ethnic conflict re-emerging in Indonesia after the fall of Suharto in 1998. For Singapore the test will be to see: 1) whether the innovation and fine-tuning will continue, and 2) whether, as Singapore moves to become a more open society, it is able to maintain both its internal and its external harmonious relationships.

This suggests that Singapore must continue to manage its language ecology. But this example is one where the focus has been on the macro and a top-down process. For a successful language ecology to be created, there also needs to be an understanding of how this may be managed in the classrooms and in other localised situations. How does one make a language ecology work, or seek to change it, or fine tune it from a bottom-up level? Those involved in implementation need to be able to deal with the inherent conflicts in LPP goals that are to be found in the language planning situation. To do this, we need to look at another concept inherent in the LPP framework, that of levels (macro, meso and micro) and in particular at micro LPP.

MICRO LANGUAGE PLANNING AS A CONCEPT

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 52) suggest that language planning occurs at several levels, the macro, the meso and the micro, and provide several examples of micro level planning (e.g., a company requiring business translation in North America (1997: 254ff)).

While this application of the principles of language policy and planning to micro situations is not a significant focus of their volume nor is it developed in any detail, it relates to an issue which has become of major interest to language policy planners in recent years, that of micro or local language planning.

This question of levels raises an important issue for the definition of language planning. As Alan Davies and Sinfree Makoni (personal communication, AILA Congress, July 2005) have pointed out, if language planning is construed broadly, it could be limitless—covering everything, as in the case of 'language management' that we will briefly touch upon subsequently. Is such a construct useful if it is unlimited? What then are the grounds for inclusion and exclusion of work in the discipline? This is of course a complex question, which there is not time to answer here. Suffice it to say that we will argue that the macro principles must be able to be applied to micro situations.

A review of the literature suggests that micro or 'local' planning has been thought about from five different approaches, these being:

1. Trickle down language policy and planning
2. Traditional approaches
3. Language management
4. Critical perspectives, and
5. Biliteracy approaches

In the following sections, we will look at each of these approaches briefly and provide an example of the type of study suggested by each approach.

TRICKLE DOWN LPP

Having outlined how macro LPP can be conceived, and noting that it exists in an ecological framework, the question is whether the framework or some of its elements are relevant for small

scale or micro situations—noting that the framework is meant to be used selectively.

First, it may be useful to clarify what is *not* being talked about when micro LPP is discussed. Most people would acknowledge that "the impact of LPP depends heavily on meso and micro level involvement and support" (Kaplan & Baldauf 2003: 201) and a number of studies have looked at micro support for implementation of macro LPP.

Baldauf (2005) argues that these are matters of scale in policy implementation and are not exemplars of micro LPP per se because the fundamental planning is conceptualized and carried out at the macro level.

Rather, micro planning refers to cases where schools, businesses, institutions, groups or individuals create what can be recognized as a language policy and plan to utilize and develop their language resources; one that is not directly the result of some larger macro policy, but is a response to their own needs, their own 'language problems', their own requirements for language management. Such micro planning can be contrasted with micro implementation of macro policy—see the example that follows or some examples given in Baldauf (2005).

Breen (2002) provides a micro educational example with a clear national policy basis. The macro policy context is the Australian government's idealistic policy in the 1990s to increase access to second language teaching in primary schools. However, the meso and micro implementation of that policy is dependent on the Australian States, which control education and ultimately schools. Thus, specific policy development and implementation —the reality of what happens in schools and classrooms—occurs at the State and school levels, making only general reference to national initiatives (Sussex 2004).

Breen's study examines Western Australian volunteer generalist primary teachers, who had a language background, and who then were provided with professional development in language methodology with the goal of implementing second language study

in their schools. Breen examines how this micro-implementation of policy affected the 21 teachers' professional identity and their on-going social relationships with others in their work context. The tensions revealed by these teachers in their new roles have implications for the implementation of language policy in schools more generally.

TRADITIONAL APPROACHES

As Baldauf (2005) has argued, by definition, micro LPP should originate from the micro and not the macro level. However, it has been difficult to identify very many studies of micro LPP, perhaps because such work currently is not valued, because it doesn't belong to an 'authentic' research genre, because business and other micro sites are less open to public scrutiny than governmental entities, or perhaps because it is published in business-related journals under different headings. In addition to education and schooling, Baldauf (2005) cites studies related to business (e.g., banking), community language needs, methodology and theory, law and translation indicating that there is a range of possible sites for micro LPP.

In addition, given the relative paucity of published micro literature, I have asked post-graduate students in my LPP classes—and participants in a seminar given at UNAM in 2003—about how the frameworks and models of macro language planning might be applied to micro situations—reflecting their own questions about the relevance of LPP for them. If language planning and policy is the premier example of applied linguistics as their Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) textbook suggests, then how could they apply what they have studied in a relevant manner, as it seemed unlikely that they would be involved in drawing up a new language policy for Mexico, China or South Africa. Furthermore, unlike those who have been involved with LPP at a macro level,

the students came to this problem with no pre-suppositions about whether such a task would be possible.

These P/G students were able to come up with a broad range of quality problems and solutions based on real situations that they had encountered in their working lives (see Baldauf, 2005 for a list). They were able to translate what they had learned about macro language policy and planning to micro situations of their own choosing. In these projects there were examples of:

1. status planning goals—the need to choose which languages would be needed for what purposes,
2. corpus planning goals—the need to develop appropriate materials to support planning decisions,
3. language-in-education planning goals—the need for (re)training for staff in a variety of language skills and
4. prestige planning goals—the need to give certain languages greater status in particular situations.

Policy positions and decisions were developed and planning processes were suggested to meet a variety of goals, providing hypothetical examples of micro planning in action.

Kaplan, Touchstone, and Hagstrom (1995) and Touchstone, Kaplan, and Hagstrom (1996) did two related studies on the banking sector in Los Angeles. First, they looked at written business communication coming from 34 bank branches located in identifiable ethnic communities—Japanese, Chinese and Hispanic—to determine the commitment of those branches to multilingualism and to analyze their specific attempts to reach out to non-English speaking communities by comparing parallel English and non-English texts employed in the advertising promulgated by these branches (or in some cases by their parent banks). A second parallel study related to home loans for the Hispanic community, which had a lower percentage of bank home loans (non-bank funding) than other communities.

In both cases, the studies found three types of 'language problems' with bank materials: 1) translation errors, 2) translation misfit, and 3) translation omission, and they conclude that there is a substantial failure on the part of banks in Los Angeles to serve their non-English speaking clientele, with economic consequences for banks that suggest that while banks comply with regulations, language-planning efforts by banks might enhance profitability in minority language communities and to serve minority communities more effectively (1995: 427).

LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT

Over the years, terminology use has changed; e.g., McConnell (1977a; 1977b) characterized language planning as descriptive of the macro situations while language management represented the micro planning that was occurring in Canada / Quebec in the 1970s. (See, e.g., Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987.)

But, as Neustupný and Nekvapil (2003) explain in their study of language management in the Czech Republic, language management may either be *organised* or *simple*. This perspective provides an alternate framework that views LPP as working from the macro to the micro. (Also see e.g. Jernudd 1996, 2000, 2001, Kuo & Jernudd 1993, Neustupný 1996.) In summary:

1. Management may be *simple*—dealing with specific, often individual problems—or *organized*—involving multiple participants in the discussion (potential ideological) of the management process. (micro, meso, macro)
2. Management is a process in which *deviation* from some particular norm (or expectation) is noted, evaluated, an adjustment plan selected, and then implemented.
3. Linguistic management is nested within communicative management which is nested within socioeconomic management, i.e., one can not change language forms (e.g., gender-loaded

words) unless communicative and socioeconomic management also occurs.
4. Language management recognizes that decisions and plans are based on interests and power relations within the community.

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES

As Ricento (2000) has argued, in recent years, a number of researchers have taken a critical perspective to the study of the LPP (See, e.g., Canagarajah 2005b, 2005c, Tollefson 2001, 2006, Tollefson & Tsui 2004). As a critical perspective requires researchers/authors and those practicing LPP to focus on the local, such studies often have much more of a micro LPP focus. We see this for example in Figure 4. Here Canagarajah (2005a: xxvii) has observed that there is an increasing shift from hierarchical (macro) approaches to EFL/ESL language learning and teaching to leveled (micro) approaches, and this approach is illustrated in specific detail by Martin's (2005) study in the same volume.

Martin (2005) examines how a teacher 'talks knowledge into being' in an up-river primary school in Brunei, where the English curriculum and texts have already been localized (for Brunei). However, the teacher there, if he is to be successful, is not just faced with a micro implementation of an appropriate macro LPP (as in our first category of micro planning), but is required to re-conceptualize his English teaching substantially to meet the unique demands of the local situation—to transform the more general Brunei context to one comprehensible and accessible by up-river students who lack access to the language and cultural capital more widely available in Brunei. It can be argued that this is micro LPP at its most individual level.

(Macro) Hierarchical Approach	(Micro) Leveled Approach
■ Norms ■ Native Englishes ■ Native speakers ■ Native norms as target ■ Expertise ■ Established knowledge ■ Unilateral knowledge flow ■ Researcher & Sch generated ■ Curriculum ■ Innovation and change ■ Top-down ■ Pedagogy ■ Methods dominated ■ Skills-based ■ Materials ■ Authenticity ■ Published in the center	■ Norms ■ Global English plural system ■ Experts & novices in each variety ■ Local norms of relevance ■ Expertise ■ Local knowledge ■ Multilateral knowledge flow ■ Practitioner generated & collaborative ■ Curriculum ■ Continuity ■ Grounded-up ■ Pedagogy ■ Post-method practices ■ Project-based ■ Materials ■ Relevance ■ Locally generated

Figure 4. Shifts in Professional Discourse and Structure (Canagarajah, 2005a: xxvii)

BILITERACY APPROACHES

Hornberger (2003) and her colleagues have addressed a focused, but important area within language-in-education policy and planning, that of bi-literacy research, which has for the most part been ignored. They have developed a *continua of biliteracy* that provides a model that highlights specific context, media and contents that need to be considered in each program that is developed. As an individualised approach, which considers oracy, biliteracy studies also provide potential examples of micro LPP practice, particularly in schools and other multilingual language

settings—noting such settings comprise a majority of language-in-education situations worldwide.

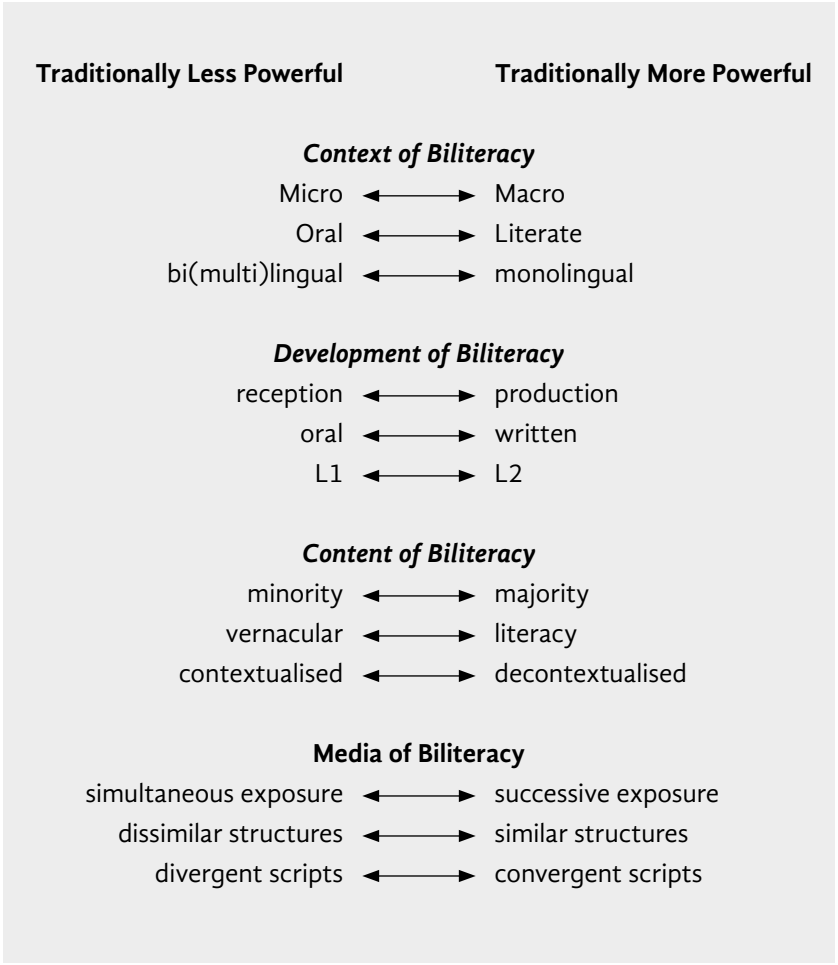

Figure 5. The Biliteracy continuum (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester 2003: 39)

Skilton (1992) examined language acquisition planning and a class action lawsuit filed on behalf of Asian students in Philadelphia in the United States related to meeting their linguistic and academic needs. Both micro-and macro-perspectives were examined in an attempt to understand the complexities of the situation and the effectiveness of implementing such programs.

WHERE MICRO-LANGUAGE PLANNING MIGHT BE USEFUL

In this paper we have drawn on studies and examples with which we are familiar to illustrate the importance and effects of language ecology and potential that micro language policy and planning might have to help researchers / teachers / applied linguists to deal with language issues in their own situations. As we have much less familiarity with the situation in Mexico or in other parts of Latin America, we would argue—taking a critical perspective—that our role can only be to point out some of the possibilities, based on situations with which we have had experience, since you are the best judge of the extent to which these ideas might apply to your own situations. However, let us briefly suggest one aspect where these ideas might be relevant.

It is estimated that 105 million people currently live in the *Estados Unidos Mexicanos*. While Spanish is the official language, more than 60 Amerindian languages are also spoken there (e.g., Mayan, Nahuatl, and other regional indigenous languages); the one or more distinct varieties of Spanish compliment the linguistic heterogeneity of the polity. There are more than 1,550 institutes of higher education in Mexico, serving 19.1 per cent of 20- to 24-year-olds. In 2004, Mexico spent more than 7 per cent of its gross domestic product on education. Over the years, the government has supported education, and particularly university education, through various policy provisions.

For a long period of time, the education-planning sector in Mexico was highly centralized; that approach obviously was not working efficiently. In the more recent past, the government has gone to the other extreme of nearly total decentralization. Such decentralization has created new problems that are currently under consideration. To illustrate this newer approach, in 1989 the federal government launched evaluation and funding policies to improve the quality of public universities, but the 'new' evaluation policies focused almost exclusively on inputs rather than on outputs, and the role of the government might be described as 'distant

steering'; i.e., decisions were taken at the center and gradually disseminated to the periphery—a process requiring great amounts of time and one that was not a universal success. During the later 1990s, the government shifted to a strategy of 'planned intervention,' organized under an umbrella Integral Programs for Institutional Development in 2001. The competition for funds shifted to proposals for improvement rather than performance, producing dependency on the government because the process encourages institutions to create demands but not necessarily to strengthen efficiency, encouraging potentially negative effects—e.g., compliance behaviour, pretense, bureaucratisation and the articulation of unattainable goals. Governance was initially based on unwritten rules and party loyalty, but now it remains unclear who is responsible for what. As the devolution of public functions to state governments has come into effect, responsibility for education has been transferred to the states, but many state governments lacked the capacity (political, technical, administrative and financial) to undertake the new tasks. Public universities can open any program they wish; the new structure may imply a lack of approval, but that only means the lack of funding. The impact of decentralization has produced a complex and essentially unplanned system of vested institutional interests, made more complex in situations in which the state governor lacks a majority in the legislature. In short, coordination among the different decision makers is flawed, sometimes resulting in disregard of formal regulations, malleable rules, and decisions dependent of the relative power of each actor. Consequently, the federal government is actively intervening in the operation of programs; but the government cannot impose compliance on autonomous universities—it can only induce them to comply by special funding. We believe that, in the very recent past, a number of different language centers have sprung up in several public universities, funded by the government (Castillo, 2005); these centers seem not to be inspired by any sense of what a language center should be and by a lack of clarity in the government's desires; as a consequence there is a wide range of quite

different approaches. In short, we believe that the federal government lacks the capacity to regulate public universities, and the system has resulted in an unclear contest between the state governments and the federal government (Alvarez-Mendiola & de Vries 2005). This lack of policy clarity must have some impact on language programs and courses in universities.

More generally, given the significant linguistic heterogeneity in various regions, and the makeup of the Mexican population, we would suggest that Mexico is an ideal candidate for micro language-in-education planning, but only if someone undertakes to understand the complex system (or language ecology) before undertaking changes which are bound to have unexpected effects throughout the system—a situation which may be said to describe Mexico's historical experience in language planning.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

While Singapore can serve as a useful example of language ecology, similar ecological phenomena have been occurring across many other polities. In a larger sense, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 269) have argued:

> [T]he language planning activity must be perceived as implicating a wide range of languages and of modifications occurring simultaneously over the mix of languages in the environment, some of which may constitute the motivation for an attempt at planned change while some may be dragged along willy-nilly as an outcome of an attempt at planned change in a given sector. Language planning must recognise as well that language modification may not be susceptible to containment within a particular nation-state or other entity that may be isolated for the purposes of discussion but that in truth always remains embedded in a larger context. Rather, the language plan may cause a ripple effect in proximate communities, in nation-states, and across a region (or in other smaller or larger entities).

In this paper, we have argued further that many language policy efforts in various polities are insufficient or mistaken because they ignore the reality of the language ecology, failing to recognize that whatever occurs in the context of a national/official language situation will in all probability have effects on all the other languages within a polity and across polities, without reference to political boundaries. As in the case of Singapore, modifications to any part of the language ecology (e.g., the increasing demand for English has reduced the study of other European languages; the increasing time devoted to English has reduced time spent on the study of the designated 'mother-tongues' (Chinese, Malay and Tamil) within the polity will have unknown effects on all the other languages within the polity, as well as on those languages that extend beyond the borders of the polity.

The metaphoric relationship between linguistic and biological ecology is powerful, even if it is not entirely appropriate (May 2003). Let us end our discussion of language ecology with a quotation from *The Medusa and the Snail: More Notes of a Biology Watcher*, by Lewis Thomas:

When you are confronted by any complex social system, such as an urban center or a hamster, with things about it that you're dissatisfied with, and anxious to fix, you cannot just step in and set about fixing with much hope of helping. This realization is one of the sore discouragements of our century.... You cannot meddle with one part of a complex system from the outside without the almost certain risk of setting off disastrous events that you hadn't counted on in other, remote parts. If you want to fix something you are first obliged to understand, in detail, the whole system (1979: 90). ...

Thomas, of course, is talking about *ecology* in the sense the term is used by biologists, but is a system of interacting languages less complex than a hamster or an urban center? Aspiring language planners, take note.

Finally, in this paper, we also argue that language ecology is not just a matter for large-scale macro LPPers, but has significant

implications for analyzing and solving small-scale language problems. While there have been significant developments in the understanding of macro LPP (i.e., at the polity level) in the literature, much less attention has been paid to micro developments, either in relation to macro planning implementation or in genuine micro level analysis and action that includes ecological issues, although this is beginning to change. Evidence suggests that micro LPP may be a useful concept for solving language-in-education and related problems. Perhaps micro language planning and its ecological context deserve wider consideration.

NOTES

[1] The term *polity* is used with intent, since language policy may be developed by a nation/country, or enacted by entities smaller than a nation (e.g., states or territories) or larger than a nation (e.g., The African Union, The European Union, UNESCO, OAS, etc.). The term *polity* is intended to signify any political entity independently designing and implementing language policy.

[2] In such cases, the term *minority language* is frequently defined on the basis of the size of its community of speakers; thus, in the United States, for example, Spanish is defined as a *minority language*, even though the number of speakers is approaching a sheer majority of the national population. Because of the size of the population, much attention has been devoted to dealing with Spanish-speakers. Languages implicating smaller populations can be ignored with impunity. Such considerations (having obvious economic implications) determine which of a multiplicity of minority languages will be addressed by the education sector.

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III. LANGUAGE POLICIES, INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THEIR EFFECTS ON THE WELFARE OF MINORITIES AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

FERNAND DE VARENNES[1]

1. INTRODUCTION

While language policies are usually considered through the lens of sociolinguistics, their examination from a legal perspective of international law may also provide some interesting and useful insights. This article looks at three main points which may initially appear unconnected, but which are however closely interconnected: first to be dealt with is the link between language policies and issues of power and opportunity, followed by how these language policies that raise issues of power and opportunity are at the same time matters which are very often also issues where international law could intervene and have considerable impact, even though this is a recent phenomenon in international law and is still developing since it goes against in some cases the concept of a state's official language Finally will be considered how language policies that exclude the use of minority and indigenous languages can have very detrimental effects in terms of access to health and social services, and success in education. The concluding observations will attempt to suggest how the use of international human rights law may—in some cases—increase power, prestige and opportunities linked to minority or indigenous languages, and help maintain linguistic diversity.

[1] 2004 Linguapax Laureate and Associate Professor of International of International Law and Human Rights at Murdoch University, Australia.

... siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio...


GRAMMATICA

ANTONII NEBRISSENSIS NVNC DENVO PER

ANNO. M. D. L.

ANTONIVS NEBRISSENSIS

Antonio de Nebrija (1441-1522)
Prólogo a la Gramática de la lengua castellana,
Salamanca, 1492.

Many people have probably read on one or more occasions the above well-known extract from Antonio de Nebrija's *Prólogo a la Gramática de la lengua castellana*. It is famous for the simple but powerful message that language and domination have always been companions. In today's global context of almost instant communications and frequent migrations, it could say instead: '*siempre la lengua fue compañera del poder*'.

Language is the companion of power—but it is a power that advantages some or excludes and disadvantages others. This is not because some languages are naturally superior to others, but because governments have the power to exclude or disadvantage individuals through their language policies, and all governments almost automatically do it by having one or more official or 'favoured' languages. More than that, governments can actively eliminate languages through a variety of means: by forbidding

people to speak a language is one way, which has almost disappeared today (though not quite completely in the world). It is still happening in Northern Ireland with the Irish language and with Spanish and Chinese in some areas in the United States.

But there are other ways to eliminate languages. As French historian J. Jullian is often quoted saying: *une langue qu'on n'enseigne pas est une langue qu'on tue* (Observatoire des droits linguistiques, 9), you kill a language if you do not teach it. Even if you teach a language, it may not be enough to ensure that it survives or develops and strengthens. A language with no prestige or power is a language, which many parents, for example, will not see as important for the success and future of their children. So they may turn their back on education in their own language if they see it as powerless or rather useless outside of the private or family sphere. Researchers have pointed out in a number of recent studies the dramatic language shift among the youngest segment of indigenous populations in Mexico. As long as indigenous languages do not have significant prestige, power and opportunities associated with them, especially in terms of opportunities outside of their home, this trend is unlikely to change significantly in the future, even with the new law on indigenous language rights in Mexico (*Ley general de derechos lingüísticos de los Pueblos Indígenas*) and the increased possibility of bilingual education for indigenous people, because the basic power and prestige for their languages has not changed.

There are some forms of bilingual education, which in fact can increase the dangers of indigenous languages to disappear. Some forms of so-called bilingual education are actually intended for children to learn the official (majority) language and abandon their own languages as quickly as possible. There are, however, many positive steps in this language legislation, including the creation of the *Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indigenas*, but at the end of the day this new law does not create much in concrete terms for the power of indigenous languages, outside of the right to some form of bilingual education and the use of interpreters.

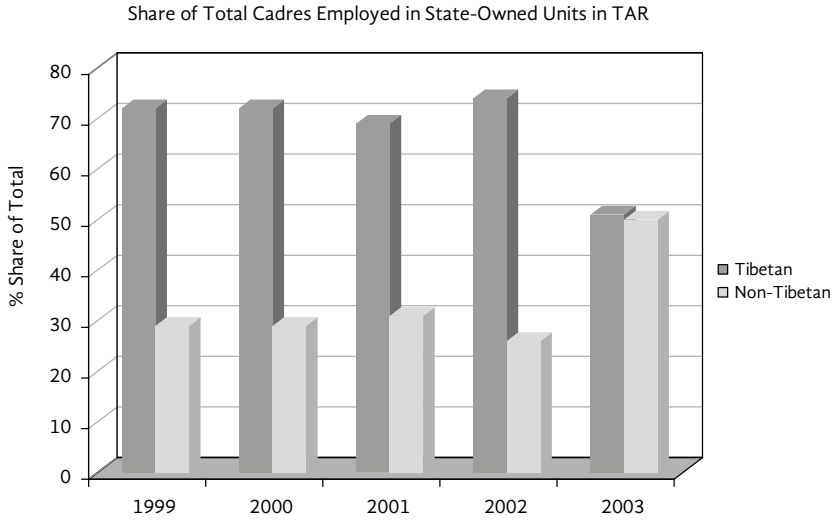
It does not make indigenous languages, ones of power, prestige, or opportunity, because they may not become languages of the public institutions where they are concentrated.

This happens in many parts of the world. There are more than 5 million Tibetans in China, most of them living in Tibet where they officially represent around 90% of the population. But despite their language being used for what is described as bilingual education, and despite the Tibetans being such a huge majority of the population there, it is not a language of power:

The predominance of the Chinese language in education, commerce, and administration ... compels Tibetans to master Chinese and is marginalizing Tibetan language. Virtually all classes in secondary and higher education in the TAR ... are taught in Chinese. ... Rather than instilling in Tibetan children respect for their own cultural identity, language and values, education in Tibet serves to convey a sense of inferiority in comparison to the dominant Chinese culture and values (de Varennes, 15-16).

The Chinese language, what is in the West sometimes called Mandarin, is the main official language and the language of power and opportunity. University education is only available to students who are fluent in Chinese, and they must pass a tough test in that language to be admitted to university. The language of Tibetans is not a language for education and employment opportunities, because for the most part the public institutions there only use Chinese, not the Tibetan language.

The Chinese government is one of the main employers in the economy of Tibet through massive infrastructure projects and government staff salaries, with government employees earning salaries that are the third highest in China. While some Tibetans have benefited, they are increasingly losing ground to new Chinese arrivals. Officially, for example, the Chinese only represent about 8% of the total population of Tibet, but it is obvious that by 2003 they occupied more than half of the top permanent jobs in government administration with ethnic Tibetans going from over 70% to less than 50% in just five years:



SOURCE: Tibetan Information Network, 22 January 2005 (de Varennes, 15)

This does not happen by chance: it is due, mainly, to two factors: first, Tibetans tend to abandon school or not going to the university, therefore they do not have the educational qualifications for many of the higher ranked jobs; more importantly, they do not qualify because they must be very fluent in Chinese to get top positions. They tend to abandon education because it is taught to them in a foreign language, far removed from their own culture. Chinese is the language of power and of opportunity, and as such it advantages those for whom it is their first language—usually ethnic Chinese and not Tibetans. But the parents of Tibetan children now see that it is Chinese what will give their children the best opportunities for employment and advancement, and in recent years more and more parents are sending their children to schools that teach only in Chinese instead of sending their children to schools that initially teach in Tibetan and then Chinese. The reason for this threat to Tibetan culture and language is in a way simple: Tibetan has almost no value as a language of prestige, power and opportunity, and is being abandoned, more and more, even when some form of education is available in Tibetan.

This situation is unfortunate, and until recently most people with a legal background would say that it is too bad but there is nothing that can be done, at least in terms of international law. This is because, until recently, most jurists believe that there is no discrimination in the case of a government's language policies in favour of an official language.

3. INTERNATIONAL LAW, HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE EXCLUSIVITY OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGE 'FALLACY'

It must be understood—even if this sounds initially rather surprising—that in terms of international law, there is no unqualified right to education in your own language, and there is not even a right to a language *per se*. Nevertheless, neither does it mean that there cannot be from an international legal point of view a right to education in a mother tongue at least in some situations. So what then is the connection between language policies and international human rights if there is no right to a language or to education in your language? Before answering such a central question, one must first address what could be described as the 'official language fallacy'. This fallacy presumes that outside language legislation or a State 'giving' some kind of recognition to a minority or indigenous language, there can be no language rights: *point de loi, point de droit linguistique*. Unless you have a language right under a specific law, you have no such right. That is false, because what is increasingly becoming clear in international law in the last two decades or so is that there are human rights which provide a series of limits and obligations on how individuals and their languages ought to be treated and used. In other words, it is sometimes inappropriate, sometimes a violation of certain human rights, to restrict, limit or not use certain languages in certain contexts.

A simple story may help to illustrate this widely held misconception among lawyers and judges. As a student who studied law in Canada, I had the privilege of studying language rights under

one of that country's leading experts. My colleagues at law school and me were told almost twenty years ago that there are no language rights at all in international law—no language rights outside of official language policies or some other type of linguistic legislation. To this day, it is not uncommon to hear judges and lawyers in Canada—but also in many other countries– repeat what they were trained to believe in law school: there are no language rights outside of a state's own legislation. If a government chooses English, or Chinese, or Estonian, or Russian as the only language for the institutions of the government, for employment in public institutions, as a language of power, prestige and opportunity—well, that's the law, and that is the end of it.

This, however, seems to be linked to the misconception that in order to be used or recognized, a language must have an official or other status. This also assumes that the extent to which a language will be used rests entirely at the discretion of government —and that people have no right to ask for more than what authorities allow as part of their language policies. If a language has no official status, or a limited one, there are no other rights connected to it. Conversely, there is also the misconception that a government may adopt any policy it chooses in relation to a language, which has been adopted as official. (*Diergaardt et al. v. Namibia.*) That is why until recently very few legal experts would have thought of international human rights standards having any connection with language rights, except maybe for what is known as the Article 27 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* which says that members of a linguistic minority shall not be denied the right to use their language among themselves.

Both are wrong, because they operated on the false idea that no international human rights law is applicable to language issues or language policies, but this is also understandable because of the training received when they studied law. It is only in the last two decades that international legal cases have shown how language rights can also be human rights, and it is only in 2006 that for the very first time there was a book which charts the jurisprudence,

the various decisions of courts of law and international bodies such as the United Nations Human Rights Committee, that have been handed down in relation to minority rights. (Weller, 2007)

And what do these various judgments, cases, decisions and legal views say about the link between international human rights standards and language rights? Here there are just a few examples:

- In 1993 (*Ballantyne, Davidson, McIntyre v. Canada*), the UN Human Rights concluded that the right to use a language in private activities was guaranteed by freedom of expression.
- In 1991 (*Coeriel and Aurik v. The Netherlands*), first the UN Human Rights Committee, then the European Court of Human Rights in 1994, recognized that individuals have the right to have their own name in their proper form, which would include in a person's own language.
- In 2000 (*Diergaardt et al. v. Namibia*) the UN Human Rights Committee was of the opinion that a minority language, Afrikaans in Namibia, had to be used to some degree by official authorities in addition to English, the official language in order to comply with non-discrimination on the ground of language, since there was no explanation why only using English was reasonable and justified under the circumstances.
- In 2001 (*Cyprus v. Turkey*), the European Court of Human Rights concluded that 'sometimes' children could have a right to education in their own language (but this is not a general right to education in one's own language).

The situation in Namibia is especially important because it touches on the issues of power and opportunities, and of what is discrimination from a legal point of view. Until recently, most lawyers, judges and other legal experts would have said that you could not contradict an official language policy by using the concept of discrimination. Here, the UN Human Rights Committee states that sometimes you can; therefore other languages must be used by government institutions. This in turn means opportunities

for those who are fluent in that language, documents which must be available in that language, and possibly a whole range of other opportunities. In other words, Afrikaans could become a language of greater prestige, power and opportunity, because it is now being used by the government not just for interpretation or education, but also for public services and employment purposes.

More importantly, perhaps, is to think where these languages are properly applied and how respected they are, since they increase the access to those who speak them. It is here that there is a link with the benefits for the welfare of minorities and indigenous peoples. If you do not have access to health care and social services in your own language, you are disadvantaged and this can have very serious consequences:

> A report by the Institute of Medicine (IOM) [in the United States] on racial and ethnic disparities in health care documented through substantial research that minorities, as compared to their White American counterparts, receive lower quality of care across a wide range of medical conditions, resulting in poorer health outcomes and lower health statuses. The research conducted by the IOM showed that language barriers can cause poor, abbreviated, or erroneous communication, poor decision making on the part of both providers and patients.
>
> The provision of appropriate language access services can improve quality of care. For example, Latino children have experienced adverse health consequences, such as poor medical diagnoses and inappropriate prescriptions, as a result of the failure of medical staff to speak Spanish. Conversely, among diabetics, limited English proficient patients who were provided with trained medical interpreters were more likely than limited English proficient patients to receive care meeting selected American Diabetes Association guidelines (Office of Minority Health, 2005).

Obviously, people could even die because they do not have appropriate and effective access to services in their own language.

In other words, they are seriously disadvantaged if they do not have access to health care an appropriate and accessible language when compared to those people who do. There are similar conclusions in respect to what is best for the welfare of minorities and indigenous peoples in the area of education:

> [Sound scientific evidence] indicates that mother-tongue-medium education for indigenous and minority children, with good teaching of the dominant language as a second language, is the most secure way to achieve multilingualism without loss of the mother tongue. Despite the availability of this evidence, the persisting choice of an inappropriate language medium of education is the main pedagogical reason for "illiteracy" in the world. Indigenous and minority parents are routinely told that their children will learn the dominant language better (and thus perform better in school) by being exposed to it as early and as much as possible, even at the cost of sacrificing their own language.(Terralingua, 1998)

In fact, a large number of studies involving indigenous populations and minorities where there are significant school dropout rates, especially at the early stages of education, clearly suggest that one of the reasons for such a phenomenon is often that education is in a foreign language—even if it is the official language of the country and the language of the dominant majority.

But does this necessarily involve violations of human rights, and especially of discrimination? The answer is: no, not necessarily. Not all situations of language distinctions are discriminatory in a purely legal sense, even if you have some individuals seriously disadvantaged and even excluded. Only if the refusal to use a minority language for education or public health or some other type of public service can be said to be violator of this basic human right. To put this in simple terms, in the case of languages spoken by very small numbers of people, international human rights law cannot do much in this area, though it might be more useful for other, larger groups.

There are no magic bullets, no magical recipe which international law can provide to prevent all languages from disappearing. As regrettable as it may sound, language change and extinction are part of human history. UNESCO, for example, has stated that over 50% of the world's 6,700 languages are seriously endangered and liable to be lost within 1 to 4 generations: but not all of them are dying a natural death. Many of them are disappearing because they are being actively killed in a systematic way, according to some authors (Skuttnab-Kangas, 2000).

One can disagree with the expression from a legal point of view, since the word "genocide", in international law, has a very strict definition and clearly excludes linguistic assimilation, but one can nevertheless agree with the sentiment. Many official state language policies in the world are in fact killing languages that could perhaps survive, and even in some cases even prosper. To ensure linguistic diversity and the welfare of minorities and indigenous peoples, as far as possible, theirs must also be languages of power and opportunity. To have proper education in minority or indigenous languages—and not just a bilingual education that seeks to make them learn the official language as soon as possible at the price of their own—is a necessary step in this direction, but it is not a sufficient step if we want them to survive and prosper in the future.

Where possible, languages of minorities and indigenous peoples should also be languages of power, prestige and opportunity. If they are not, they will otherwise simply fade away, one generation at a time, slowly, gently perhaps, but surely. It may seem unrealistic to say that an indigenous language could be a language of power or opportunity, but I do not think this is true in the case of languages spoken by very large numbers of people. There are in fact many examples around the world where despite their relatively small sizes, language groups have been able to succeed. Danish people are only about 5 million people, but Danish is a language of power, prestige and opportunity—well, at least in Denmark.

Compare that to the Kurds in Turkey: they are perhaps 12 million people just in that country, representing about 20% of the population. But theirs is not a language of power or prestige, or opportunity: on the contrary, until recently Kurdish language was almost completely banned by the government on all (public and private) radio and television programs, and it was not recognised as a real language, but as a form of Turkish. A few private schools teaching in Kurdish opened a few years ago, but attempts to attract parents to send their children have not worked well, and most of these schools have closed because Kurdish is not a language of opportunity in that country, it is a language that the government refuses to use in most areas of public institutions. Parents prefer what they believe in this context is best for their children, and most of them prefer education in the language of power, prestige and opportunity in Turkey. That is still only Turkish, not Kurdish, because of the official language policy that excludes Kurdish from being used as a language of public service and public employment.

How can a minority or indigenous language be made a language of power, prestige and opportunity? The answer to that, at least in the case of the larger languages, may be to make it a language of power, prestige and opportunity where you have a language community which is large enough and concentrated. It is an approach that is beginning to take shape in a number of legal and political documents including the *Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities*, the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, the *Oslo Recommendations on the Linguistic Rights of National Minorities*, and many others that could be summarised under the principle of proportionality. Where a group is concentrated and large enough, their language must also be the one used by public authorities, and this includes jobs. It therefore provides a degree of power, prestige, and opportunity which adds to the potential of protecting linguistic diversity, though it does of course not guarantee it. It is however one of the additional tools, which linguists may consider in the hope of helping to preserve our linguistic diversity.

4. CONCLUSION

Linguistic diversity needs to be protected as part of our human cultural heritage. Human beings are not little machines nor are we like MacDonald's hamburgers: all the same, anywhere in the world. The reality of humanity and of our human condition is that we are different, but there is nothing to fear from these differences. These should rather be embraced and protected, as far as possible, in all of their wonderful kaleidoscope of diversity.

Miguel León Portilla's well-known poem, *Cuando muere una lengua*, lamenting the death of a language is beautiful. Its beauty is in the spirit it seeks to symbolise, even beyond the words used, whether they are in Castilian, Nahuatl, or English:

> Cuando muere una lengua,
> las cosas divinas,
> estrellas, sol y luna,
> las cosas humanas,
> pensar y sentir,
> no se reflejan en ese espejo.
>
> Cuando muere una lengua
> todo lo que hay en el mundo,
> mares y ríos,
> animales y plantas,
> no se piensan, ni se pronuncian
> con atisbos, con sonidos,
> que no existen ya.
>
> Cuando muere una lengua,
> se cierra a todos
> los pueblos del mundo,
> una puerta, una ventana,
> un asomarse,
> de modo distinto,

a las cosas divinas y humanas
en cuanto es ser
y vida en la tierra.

Cuando muere una lengua,
sus palabras de amor,
entonación de dolor y querencias,
tal vez viejos cantos,
relatos, discursos, plegarias,
nadie, cuales fueran,
alcanzará a repetir.

Cuando muere una lengua,
ya muchas han muerto,
y muchas más pueden morir,
espejos para siempre quebrados,
sombras de voces
siempre acalladas,
la humanidad se empobrece
cuando muere una lengua.

Languages may disappear, but their demise is not always natural. Indeed, they are very often the result of language policies, which in many cases are in direct violation of international law, though the appreciation of how some of the world's most basic human rights impact on language matters is still far from settled.

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IV. LINGUISTIC POLICIES, IMPLICIT POLICIES

ERNESTO DÍAZ COUDER CABRAL

ALTHOUGH THE DESIGN OF LINGUISTIC POLICIES, AS ANY OTHER public policy, seeks to concern itself with the public interest, avoiding as much as possible to affect the private spheres (Aguilar, 2000), in the case of Mexico there seems to be a reversal in the role assigned to the public and private spheres. On the one hand, linguistic policies in favour of indigenous languages tend to try to change the values and beliefs of the citizens (a private issue in principle) leaving the regulation of inequity towards indigenous languages in social practices (indeed a public issue) as a secondary one. On the other hand, linguistic policies usually assume that *a language is a mental object* (made of knowledge of grammatical or communicative rules) instead of focusing into *speaking as a social practice.* Another factor that plays a part in the current notion of the public and the private is the, also implicit, idea that the relation with linguistic and cultural diversity must be an issue concerning collective interest and not a matter of collective rights.

This is a conceptual discussion about the notions of the public and the private in the current linguistic policies in Mexico. In other words, this doesn't attempt to offer any concrete or applicable proposal in the short term; which, incidentally, has turned almost into a utopia in the current bureaucratic maze, since usually the following conditions need to be complied:

- All proposals must be politically viable. In other words, there must be a consensus among the parts involved.

- They must stick to all existing norms, laws, and administrative rules (which are frequently unclear), even if they are contradictory or impossible to follow in practical terms.
- They must be carried out only with budgeted funds.

Under these conditions is extremely difficult to produce concrete proposals about linguistic policies (or any social policy whatsoever). The purpose of these reflections, however, is only to analyse some ideological and political factors present in the design of current linguistic policies in our country without consideration of their immediate application in concrete proposals, even though its practical implications are obvious.

Currently the Mexican Constitution recognizes the cultural plurality of the Nation[2] but only in poly-ethnic terms, according to Kymlicka's terminology (1996) according to which, the cultural difference is recognized and attended, but it is not taken into consideration for the political organization of the State, as a consequence the main concern of the State regarding cultural diversity is on *cultural preservation* (knowledge, rituals, practices or traditional languages) putting aside the fact that this is a political issue, namely: the political integration of culturally diverse peoples. In this sense, the notion of linguistic pluralism is directly related to the notion of cultural pluralism (or multiculturalism or interculturalism — all of these terms will be considered synonyms in this text), which can approximately be defined as "democracy amongst cultures" (Colom, 1998; Olivé, 2004; Bilbeny, 1999). In a similar way, linguistic pluralism could be understood as "democracy amongst linguistic communities". However, this is not to be confused with "democracy amongst languages". This distinction is pertinent as linguistic policies affect linguistic communities most-

[2] Regarding this, has been established in the Mexican Constitution that "The nation is constituted by a cultural plurality which originally comes from its indigenous peoples, that is to say those which descend from populations that used to inhabit the current territory of the country when colonization was begun, and which preserve their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions or part of them"

ly, and only instrumentally do they affect languages themselves (PEN-CIEMEN, 1996) thus, as stated by Francisco Colom (1998, p. 12), multiculturalism (and therefore linguistic pluralism),

> ... may indistinctly be understood as the description of a social fact, a political model or an ideology. These three dimensions are actually linked, given that policies regarded as multicultural have been designed to face a series of social movements, which demand specific ways of integration in contemporary democracies.

However, if we understand linguistic pluralism as some kind of "democracy amongst linguistic communities", then the three possible meanings become only two: linguistic pluralism as a political model or ideology, both of which are analytically different, even if they operate simultaneously.

We can see a clear example of this in the declarations of the EZLN regarding the Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle, which states that so far, their fight has consisted on *being part of the nation while still being Indians*. In other words, it is not so much a matter of cultural preservation but rather about political integration of indigenous identities as part of the Mexican Nation. Or, more precisely, as stated by Guillermo de la Peña, the current challenge is for public policies concerned with indigenous peoples to make cultural diversity compatible with citizen rights. In other words, policies concerned with linguistic diversity in the country have become a public issue in so far as they represent "specific ways of political integration". This means that such policies cannot be limited to the *collective interest* sphere anymore, but must include the *rights* of Indian peoples. This is an old discussion, which doesn't require any further deepening considerations.[3]

[3] The constitutional amendment of 2001, also known as Indigenous Law, which was supposed include in the Constitution the San Andrés Accords of 1996 between the Federal Government and the EZLN, led to an exhaustive debate about this issue; therefore, it is not necessary to repeat it here.

Anyway, the real issue here is to achieve what was discussed in the 1990s, somewhat theoretically, as cultural pluralism and political integration or multicultural citizenship, something that is still far from becoming a reality in our country. Actually, the constitutional amendment of 2001 known as Indigenous Law, is an excellent example of the narrow limits of cultural and linguistic pluralism in our idea of Nation and our idea of State.

In addition to political limits, cultural pluralism still has to face ideological limits involving implicit overlaying ideas about the relation between society, the State and the indigenous peoples. Such ideological constraints are expressed not only in social practices but also in the institutional policies of public dependencies. Even if social practices in our country are extremely hierarchical and prone to discrimination, it is still difficult to modify them essentially due to the inequity in power (economic or political) amongst the diverse sectors of our societies. This inequity is perpetuated and legitimized by means of a hegemonic ideology that justifies it and "explains" it (Cárdenas 2004).

Thus, it is not uncommon for indigenous leaders to point out that it is the responsibility of the speakers to continue preserving their language for ages to come. Apparently, nothing could be more obvious; it seems a matter of "common sense". If parents do not teach their language to their children, it is their responsibility alone if such language disappears. In this way, a generalized consensus about what is there to be done to preserve, protect and promote indigenous languages in the country is made: to create conscience in the speakers so that they continue using it and teaching it to their children as well as to encourage the appreciation of the indigenous languages among the national population in order to cut down the discrimination against them. It is not surprising that exactly these are the main strategies for the linguistic policies in Mexico.

IMPLICIT POLICIES

In order to illustrate the prevailing orientation in the current institutional policies, I would like to share some findings that come from an experience aimed at developing general guidance for institutional linguistic policies (Díaz Couder, Cárdenas y Arellano, 2005). Its purpose was to agree upon some general principles in order to guide specific linguistic policies in the institutions involved in this experience according to their faculties and their areas of competence in the lines of the current general environment on cultural pluralism and particularly of the Law of Indigenous Peoples' Linguistic Rights. In this paper, programmatic documents were revised and the impressions of some functionaries about the responsibilities of their dependencies with indigenous languages were collected. The following are some examples taken from the programmatic documents and the opinions of functionaries,[4] (my italics).

DEPENDENCY A

To promote the recognition of linguistic diversity for an integral development of the indigenous peoples.

It is considered that *the preservation of indigenous languages is the speaker's decision.* Therefore, the institution should support and encourage the continuity of indigenous peoples and should promote respect and appreciation for diversity among mexican society.

Recognition, respect and appreciation of the linguistic diversity are premises of a policy that aims to transform the development of conditions of the indigenous peoples, which have historically

[4] The following is extracted from a coverage prepared by Almandina Cárdenas and Alejandra Arellano for the above mentioned project about guidance on linguistic policies

been one of the most vulnerable social sectors, and in this way to make possible the maintenance of differentiated identities.

DEPENDENCY B

Currently there is a tendency in the academy to follow *a policy of preservation (recording, description, documentation) of languages*, incompatible with the purpose of influencing the direction and implementation of linguistic policies in multilingual realities.

DEPENDENCY C

A *policy of appreciation and respect for the linguistic diversity, which aims to stop discrimination and marginalization* of linguistically and culturally diverse populations. On the one hand, *the raising of conscience about the cultural value of indigenous languages is aimed*, whether it is directed towards the staff of the institution or towards the different actors of the education process.

Preservation and development of their languages is direct responsibility of their speakers, and in order to do so, they count with the knowledge of the old people and the help and the accompaniment of the school as their main resources.

DEPENDENCY D

"To contribute to the creation of instruments and conditions that ensure a respectful, harmonic and intercultural dialog on which the cultural wealth of our country is shown". In other words, to generate models for the support to the different actors of the popular culture and t*o foster social conditions for dialogue, respect, recognition and lack of discrimination* that allow for an equitable development of the plurality of cultures.

Taking into consideration that *it is the speaker's responsibility to preserve their language* and that ultimately the communities themselves define what is the meaning of their language revitalization, this institution takes two responsibilities: 1) to contribute to the creation of a *respectful and appreciative environment towards linguistic diversity*, which is necessary for its maintenance, and 2) to support community-based processes for linguistic development, *reinforcing their self-management skills.*

A society where the use of indigenous languages is normal and generalized (even regionally in some cases) is desired.

In order to contribute to the construction of "A country of intercultural relations based on dialogue, a country in which ethnic and c*ultural differences among its peoples are recognized and fully respected*, a country in which traditions, peoples, communities and l*anguage diversity are appreciated*, a country in which *discrimination by a different person* has been eradicated".

A policy that encourages diversity and that acknowledges the importance of inter-culturality as a factor of equity and social growth.

DEPENDENCY E

A policy that appreciates cultural and linguistic diversity, that promotes the development of indigenous languages, that fight against discrimination and reinforces cultural and linguistic identity.

DEPENDENCY F

A policy of appreciation and respect of linguistic diversity that aims to fight against discrimination and marginalization of linguistically and culturally diverse populations.

Raising awareness of public officials on the need to respect and appreciate cultural and linguistic diversity as well as *acknowledging*

the cultural problems—discrimination—that pervade the administration of justice.

On the other hand, the urgency to take into account cultural and linguistic particularities of the indigenous population is acknowledged, as a necessary condition for a reasonable access to the administration of justice.

DEPENDENCY G

A policy that *appreciates and recognizes the importance of diversity, that respects cultural and communicative practices* of the indigenous population, that seeks to *transform the conditions of marginalization* of the most vulnerable sectors of the population.

Strategies oriented towards recognition, respect, appreciation, and sensitization are predominant. In most cases these strategies intend to modify the *subjective state* (attitudes, beliefs or values) of the individuals with the purpose of influencing their o*bjective behaviour* in order to compensate for the discrimination and social marginalization. In other words, the final goal is not a linguistic issue, but a social one, which is perfectly consistent with the nature of the linguistic policies (for a further discussion on this point go to Pool, 1987). The important thing here is the emphasis on the modification of the attitudes, beliefs, and values of citizens or of social groups to regulate their behaviour.

It is expected that the public behaviour of individual citizens would be regulated by a modification of their attitudes, beliefs, and values (an entirely private sphere), particularly the non-discrimination against indigenous languages. Even if there's nothing wrong in these strategies, as long as *for public interest*, in some cases, the State must try to modify the attitudes, beliefs, and values of the citizens (AIDS, homophobia, religious or ethnic intolerance as in this case). What is not present is the regulation of the use of indigenous languages as a *right of the peoples*, be it a regulation or regimentation of the *use* of the languages—the

linguistic practices—which really belongs to the realm of linguistic policies.

This becomes especially obvious when comparing The Law for Indigenous Peoples' Linguistic Rights with the Linguistic Policy Act of the Parliament of Catalonia or with the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights. In the latter two documents, the ideal of respect and appreciation of linguistic diversity is the subject matter of their initial reflections which later becomes concrete in a linguistic regime that regulates the use of the languages in specific areas or domains (commerce, education, public administration, etc.) When it comes to the Mexican law, however, no such contrast exists. Its dispositions basically correspond to what is expressed in the initial considerations in the other documents, and immediately turns to the respective responsibilities of the different levels of government.[5]

What I would like to point out is that in all of the above-mentioned instances, there is little or no discussion concerning the regulation of the use of the languages in specific social domains, which should be the main issue of linguistic policies. In contrast, there is abundant discussion about the fight against discrimination by means of a change in the attitudes, beliefs, and values of the citizens in general and the indigenous population in particular.

Now, as far as I know there has been no discussion in support of this perspective; it simply is an underlying view that reproduces the hegemonic ideology concerning indigenous languages. So, the preservation of indigenous languages appears to be a private issue —the linguistic choice of the speakers—on which, due to public interest, the State considers that it must have some intervention. In this view, the State's responsibilities don't go farther than simply encouraging non-discrimination in private transactions

[5] Of course, The Law of Indigenous Peoples' Linguistic Rights discusses more than just general considerations, it also contains some very transcendent issues about the political and legal status of indigenous languages. But that doesn't change the fact that it does not contain any explicit linguistic regime. This paper does not concern itself with the legal frame for the indigenous languages, but rather with the institutional policies that concern them, which is why I won't make any comments on this Law.

among individual citizens. On the other hand, the objective regulation of the use of indigenous languages appears only in narrow and specific spaces, for example, education for children who speak an indigenous language and few Spanish, or in legal processes where a speaker of an indigenous language that doesn't know enough Spanish is involved (if they speak and indigenous language and Spanish as well, they don't have the right to use their language in the legal process). In fact, the supposed individual liberty to choose which language to speak gets cancelled, as the possibility or right to speak an Indian language is not existent. If we want that an individual really has the liberty to choose which language to speak in a public domain, it is a necessary condition that such a possibility be offered by the public institutions. The conditions that must be established in order for the institutions to allow for the linguistic choice of the indigenous citizens are precisely what the institutional linguistic policies and the Law of Indigenous Peoples' Linguistic Rights lack.[6] In public issues, however, indigenous peoples are not allowed to use their languages; only the individuals who are unable to speak Spanish have the right to receive assistance in order to have access to some services provided by the Estate, mainly basic education, administration of justice, and some cultural aspects.

Public behaviour is left to the private election of the speakers and to the tolerance of Indian languages in the society in general (in other words, people who don't speak an indigenous language) except for the above-mentioned areas.

This tendency to transform public order problems into private or individual issues is not unique to linguistic or cultural areas, but

[6]Even though it is stipulated by law that "in consultation with the autochthonous and migrant indigenous communities, the state governments should establish which of their administrative dependencies will adopt and implement the actions needed in order for the required instances to be able to assist and dispose of the issues set to them in indigenous languages" and that in municipalities with indigenous populations actions will be implemented at all levels (Article 7, sections a and b), it is not indicated which actions should be adopted. In other words, the Law indicates the problem to be resolved but it doesn't resolve it nor stipulates the consequences of not abiding the Law

rather it is part of a more generalized pattern. There is a certain parallelism with the "fight" against "corruption" for instance. In this case corruption is mainly attributed to an individual feature: dishonesty; whereas an objective situation of impunity which came as a result of extreme inequality (whether political, economic or social) is only attributed to corruption as a secondary issue, thus the fight against corruption is, on the one hand, focalized in the punishment of dishonest individuals; and, on the other, on campaigns to promote values such as honesty and respect for others. In other words, corruption is thought to exist due to a lack of education or to a lack of culture (attitudes and values) and not due to an excess of inequality and concentration power. The results are there to be seen; hence the enormous importance granted to the election of an honest individual to hold public office, when the truly important issue is to count with solid public institutions regardless of the honesty of their public officials. Of course, in this case, as in the case of the linguistic policies, attitude and values play an important role, but they are dependent variables.

When cultural pluralism comes into play as a political model and as an ideology, the tradition of liberal thinking plays an important role too. The logic of the liberal ideology, later applied to cultural diversity, springs concerning from John Locke's ideas regarding the role of the State the liberty of the conscience in religious matters, explained in his celebrated "*A Letter Concerning Toleration*" published around 1690 (Locke, 1998). In this letter, Locke discusses the obligation of the State to respect religious diversity by means of *tolerance* to the untouchable liberty of conscience of the individuals (or citizens). From a liberal viewpoint, this line of thought tends to be applied to cultural diversity too. Regarding the most particular instance of linguistic diversity, the choice of one language over another is, therefore perceived as an issue of individual conscience and, in consequence, the role of the State should be one of respect for linguistic diversity as a result of the tolerance to the liberty of linguistic choice of its citizens and not so much as an action emanating from its role as

safeguard of the right of the indigenous populations to speak their language. The emphasis of the liberal thinking on the liberty of conscience gives preference to the attitudes and values of the individuals above social practices. Nowadays, however, cultural and linguistic pluralism, as stated before, is a matter of political integration and political participation, that is to say, it is a matter of positive liberties among indigenous communities, of being able to participate and decide in political issues, and not only is it about the protection of individual liberties faced with the power of the state, or negative liberties (Bovero, 1995). After all, Locke advocates for a secular state, but a linguisticless or cultureless state is something impossible,[7] hence the necessity of a pluricultural or intercultural political model.

TYPES OF PLURALISM

Quite a while back when I was an undergraduate student, one of my professors used to say: "jokes aside, we are all Marxists". Nowadays, this can be paraphrased into "jokes aside, we are all multiculturalists". It is indeed difficult to find a public position standing against the protection of diversity, whether environmental, cultural, linguistic or that of gender equity. Nonetheless, the enemies of diversity are like witches, they don't actually exist, but they are there somehow. Once again, the amendment to the Mexican Political Constitution in 2001 is a clear example of opposition to cultural pluralism as a political model even though it acknowledges pluralism as a model for social assistance in the name of public interest. Notwithstanding, nowadays public discourse and its associated cultural policies (including the linguistic ones) are considered in

[7] Unless, maybe, if a language unknown to all linguistic communities within a State is chosen as the language of such a State to achieve linguistic neutrality. This has already happened in several African countries when they got their independence; and this is the reasoning behind the inconsequential proposals of making either Esperanto or Latin the language of Europe.

line with a pluralist or multicultural perspective (Grupo Plural de Dirigentes Indígenas, 1994; Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas, 2005; Presidencia de la República, 2001; SEP, 2001; Aguilar Rivera, 2004).

Somewhat simplified, there may be two ways of understanding cultural pluralism: "political integration" pluralism and "tolerance and social assistance pluralism". Of course, linguistic policies associated with each type of pluralism are quite different. The first type of pluralism concerns itself with the regulation of languages in public spheres (services, commerce, employment, education, media, public administration, justice administration etc.) by acknowledging indigenous peoples as *subjects of law*, which is to say as constitutive communities of the State (or the nation, according to legal parlance).[8] The second type of pluralism encourages, because of *public interest*, tolerance and respect towards the use of indigenous languages in private or 'cultural' areas (patronal feasts or poetry contests, for example). In other words, its usage is tolerated, nobody gets any punishment for speaking an indigenous language, but the right of a community to use their language in public areas is not recognized. For instance, the fact that indigenous people with little or no knowledge of the Spanish language are entitled to an interpreter during court proceedings, expresses tolerance towards linguistic diversity by means of providing assistance to the citizens who don't speak Spanish to continue a court proceeding *in this language*, which is very different from a linguistic community being empowered to use their own language -regardless of their knowledge of Spanish- during court proceedings. In other words, speakers of indigenous languages are tolerated, but no rights are recognized for them.[9]

[8] Maybe it wouldn't be totally irrelevant to point out the similarity of this argument with the idea of a 'Catalan cultural nation', which is the base for the 2005 proposal for a new Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia.

[9] Again, it is necessary to clarify that Law of Indigenous Peoples' Linguistic Rights does explicitly recognize the right of the speakers (but not the right of the linguistic communities) to use their language whether orally or written, be it in private or public spheres (Article 9) and it is also recognized the validity of indigenous languages "for any

In our country, the second type of pluralism is prevalent in our daily social practices as in our vision of society. This type of pluralism, in turn, expresses the prevalent relations of power. There is a broad consensus, even amongst the very same indigenous communities, stating that the linguistic policies should protect the speakers of an indigenous language from the intromission of the state (negative liberty) enabling them to preserve their traditions, especially their language. By contrast, there are few chances of seeing indigenous communities as a constitutive part of the state and of society, with the right to participate as people with languages and cultures of their own (positive liberties).

Thus, indigenous languages are treated as a cultural heritage that must be protected especially by their rightful owners (the indigenous communities) and, attending to public interest, the state must protect them just as it is its responsibility to protect archaeological sites, for instance (Lewin, 1999). They are something similar to the family jewels: they may have an enormous sentimental value, nonetheless they may be almost useless. And, just like grandma's jewels in a poor family, preserving indigenous languages becomes a luxury that speakers cannot generally allow. And just like it is not legitimate to make someone preserve family heritage in case of need, it is also not legitimate to make somebody practice a tradition (in this case, speak an indigenous language). This is why most that can be done is to raise conscience about the historical and cultural value of this tradition, hoping that their "legitimate" owners do not get rid of them, even though in the end the decision is theirs. It is not hard to foresee the result of this strategy: the progressive displacement of indigenous languages is to continue (Cárdenas, 2004).

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public issue or procedure, as for full access to the public administration, services and information" (Article 7). Such proclamation however does not regulate or legislate the use of the language in specific instances, thus losing a lot of its judicial strength and may remain only as a mere symbolic gesture of solidarity with indigenous languages speakers. Besides that, as mentioned before, these reflections concern themselves with the institutional policies towards indigenous languages and not with the legal frame. What I am trying to show here is that institutional and practical policies keep perpetuating (at least currently) implicit notions recognizable in the legal frame too.

However, languages are not just a tradition; they are not only a link with the past, they are also the means by which a community can be politically integrated to the Mexican nation and can participate in the construction of the future of our society. If we see things this way, different strategies are required—strategies that are not based on the preservation of the traditions as a responsibility of the indigenous peoples with the help of the State, but on the promotion of its political integration to the nation by means of the construction of a pluralist society (or a multicultural or intercultural one); and this promises to integrate the indigenous peoples with and from their languages and cultures in the public life of the nation.

THE IDEA OF LANGUAGE IN LINGUISTIC POLICY

Another factor that as far as I'm concerned plays a significant role in the orientation of linguistic policies is the underlying notion of language. It is necessary, when planning linguistic policies, to understand languages as social practices. In other words, as a means by which things get done—scold, trade, pray, convince, litigate, organise, harangue, explain, console, court, dispute, inform, or play—and not so much as a mental knowledge to produce sentences or grammatically correct discourses. This comes as a consequence of the fact that linguistic policies aim to regulate the *use* of languages, which is to say, the social practices associated with them. Therefore, it is only in relation with their use that it may be necessary to encourage the *knowledge* of those languages too. Nonetheless, with the prevalent belief that languages are a (lexical and grammatical) code on which the culture of peoples and the identity of its speakers are contained, strategies to protect that code—the 'language'—instead of the social practices that come with it, tend to prevail. Languages 'live' in the social practices of its speakers, not in their minds. The life of a language does not depend on the number of people who know it, but on

how frequently it is spoken and under which circumstances. In fact, the number of speakers of a language depends on the communicative practices that it includes. A language loses speakers because it becomes gradually less useful, not vice versa. And social relations and the status of the speakers are what govern the increasing or decreasing communicative usefulness of a language.

Even if the linguistic legislation in Mexico—in force since March 2003—acknowledges the right of the speakers of an indigenous language to use two languages in any situation, whether public or private, be it oral or written, the truth is policies that offer specific guarantees for the use of indigenous languages in particular areas or dominions are still non-existent, which is why the disposition does not make much sense besides trying to lower linguistic discrimination. The following expressions, which are present in institutional documents, provide a clear example to prove the point of view that sustains institutional policies:

- A language is a cultural expression and a fundamental element of an identity.
- A language is an essential part of the culture and a fundamental feature of identity
- A language is a fundamental resource to develop cognitive abilities and ideal tools for learning and communicating which leads to reflection and analysis of reality in a critical way
- A language is a system of communication that reveals and transmits the Weltanschaung of its speakers. It has an individual referent (the subject who faces himself with communication problems in health units) and a collective one (culture of indigenous peoples).
- A language is an attribute of a person and a people, and therefore it is a human right.

In every previous expression a Herderian conception about languages is evident (Bauman, 2000). That is to say, language is seen as an expression of the spirit (or culture, in current terms) of a

people. Such position comes from the implicit conception about what a "language" is. Even if specialists from different areas of linguistic studies conceptualize their object of study in many different ways —their definition of language— for linguistic policies' purposes in Mexico, the referent is often the linguistic notion of language. Maybe this is not the most appropriate in this context. As a consequence, linguistic policy is regarded as an area that should be analysed by language experts instead of being analysed by social processes experts, or more precisely, sociolinguists. Undoubtedly, their participation is very necessary, but it's not enough.

There are four paradigms currently coexisting when it comes to the nature of languages: semiotic, psychological, the so-called systemic, and sociologic. The semiotic paradigm conceptualizes the language as a system of signs and corresponds to the structuralist approach and subsequent developments (Danesi y Perron, 1999). According to this, linguistics is a part of semiotics. The psychological paradigm establishes that language is a component of the mind, thus linguistics would be a part of psychology or cognitive sciences (Chomsky, 1980, 2000; Pinker, 2000). The third paradigm is called systemic, and it derives from current studies about complex systems (Capra, 2003; Johnson, 2003). In this view, language may be understood as an emergent system of human interaction and therefore linguistics would be a part of the system theories.

However, when it comes to language policies, the most accurate thing to do is to conceptualize languages mostly as social practices, as something that people do rather than as a subconscious, mental, an innate competence or as an abstract system independent to the speakers doings. The 'speaking' is preferred over the 'language'. In other words, what is done when interacting in a specific environment (McCarthy, 2011; Johnson, 2013; Heller, 2011; Erickson, 2004). Here I am not arguing the definition of language. What concerns me is to point out that there are many different viewpoints about this. The viewpoint that we adopt is crucial in order to orient us in the right way towards linguistic policies.

Accordingly, linguistic policy must be included as part of sociolinguistics, and not in the banal sense of understanding the latter as a multidisciplinary focus that correlates language and society, but in a fundamental sense that *holds itself upon theoretical and sociological conceptions* (not a semiotic, a psychological or a systemic one) of the language (Johnson, 2013; Blommaert, 2010; Wright, 2004).

What concerns to linguistic policy is not the structure of language nor its cognitive organization nor its emergent-system character but the regulation of the public use of languages, or the protection of the rights to use them by linguistic communities, or the regulation of linguistic diversity in public spheres, for example. In other words, its interest is the language as a series of social practices that can be promoted or inhibited for the public benefit whether in favour or against the interest of the majority or the minorities. That is why clarity is fundamental when it comes to the concept of languages that holds a linguistic policy, because it may lead to develop inefficient strategies, if not erroneous or counterproductive ones.

TO SUM UP…

All over, what I would like to point out is the necessity to give our attention to the explicit regulation of the use of languages mainly in the public spheres *too, besides* promoting its appreciation and respect by means of the influence on the attitudes and beliefs of the individuals. But the emphasis in the regulation of the use of languages is not only a matter of complementing the current policies; it is not a matter of grade, but of gender.

For regulating the use of languages, the main point is to promote political integration of the indigenous peoples, therefore it is about policies for cultural pluralism (or multiculturalism or inter-culturality). In contrast, emphasis on the appreciation and respect of languages holds in conceptions that aim for the preservation of cultural traditions of the indigenous peoples. It is about heritage policies. Thus, when preservation of tradition is sought

as a strategy to encourage pluralism or inter-culturality, the possibilities of being successful are low due to the incongruence between means and ends.

To sum up, as far as I can see, language preservation as a result of individual consciousness (*preservation* of the tradition), should not be confused with the promotion of linguistic diversity in the public spheres (*promotion* of cultural pluralism).

Many of the ideas expressed in this work require more mediations and clarification of nuances of meaning; even some of them may need rectification. It couldn't be different; it is the nature of ideas and thoughts. It does not matter, because what I wish to propose is a discussion rather than a solution. I have tried to show the need to explicitly discuss the ideological and implicit-theoretical sustenance in many of the current institutional policies. The lack of debates has eclipsed and favoured the election of choices that oppose to the declared objectives. If these pages play a role on encouraging any reflection in this sense, then its purpose would have been achieved.

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V. WHY DO RICH INDIANS NEED THEIR LANGUAGE? IDENTITY-SEEKING AS A FORM OF WELFARE

Louis-Jaques Dorais

1 INTRODUCTION

WELFARE (*BIENESTAR*) CANNOT BE DEFINED IN ECONOMIC OR SOCIAL terms only. Of course, fulfilling one's own basic material and societal needs constitutes an unavoidable priority, but in order to fare well (*estar bien*) rather than simply faring (*estar*), one has to get access to a number and variety of economic, social and, also, symbolic resources (often called "capital" by sociologists) which go far beyond simple survival. Language is one of these resources.

Bourdieu (1991) and others (*e.g.,* Jaffe, 1999; Heller, 2002; Patrick, 2003) have demonstrated that speaking the "right" language, *i.e.* the medium of communication favored by the dominant class or group in a society, is an important source of monetary, political and societal capital. A socially inferior form of speech—whether it be a class dialect or a minority language—has much less chance being listened to and, thus, procuring some power to its speakers, than a predominant majority idiom. This explains why many linguists, social scientists, and language activists deem it essential to promote linguistic diversity, in order to avoid the predominance of a small number of imperialistic world languages. Such a situation also accounts for the fact that speakers of minority languages often struggle to have their own form of speech officially recognized and effectively used within their country's educational, judicial and administrative systems. They find that they might be denied important economic and social advantages if their mother tongue were relegated to the rank of second—or third-class idiom.

In such cases, the relationship between language preservation and welfare looks evident. There are other instances, though, where the link is obscurer. It is one of those cases that I wish to discuss here, taking as an example a group of North American Indians from Canada who are very well integrated within mainstream society, whether it be from a linguistic (the majority language has become their mother tongue since long), educational (their level of formal education is equal to that of their non-Aboriginal compatriots), or monetary (their average income equals that of non-Indians) point of view. Despite their economic and social well-being, these people feel that their ancestral form of speech should be revitalized and reinstated as, at least, a second language in their community, and they are ready to make special efforts to achieve that goal. How can this be explained? The psychologist Abraham Maslow (1987) has shown that self-actualization needs (*e.g.*, identity) can only be fulfilled once other more basic needs have been taken care of. Is this the case here? What kind of welfare are these "rich" Indians seeking?

2. THE HURON-WENDAT OF WENDAKE

2.1. History

Known for a long time as the "Huron of Lorette," the Wendat Indians, who number over 3,000 individuals, reside in urban areas. A majority of them live in the Wendake reserve and in neighboring sectors at the northern periphery of Quebec City (the capital of Canada's province of Quebec). Their history is somewhat peculiar. In 1649, a small group (ca. 300 persons) of Christian Huron (or Wendat, as they called themselves), decimated by plagues introduced by Europeans as well as by Iroquois attacks on their villages (in what is now central Ontario, south of Georgian Bay), followed a Jesuit missionary who accompanied them to Quebec, the administrative center of the colony of New

France, where their ancestors had already dwelt some sixty years earlier. After having peregrinated around the area for almost fifty years, they finally resettled in present-day Wendake in 1697 (Trigger, 1976; Vincent, 1984; Sioui, 1994). Once ensconced there, they were able to carry on for some time with their ancestral economy—based on slash-and-burn agriculture, fishing, and hunting (Tooker, 1964; Trigger, 1990)—but they progressively developed multiple ties with the neighboring French European society. As early as the 1720s, they had abandoned their traditional communal bark dwellings to live in wooden European-style one-family houses, and by the beginning of the 19th century, most Wendat had replaced agriculture by some form of commerce (e.g., trapping fur animals for money), handicrafts (leatherwork, snowshoe and basket making, the manufacture of canoes) or wage work (e.g., as canoeists for the fur trading companies or guides for sports hunters and fishermen).

Due to their small numbers, and in order to avoid inbreeding, many men married non-Aboriginal French Canadian women. These, as well as their children, were legally Wendat, the Indian status being transmitted through the father according to federal law—despite the fact that the Wendat were originally matrilineal. The Wendake people also adopted a number of non-Indian babies from local orphanages. Such a strategy enabled Wendat to increase their population and to become active and often prosperous participants in Quebec City's economy and social life (Delâge, 2000).

On the other hand, however, native culture and language were progressively replaced by those of the majority French Canadians who surrounded Wendake. Around 1860, the Wendat language was still taught in the Wendake School, at least for learning church hymns, but it was on its decline and by the early 1900s, no Wendat speaker was left. To borrow Bourdieu's terms, the native tongue had lost all of its market value. The socially and economically dominant language, French, had become—and remained since—the mother tongue of the community (Sioui, 1996).

Modern-day Wendake is a suburban area whose streets are lined with American-style cottages and bungalows, except for the older part of the village where the original Catholic church (dating from the 1720s) and a few old houses have been preserved. The economy is based on light industry (commercial handicrafts, footwear, house building, road construction), wage work (in local administrative bodies or in the larger Quebec City area's public and private sectors) and tourism (souvenir shops, cultural attractions). As of 2001 (Canadian census data), Wendake's principal social and economic indicators were more or less equal to those of the province of Quebec in general. For example, the median annual income for Wendake residents aged 15 and over was $20,041,as against $20,665 for Quebec as a whole. The percentage of active Wendake people (aged 15 and over) who were actually employed was higher (67.6%) than the Quebec average (62.3%), while the proportion of Wendat aged between 20 and 34 who detained a college or university diploma (44.8%) was only two points below its equivalent for the province of Quebec (46.9%).

Wendake's relative prosperity—and the fact that the population has intermarried with Euro-Canadians for over at least two centuries—has not prevented its inhabitants from preserving a strong Aboriginal identity (Roosens, 1989; Brunelle, 2000). This is partly due to Canada's legal environment. The Wendat are officially recognized as Indians. This means that their status is that of a First Nation, whose territory constitutes a reserve governed by an elected Nation Council. The Council (*Conseil de la Nation huronne-wendat*) has jurisdiction over all 3,000 Wendat, even if about half of them live outside Wendake proper. In contrast with other Canadians, their health, education and social services are provided by the federal—rather than provincial—government, and they do not pay income and other taxes when residing on the reserve.

But identity goes far beyond mere legal considerations. Most Wendat individuals consider their nationality as being Wendat, rather than Canadian or Québécois (*i.e.* Quebec francophone). Many of them excel in the arts, handicrafts, and literature, always in an Aboriginal style. And, what is more important, a traditionalist movement has been implanted in Wendake since the 1980s, under Mohawk influence (both Huron and Mohawk belong to the Iroquoian culture area and language family). A longhouse has been built, where a sizable minority of Wendat regularly gather for traditional ceremonies during which prayers are said and chants sung in their Aboriginal language.

In order to achieve this, some Wendat started learning elements of their ancestral tongue, fortunately preserved in writing thanks to a number of dictionaries and grammars compiled by missionaries in the 17th and 18th centuries. A language committee was formed in the early 1990s. Amongst other tasks, it repatriated copies of missionary linguistic manuscripts and proposed Wendat names for local streets, buildings, and public signs (for instance, the Stop signs on the streets are bilingual in French—"*Arrêt*"—and Wendat—"*Seten*"). In 1998, a petition signed by some 350 individuals asked that the Wendat language be taught at the local primary school, and in 2002, a Wendake resident with an M.A. in linguistics was commissioned by the Nation Council to standardize the pronunciation and orthography of the language (Gros-Louis, 2003, 2004). These initiatives show that even if the ancestral tongue has stopped being transmitted over a century ago, it still forms part of the identity of the Wendat, thus potentially contributing, in Maslow's terms, to their need for self-actualization.

Going one step further in asserting the importance of the ancestral language, the Wendake education authorities—with the support of the Nation Council and of the language committee—decided in 2006 to launch an ambitious linguistic revitalization project. Such an initiative had already been proposed in the early 1990s (Sioui, 1996), but no concrete steps had been taken to implement it, except for the already mentioned reports on Wendat pronunciation and orthography.

In winter 2006, an Aboriginal consultant on Wendat culture and history was hired by the Wendat Nation Council—through the local Tstaïe elementary school—with a mandate to bring together interested community members and competent academic specialists, in order to organize a research team, apply for funds, and start implementing a revitalization project for the Wendat language. After various people and organizations had been contacted, Université Laval's Inter-university Center for Aboriginal Studies and Research, ciéra (Centre Interuniversitaire d'Études et de Recherches Autochtones), accepted to co-monitor the research together with the Nation Council. The project was given the name Yawenda, "the Voice."

A team was formed over the next year or so which included researchers and educators from Wendake, academic specialists of the Iroquoian languages and of Aboriginal language education, local university students, as well as five institutional partners: the Wendat Nation Council, CIÉRA, Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue, the First Nations Education Council, and Victoria's (British Columbia) First Peoples' Heritage and Language Council. In February 2007, a major grant application was submitted to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), through its Community University Research Alliances (CURA) program. The grant was awarded in July 2007.

The revitalization project was conducted over a period of six years, from August 2007 to July 2013 (cf. Dorais, 2014). Its objectives were threefold:

1. The linguistic reconstruction, thanks to the analysis of available historical and scientific documentation (*e.g.*, Barbeau, 1960; Chaumonot, 1831; Lagarde, 1980; Potier, 1751; Sagard, 1632; Steckley, 2007) of the phonological, morphosyntactic and semantic structures of the Wendat language.
2. The production of pedagogical tools (curricula, school glossaries, online linguistic databanks) for teaching Wendat as a second language to the Wendake elementary school children, as well as to adults in night classes.
3. The training of a few teachers apt to transmit the language to community members.

The aim of the project, at least for the time being, was not to make fluent Wendat speakers out of French-mother-tongue individuals. Its objective rather consisted in teaching words, phrases and sentences particularly significant for fostering cultural identity (*e.g.*, terms of address, kinship terminology, animal and plant names), in order to allow students to express themselves in an idiom apt at transmitting directly some important aspects of their Aboriginal world view. The fact that the language were not spoken anymore, except, as mentioned above, in ceremonial circumstances, posed some special challenges. However, the existence of an abundant written corpus of Wendat linguistic materials, whose pronunciation could be largely deduced from that of related Iroquoian languages still spoken today (Mithun, 2005), as well as the devotion of the project's teachers-in-training, designers of didactic materials, and language specialists, allowed Yawenda to fulfill its objectives.

Since 2007, a large portion of the Wendat language has been reconstructed and organized into children and adult teaching curricula. Five illustrated glossaries with accompanying CDs

were released during the course of the project, and an online lexical databank has been devised. More importantly perhaps, at least seven highly-motivated Wendat individuals were trained as teachers, so that adult classes in the language started in March 2010, and courses for elementary school pupils a year later. Linguistic research, training, and teaching continued after the end of the Yawenda grant in 2013, and it is hoped that this major initiative in ancestral language development will endure for a long time. Yawenda may thus be considered a successful example of linguistic revival, together with Australian (Amery, 2000) and other (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006) endeavors at Aboriginal language reclamation.

4 LANGUAGE AND SYMBOLIC WELFARE

Why were the Wendat willing to make all these efforts in order to revitalize their language? They do not need it for earning a living. Because French, Quebec's majority language, has been their native tongue since several generations, they possess the same linguistic capital as any non-Aboriginal person in the area. Nor do they can expect to increase their social capital thanks to the Yawenda project. The only plausible answer is that relearning Wendat and trying to reinstate it as the community's second language—and, perhaps, first language in a farther future, when some young who will have learned it at school will transmit it to their own children—is a continuation of the Wendake people's efforts towards self-actualization through the preservation of their identity.

Because, as we have seen, their economic and social position within Quebec's society is more or less the same as that of their non-Aboriginal co-citizens—except for the fact that they are legally Indians under federal law—and, maybe, because most of them are physically undistinguishable from non-Aboriginals, the Wendat must insist on their cultural difference in order to preserve and enact an identity that forms an essential part of who they are. This cultural difference becomes manifest through art,

literature (in French) and, for some, participation in longhouse ceremonies, but this is not considered enough. Wendat are sometimes told by other First Nations people, as well as by non-Aboriginals, that "real" Indians must have a language of their own—hence a primary motivation to revitalize their ancestral tongue. And beyond that, many Wendake residents consider that speaking the Wendat language will restore the ultimate link between present-day Wendat and their Huron ancestors, thus contributing in a powerful way to boost their Aboriginal identity.

This means that besides economic, social, or political welfare, linguistic diversity can foster another, more subtle form of well-being, which could be called symbolic welfare. In some circumstances, like those of the Wendat and, increasingly, of Indigenous peoples around the world who adapt to majority society without forfeiting their identity, this type of welfare could be considered as equally important as other forms. Since most other needs are being fulfilled, it plays an essential part in a fundamental identity-enforcing process. The Wendat and other Aboriginal peoples who seek to revitalize their language should agree with the opinion of a well-integrated—and fluent in both English and French—Mohawk cultural activist who once declared to the journalist Mark Abley (Abley, 2003): "When I speak the Mohawk language, it is as if I used a direct telephone line to reach my ancestors."

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VI. CULTURAL VALUES, ETHNIC IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE IN HUMANISTIC SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

GIANCARLO CHIRO

INTRODUCTION

IN RECENT TIMES, CULTURAL VALUES HAVE BEEN DEBATED WIDELY IN public and political forums, as well as in the media. Local cultures around the world have demonstrated a remarkable tenacity in the face of competition from globalizing cultural forces, on the one hand, and the territorial concerns of nation–states, on the other. For their part nation–states have also shown little willingness of shirking their social and economic responsibilities and retreating against advancing globalization whilst struggling to control their borders against ever increasing population flows. Security concerns flowing from the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the US in 2001 followed by the Madrid and London bombings of 2005 together with rising tensions associated with ethnic and religious diversity have exacerbated pressures on some Western nation–states and complicated notions of belonging and citizenship. Within a number of immigrant receiving countries it is increasingly possible to identify different levels of belonging based on a growing number of categorizations linked with nationality, ethnicity, citizenship, immigration and refugee status. Indeed, in many Western states the construction of national identity appears to depend both on negative representations of immigrant or refugee or Muslim 'others' and positive representations of core national values.

Concerns with increasingly active and vocal immigrant communities, and especially with Muslim minorities, has led to a

toughening of immigration and citizenship laws in various Western liberal states and a concerted effort to define or re–define the cultural values that are generally considered the glue of national identity. Furthermore, since the publication of Huntington's (1993) *Clash of Civilizations*, the notion of the incompatibility of different cultures has entered the political and public discourse. Neo-conservative parties and more extreme politicians across Europe and other immigrant receiving states have attempted to take advantage of these fears and have heighten sensitivities around issues of immigration and citizenship. For example, in the lead up to the 2002 German elections, Friedrich Merz, a prominent member of the CDU/CSU parliamentary party launched what became known as the *Leitkulturdebatte,* a debate about Germany's predominant or guiding culture. Pautz (2005) argues that the debate functioned as an anti-immigration discourse that worked to construct at the symbolic level a coherent cultural identity in reaction to fundamental social and economic changes that had weakened the nation–state and its (old) welfare functions. Similar debates have occurred in other major immigrant receiving countries such as the US, the UK, France, Germany, Italy and Australia.

Immigration of course cuts to the heart of the process of group and personal identification because it raises political and cultural questions about the interaction between dominant and minority cultures and the extent to which the latter wish to or are provided with opportunities to integrate functionally into the host society. The process of immigration also asks questions of the ruling culture about its central values or national identity and the image it wishes to project of itself in the national and international arenas. This is often reflected in terms of definitions of who belongs to the dominant culture (and who should be excluded) which often leads to the formulation of criteria for entrance, expulsion, settlement and citizenship.

None of this is particularly new. Indeed, the sociological study of the impact and consequences of immigration both for

the immigrant groups themselves and the host societies began in the early decades of the twentieth century. These studies have generally reflected the dominant political ideologies of the day as they traced the success or otherwise of diverse ethnic groups in coming to terms with their new lives while submitting to the prevailing processes of assimilation, acculturation, adaptation, integration or multiculturalism. One of the earliest and enduring examples in the sociology of immigrant ethnic groups was Thomas and Znaniecki's (1958) seminal work *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1918–1920) which proposed a theoretical model for the disorganisation and reorganization of immigrant cultures in contact with new cultural systems emanating from the host society. Humanistic sociology was the name given by Florian Znaniecki to his particular variant of *social action theory*, which is best characterized as a theory of cultural values.[1]

Whereas in Poland Znaniecki has made a lasting contribution to the Polish sociological tradition, in the United States Humanistic Sociology never progressed to the stage of developing a network of like–minded researchers. Part of the reason for this, as Bauman (2000) has pointed out, may be attributed to the changing idioms of sociological discourse. And yet, Znaniecki's concept of Humanistic Sociology anticipates not only many of the methodological concerns of latter–day qualitative sociologists but also many theoretical constructs which have emerged from disparate schools of thought ranging from social psychology to symbolic interactionism (Halas, 2000) and more recently the sociology of culture (Fine, 2000). In an age dominated by behaviourist theories, Znaniecki's humanistic approach was criticized by some of his contemporaries because of what they thought it was "subjectivist" bias. With hindsight, Humanistic

[1] Indeed, before turning his attention to sociological matters, Znaniecki considered himself a philosopher of values (Znaniecki, 1919). He spent the remainder of his academic life developing a theoretical model which placed cultural values at the core of his theory of social action. Other pioneers of the importance of values on the nature of self and the individual's relationship to society included Parsons (1937), Dewey (1939) and Kluckhohn (1951).

Sociology appears to have achieved a careful balance between "objectivism" (structure) and "subjectivism" (agency) according to which agents assume a strategic role in defining their courses of action on the basis of cultural value–structures (defined by Znaniecki as personal ideological systems) which are formed through symbolic and social interactions within relevant social groups.

The humanistic element of Znaniecki's approach was recognised in the latter part of the twentieth century by Habermas (1979, 1984) and Bourdieu (1977, 1990) who have also drawn attention to the interpretive dimensions of sociology that underscore the importance of subjective experience. As Habermas has argued, for example, systems of action "are inaccessible to observation and must be unlocked hermeneutically; that is, from the internal perspective of members" (in White, 1988: 106). According to Bauman (2000: 79), the proper reading of Znaniecki requires a transposition of the outdated social systems theory into the present day idiom. Before addressing the nature of the relationship between core values, cultural identity and language maintenance, therefore, the present paper will briefly re-examine the basic principles of Humanistic Sociology and their significance in furthering our understanding of interacting systems of cultural values in multicultural societies.

HUMANISTIC SOCIOLOGY

Humanistic Sociology as elaborated by Florian Znaniecki (1963) and later developed by Jerzy Smolicz (Smolicz 1974, 1979, 1999; Smolicz and Secombe 1981) is the sociology of cultural values *par excellence*. It shares with other interpretive sociologies the assumption that all cultural reality is based on socially constructed meanings. This approach to the study of culture and society rests on the assumption that human beings are active participants in the dynamic and on–going processes of social interaction,

which define a group's culture. Znaniecki anticipated Geertz (1973) in believing that the essence of culture resides in the complex of meanings that a group of people shares as the basis of their common life. In the *Method of Sociology* (1968), for example, the Polish sociologist emphasized what he called the essential meaningfulness of social reality as represented by *human values and activities considered as facts.*

To put it simply, the world of culture is a world of values. Znaniecki (1968: 40-41) posits that a cultural object or activity differs from a natural object because it possesses a *meaning,* which is the socially constructed product of human knowledge and experience. Znaniecki offers the example of a "sacred" vessel that, in addition to its visual and tactile content, has a cultural meaning or *value* as an implement of a religious cult that is accepted and shared by its members. According to Znaniecki (1968: 164) such values as elements of cultural experiences "do not come in isolation but are components of socially constructed systems (in this case of a religious system) and the activities constructing these systems can be formally repeated and functionally shared by anybody". More specifically, values can be seen to fulfill five criteria: (1) they are concepts or beliefs, (2) they pertain to desirable end states or behaviours, (3) they transcend specific situations, (4) they guide selection or evaluation of behaviour and events, and (5) they are ordered by relative importance (Hitlin, 2003: 119).

Other theories of action such as those proposed by Talcott Parsons (1951: 11–12) have also stressed the importance of cultural values which serve as criteria or standards for selection among alternative orientations available in given situations, thus explaining why different actors make different choices even in similar circumstances. According to Ann Swidler (1986), Parsonian values are essentially abstract, ahistorical, and immanent in social systems. Znaniecki, on the other hand, has always emphasized the structured, historical and situated nature of cultural values. Furthermore, he believed cultural systems depend for

their very existence on the participation and interaction of reflective social agents. Znaniecki defined this aspect as the *humanistic coefficient* according to which cultural data always belong to somebody; they exist in the experience of conscious agents and are objects of theoretic reflection. In this sense, the individual, as the common datum of human experience, is also the cultural product of many conscious agents, an objectified and reconstructed image (Znaniecki, 1963: 147). As Smolicz and Secombe (1981) have observed, it was the humanistic coefficient, which distinguished Znaniecki's sociology from the behaviouristic theories of many of his contemporaries on the American scene.

As Blumer (1979: ix) explains in his review of Thomas and Znaniecki's approach, social action, or what people do, results from a combination of objective conditions and subjective dispositions. That is to say people act towards something that has group meaning (the objective factors constituted by cultural values) in response to how they feel about it and how they size it up (the subjective factors constituted by attitudes toward those values which apply in particular situations). Znaniecki defined an attitude as a *disposition* that includes both an *evaluative dimension* and a *tendency to act*. The evaluative dimension refers to the positive or negative disposition expressed by an individual toward a social or cultural value, be it another person, an object, a custom, a standard, an organisation, a relation, an activity, or another attitude. An active tendency, on the other hand, refers to the "*tendency to realize the purpose of an action*" (Znaniecki, 1963: 217).

In Humanistic Sociological terms, the webs of meaning constituted by cultural values represent the field against which individuals in social interaction formulate attitudes or dispositions whereby each attitude is the individual counterpart of a cultural value. This concept was first expressed by Thomas and Znaniecki, (1958: 44) in the dictum: *The cause of a value or of an attitude is never an attitude or a value alone, but always a combination of an attitude and a value.* In other words, attitudes at individual level and values at the level of social groups can be viewed as being in

a state of dynamic equilibrium.[2] As Smolicz and Secombe (1981: 14) have proposed, it is the interplay between individual attitudes and group values that is responsible for the dynamism of cultures. The ability of Humanistic Sociology to account for cultural change is best seen in the context of interacting systems of cultural values in multicultural societies according to which values external to a given group (minority or majority) are evaluated against the tradition of the "we" group and can be either incorporated, ignored or rejected according to the cultural values prevailing within various domains of society, be it locally, nationally or indeed globally.

The evaluation of cultural values and the formulation of attitudes is an act of deliberate thinking or reflection on the part of the individual which Thomas had called the *definition of the situation*. Thomas and Znaniecki (1958: 68) posited that "the situation is the set of values and attitudes with which the individual or the group has to deal in a process of activity and with regard to which this activity is planned and its results appreciated". Furthermore, they argued that every concrete activity is the solution of a situation that involves three kinds of data:

1. The objective conditions under which the individual or society has to act, that is, the totality of values – economic, social, religious, intellectual, etc. - which at the given moment affect directly or indirectly the conscious status of the individual or the group;
2. The pre-existing attitudes/values of the individual or the group which at the given moment have an actual influence upon his (sic) behaviour;

[2] Recent social psychological studies on the link between attitudes and values have largely confirmed Thomas and Znaniecki's original conception. Hitlin's (2003) paper on the central role played by values in personal identity contains a useful review of the social psychological orientation that views values as mental structures existing at a higher level of abstraction than attitudes. "Goal expressive attitudes" moreover express an underlying motivational value structure.

3. The definition of the situation, that is, the more or less clear conception of the conditions and consciousness of the attitudes (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1958: 68).

GROUP AND PERSONAL IDEOLOGICAL SYSTEMS

In surveying the content and meaning of verbal statements, spoken or written, as symbolic manifestations of attitudes, Znaniecki (1963: 261) proposed that the authors of these statements are communicating to others the definitions of situations with which people deal. Such statements refer, explicitly or implicitly, to actions that were, are, or will be performed or at least considered possible. Znaniecki also argues that symbolic communication serves the purpose of influencing others. This may be performed directly by way of commands, threats, requests, or promises which, together with presumed or actual punishments and rewards, are intended to produce the required reaction[3]. Alternatively, when individuals communicate to others their evaluative judgments (attitudes) concerning certain data and activities, without asking them to do (or not to) something to the data to which they refer, their explicit, immediate purpose is not to influence the actions of others, but their attitudes.

Indeed, Znaniecki (1963: 262) argues that "for the scientific study of attitudes, the most important of such symbolic actions of communication are those which result or are intended to result in *consensus*, that is, mutual agreement between communicants". For Znaniecki (1963: 265) the evaluative judgments about values and activities as pronounced by "authoritative participants in a culture" and directed toward the attainment of consensus consti-

[3] The importance which Znaniecki places on "symbolic communication" as an essentially cultural practice is evident in this discussion. His view of culture as a value system negotiated between communicants in social interaction parallels Claude Levi–Strauss's concern with communication as "symbolic transfers" as well as Habermas's notion of culture as a communicative system.

tute the foundation on which the *ideological system* of the group or society is based. The ideological system may be termed such "in the sense that evaluative conceptions of various objects and normative conceptions of various activities are logically interdependent" (Znaniecki, 1963: 271).

The heuristic device at the heart of Humanistic Sociology is, therefore, the *ideological system* that exists at the group level in the form of shared *standards of values and norms of conduct*, and at the personal level as principles or *ideological models of attitudes* that dispose agents to realize their individually situated purposes (Znaniecki, 1963: 271) [4]. This system or scheme of values and norms of a cultural group regulates the principles of judgment and the ways of acting, which group members are supposed to accept and abide by. At the individual level, Znaniecki uses the term "model of attitudes" in the sense that it is supposed to serve as an example of "right thinking" about the situation to which it refers (Znaniecki, 1963: 268). In other words, everybody "should recognize" the group's standards and norms as valid and every person who deals with them "ought to act" in accordance with these norms and "ought not to act" in a way which conflicts with them. The ideological system at group level provides social agents with the necessary templates or models of attitudes and values thus promoting habitual strategies of action that are applied in individually meaningful situations. The nature of personal ideological systems depends on the quality and accessibility of the group's cultural (ideological) systems as well as the social situation of the individual and the personal disposition to make use of such systems.

[4] In relation to Znaniecki's systematic approach to cultural analysis, Bauman (2000) has observed that the "Fordist" view of society as a "closely managed system" appears to have exhausted its explanatory capacity in an increasingly globalised age. It is my view that Znaniecki did not have a mechanistic understanding of the ideological system that after all provides individuals with a strategic and creative capacity: the generative power of agency. Znaniecki had first adopted the terms "schemes of attitudes and values" and "life–organization" in the *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1958) preferring later to use the term "ideological system" in *Cultural Sciences* (1963).

Most complex societies and social groups tolerate a certain degree of deviation from the ideal pattern of standards of values and norms of conduct. Furthermore, cultural influences emanating from outside the group, especially in a multicultural society or in a cultural contact situation, may cause certain individuals to incorporate 'external' cultural values into their personal ideological systems. When individual members transgress those values, which are deemed of fundamental importance to the nature and viability of the group, such individuals may be ostracized or even punished. On the other hand, the ideological system of the entire group may change in order to accommodate a new cultural value or schemes of values if there are sufficient numbers of group members who support such a change.

According to Smolicz and Secombe (1981: 11–12) one of the principle functions of the ideological system is to act for each generation as an evaluating agent for all other items of culture. It is used to assess the significance of new cultural values and reassess the heritage of the group to meet its changing needs. The ideological system's evaluating function is the basis of the dynamic nature of culture since each generation has a degree of latitude in the way it can select aspects of its heritage and ignore others. The active evaluation of cultural heritage according to current needs is what constitutes the living tradition of the group. Tradition excites feelings of approval or disapproval in the current generation by involving members of a cultural group in an act of identification or disassociation. Tradition demands, therefore, an active display either of acceptance or rejection.

This notion of ideological systems which operate at group and individual levels has much in common with Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) concept of *habitus* which also emphasises the central role played by dispositions (attitudes) in generating and organising behaviour. In his *Theory of Practice*, Bourdieu defines *habitus* as:

> ... systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as

> principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them (Bourdieu, 1990: 53).

Habitus is said to exist in, through, and because of the practices of actors and their interactions with each other and with the rest of the environment as can be observed in their ways of talking, moving, making things (Jenkins, 1992: 75). The essence of *habitus*, therefore, is composed of *dispositions* (i.e. models of attitudes to standards of values and norms of conduct) that are embodied in real human beings (i.e. the *humanistic coefficient*).

The "embodiment" of such dispositions in *habitus* shares a common understanding of the genesis of social action with Znaniecki's concept of *ideological system*. The main difference between the two explanatory devices is one of emphasis in the degree of choice which agents are able to apply to their situation. According to Jenkins (1992: 75), *habitus* generates socially competent performances (social actions) without explicit reference to a body of codified knowledge and without actors necessarily 'knowing what they are doing' (in the sense of being able to explain what they are doing). Furthermore, such routinized actions together with the 'very basics of culture' are encoded (internalised) from early childhood as much, if not more, in a socialising process (by experience) as in a learning process (by explicit teaching).

If, as King (2000: 427) has argued, *habitus* were determined by objective conditions, ensuring appropriate action for the social position in which any individual were situated, and *habitus* were unconsciously internalised dispositions and categories, then social change would be impossible. Znaniecki's model of the ideological system, on the other hand, was developed in terms of his understanding of the process of *social becoming* and cultural adaptation among dislocated immigrant groups. He focuses less on habitual, preconscious social actions formulated by *habitus* choosing to emphasise rather the *definition of the situation*

which demands the act of reflection or deliberate thinking with which individuals evaluate and build *personal ideological systems* from the network of values and norms associated with their culture or with competing cultures. Thus, while Znaniecki accounts for the objective structures in terms of the standards of values and norms of conduct relevant to various social positions and social relations, he concedes that individual agents are actively involved in the process of defining the situation in which the appropriate attitudes and values are brought into play and in so doing are active in the construction of a personal ideological system or *life organization*.

The understanding of change as an implicit aspect of culture renders Znaniecki's sociological model still well able to account for contemporary cultural realities (one might say more intuitively than does Bourdieu's model). In contemporary terms, Wicker (1997: 38–39) defines Znaniecki's notion of social becoming in terms of active and reactive processes of resistance and accommodation that guarantee the possibility of creolisation, that is, cultural change. Like Znaniecki, Wicker (1997:40) argues that culture is exclusively the ability to produce reciprocal symbolic relations and to form meaning through interactions. Understanding culture as semiotic practice, Wicker (1997) also suggests that since meanings are negotiated directly in (political, social and economic) practice, integration becomes a social field of interaction wherein processes of creolisation occur with increasing frequency to produce culture in the form of new habits, and from which emerge the categories of a new public sphere. This perspective equates with Znaniecki's analysis of cultural change as experienced by immigrants in new social settings.

CORE VALUES AS MARKERS OF IDENTITY

The theory of core values of culture as elaborated by Jerzy Smolicz (1981a; 1981b; 1999) builds on the view of culture as interacting

systems of symbols wherein any object, person or social relation may assume a cultural value that can be accepted, shared and perpetuated by members of the cultural group. By means of their personal ideological systems, group members are able to evaluate and assign meaning to new and old cultural and social values. Indeed, each generation (re)assesses the relevance of the group's *heritage*, which is its received store of cultural knowledge. The evaluation of this heritage produces boundary–defining behaviours or the living *tradition* of the group, which is the part of the group's heritage that is actually maintained and transmitted to succeeding generations. Furthermore, the group's cultural identity may itself assume the importance of an ideological or core value that may symbolise the group and its membership. This approach has proved particularly useful over a number of decades in research that investigates the patterns of cultural interaction, identity formation and language maintenance in ethnically plural societies such as Australia.

In the constellation of values from which groups and individuals draw in everyday social interaction, not all of them are of equal importance for the identification of individuals as group members. Some values may be altered or shed altogether without bringing into question the loyalty of individuals or undermining the stability of the group as a whole. On the other hand, the theory assumes that ideological systems contain a hierarchy of values graded by importance within which it is possible to find a nucleus of values that is indispensable to the integrity, authenticity, and continuity of the cultural system.[5] These are the *core values* which are of such fundamental importance for the continuing viability and integrity of the group's cultural system that they can be regarded as the nuclei around which the whole social and cultural identity of the group is organised. Once a cultural value acquires the status of a core, it assumes an ideological significance for group members and

[5] This view is supported by Schwartz's social psychological conceptualization of values as "desirable trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity" (Schwartz, 1994: 21).

acts as an identifying value that is symbolic of the group and its membership (Smolicz and Secombe, 1981: 15). It is through core values that social groups come to be identified as distinctive cultural communities (Smolicz, 1992a, 1993; Smolicz and Secombe, 1985, 1989). A number of researchers covering diverse ethnicities have examined the particular core values which act as markers of group identity (Smolicz, 1992b, 1993; Smolicz and Secombe, 1985, 1989; Chiro & Smolicz, 1997, 2002; Smolicz, Secombe and Hudson, 2001). The core values identified in these studies have included ethno–specific languages, family structures, religious beliefs and attachment to the native land or region. The importance of such values (their core status) is historically and socially situated.

History's lessons have taught us that core cultural values are often forged in the crucible of wars, class conflict, ethnic cleansing, economic crises, globalisation, migration flows, and assimilationist policies[6]. Smolicz and Secombe (1989) argue that the identification of certain aspects of a given culture as its core, and appreciation of their significance for group survival, is most clearly discerned when the group feels threatened and needs to defend its culture against external pressures. If the identity of a people is seriously undermined and risks extinction, threatened as it may be from a colonial power, post–colonial cultural and economic hegemony, or internal assimilationist policies of a dominant majority group, cultural life grows correspondingly more important until culture itself, and especially its core values, becomes the symbol around which the people rally. This is evident in the European colonisation of Africa, Asia and the Americas, as well as in Europe as a result of invasions of neighbouring states or the annexation of the territories of regional and local minorities. The increase in ethno–specific cultural activity is also evident among immigrant groups in societies where the dominant majority has exercised a

[6] This is supported by Schwartz (1996: 2), who posits that from the individual's point of view "it is in the presence of conflict that values are likely to be activated, to enter awareness, and to be used as guiding principles. In the absence of conflict, values may draw no attention. Instead, habitual, scripted responses may suffice" (quoted in Hitlin, 2003).

policy of cultural assimilation, as, for example, in the United States, France, and Australia.

The replacement or modification of core values through colonisation, globalisation or assimilation to the culture of the dominant group, may result in the marginalisation or eventual dispersal of the minority cultural values as well as in the disintegration of the cultural group as a community that can perpetuate itself as an authentic cultural entity across generations. This, in turn, may lead to the emergence of hybrid cultures and identities in multicultural and other contact settings once the original core values have been abandoned and replaced by or merged with cultural values prevailing in the colonial, dominant or majority groups. The process of hybridisation is most easily discernable in the emergence of contact, pidgin and Creole languages, and dialects. It is also increasingly becoming a feature of cultural homogenization, as a result of global capitalism and consumer culture.

According to Smolicz (1992a: 279), the survival of core values solely among the more traditional members, and its (at least partial) rejection by others who have ceased activating this heritage and have assimilated to the imposed or imported values of the dominant or globalising culture, may cause ideological tension between the "nativists" and the "assimilados". Such a division between a nuclear group of traditionally-minded agents who aim to preserve as much as possible of their heritage and an expanding periphery of agents who are open to hybridisation or creolisation may undermine the resilience of the minority culture concerned, since some of the more assimilated individuals may feel that they are either unable or precluded from continuing as "authentic" members of their original group even though they may continue to activate some residual or folkloric elements of its culture. For Smolicz (1992b), however, if core values are able to survive among some individuals, such members may act as models who in future may help the "lapsed" to "return to the fold" and activate or re–activate aspects of their ethnic heritage. At the same time, the "assimilados" or new hybrids, through their contacts with the

dominant group(s) may, in time of need, help the more traditional members whose position in mainstream society may be more vulnerable or whose original homeland may be under threat

INTERCULTURAL MODEL OF LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

According to Smolicz (1992a: 277), the maintenance, modification or loss of particular aspects of the cultural heritage of ethnic groups in an ethnically plural situation may be regarded as processes that are mutually complementary. In such cases, the cultures of both the majority and minority groups constitute pools of cultural values from which members can draw to formulate their own personal cultural systems. In this way the heritage of the whole ethnic group may be reshaped and re–valued through its contact with the cultural values of other groups, and especially those of the dominant one. As previously stated, the portion of the heritage which is subject to active evaluation constitutes the *living tradition* of the group, that is, the aspects of the cultural heritage which at any given moment are activated by group members (Smolicz, 1974). As such, minority languages can be regarded as traditions because of the process of positive or negative evaluation, which are undertaken on a daily basis by parents and children. They must either strive to maintain the home language or to judge how great it is the effort and how valuable in the context of the host society in which they live. In addition, the maintenance of minority languages in culturally plural societies, like Australia, may be seen as the product of the interrelationship between minority and majority group ideological-values (Chiro and Smolicz, 1993).

From a core-value perspective, the factors associated with the cultural systems of the minority group would include:

1. the culture and history of the group (and its linguistic situation);
2. the presence of language supporting core values; and
3. the degree of ethnocentrism displayed by the minority group.

Factors which need to be considered in terms of the interaction of competing cultural systems between minority and majority group values would include:

1. the overlap between the culture of the minority group and that of the majority;
2. the social acceptability of the minority by the majority group; and
3. the national languages policies of the country concerned, with special reference to the attitudes of the majority to other languages.

The following explanations are presented with particular reference to the Greek and Italian groups which at their peak in the 1990s represented respectively the first and fifth largest non–English speaking ethnic minorities in Australia. Both groups share a common migration history with the great majority of Italians and Greeks having migrated to Australia in the 1950s and 1960s. Greek and Italian migrants in that period were in the main driven from their places of birth after having endured generational economic and educational disadvantages. Both groups shared similar cultural values that included collectivist family traditions and conservative religious values derived from their southern Mediterranean heritage. In the generations of settlement in Australia since the 1950s, however, the two groups have diverged in terms of their ability to maintain their heritage languages. Clyne and Kipp's (1997) measures of language shift show conclusively that Greek–Australians have been far more successful than their Italian–Australian counterparts in containing the shift to English in the second and third generations. The core values analysis that follows will attempt to put this divergence into perspective.

In core value perspective, the relative success of the Greek group in maintaining its heritage language in Australia and its resistance to shifting to English in family and community domains may have an historical connection. Firstly, to the four centuries of survival under Ottoman rule during which time Greeks acquired 'experience' of the means of defending their identifying core values; secondly, to the diverging language histories of the two countries. In fact, this may be an oversimplification. Indeed, the two countries draw from a similar cultural heritage. They are of course geographically adjacent and have experienced social, cultural and economic exchanges over several millennia. There has been an ongoing Greek presence in southern Italy from antiquity through the Middle Ages until the collapse of the Byzantine Empire in 1453. In modern times, Italy and Greece can also be seen to have followed similar trajectories with both nation–states coming into being in the 1800s (1832 for Greece and 1861 for Italy) after a period of nationalist emancipation, which followed centuries of foreign domination.

Naturally, there are also significant historical differences. Greece came to be dominated by a single occupier, the Ottoman Turks, who allowed freedom of worship, freedom of trade and education in the Greek language. Whilst this guaranteed the continuity of Greek cultural heritage, the Ottoman administration represented a long term—and sometimes hostile—presence, whose main interest was in levying taxes and conscripting Greek sons to serve in the military. At the same time, Italian states came to be hotly contested between France, Spain, and Austria. The Northern states under Austria developed economically and socially through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to become the most progressive and liberal states in Italy. In contrast, Southern Italy under Spanish Bourbon control remained the most conservative region; and the descendants of the Spanish aristocracy became increasingly Neopolitanised. Unlike Greece, then,

the political and administrative disunity among Italian states between the fifth and nineteenth have hindered the development of any clear sense of national cultural or linguistic identity other than the elitist literary levels of the language.

The history of Italian language varieties reveals centuries of subordination of local vernaculars in terms of social and literary prestige to the language of the state—first Latin then Italian. It is worth remembering that in Italy, Latin remained in use long after the emergence of the new Romance vernaculars. Indeed, it was maintained for centuries as a literary language, which only the social elite were taught to read and write and sometimes speak. By the sixteenth century, Tuscan–Italian had assumed the mantle from Latin as the most prestigious literary language. This progressively restricted other vernaculars that had also developed literary traditions to the spoken medium. The status differential between the 'low' spoken variety of regional dialect and the 'high' literary variety of Italian was finally sanctioned after the political unification of Italy in 1870. Subsequently, there developed a diglossic situation whereby the low varieties were restricted to domestic and local uses and Standard Italian, the high variety, assumed all communicative functions of a public and official nature.

Modern or Demotic Greek followed a similar process of evolution. The start of the period of the Greek language known as "Modern Greek" is symbolically assigned to the fall of the Byzantine Empire (1453), although strictly speaking it has been taking shape since at least the 11th century. During much of this time, the language existed in a situation of diglossia, with regional spoken dialects existing side by side with learned, archaic written forms. After Greece gained independence from the Ottoman Empire, the same dual–language status of the late Byzantine Empire was re-adapted. Most notably, during much of the 19th and 20th centuries, it was known in the competing varieties of popular Demotic and *Katharevousa*. Demotic was the language of daily use, and the latter was a "purified" mixture of ancient and

modern forms adopted by the newly established Greek state in 1833 and used for all official purposes and formal education. Interestingly, and unlike the situation in Italy, most poetry in Greece from the early nineteenth century came to be written in demotic and was linked to the struggle for national independence and identity. After many decades of controversy, Katharevousa was eventually replaced by Demotic as the official language of the Greek state. In 1976, the official status of Demotic as the language of education was enacted by law, and at the same time civil servants were trained in the use of Demotic in official documents. On the contrary, the Italian education system has never made concessions to the regional varieties of Italian insisting on the promulgation of the national literary standard, even when this was to the educational disadvantage of generations of Italians who spoke only local and regional dialects within home and community domains.

Overall, the changes in the evolution from ancient to Modern Greek, particularly if those of pronunciation are ignored, are far less than the differences between Latin and Italian. For a number of reasons, Greek has been more resistant to change than Italian. In matters of language, Greeks have always looked to the past. In classical Athens, the words of Homer were revered and at the time of the development of the koinè, many looked to the excellence of the Attic prose of writers such as Plato as their model. As the language of the Gospels, the koinè itself was later to become a model for succeeding generations. Furthermore, Greek did not evolve the number of regional varieties that emerged in Italy through the Middle Ages. Clearly, such historical and linguistic factors need to be considered if one is to fully account for the lower levels of language maintenance of speakers of Italian background in Australia compared with their Greek counterparts (Clyne and Kipp, 1997). Italian–Australian dialect speakers are faced with the reality that their home language is subordinate to in terms of social prestige (not only to English but also to Standard Italian). This gives rise to feelings of 'dialectophobia' a reac-

tion against home language, especially among the second and subsequent generations (Chiro and Smolicz, 1993). These findings have not been replicated among Greek–Australians.

SUPPORTING SYSTEMS OF CORE VALUES

A second factor that favours ethnic language maintenance is the presence of other cultural core values that reinforce language maintenance efforts. Studies of Greek and Italian groups in Australia, for example, have shown the importance that the closely-knit and extended collectivist family structure plays in that role (Smolicz, 1985; Smolicz, Secombe & Hudson, 2001). Greece and Italy's tradition of strong (nuclear) family ties and hierarchical clientelistic networks (what Banfield (1958) described as "amoral familism") typified the cultural values, which many migrants from rural or relatively small communities brought with them to Australia (Lyberaki & Paraskevopoulos, 2002). This increased the tendency for Greek and Italian families to become self-reliant economically and socially and maintaining a level of distrust towards civic society and support networks. Such core values increased the reliance of first generation non-English speaking migrants on their bilingual second-generation children thereby creating a functional need to maintain the heritage language within the home and wider ethnic community domains.

In the Greek case, a further support for the language system is provided by the core values surrounding the ethnolinguistically–specific Greek Orthodox Church, a situation that is not replicated on the Italian side. Even after the Constitutional reform of 1975, which redefined the special role of Greek Orthodoxy from "state religion" to "established religion", the Greek Church continues to enjoy special privileges and obligations. For example, the president of Greece must be affiliated with the church; he or she is sworn in according to the rites of the church; and major church holidays are state holidays. Most top positions in the

military, the judiciary, and public schools are de facto restricted to Orthodox candidates. Although the constitution stipulates freedom of religion, it also forbids all religious groups to proselytize unless they have specific permission. The Greek Church depends on the state for financial and legal support: the state pays the clergy, subsidizes the church budget, and administers church property. Religious education is mandatory for Greek Orthodox children in public primary and secondary schools, and the state subsidizes religious studies at institutions of higher learning. The church is supervised by the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs. The institutionalization of Greek Orthodoxy as the official state religion gives the church a powerful voice in political policymaking and the organization of society. The church also has a stake in preventing social reform that would weaken the established social order and blur the identification of "Greekness" with Orthodoxy. Its defence of traditional values has been especially strong on issues such as the role of women; particularly in rural areas, the attitudes and values of women are predominantly defined by church doctrine.

While the preferential situation enjoyed by the Greek Church does not have a precise equivalence, there are many similarities with the social and cultural role taken by the Catholic Church in Italy. Over the centuries, Catholicism has also played a significant role in shaping the ethos of Italians and in particular reinforcing conservative social and family values. Whilst the Papacy has not had an unproblematic relationship with the Italian state after the political unification of Italy, officially reconciled in the Lateran Pacts signed by Mussolini in 1929, the Catholic Church has continued to exert considerable influence over Italian politics and social life until recent times.

Among Greek and Italian migrants in Australia, religious beliefs have also played an important, though waning, role in the ideological systems activated by the two communities. However, it would appear that Greek Orthodoxy has exerted a stronger influence than Catholicism in terms of the influence that religious values

have had in supporting language maintenance (Smolicz, 1988). The Irish traditions of the Australian church hierarchy and the profound differences between the religiosity of Italian and Anglo–Irish Catholics have made Italian religious practices more open than those of the Greeks to the entry of English language into their devotions (Pittarello, 1980). This is in spite of the work of Italian religious orders, such as the Scalabrinians and Cappucines among the Italian community in Australia.

ETHNOCENTRISM OF THE MINORITY GROUP

In examining the degree to which the majority or dominant culture in an ethnically plural society is willing to interact socially with a particular minority group, one must also consider the differing degrees of ethnocentrism among the minorities groups themselves (Chiro and Smolicz, 1993). This ethnocentrism may show itself in terms of attitudes to their native tongue which may either be seen as a 'gift' to offer to others in the name of multiculturalism, or as the group's own treasure which should be preserved for itself (a situation explained away by reference to its small size and the indifference of the majority). In Europe, Conversi (1990) has contrasted the 'proselytising' attitudes of Catalan (who wish all migrants—'external' and 'internal' from other parts of Spain—to learn their tongue) and the separatist tendencies of many Basques (who may regard their tongue as a unique emblem of their own identity, which is not to be shared with others). In Australia, Italians have succeeded in propagating their language and culture within the Anglo–Australian community to a greater extent than the Greek group.

The results of the core value survey and the personal accounts reported by Chiro and Smolicz (1993) indicate that the Italian group, like the Catalan, is far from ethnocentric in the Australian context. Contributing to a multicultural Australia, teaching Italian to those not of Italian background, and generally sharing

Italian culture and heritage with others were mentioned consistently by participants as essential ingredients in the preservation of Italian culture in Australia. This is less the case for Greek–Australians who have succeeded in maintaining their heritage language within family and community domains to a far greater extent than their Italian counterparts but have not managed to diffuse the knowledge and use of the Greek language into the broader Anglo–Australian society and have appeared more inward looking in this regard. This is despite the fact that both Greek and Italian communities have a large and visible presence in the Australia cultural landscape, both are well resourced to provide language instruction through state and community language schools and both have equal access to newspapers, radio and television programs in the heritage language. Furthermore, both Greeks and Italians have equally enjoyed a cultural benefit within the dominant Anglo–Australian community in terms of their prestigious artistic and cultural heritage, which, over the increasing number of years of settlement in Australia, has influenced their social status and acceptability.

OVERLAP OF CULTURAL VALUES

A third set of factors influencing the ethnolinguistic vitality of a minority tongue relates to the way the core values of the group overlap or are in conflict with those of the dominant majority. It has been argued, for example, that the Dutch show the greatest shift to English in Australia because of the linguistic proximity of the languages concerned. However, an even more important reason may be the similarity of other values of the Dutch (in economic, political and social spheres), which effectively overlap with those of Anglo origin. Naturally, the degree of overlapping of cultural values between any two groups may vary over time. For example, Anglo–Australian culture has evolved a much greater acceptance of religious pluralism, which had created such

great obstacles in the past to the accommodation of the Irish group in Australia. On the other hand, the 'mainstream' value system has remained far less tolerant of the linguistic diversity of minority groups. Consequently, those ethnic groups whose cores are less language and more religion centred (such as the Irish or Jewish groups) found it relatively easier both to maintain their cultures and 'fit in' with the mainstream of Australian life.

As for the Italian and Greek groups in Australia, there was no fundamental cultural reason preventing them from adapting to the political, economic or social values of the dominant majority. This is not to say that the two groups do not differ from the dominant majority on certain cultural value orientations. For example, Italian and Greek culture tend to maintain a collectivist family tradition, while Anglo–Australian culture generally favours the development of independence in the individual and nuclear family relationships (Smolicz, 1983). Such differences, however, are unlikely to render Italian and Greek groups significantly less socially acceptable to the majority. After colour and race, the maintenance of ethnic languages is the issue, which the dominant majority in Australia has consistently raised as a likely source of social disunity and conflict. In this way, it indicates its own ethnocentrism in relation to English, which it perceives as an indispensable and virtually exclusive core for the community as a whole. Such concerns have helped to undermine the resolve of the Italian group, linguistically fragile after three generations of settlement, to maintain its linguistic tradition to a lesser extent than their Greek counterparts.

SOCIAL ACCEPTABILITY OF THE MINORITY GROUP

One of the important correlates of cultural value overlap is the degree of social acceptability of the minority by the majority group, which may, however, be more or less tacitly influenced by 'physical appearance' or race. At one end, we can cite the problems

of acceptability faced by the Australian Aborigines. At the other end, the situation of Welsh highlights the dilemmas of a group which, being taken as 'British', faces the problem of 'engulfment' by the English language milieu, since from the latter perspective their use of Welsh seems unnecessary, and even faintly ridiculous. Differences in social acceptability may even exist within the same ethnocultural group. For example, since the earliest days of Italian migration to Australia, majority group perspectives of the social acceptability of the Italian group have clearly favoured 'northern types' as opposed to their 'southern' counterparts. This, in turn, contributed to their assimilation to Anglo–Australian society to a greater extent than their southern Italian counterparts.

In relation to the concept of social acceptability, Chiro and Smolicz (1993) reported that several participants in their study stressed the importance of physical appearance in shaping their identification with and activation of minority group cultural systems. In the case of the young people of mainly northern Italian origin, their similarity to stereotypically Anglo–Australian physical characteristics appeared to augment their self-esteem. On the other hand, the respondents of southern Italian background, who drew attention to their ethnic appearance, remarked that this influenced their self–categorisation as Italians. Since the earliest days of planned immigration to Australia, Greeks and Italians have been grouped together as Southern Europeans who in the mind-set of Anglo–Australians share similar physical characteristics, eat oily foods, speak in a loud foreign tongue and gesticulate wildly in public. Such stereotypical categorisations are commonplace and ignore other fundamental differences of language and religion.

Like cultural values that are subject to the re–evaluation of each generation, so the social acceptability of a minority group may also change over time. In recent times, the children of Italian and Greek migrants have more confidently asserted their ethnic identities both in terms of speech and body markers. This younger

generation has also largely re–appropriated terms such as "wog" which were used in earlier times as a derogatory label of ethnic identity. Television programs written and starring Greek and Italian–Australian actors have undermined commonly–held stereotypes and turned what was once a derogatory term into a positive identity label. Furthermore, Anglo–Australian experience of over fifty years of Italian and Greek settlement has positively influenced the status of minority ethnic communities which have successfully integrated into the fabric of Australian society, especially in comparison with the more recent arrivals from Asia and Arabic–speaking Muslim communities, who currently must endure the brunt of the less tolerant elements in Australian society.

NATIONAL LANGUAGES POLICY

Another important factor affecting minority language maintenance at any given time is the national policy on languages of the host country. In the case of Australia, such policies have fluctuated over the past century with relative tolerance of bilingualism prior to World War I and the suspicion of alien tongues following involvement in the two World Wars. The fluctuation of language policies can be delineated more clearly after World War II, with the greatest promise for multilingualism shown in the late 1970s and early 1980s but culminating officially in the Lo Bianco Report (1987), which stressed a dual focus approach in relation to languages other than English in Australia. One focus was to help those Australians who already speak a language other than English to consolidate and develop it further through literacy, with a chance to learn a third language, in addition to English, if they so desired. The other was intended for people from English–speaking backgrounds to have the opportunity and incentive to build a linguistic bridge towards their fellow citizens in Australia or, indeed, to people of interest elsewhere with the aim of improving Australia's internal, trade and political relations.

The languages policy of the country is of particular importance to ethnic groups in Australia who actively lobbied for government assistance in supporting ethnic language programs during the 1970s. Whereas the first Greek community language schools appeared in the 1920s, the first organised Italian languages classes did not appear until the 1960s. Furthermore, unlike the Greek schools which were run by the communities themselves, Italian classes were mostly organised on behalf of the community by specialised cultural agencies like the Dante Alighieri Society, which had developed branches throughout Australia and since the 1970s by the locally organised community groups like *Coasit* and the Italian government sponsored Institutes of Culture in Sydney and Melbourne.

With the rise of multicultural politics in Australia in the seventies, the focus of Italian lobby groups turned towards the 'mainstreaming' of Italian into the State and Catholic school systems as well as the higher education sector. This was particularly successful in South Australia and Victoria where State education and Catholic schools languages policies sought to accommodate the needs of the significant numbers of children of Italian ancestry within their systems. Whereas a number of state schools also offered Greek as a curriculum choice, Greek did not achieve the same degree of mainstreaming as Italian. The success of the spread of Italian into mainstream schools was in part due to the popularity of the language and the relative ease with which Anglo–Australian schoolchildren could engage with it compared to Greek. In South Australia and elsewhere, the Dante Alighieri Society was being replaced by new coordinating agencies that emerged with the support of the Italian Consulate and Italian government funding. These organisations also assisted the insertion of Italian language courses into the curriculum in those schools that were not provided for by State and Catholic education systems. The Greek community, on the other hand, was able to translate its tenacity to develop its Greek language resources through a highly successful community–run ethnic language

program, as well as through the creation of a bilingual Greek College in the 1980s.

Even this brief overview of the languages policy in Australia indicates how heavily the Italian group has relied on institutional support compared with the Greek community. Many parents who migrated to Australia as mother-tongue dialect speakers preferred to delegate the responsibility of teaching Italian to 'experts' in the field. This tendency, together with the assignation of dialects as low status vernaculars in both Italy and Australia, has contributed to the uncertain viability of Italian as a community language. Indeed, the future of Italian in Australia now depends to a great extent on the degree to which official languages policies are implemented within the mainstream system. In the process, Italian has come to be taught mainly as a foreign language, and increasingly removed from its natural context, the Italian community. This cannot be said entirely of the Greek language. While second and third generation Greek—Australians have also experienced an increasing shift to English, the actual levels are significantly lower than their Italian–Australian counterparts and compare well with the levels of more recently arrived immigrant groups. In addition to the various intercultural factors presented previously, therefore, one should add the traditional value of having to make the best of a difficult situation. Unlike Italian, which found considerable institutional support, the Greek community in Australia was faced with developing its own resources in order to stave off creeping assimilation to the language and culture of the Anglo—Australian mainstream.

CONCLUSIONS

Concerns with increasing levels of cultural diversity, and especially with Muslim minorities, has led to a toughening of immigration and citizenship laws in various Western liberal states and a concerted effort to define or re–define the cultural values that

are generally considered the foundation of national and/or ethnic identity. Humanistic Sociology as elaborated by Florian Znaniecki (1963, 1968) and developed by Jerzy Smolicz (1999) is the sociology of cultural values *par excellence* and, as such, appears well suited to further our understanding of changing cultural dynamics which link cultural values, ethnic identity and cultural and linguistic maintenance particularly in multicultural societies. The present paper examined the explanatory power of this sociological approach with reference to Bourdieu's *habitus* model. Secondly, the theory of core values of culture, as developed by Smolicz (1981a, 1981b), was employed to shed further light on the impact of social interactions on the cultural and language maintenance efforts of minority groups in ethnically plural societies. Smolicz (1992b) has argued that a group's resilience in maintaining its language and culture depends on the degree to which its heritage successfully interacts with new cultural inputs both from within (in multicultural settings) and from without (through diffusion from other sources). The present paper then examined the implications of core values on personal and group identity in light of recent developments that have increased public concerns with immigration and security. We also presented an intercultural model of language and culture maintenance, based on the core values emanating within minority ethnic cultural systems and their interaction with the cultural values of the dominant majority in multicultural societies. Finally, this model was applied to the Italian-Australian and Greek-Australian cultural groups in order to test its viability as a heuristic device. It is hoped that other researchers, in due course, will use the intercultural model of language and cultural maintenance in other culturally diverse contexts in order to test its applicability and suggest changes and refinements.

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VII. THE HIDDEN LANGUAGE BATTLE: IMMIGRANT LANGUAGES AND THE DILEMMA OF THE WELFARE STATE[1]

HELLE LYKKE NIELSEN[2]

1. INTRODUCTION

Denmark is a small, democratic and highly globalized welfare state. Each of these characteristics influence Danish language policy in different ways: with a population of 5,63 million inhabitants—roughly half of greater Paris or one quarter of the metropolitan area of Mexico City—and ranking 6th among the world's most globalized countries (KOF index of Globalization, 2013: 1), Denmark is obviously very much dependant on the surrounding world, be it for economic development, technological innovation or national security. The high degree of globalization favours a language policy that sets English as a top priority and, at least ideally, focuses on the need for other foreign languages.

The pressure from globalization also has led to an increased focus on Danish. This is not only due to cultural pressure from those who consider English a threat to the national language—an issue which is, at times, hotly debated in Danish media—but also to a political pressure from government, parliament and other decision makers who consider Danish a necessary gatekeeping mechanism to safeguard the Danish welfare state. Denmark belongs

[1] The present article is a revised and updated version of two papers presented at the third symposium on language policy "Linguistic diversity and welfare" at Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, June 2007, and at the 18th International Congress of Linguists (CIL), Korea University, Seoul, Republic of Korea, July 2008.

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to what political scientists have labelled as "the universal welfare model" (Esping-Andersen, 1990).[3] Danish society is characterized by an important redistribution of wealth: the state takes responsibility for most social services, regardless of a person's race, gender, ethnicity or religion, some services being universal and thus offered to all inhabitants regardless of income—health services, education and child allowances—while others are offered only to low income groups depending on individual needs and regulated by a detailed social legislation. In order to finance the expenditures of the welfare state, Denmark has a highly developed tax system, based on direct as well as indirect taxation.

The safety net which has thus been stretched out under all Danish citizens makes Denmark attractive to non-European immigrants and with the open borders which the country shares with other memberstates of the European Union (EU), the pressure from immigration has necessitated a political response. As a memberstate of the EU, however, Denmark has limited means to establish its own barriers to immigration, but one which can be safely brought into play is the use of the national language: if immigrants want to get access to many of the benefits of the welfare state, they must master Danish to a certain level, that is, they must take compulsory language classes, sit for tests and exams which in turn will allow them to apply for certain benefits. As such, Danish has become a gatekeeping mechanism that serves, among other things, to ensure that in a globalized world that favours free movement of people across borders, the pressure from immigration will not lead to the breakdown of the welfare state.

Denmark is not only a small and globalized welfare state. It is also a democratic one; consequently, Danish legislation includes language rights for minority languages. Denmark has ratified the

[3] Most researchers define the welfare states of the western world as belonging to one of three categories: The universal welfare state, which prevails in e.g. the Scandinavian countries; a selective or labour market related welfare state prevailing in Central Europe; and a residual welfare state as in Great Britain and the US. See Esping-Andersen (1990) for more details.

European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and has officially recognized three minority languages: Faroese, spoken by approximately 48.000 at the Faroe Islands, Greenlandic, spoken by approximately 56.000 in Greenland (Statistics Denmark, 2012: 451), and German, spoken by 12-15.000 at the Danish side of the German border (Ministry of Interior and Health, 2010: 3). In practise, however, Faroese and Greenlandic are recognized and used respectively as official languages in their territories, together with Danish, but are not considered nor used as such in the mainland of Denmark.[4]

Immigrant languages, on the other hand, have no officially recognized position in Danish legislation, apart from what is mentioned in the United Nations Human Rights Treaties, which Denmark ratified for the first time in 1971 (United Nations, 2008). The treaties give all citizens the right to speak whatever language they want, and national legislation makes it further possible for minority and immigrant groups to open private or independent day-care centres, kindergartens and schools, subsidized by the authorities (Ministry of Interior and Health, 2010: 9-11). Since the 1970s, Denmark has received a growing number of immigrants and asylum seekers, most of them of non-European origin. The total percentage of immigrants in Denmark amounted to 8.5% in 2013 corresponding to 456.386 persons; of these, 189.720 were from Western countries (28 EU memberstates, other European countries, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the US) and 266.666 from non-Western countries (Statistics Denmark, 2013: 14). In addition to these, there were 2.6% descendants of immigrants, corresponding to 144.288 persons, 86% of whom (123.614) were of non-Western background (Statistics Denmark, 2013: 11). The most important non-European immigrant languages spoken in Denmark today are Arabic, spoken

[4] According to Faroese and Greenlandic official representatives in Denmark, the number of Faroese and Greenlandic speakers in the mainland of Denmark amount to 12.000 and 10.000 speakers respectively, the majority of whom are bilinguals (Ministry of Interior and Health, 2010: 6).

mainly by Iraqis, Lebanese, Palestinians, Moroccans, Syrians, and Turkish, followed by Urdu and Somali, as shown in figure 1. These numbers are based on registered nationality, since Danish population statistics do not include information about languages, religion or ethnicity.

Turkey	61.241
Iraq	30.493
Lebanon/ Palestine	25.161
Pakistan	22.853
Somalia	18.645
Iran	17.658
Afghanistan	15.854
Vietnam	14.669
Sri Lanka	11.358
Thailand	11.114
China	11.077
Philippines	11.024
Morocco	10.482
India	8.126
Syria	8.017
Total	**277.772**

Figure 1. Top 15: Non-European Immigrant languages in Denmark (Statistics Denmark, 2014: 27).

Denmark also has received a number of European immigrants, most notably of Polish, German, Norwegian, Swedish, and British origin (with 36.518, 31.888, 16.411, 15.200 and 14.163 persons, respectively). These immigrants are not included in this study because their languages hold a very different position in Danish society from that of non-European languages: English, German, and French are taught as foreign languages in primary and secondary schools, whereas Swedish and Norwegian are included in the curriculum of Danish, given that the three languages are mutually intelligible.

I shall focus mainly on Arabic when presenting data on non-European immigrant languages in Denmark. This is due to

the fact that Arabs constitute the most important group of immigrants in terms of numbers, Arabic being supposedly the most widespread non-European language in Denmark. Furthermore, using the distinction made by Bagna, Machetti and Vedovelli (2003) between *migrant languages* and *immigrant languages*, Arabic in Denmark is considered a genuine immigrant language: Whereas migrant languages are defined as those mainly passing through an area, e.g. as a result of short termed labour migration, and thus do not put down roots and leave signs on the host community's language and linguistic landscape,[5] immigrant languages are considered a more stable phenomenon, due to the long-term presence of immigrant groups who intend to stay in the host community. An immigrant language, therefore, stands a better chance of leaving linguistic traces on the host society (Barni & Bagna, 2008: 298), and as such Arabic is well suited to illustrate what happens to non-European immigrant languages in the Danish welfare state.

2. THE DANISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

One way of illustrating the status of non-European immigrant languages in Denmark is to analyse the language policy of the educational system. In theories of language policy, education—or what has been termed "the school domain" in language policy (Cooper 1989, Spolsky 2004)—is seen as a key component in national language policy, because education requires a range of language choices to be made, and thus becomes an important domain used to create de facto language practices (Shohamy, 2006: 76). Language choices in education are influenced by a range of different agents, but there is a general consensus that the

[5] Polish is a good example of a migrant language in Denmark: The number of Polish immigrants is currently growing, amounting to 36.518 (2014). Coming from a new memberstate of the EU, they are considered Europeans, but their language is not taught in primary or secondary schools. The current growth of Polish immigration to Denmark began in 2004 when Poland became a full member of the EU, and takes mainly the shape of short-term labour migration.

strongest influence comes from central authorities such as government agencies, ministries of education, and regional and local educational boards (Shohamy, 2006: 77-78). Other agents such as parents, religious authorities and community leaders, as well as local school directors, teachers and eventually the students themselves also influence language educational policy, but to a much lesser degree (Spolsky 2004). The choices made by the central authorities on issues such as the language of instruction—what foreign languages to be taught, what status to attribute to mother tongue in case it differs from the school language, etc.—are highly political and strongly influence language practices. Not only are children socialized into values and norms for language use through these choices; choices are in fact imposed on children since they are activated in a context that is compulsory for all children

The Danish educational system is divided into kindergarten (for children from 3 to 6 years), primary school (6 to 16-17), secondary school (16-19) and higher education. The Danish educational sector is highly centralized through laws and ministerial decrees, though kindergartens and primary schools are formally placed under the authority of the municipalities.

3. PRESCHOOL LANGUAGE ACTIVITIES

97% of all children in Denmark go to kindergarten from the age of three to the age of six (Statistics Denmark, 2011: 1). This percentage does not indicate that kindergarten is a compulsory part of the Danish school system, but has mainly to do with the high participation of women in the labour market. Except from a few private or independent institutions, most kindergartens are formally run by the municipalities. This has mainly economic implications; in practice, the kindergartens are dealt with as independent institutions acting freely inside a broad framework of pedagogical guidelines. From the mid-1990s, however, the Danish parliament started to include kindergartens in their immigra-

tion policies, and in 1999 it was decided that immigrant children between four and six years old should be offered specific Danish language training activities in kindergartens to prepare them for entering school. Immigrant children who did not go to kindergarten, should have access to Danish language activities through the establishment of "play groups" made available to them by the municipality, 15 hours a week, an activity most often located in a local school. In 2002, these language activities were extended to immigrant children from three years of age (Law no. 412, 2002). In 2004, what had until then been offered as something which immigrant families could take or leave, became compulsory: the Danish Primary Education Act now stipulated that if an educator found that an immigrant child did not possess satisfactory language skills in Danish, s/he would have to participate in Danish language activities offered to them (Primary Education Act, §4a, stk. 5). In 2005, the Ministry of Education issued a recommendation that immigrant preschool children should be screened or tested in Danish on a regular basis, e.g. once a year, so as to make sure that they progressed adequately in Danish and thus were ready to benefit maximally from what they would later learn in school. This recommendation was changed in 2007 and further amended in 2009, as it became compulsory to screen or test children at the age of three who were either not in kindergarten or did not, according to kindergarten personnel, possess satisfactory language skills in Danish, and again at the age of six, in the pre-school class. A language screening of five-year olds were recommended for children who had language problems at the age of three, but this was not compulsory (Ministry of Education, 2009: 5; Ministry of Education, 2010: 3).

In the new law, covering out-of-school activities for children from day care and kindergartens to after school care and youth centres (Dagtilbudsloven af 24. Maj 2007), it was furthermore stipulated that not only were the local municipalities required to offer 15 weekly hours of language activities for immigrant children with language needs, but also, alternatively, in case a parent was unem-

ployed, a free place in a nursery or kindergarten 30 hours a week—the aim being to immerse the immigrant child into a Danish language environment (Dagtilbudsloven, 2007, §11). Parents who prevented their child from participating regularly in play groups or kindergarten language activities without good reasons would have their child allowances, paid by the state, cut (Dagtilbudsloven, 2007, §12).

Based on these political decisions it seems safe to conclude that during the last 15 years, the national political agenda in Denmark has been in favour of upgrading Danish for kindergarten and preschool immigrant children to the extent that parents will be sanctioned economically in case they do not comply with the rules.

4. PRIMARY SCHOOL

Primary schools in Denmark are strongly regulated by the Ministry of Education, whereas the implementation and the administration are run by the municipalities. In recent years, there has been much debate about the position of the Danish language in primary school (number of hours, curriculum etc.), fuelled by an increasing pressure from those who consider English a threat to the national language, on the one hand, and the dissatisfactory results of Danish students in the international PISA reading tests on the other (Ministry of Education, 2011: 1-2). This has led to an increasing number of teaching hours of Danish in primary school as well as more focus on research and new methods of teaching how to read Danish, to the benefit of all children. Also, since the end of the 1990s, an elaborated educational infrastructure of teaching Danish as a second language has been put in place. Today, universities and teacher training colleges offer graduate and under-graduate educational programs and courses with the aim of qualifying or upgrading primary school teachers in the field. Universities have established research centres, the Ministry of Education has published educational guidelines and materials to support teachers and it has established an education-

al task force to assist schools with many non-European immigrant children (Ministry of Education, 2013c).[6]

While Danish has been upgraded in primary school, mother-tongue education in non-European immigrant languages has been downgraded. According to the Primary Education Act of June 26th 1975, immigrant children in Denmark used to have access to free mother-tongue education, organized by the local authorities whose costs were in turn reimbursed by the state. It was stipulated that children would get from three to five weekly hours of instruction in their mother tongue, that these classes were to take place at public schools outside normal class hours, and that the teachers of mother tongue instruction should be approved by the local school authorities, though they did not have to be certified teachers. There should be at least 12 children in a class – if there were less students, there would be less hours (Kristiansdottir, 2006: 8). From 1993 to 2001, this right was challenged 14 times by M.P.s from the Danish People's Party, the Liberal Party and the Conservatives who proposed motion after motion, to limit or abolish this right, despite the fact that it was unrealistic, politically, to put through a majority vote against the law, due to the political composition of the parliament (Nielsen, 2007: 14).

When a liberal-conservative coalition took over the Danish government in 2001, they immediately initiated the legislative work that led to a law reform in 2002. It was now left to the local authorities to decide whether they wanted to offer free mother tongue education in non-European immigrant languages. The main difference was that the state would no longer reimburse the costs. In that way, the government did not formally abolish the right to free mother tongue education in these languages; they only placed the responsibility for it at a different administrative level. It was stipulated in the law that the money saved by the state should now be used for Danish language activities for immigrant

[6] For the most recent upgrading of Danish as a second language and other supportive teaching activities in primary school, see Ministry of Education, 2013b: 5, 7, 10; on upgrading of teachers and new methods of teaching: idem 19-20, 20-22, 29.

pre-school children (Law no. 412, 2002). As a memberstate of the EU, however, Denmark was legally required to offer mother tongue education in European languages if there was a demand for it, the idea being to ensure the free movement of labour in Europe, and to guarantee the right for European children to keep up with their mother tongue while living with their parents abroad. Therefore, the law reform on mother tongue education only involved non-European languages and, consequently, Denmark legally adopted a language policy that discriminates between children: a Dutch or Spanish-speaking child in Denmark has a legal right to get free mother tongue education, while an Arabic speaking child has to content him- or herself with the Arabic instruction s/he can get in the local mosque or pay for it at an Arab private school. Thus, the same municipality may well offer free mother tongue classes for Dutch or Polish children whose parents can easily afford to pay for their classes, whereas they do not support classes for the hundreds of Arab and Turkish children, whose parents often cannot afford them. This was the case in the municipality of Odense, the third largest city in Denmark, with approximately 187.000 inhabitants, where 19 Dutch, 14 Spanish, 13 Polish and 12 Icelandic children took free mother tongue classes, whereas 1290 Middle eastern, mainly Arabs, 479 Somali and 385 Turkish children were not offered any classes at all (Odense Kommune, 2007).

The 2002 law led to a dramatic downsizing in the number of classes in non-European mother tongue education all over the country, since most local authorities, having been in constant need for money over the years, could not afford to pay for non-European mother tongue education: Six years later, in 2008, a national survey showed that only four out of the 79 municipalities which took part in the survey[7] offered free mother tongue education for non-European immigrant children at all grades in primary school,[8]whereas eight municipalities offered free mother tongue

[7] The total number of municipalities in Denmark amounts to 98, 19 of which did not answer the survey despite being contacted four times over a period of three months.

[8] A fifth municipality, that of Copenhagen which has the highest number of non-Eu-

education until the third, fifth or sixth grade; and seven municipalities offered mother tongue classes paid for by the parents. (Timm 2008: 3-5; Mehlbye et al, 2011: 171-172.) And not much has changed after a centrum-left coalition took over government in 2011. Though the Ministry of Education has initiated a national experiment in 200 primary schools to investigate how immigrant children might benefit from their mother tongue when learning a range of subject matters such as Danish, maths, physics, etc., as a part of which Arab and Turkish-speaking children will be offered a limited amount of mother tongue language classes, the minister has assured the opposition that the experiment will not be a first step towards introducing mother tongue education in primary school (Alsinger, 2013: 1).

To sum up, the educational language policy for primary schools continued along the same lines as those seen for kindergartens: an upgrading of Danish, and Danish as a second language for immigrant children, a deliberate downgrading of mother tongue education for non-European immigrant children which led to a discriminatory treatment of these children compared to European ones. It was also an attempt, through legislation, to transfer the money saved from reduced non-European mother tongue education to Danish language activities for preschool children.

5. SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Secondary schools in Denmark have a long tradition for teaching foreign languages and for allowing students to choose among a wide range of foreign languages. Furthermore, Denmark follows the European Council's recommendation from 1995 stating that students should, as a rule, have the opportunity to learn two languages of the European Union in addition to their mother

ropean immigrant children in the country, changed in 2008/9 from offering free non-European mother-tongue classes for all grades to cover only from grade one to five.

tongue. In secondary school, therefore, students continue to study English, which since 2014 is compulsory in all grades in primary school, and are offered the possibility of either to continue German or French which are offered from the 5th grade in primary school or to study a different foreign language, depending on what the secondary schools offer (Primary Education Act, 2003, §5 & 14; Ministry of Education, 2007, 2013b).

In 2003, the Danish Parliament decided in favour of a ground-breaking reform of the secondary school, which aimed at ensuring that young Danes would be able to meet the demands of a globalized society. The reform, which was implemented in 2005, added Arabic and Turkish to the secondary school curriculum as optional foreign language courses, depending on the schools' availability of teachers. This came about as a result of the opposition's pressure on the government to offer immigrant languages, not only because of the importance of these languages in today's world, but also to raise the status of these languages in a Danish context. Chinese and Japanese languages were also added to the curriculum, not because they were considered immigrant languages, but mainly because of China and Japan's rising economic power in the global economy (Ministry of Education, 2007).

As a consequence of the reform, foreign language classes now fall into one of three categories: 1) Compulsory foreign languages, comprising English and a second foreign language; students can opt between German, French, Italian, Russian or Spanish. 2) Foreign languages as a specialization: Students must choose a profile of either natural sciences, social sciences or arts—humanities related subjects, or a mixture of them. In case they opt for languages, they can choose between French, German, Greek, Italian, Latin, Russian and Spanish as well as upgrading their English. And 3) Optional foreign languages which students can take depending on the number of hours and subjects they have chosen for their specialization. Here students can opt, among other things, for Arabic, Chinese, Japanese and Turkish, depending on what schools offer (Ministry of Education, 2007: Section 3).

The fact that two non-European immigrant languages are now offered as an option of the secondary school language programme, adds to the status of immigrant languages. However, since they belong to the optional category of languages, they are at the same time the least prestigious, and experience actually shows that secondary schools have been very slow to establish classes in these languages. Three years after the implementation of the reform, there was only one school in Denmark offering one class in Arabic and one class in Turkish. In 2012, according to statistics from the Ministry of Education, out of 42.704 secondary school graduates, 137 students completed courses in Arabic and 51 in Turkish.[9] The low number of students cannot be explained only regarding the low status often attributed to immigrant languages. There seems to be a genuine interest in taking Arabic classes among second generation immigrants in Denmark—a phenomenon to which I shall return to below, when describing the demand for Arabic at a university level. However, many secondary schools either will not or cannot offer such courses, partly because of the lack of teachers, and partly because language teachers of French, German, Spanish and other foreign languages try to prevent new languages from entering their schools, by fear that there will be even less students opting for the languages they teach.[10] This mixture of low prestige, lack of teachers, and professional language teachers' infight is very illustrative of the weak position of these languages in the secondary school system, and does certainly not seem promising for the future.

6. HIGHER EDUCATION

Unlike the position of Arabic and Turkish in the secondary school system, there is a long tradition in Denmark for offering university

[9] E-mail dated March 16th 2012 from the person in charge of non-European languages in secondary schools at the Ministry of Education.

[10] This information is based on a number of personal communications, which the author had with language teachers and directors of secondary schools.

programmes in these languages—the first Arabic programme dating back to 1492 at Copenhagen University. What characterized these programmes over the years was that they are mostly philological in nature with a focus on literature and linguistics. In 1992, however, it became possible to study Arabic as a modern foreign language within a business degree; from 2005, as part of a communication studies degree; and from 2011, as part of a BA in intercultural pedagogics. These programmes cover the Danish labour market's need for graduates with language skills in Arabic to be employed by exporting companies that make business or marketing services in Arabic countries, or by the public sector working with pedagogically related issues.

When it comes to the needs of the Danish public sector, however, one important problem remains to be solved: in a welfare state where immigrants are taken care of by the state in many aspects, there is a dire need for certified translators and interpreters who can assist the authorities when Arab speaking immigrants with little knowledge of Danish are to interact with the authorities. Social workers, hospitals and doctors, legal offices and criminal courts have been crying out for qualified translators and interpreters in Arabic for many years (Courts of Denmark, 2003: 3-6; Andersen, M. 2003: 152; Harder, 2012), only to be met with silence from universities and ministries. This educational void is most probably due to the fact that the need for translators is caught up in a vacuum between universities arguing that such programmes are too expensive to run on the usual financial conditions, whereas the Ministry of Higher Education and Science have declined to offer any special support. As a result, there is no established program to train certified translators or interpreters in Arabic, and therefore the public sector continues to employ native speakers of Arabic with no formal qualifications on a freelance basis to translate in courtrooms, hospitals, etc., where so much can be at stake. This strategy keeps costs low for the authorities, given the fact that such freelancers are paid much less than certified translators of other languages, but it does not establish

any mechanisms of quality check or guarantee any form of problem-solving strategy in case serious misunderstandings arise.[11]

Since the end of the 1990s, there has been a growing interest in studying Arabic, be it in a traditional programme of Arabic language and literature or as a combined study degree of Arabic and business economics, communication studies or intercultural pedagogics. The growing interest can be seen from figure 2. This interest has come at a time where the number of students studying European foreign languages is decreasing: apart from English, which is by far the most important foreign language in Denmark at all levels, the number of students applying for language programmes of German, French, Russian, and Spanish at university level has decreased significantly (KOT, 2014). This has led to a new situation in Danish Universities where Arabic is considered one of the big foreign languages, measured in numbers of students.

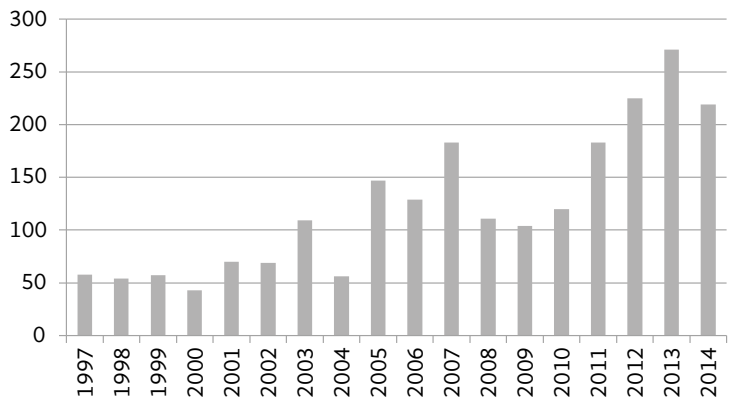

Figure 2. The number of applicants for Arabic at Danish universities 1997-2014 (only applicants with Arabic as first choice included) (KOT, 2014)[12]

[11] The only attempt to remedy the lack of qualified translators and interpreters was offered by Copenhagen and Aarhus Business Schools which established a one year open university program in immigrant languages in 1997.The programme aimed at upgrading native speakers of immigrants languages, but only very few classes took place due to the lack of students: when native speakers of an immigrant language can get a job as an interpreter or a translator without any diploma or certification and to the same remuneration as one with a one year diploma, there is obviously no incentive for spending time and money on such a programme. The programme was closed in 2003-2004.

[12] Until 2007, one of the programmes only accepted students every second year.

The growth of Arabic at a university level can be explained partly by the fact that there has been an increased interest in studying the language from young Arab and Middle Eastern immigrants living in Denmark. In the pedagogical literature, these students are often referred to as heritage learners, meaning "... someone who has had exposure to a non-English (in our context: non-Danish) language outside the formal education system", or "individuals who appear in the foreign language classroom, who are raised in homes where a non-English (non-Danish) language is spoken, speak or merely understand the heritage language, and are to some degree bilingual in English (Danish) and the heritage language." (Valdes, 2001, cited in Hornberger and Wang, 2008: 4).[13] However, Danish universities do not register students according to race, ethnicity or religion. Therefore, not much is known about how many students actually qualify for the term heritage learners. From classroom experience in one of the three Danish Universities which offer Arabic, the number of heritage learners has risen considerably over the last 7 years, as can be seen from fig. 3.

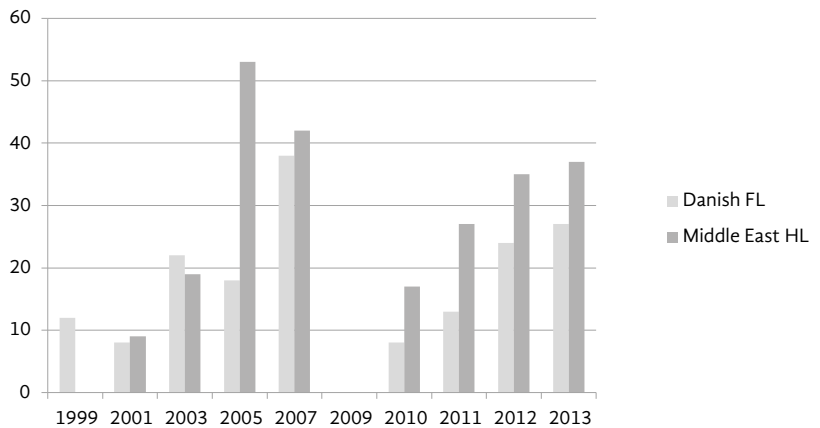

Figure 3. Number of first year students of Arabic at the University of Southern Denmark, 1999-2013(KOT, 2014, and University of Southern Denmark)[14]

[13] For further discussion about the different definitions of heritage language learners, see e.g. Hornberger and Wang, 2008.

[14] Until 2007, this Arabic programme only accepted students every second year. Unfortunately, numbers for 2008-2009 are not available.

Based on figures 2 and 3, we may confidently conclude that there is a growing interest in studying Arabic at university level in Denmark and that, at least to some degree, this interest shows that more Middle Eastern heritage learners are taking an interest in learning or upgrading their language proficiency in Arabic.

7. DILEMMAS IN DANISH EDUCATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY

To briefly sum up, the Danish educational sector has experienced an upgrading of Danish in preschool activities and in primary school during the last decade, while at the same time, non-European immigrant languages have been downgraded in primary school to the extent of almost disappearing from the official curriculum. As for secondary school, studying non-European immigrant languages was never an option prior to the reform in 2005, and though Arabic and Turkish are now offered as optional language classes, it seems unlikely that this will have any big impact on the situation, at least in the short run, due to structural problems such as a lack of both teachers and demand for foreign-language classes in general. Only at university level do we find language classes of any importance in non-European immigrant languages, such as Arabic and Turkish; these languages were institutionalized long before immigration from non-European countries became an issue in Danish society, and this is probably the reason why they have managed, rather easily, to meet the demand for Arabic studies, not least among the growing number of Middle Eastern heritage learners.

But why do a growing number of students, and not least heritage learners, presently choose to study a non-European immigrant language such as Arabic at the university level? Not much is known about this, partly because of the scarcity of studies dealing with student motivation in the field of Arabic, partly because the growth of students in university studies of Arabic is a fairly new phenomenon, not least in a Danish context. Is it be-

cause heritage learners want to learn more about the language and the culture of their parents? Do heritage learners feel that they can turn their "disadvantage as immigrants into an advantage" in the labour market, as claimed by some of them? Or is it, as argued by a well-known Danish History professor, because heritage learners "want to make a shortcut to an academic degree" (Østergaard, 2007)?

In order to shed light on students' motivations and expectations for studying Arabic, a survey was conducted at the Arabic programme of the University of Southern Denmark in 2007. By means of a questionnaire, which was distributed one week after the beginning of the semester, all first year students were asked, among other things, about their reasons for choosing to study Arabic – what they expect to learn, in what field they want to work after graduation, and how their choice of study was perceived by their family and friends. In an attempt to make at least some of the results comparable to an earlier survey on students of Arabic in the US, we used many of the same questions on student motivation as Belnap (2006)[15].

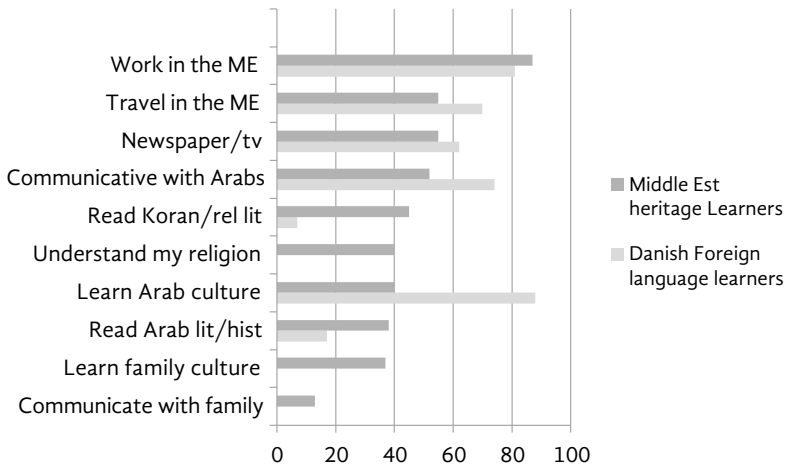

Figure 4. First year student's reasons for studying Arabic at university level (%)(N=80)

[15] Belnap's survey, however, does not report much on differences in student motivation between heritage learners and non-heritage learners (Belnap, 2006, 174-175).

As can be seen from fig. 4, heritage learners and non-heritage learners share a common motivation for studying Arabic: More than 80 % of both groups state that their main objective is to get a job working with the Middle East. As second choices come travelling in the Middle East, getting access to news in Arabic and communicating with Arabs, which attract approximately half of the heritage learners and 50-60% of the non-heritage learners. Religious aspects (reading the Koran and religious literature, understanding their religion) and access to Arab heritage (literature, history, culture and family matters) seem to attract mainly heritage learners (around 40%), the only exception being that non-heritage learners are also highly motivated by learning about Arab culture (more than 80%). This seems to suggest that the heritage learners' reason for studying Arabic, in Denmark at least, is of the same nature as that of all other students: they want to get a job, preferably related to the Middle East. Heritage-related motivations, such as religion or learning the language and culture of their parents, seem to be of less importance.

What kind of jobs do the students want to get, once they graduate? While heritage and non-heritage learners do not differ in their wish to use their degree for career-opportunities, there are indeed differences as to where they want to work in the future. As can be seen from fig. 5, non-heritage students opt for a variety of jobs, be it in the public sector, in international organizations, NGOs or in Danish companies. Heritage learners, on the other hand, give priority to the private sector. They want to get a job in an Arab or a Danish company, whereas neither the public sector nor international organizations/ NGOs seem to be of interest to them.

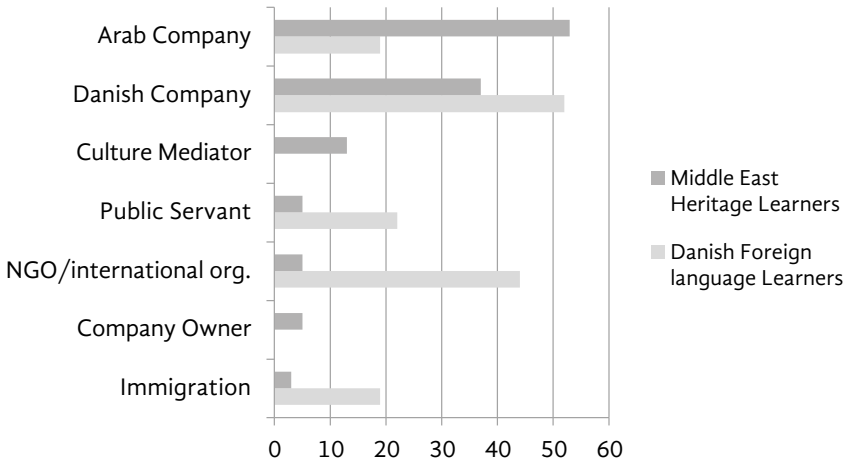

Figure 5. First year students' expectations for future jobs (%)

The survey is based on a rather small sample of students, and one has to take care not to overgeneralize the results. With this in mind, it is nevertheless noticeable that those students who opt for an education in a non-European immigrant language, such as Arabic, do so with the clear expectation of getting a job, be it in the private or the public sector. And this very fact points to at least two dilemmas in Danish educational language policy. First, in a society which upgrades Danish and downgrade non-European immigrant languages in the educational sector, a growing number of young Danes, heritage and non-heritage learners alike, not only want to study a non-European language such as Arabic; they also see their choice as a way into the job market. Thus, there seems to be a contradiction between the policy of the Danish educational sector on non-European immigrant languages and the interests, wishes and aims of heritage and non-heritage learners, which is all the more striking because the Danish welfare state would eventually benefit from these learners getting access to the labour market in terms of reduced access to welfare benefits and increased taxation.

And secondly, there seems to be a dilemma with regard to globalization. On the one hand, a small and highly globalized

welfare state such as the Danish one is very dependent on its interaction with the outside world, be it financially, culturally or for national security, and therefore it must give priority to foreign-language learning. On the other hand, the welfare state does whatever it can to downgrade the importance of non-European immigrant languages by creating barriers for education in these languages. Add to this the political attempt to link the financial cutbacks of non-European mother tongue education in primary school to the funding of upgrading Danish for immigrants children in kindergartens. Though this was most probably a symbolic attempt to link mother tongue education to Danish, given that the educational infrastructure of teaching Danish as a second language in no way could be paid for by the money saved from non-European mother tongue education, it nevertheless indicates a political wish for an "either/ or"-approach.[16]Altogether, this leads to a weird situation where the potential of non-European immigrants to support the globalized economy of the Danish welfare state is not used to its full potential, neither for the immigrants, nor for the welfare state.

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[16] For more examples of this "either-or" approach in public discourse between Danish and non-European immigrant languages, see Nielsen 2010.

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