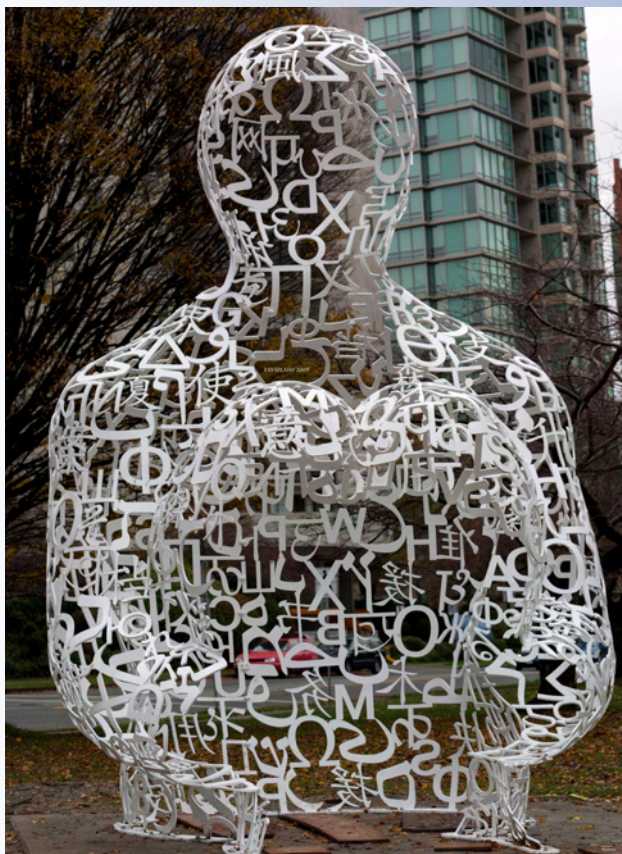


Final Report

Challenges of Multilingualism in Europe

Core findings of the LINEE Network of Excellence



Partner Universities

Universität Bern

Universität Wien

Univerzita Karlova v Praze

Freie Universität Bozen-Bolzano / Libera

Università di Bolzano

Institut za antropologiju, Zagreb

Katholieke Universiteit Brussel

(until 1 March 2008)

University of Southampton

Latvija Universitate (until 30 June 2008)

Szegedi Tudományegyetem

Hochschule für Angewandte Sprachen, München
(since 1 November 2007)

Unwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu
(since 1 July 2008)

LINEE is a Network of Excellence co-funded by the European Commission's 6th Framework Programme (contract 28388). The activities of the Network are its own responsibility; the European Commission cannot be held responsible for them.

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I Introduction

Dear reader,

This report presents the findings of the scientific network LINEE. In the course of four years, more than 80 researchers investigated linguistic diversity in 14 European countries. The aim of this report is to explain what LINEE was, how it worked and what we think has emerged from this research – in a form that is comprehensible to lay people.

The “Executive Summary” provides a quick overview of LINEE and its results.

If the summary has aroused your curiosity, chapters 3 to 5 describe in more detail our work, our approach, the results, where we succeeded and where we did not.

Chapter 6 includes LINEE’s findings. We did not include the references you would expect in a scientific text, but we did include the names of the research projects (which we called “Work Packages”) that we drew upon when writing this report. Hence, if you would like to know more about a statement made in the findings section or about a particular thematic area, the list on pages 17–19 provides details on how to contact the researchers leading the relevant research projects.

The report ends with our conclusions and an outlook.

It was a difficult task to summarize on relatively few pages the work done in such a large project. I do hope that we have managed to do justice to the work of LINEE’s members and that you will find this report as interesting as I found the task of being LINEE’s coordinator for three years.



Iwar Werlen, Coordinator of LINEE

2 Executive Summary

Portrait of LINEE

LINEE is a scientific network of nine European universities that investigated linguistic diversity in Europe. A Network of Excellence, LINEE was co-funded by the 6th Framework Programme, and ran from November 2006 to October 2010.

LINEE addressed four thematic areas: Language, Identity and Culture, Language Policy and Planning, Multilingualism and Education, and Language and Economy. Each of these topics was studied at the European, national and regional levels.

LINEE aimed at integrating the knowledge of its partners, their methods and theories to better understand how multilingualism “works” throughout Europe.

Findings

Multilingualism in the classroom – a largely unexploited resource

In the European classrooms studied by LINEE, multilingualism is not seen as an asset and most teachers embrace the ideology of “using only one language in the classroom” and “one language only at a time”. This is especially true when it comes to teaching immigrants as many teachers believe that using and learning several languages simultaneously confuses learners and slows down acquisition of the host community’s language. In foreign language classrooms, teachers also try to use the target language only (e.g. German in German language courses), and do not integrate other languages into their teaching. This approach ignores or neglects, and, possibly in the long run, wastes a lot of students’ multilingual resources, creative potential and effective everyday multilingualism.

Immigrant languages and non-standard varieties are neglected

Language policies concentrate on standard languages and – at best – on minority-language groups considered to have “always” been part of a particular territory. They do not answer important questions such as: should immigrants learn (one of) the state’s official standard language(s)? Should they learn one of the languages of the region where they happen to be living? Or should they learn a dialect because it is more important for social integration than the standard language? Although non-standard varieties and dialects are very important for people’s identities, they are neglected by policies which, moreover, have not adapted to the arrival of immigrant languages.

English does not threaten linguistic diversity

English has emerged from LINEE case studies as a neutral common language with only a marginal national connotation. It is also perceived as a facilitator for further language learning, intercultural understanding and contact, and as an asset on the job market. And while LINEE research has found concerns that English may threaten linguistic diversity, such concerns are not dominant.



*Multilingualism in the classroom – a largely unexploited resource:
in the European classrooms studied by LINEE,
multilingualism is not seen as an asset*

Conflicts are disregarded

Talk about multilingualism in the EU usually neglects power relations and conflicts between linguistic groups and states, which leads to scepticism and the perception of multilingualism as a mere marketing or propaganda tool.

The term “multilingualism” needs to be explained

The term is vague and understood differently – not only by lay people but also by policy-makers. Unless its meaning is clearly explained in a particular context, misunderstandings and conflicts are bound to result.

Policy implications

Teacher training

- provide teachers with information about the benefits of using more than just the target language in the language classroom
- encourage and train teachers to make use of many students' extensive prior language knowledge and communicative competence

Language pedagogies and curricula

- treat languages in an integrative way rather than trying to keep them apart in the classroom
- consider, for example, applying the Ladin school system's integrated language didactics, that encourage students to use their knowledge of one language to learn another

Non-standard varieties and immigrant languages

- language policies should address non-standard varieties and immigrant languages, which are important for individuals' identity, social cohesion, integration and economic situation
- support small local organisations wherever policies cannot react quickly enough to immigrants' needs and changing migration flows

Conflicts and problems

- policies should also address conflicts and problems: not all languages are equal, not all countries are equal and diversity does not always unite
- accept that strong arguments for learning and using specific languages are their prevalence in a region, their economic value in terms of job opportunities, and their function as a factor in identity formation

Explain the term “multilingualism”

- clearly state how “multilingualism” is understood and used in a particular context, e.g. as a means of protecting minority languages and the right of citizens to use their native language; as a means for economic success and growth; or as a concept to be used in language education

3 Project portrait

3.1 What is LINEE?

LINEE is a scientific network of nine European universities (as of 2010) that investigated linguistic diversity in Europe. The LINEE Network of Excellence was co-funded by the 6th Framework Programme, and ran from November 2006 to October 2010.

LINEE addressed four thematic areas:

- Language, Identity and Culture
- Language Policy and Planning
- Multilingualism and Education
- Language and Economy

Each of these topics was investigated at the European, national and regional levels. Simultaneously, an overarching project took stock of theories and methods adopted by LINEE in order to develop a platform that would provide information about major theoretical and methodological concepts currently used in research of multilingualism in Europe.

As a network of excellence, LINEE not only aimed at conducting interdisciplinary and multifaceted research using various methods and tapping into its partners' diverse fields of expertise, but also at a sustainable integration of participants' research capacities.

3.2 What did LINEE aim to find out?

LINEE studied multilingualism in Europe in four thematic areas:

Language, Identity and Culture

Researchers in this area investigated how – or whether – language, identity and culture depend on each other, how important they are for people, and what problems and opportunities arise from these interrelations. These were some of the questions asked: How is European identity promoted and perceived – for example by European cultural tourism? In the minds of different actors, how relevant are language and culture to national identity and cohesion? How important are a local dialect or language for people in a particular area?

Language Policy and Planning

Researchers in this thematic area examined language policies, their impact, adequacy and perceptions by citizens. They conducted interviews with policy-makers in the EU, analysed national laws, and studied the implementation and impact of language policies in specific regions.

Multilingualism and Education

Researchers in this area examined, for example, the way in which pupils, students and adults learn languages, their language attitudes, and how they behave in multilingual contexts. The goals of different school systems, and how these school systems achieve their goals, were examined by exploring the role of English and multilingualism in Europe as a whole, analysing certain countries' language curricula, and examining teaching, learning and language practices of people in specific regions.

Language and Economy

Researchers in this thematic area tried to answer questions such as: What are the goals of immigrants or employees in multinational enterprises? How do they achieve their goals with respect to the use of differing languages? What problems do they encounter? How do they solve these problems? How valuable is multilingualism in the job market? These questions were addressed from the European, national and regional perspectives.

3.3 How did LINEE proceed?

Discourse analysis

Discourse – e.g. written and spoken texts as well as visual material, such as films – reflects power relations, social problems and social realities in general. Hence, LINEE researchers analysed European policy makers' speeches, official documents, legislation, the representation of different languages in public spaces, brochures, and conducted and analysed interviews and surveys.

Qualitative research

LINEE mainly conducted qualitative research, but also included quantitative methods. Qualitative research is about exploring and understanding the actions and perceptions of individuals or groups in specific contexts – mainly by using ethnographic methods. Quantitative research is about examining the relationship between variables,

normally by using statistical methods and in order to test hypotheses. All LINEE studies applied methods of qualitative research, ethnographic observation and interview techniques, e.g. semi-structured interviews or focus groups. Where appropriate, more structured quantitative methods were used, particularly in studying language attitudes.

Open approach

Consistent with this qualitative approach, researchers asked mainly open-ended questions, such as: What is the attitude of minority students towards the various languages they use? What values do they attach to those languages?

LINEE mainly pursued an open research strategy with researchers being prepared to change their mode of operation in the course of their study. For example, research questions were frequently revised, reformulated and partly rejected.

Focus on present-day situations

LINEE research focused on the current situation as opposed to exploring developments in retrospective or longitudinal studies. This produced so-called “snapshots”. And as most LINEE research activities aimed at obtaining comparable results, for example by agreeing on a shared set of research questions, comparative studies were frequently employed (as opposed to individual case studies, which are less comparable with each other).

Multimethodology

All of LINEE’s research projects employed a variety of methods. A triangulation debate within LINEE confirmed the necessity of using different research methods. Triangulation enabled LINEE to obtain a more comprehensive idea about specific phenomena than could have been achieved using only one method. For example, in order to learn more about teaching practices in language classrooms, teachers were not only interviewed, but several language lessons were observed and an extensive questionnaire survey was conducted.

Integrating multiple research traditions

As a Network of Excellence, LINEE ensured that its partners engaged in joint research; each research group consisted of scientific staff from different partner organisations. The result was an integration of research traditions, with lively debate on methods, theories and concepts that might otherwise have been taken for granted.

3.4 Why was and is LINEE necessary?

In the past, multilingualism research in Europe has relied on different scholarly traditions, and has often focused on specific research areas, investigating specific phenomena without a common theoretical perspective. Therefore a more comprehensive view of the phenomenon of multilingualism was required – especially in a knowledge-based society, where the production and transmission of knowledge is closely related to languages.

3.5 How did LINEE achieve integration?

LINEE used several instruments to ensure the sustainability of the LINEE network and to intensify collaboration and scientific integration:

Relocations

During Relocations, researchers visited colleagues at other universities to conduct joint fieldwork or to discuss and plan their research. Researchers had to apply to the Executive Committee (see section 3.6), describing what they were going to do and why during their specific Relocation. LINEE covered travel and accommodation costs of approved trips. Junior researchers in particular appreciated and benefited from meeting colleagues abroad and gaining international experience.

Training Institutes

During Training Institutes, junior LINEE and non-LINEE researchers were tutored and coached by senior researchers in multilingualism and related fields. Students presented their PhD projects and research posters to each other; they attended workshops and lectures, participated in excursions, and received feedback on their projects from their more experienced peers. LINEE organised yearly, four- to-six-day Training Institutes, one each in Brussels and Bolzano, and two in Prague.

Research and Training Workshops

Twice a year, all LINEE participants were invited to two-day Research and Training Workshops. These events included seminars on methodology and theory, presentations of LINEE research and talks – among them by external experts such as Gabriele Palotti, University of Reggio Emilia, Monica Heller, University of Toronto, and Gabriele Griffin, University of York. Participants discussed ongoing and future research projects at formal and informal gatherings.

Research Platforms

The LINEE Research Platforms (WP0) were an important part of the programme, specifically aimed at integration in terms of theory, methodology and, to some extent, of content. They provided a framework to discuss theories and methods, and assessed parallel and cross-cutting aspects of research. Most importantly, by analysing LINEE research, they aimed at identifying key concepts relating to the study of multilingualism in Europe.

Pilot projects

During the last six months of LINEE, researchers have conducted three pilot projects that emerged from and developed previous research conducted within LINEE. They identified and investigated topics that crossed LINEE's thematic areas and levels of analysis: "English as a Lingua Franca in a knowledge-based society: the case of LINEE", "New' multilingualism in dynamic, mobile societies", "Multilingualism in the European Workplace". These projects gave less senior researchers the opportunity to gain experience in research leadership: designing, planning, implementing, evaluating and reporting on a specific study. Their conclusions point towards possible future directions for research growing out of LINEE's empirical and theoretical work.

LINEE's Knowledge Management System (KMS)

LINEE has taken a scientific and practical approach to linking results of scientific multilingualism research with the way information is presented in a knowledge-based society. Its Knowledge Management System (KMS) was created by a team of LINEE researchers who collected reports, questionnaires, interview guidelines, discussion papers, key concepts and other information from LINEE members before structuring the information and making it available to LINEE members on the internal Virtual Working Environment (VWE). LINEE's KMS is a prototype in terms of qualitative knowledge management in multilingualism research including full text search, keyword search based on tagged research papers in the VWE, and semantic search of a Topic Map linked to tagged information in the VWE (<http://linee.info/find.html>).

LINEE members can access a great deal of information by searching for and filtering information by category or keyword, and running a full-text search of all documents and texts in the KMS.

Gender Task Force

The Gender Task Force drew the researchers' attention to the gender dimension in each of the research projects. It encouraged a re-thinking of theories, methods, data collection and analysis in terms of gender research. During Research and Training

Workshops, members of the Gender Task Force gave talks or led workshops on LINEE's gender dimension to ensure that the gender perspective was incorporated throughout LINEE's work. Each partner institution selected a local contact person responsible for gender issues, which was particularly useful to junior researchers.

The gender perspective also generated general questions such as "How does the researcher influence the object of interest?", "What concepts and ideologies do we operate with?" or "What is socially constructed and what exists?" Asking such questions was beneficial to the quality of research in general.

Internal communication

All LINEE members were kept informed about their colleagues' projects and results via the Virtual Working Environment (WVE), by newsletters summarising research results, and by e-mails circulating relevant information on LINEE or LINEE-related issues. In order to facilitate communication, each LINEE member had a dedicated e-mail address (*firstname.lastname@linee.info*); individual Work Packages¹ or groups could be reached by sending e-mail to, for example, *governing_board@linee.info*. A continually updated list of LINEE members was made available on the VWE.

3.6 Organisation

Management

The main bodies of LINEE were the Governing Board, the Executive Committee and the Advisory Council.

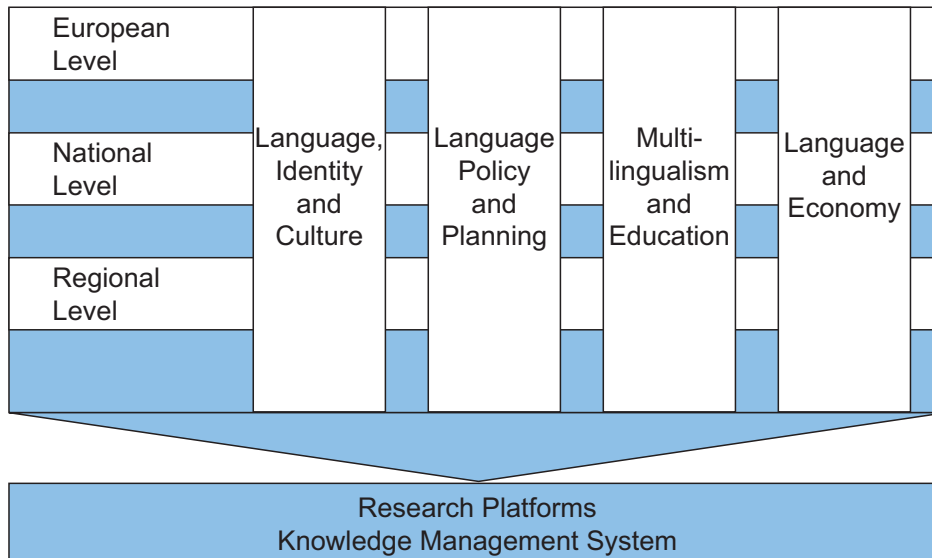
The Governing Board was LINEE's decision-making body, chaired by the project coordinator, and consisting of one representative from each partner university. It was in charge of LINEE's strategy, budget, and overseeing research and managerial activities.

The Executive Committee, chaired by the Network Manager in charge of the bulk of managerial activities such as reporting and budgeting, was responsible for LINEE's operational management. It also consisted of Task Force leaders for Management and Coordination, Media and Infrastructure, Gender Issues and Training and Mobility.

The Advisory Council provided external scientific monitoring, advice and support.

¹ Work Packages, or WPs, are the units by which LINEE grouped its research and managerial activities.

Structure of research activities



Research activities were grouped in four Thematic Areas, each of which was led by a Supervisor. Each Thematic Area included three research projects, one each on the European, national and local level. Each of the research projects was headed by a Work Package Leader.

The teams in charge of Research Platforms and the Knowledge Management System collected, analysed and organised the results of these research projects.

3.7 Project Partners

Eleven European universities in eleven countries formed the LINEE network, which ran from 1 November 2006 to 31 October 2010. The project was initiated and coordinated by Prof Peter H. Nelde from the Catholic University of Brussels, who sadly died on 31 August 2007. On 1 November 2007, Prof Iwar Werlen from the University of Bern (Switzerland) was appointed network coordinator.

The participating institutions were:

- Universität Bern
- Universität Wien
- Univerzita Karlova v Praze
- Free University of Bozen-Bolzano
- Institut za antropologiju, Zagreb
- University of Southampton
- Latvijas Universitate
(member until 30 June 2008)
- Szegedi Tudományegyetem
- Hochschule für Angewandte Sprachen, München
(member since 1 November 2007)
- Katholieke Universiteit Brussel
(member until 1 March 2008)
- Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu
(member since 1 July 2008)



Network of the LINEE project partners

3.8 Contacts

Coordination, management, monitoring and supervision

The LINEE Coordinator was responsible for the entire project, five supervisors each monitored a specific thematic area and the Research Platforms, the network manager attended to LINEE's managerial activities.

Name	Function	Affiliation	E-mail
Iwar Werlen	Project Coordinator	University of Bern	iwar.werlen@linee.info
Maddalena Tognola	Network Manager	University of Bern	maddalena.tognola@linee.info
Rosita Schjerve-Rindler	Supervisor, "Research Platforms"	University of Vienna	rosita.schjerve-rindler@linee.info
Anita Sujoldžić	Supervisor, Thematic Area "Language, Identity and Culture"	Institute for Anthropological Research, Zagreb, HR	anita.sujoldzic@linee.info
Patrick Stevenson	Supervisor, Thematic Area "Language Policy and Planning"	University of Southampton, UK	patrick.stevenson@linee.info
Rita Franceschini	Supervisor, Thematic Area "Multilingualism and Education"	Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, IT	rita.franceschini@linee.info
Jiří Nekvapil	Supervisor, Thematic Area "Language and Economy"	Charles University Prague, CZ	jiri.nekvapil@linee.info

Research projects of LINEE

The leaders of LINEE's Work Packages² can provide further information on their particular projects.

WP Number	Title	Work Package Leader	E-mail
WPo	Research Platforms	Eva Vetter	eva.vetter@linee.info
WP1	Carriers and Symbols of European Culture and Identity	Senka Božić-Vrbanić, Institute for Anthropological Research, Zagreb	senka.bozic@linee.info
WP2	Language and National Identity	Mislava Bertosa, Institute for Anthropological Research, Zagreb	mislava.bertosa@linee.info

² Work Packages, or WPs, are the units by which LINEE grouped its research and managerial activities.

WP Number	Title	Work Package Leader	E-mail
WP3	Local and Regional Varieties as Markers of Identity	Vesna Muhvić-Dimanovski, Institute for Anthropological Research, Zagreb	vesna.muhvic-dimanovski@linee.info
WP4	European Discourses on Multilingualism	Patrick Studer, University of Bern	patrick.studer@linee.info
WP5	Language Policies, Citizenship and Migration	Clare Mar-Molinero, University of Southampton	clare.mar-molinero@linee.info
WP6	Regional and Minority Languages in the Process of EU Enlargement: Challenge or Burden?	Jenny Carl, University of Southampton	jenny.carl@linee.info
WP7	English and Multilingualism, or English only in a Multilingual Europe?	Donald W. Peckham, University of Szeged	donald.peckham@linee.info
WP8	Traditional pedagogic cultures in foreign language education and the need for multicompetence	Rosamund Mitchell, University of Southampton	ros.mitchell@linee.info
WP9	(Inter) regional case studies of multilingual education	Paul Videsott, Free University of Bozen-Bolzano	paul.videsott@linee.info
WP10	Labour markets, the Knowledge Economy, language and mobility in Europe	Vít Dovalil, Charles University Prague	vit.dovalil@linee.info
WP11	Multilingualism amongst minority populations: a case of trans-cultural capital or social exclusion	Ulrike Hanna Meinhof, University of Southampton	ulrike.meinhof@linee.info
WP12	Linguistic diversity in large multinational companies and their regional allocation	Tamah Sherman, Charles University Prague	tamah.sherman@linee.info
WP0a	The role of English as a Lingua Franca in a knowledge-based society: The case of the FP6 Network of Excellence LINEE ,New' multilingualism in dynamic, mobile societies: securing positive outcomes from the migration experience Multilingualism in the European Workplace: Three Perspectives on the Role of Languages in the Knowledge Economy	Alessia Cogo, University of Southampton Dick Vigers, University of Southampton Oliver Engelhardt, Charles University Prague	alessia.cogo@linee.info dick.vigers@linee.info oliver.engelhardt@linee.info
WP1a	Europeanization and the reshaping of cultural tourism and cultural industry	Senka Božić-Vrbanić, Institute for Anthropological Research, Zagreb	senka.bozic@linee.info

WP Number	Title	Work Package Leader	E-mail
WP2a	Promoting national identity internationally	Vesna Muhvić-Dimanovski, Institute for Anthropological Research, Zagreb	vesna.muhvic-dimanovski@linee.info
WP3a	Politics and Strategies of Identity in Multicultural European Cities	Erzsébet Barát, University of Szeged	erzsebet.barat@linee.info
WP5a	The impact of 'new' migration on contested linguistic spaces: implications for national language policies	Clare Mar-Moliner, University of Southampton	clare.mar-moliner@linee.info
WP6a	Language Management in the Linguistic Landscapes of Multilingual Cities	Marián Sloboda, Charles University Prague	marian.sloboda@linee.info
WP7a	Learning, use and perceptions of English as a Lingua Franca communication in European contexts	Jennifer Jenkins, University of Southampton	jennifer.jenkins@linee.info
WP8a	In search of multi-competence: exploring language use and language values among multilingual immigrant students in England, Italy and Austria	Gessica De Angelis, Free University of Bozen-Bolzano	gessica.deangelis@linee.info
WP9a	Language use and language values in minority school settings	Anna Fenyvesi, University of Szeged	anna.fenyvesi@linee.info
WP10a	Large multinational companies: Linguistic diversity and communication in parent and daughter companies	Tamah Sherman, Charles University Prague	tamah.sherman@linee.info
WP11a	Multilingualism, transcultural capital and social exclusion amongst migrant minority populations	Ivo Vasiljev, Charles University Prague	ivo.vasiljev@linee.info
WP12a	Economic Participation, Language Practices and Collective Identities in the Multilingual City	Jaine Beswick, University of Southampton	jaine.beswick@linee.info

4 Major achievements

4.1 De-Fragmentation of multilingualism research

LINEE’s “Research Platforms” have identified key concepts that repeatedly surfaced in LINEE’s work and therefore seem to be the most influential categories that interact with multilingualism in Europe:

- culture
- discourse
- identity
- ideology
- knowledge
- language policy and planning
- multicompetence
- power and conflict

Whereas other studies on multilingualism have pointed to these categories in terms of isolated key concepts, the innovative aspect of the LINEE approach was to conceive of these variables as an ensemble of interrelated and interacting categories that affect multilingualism in Europe.

Although LINEE investigated very different fields and manifestations of multilingualism (from identity and culture, education and policy to economics) using different methods and theoretical approaches, the above-mentioned categories appeared in all of LINEE’s studies. In the light of the dynamics reflected in the findings of the LINEE research platform, future research and policymaking in multilingualism needs to take these categories more systematically into account. Further research should also be carried out on the extent to which these key concepts affect phenomena and processes that constitute multilingualism in general.

Networking among LINEE researchers has laid the groundwork for further research into the relevance and interrelation of these key concepts. The work of LINEE has also shown that it is possible to combine methods from different scholarly traditions.

4.2 Training

Training junior researchers was of particular concern for LINEE. LINEE organised eight Research and Training Workshops, four so-called Training Institutes and one PhD Conference.

During the Research and Training Workshops, senior and junior researchers presented their results to each other and attended seminars on theories and methods. Training Institutes were aimed mainly at junior LINEE researchers, who attended lectures, workshops and received individual feedback on their research, while senior researchers provided instruction and coaching. During the PhD Conference, junior researchers presented their LINEE-related research, gave feedback to each other and, again, received advice from senior researchers.

Relocations, a kind of work or study placement during which researchers visited LINEE partners, provided a further opportunity for junior researchers to visit experienced colleagues to plan or discuss their research, papers, job opportunities, or to conduct joint fieldwork. These LINEE training activities have provided junior researchers with opportunities to build their personal networks and to acquire richer perspectives on the issue of multilingualism in Europe.

In addition, LINEE paid for the travel costs of its researchers presenting their work at international conferences – an exceptional opportunity for junior researchers, who received positive response to their presentations, broadened their horizons and acquired knowledge about other methodologies.

4.3 Networking

Over time, the LINEE network has become stronger in terms of collaboration, shared methods, theories, and research questions. Researchers also communicated and collaborated with each other more frequently. This was shown by two social network analyses of LINEE, the first conducted in 2008, the second in 2010. The surveys measured integration on the institutional and individual level in terms of scientific activities, organizational and dissemination activities, and in terms of mobility (members visiting other universities) and communication (e-mail, telephone, face-to-face communication etc). On all levels and at all dimensions, the survey asserted a stronger network. Moreover, collaboration in LINEE also sparked collaboration outside of LINEE: in 2010 more members of LINEE were engaging in joint scientific activities not directly related to LINEE than in 2008. According to the network analyses, LINEE's Research and Training Workshops and conferences were the strongest integration mechanisms.

Relocations were also powerful instruments for strengthening the network, integrating results and improving research quality. Junior researchers in particular welcomed the opportunity to visit other researchers. LINEE provided resources, contacts and incentives to collaborate across borders and scholarly traditions. LINEE Relocations were an innovative and useful instrument and have since been adopted by DYLAN (Language Dynamics and Management of Diversity), the second project funded under FP6 that investigates multilingualism in Europe.

LINEE and DYLAN collaborated in several ways: DYLAN members participated in three of LINEE's Training Institutes, while LINEE members participated in the first DYLAN summer school in 2008 and DYLAN members were invited to LINEE's final conference in Dubrovnik, New Challenges for Multilingualism in Europe. In 2008, LINEE and DYLAN met in Vienna during the ÖLT (Österreichische Linguistiktagung) to present and compare the two projects. Finally, the two projects set up a Task Force that discussed further ways of collaboration and future research activities.

In February 2010, Erika Werlen (Bergische Universität Wuppertal, BUW) and Elena Ioannidou (University of Cyprus) joined LINEE as Corresponding Members, and engaged in research collaboration with existing LINEE projects. Both were invited to the Training Institutes and LINEE's final conference.

These integration activities have led to lively scientific exchange and the development of professional relationships, which has also led to jointly written papers. LINEE has helped establish sustainable contacts among researchers in the field of multilingualism in Europe and has therefore promoted integration at grassroots level.

5 Where LINEE could have performed better

LINEE was a new experience for everyone involved. Partners had been used to doing research within local academic traditions and structures, sometimes together with people from other disciplines, according to home rules and routines. LINEE participants were expected to form a network and to work with people from other backgrounds, academic traditions and research methods. Learning from each other was necessary but difficult. LINEE initially struggled to develop an effective way of dealing with such problems (due, in large part, to the unforeseeable disruptions of the first year); however, within one year a common understanding of LINEE's status as a network was achieved.

In studying multilingualism, LINEE faced internal problems of multilingualism. Despite the programmatic words of Peter Nelde, its founder and first Coordinator, who wanted LINEE to communicate in English, German and French, LINEE developed a kind of scientific (English) monolingualism, especially for the purposes of communication at common meetings and of reporting. This was the topic of numerous discussions, which finally led to at least an implicit understanding of LINEE's multilingual practices as well as a small scale piece of research on this topic (see section 6.3, pages 37/38). However, informal and work communication between researchers from different partner institutions took place in a number of other languages the groups of researchers shared.

The structure of the thematic areas in terms of European, national and regional levels had two unintended consequences: researchers tended not to take into account related aspects in other Areas beyond the Thematic Area they worked in. Moreover, the definition of the regional level was very loose and rather blurred, which is why many researchers felt that this level was vaguely defined and therefore not a really useful one.

The goal of de-fragmentation was achieved by the LINEE structure to a large extent. While the partners involved in the Work Packages³ co-operated successfully, co-operation in the four Thematic Areas beyond the Work Packages was limited, and much bi- or tripartite co-operation was restricted to individual Work Packages rather than reaching out to co-operation of partners on all levels.

Before starting field work, LINEE developed its methodological approach, essentially various forms of Discourse Analysis and Ethnography. In some areas, this a priori decision had to be revised because research teams were faced with situations that required other methodological approaches. While in some respects such revisions led to the adoption of successful new approaches (e.g. linguistic landscape research or focus groups), in other situations researchers had difficulties finding appropriate methods.

LINEE had a Gender Task Force from the outset and took gender aspects very seriously indeed. In the long run, however, it became clear that research teams were

3 Work Packages, or WPs, are the units by which LINEE grouped its research and managerial activities..

- 6 reluctant to make gender a main focus of their research programmes.

Findings

6.1 “Unity in diversity”: too good to be true

Summary

In the EU, all official languages are equal – in theory at least. However, daily practice is very different, chiefly because languages such as English, Spanish, French or German are more widely used than languages such as Hungarian, Bulgarian or Estonian. Moreover, national immigration policies evidently do not treat all languages as equal and regard multilingualism not as an asset but as a hindrance to social cohesion. And while multilingualism is often proclaimed as an asset in official documents, in language classrooms only a certain kind of multilingualism is valued while other kinds are seen as a problem (see section 6.4, page 41).

In addition to different valuations of multilingualism, the very concept of multilingualism is vague with different people – including European policy-makers – understanding and using it differently. To some, multilingualism is mostly about education policies, while to others it is about minority language protection, and to yet others about employability and international competition. Above all, the term “multilingualism” is associated with two kinds of discourse: firstly, about human rights and the protection of minorities, and secondly, about the economic value of multilingualism. And while the human rights discourse values all languages equally, economic pragmatism promotes the use of single languages or preferred language combinations to increase economic success.

Official discourse also hardly addresses power relations or past and present conflicts between member states of the EU. This may reduce the credibility of European discourse about multilingualism. However, the repression of conflicts would seem to work in the tourist industry: initiatives such as the European Institute of Cultural Routes seem to succeed in re-interpreting European history in the light of “Unity in Diversity” and may change perceptions among the indigenous population, who hear the same stories about their own history as tourists do.

Some languages are more equal than others

Languages such as English, Spanish and French are widely used all over the world. Learning these languages is “worth the effort”, if one just takes into account the number of people whom one will be able to speak with and disregards other reasons for language learning. Other languages are used by smaller numbers of people and learning these languages is “not worth the effort”, again only considering the number of speakers. As interviews have shown (WP7a, WP8a), language students are well aware of such power

relations between languages and prefer the more widely spoken ones. And as WP2a has shown, promotional material for tourists in Cyprus, Croatia and Poland is offered in the languages of groups who most frequently visit these countries – and also in languages which are assumed to be widely spoken, such as English.

Another reason why not all languages are equal is practicability. In a court case examined by a LINEE researcher (for WP4), even the European Court of Justice ruled that languages do not have to be treated equally under all circumstances. The court case concerned a Council Regulation which designated five official languages for the “Office for Harmonization in the Internal Market” – English, French, German, Italian and Spanish – to be used in proceedings for opposition, revocation or invalidity. The prosecutor argued that this selection violated the fundamental principle of non-discrimination and the equal treatment of languages in the EU. However, the European Court of Justice ruled that the regulation of language use was appropriate and proportionate.

Another example of inequality of languages is the practice of EU institutions themselves: while all official EU documents must be translated into all official EU languages, EU institutions have internally agreed on the use of two to three working languages: English, French and German (according to WP4).

Finally, language policies themselves create power asymmetries as they define what constitutes a language, a dialect, a minority language, or a standard language, and bestow certain rights on these languages, while withholding them from others. This tends to contradict language policies’ own principle of language equality.

Official discourse about multilingualism deals more with the value of multilingualism in general than with language inequalities. However, suppressing the inconvenient fact that not all languages are actually equal detracts from the credibility of “multilingualism as an asset”. According to interviews conducted for WP4, even some EU officials dealing with language policies see multilingualism as a fashion term which is believed to advance the notion of an integrated Europe but fails to address fundamental tensions and issues in the Union.

Europe is not united in perfect harmony

“Europe: Unity in Diversity” is the EU’s motto – a simple, positive and optimistic phrase, adequate for promotional efforts. It is less adequate for political decision-making and dealing with differently experienced and constructed realities. However, LINEE researchers have found that statements from EU officials and official documents echo the motto insofar as they do not address problematic aspects of Europe, e.g. power relations between its countries, Europe’s colonial past, the role of English in Europe, migration within and from outside Europe, or past (and lingering) conflicts between nation states. All in all, the official EU discourse is rather idyllic and disregards past and present unpleasant aspects (according to WP1). But this may prove to be counter-productive for the

creation of European unity as people feel that their problems and experiences are not taken seriously.

However, the repression of problems seems to work in tourism (according to WP1a). European initiatives such as the European Institute of Cultural Routes support the creation of a tourist industry which promotes “Unity in Diversity”. The institute employs a number of experts to “re-read” the past, paying particular attention to what unites rather than divides Europe. The initiative seems to have a high impact on tourism in Istria (Croatia), Poznań and Gdańsk (Poland): tourist attractions are marketed as unique assets, not only of the country or region but also as part of Europe. In tourism, being part of Europe seems to work as an “added value”. This presentation of Europe may change perceptions among the indigenous population, who hear the same stories about their own history as tourists do.



Tourist attractions are marketed as unique assets, not only of the country or region but also as part of Europe, as for example in the Istrian town of Pula (Croatia)

Case studies in Croatia and Poland (WP1a) have also shown that the tourist industry focuses on indigenous groups and their (standard) languages, while migrants and their languages as well as dialects do not seem to be “saleable”. One notable exception would be tourist material on Pula (Croatia) that uses scraps of urban Pula vernacular (which tends to be perceived as standard Croatian coloured by regionalisms) in texts on gastronomy to create a sense of authenticity. Given the fact that European tourist initiatives seem to have quite a high impact, it might be a good idea to encourage programmes in

tourism that address diversity from a broader perspective which includes immigrants and their languages.

Like the tourist industry, the media are a channel for the EU's multilingualism policy to reach a wider audience. Currently, however, this does not work – at least not in Switzerland and Austria. An analysis of print media in Austria and Switzerland (WP4) has shown that very few news items deal with multilingualism policies at the European level. In Austria, the few items that did cover the EU's multilingualism policy mainly communicated “hard news”, such as the appointment of a new European Commissioner for Multilingualism. In Switzerland, news items included the EU's educational policies, but merely as background information or supporting arguments. Other aspects communicated by EU press releases were hardly covered, perhaps because European language policy efforts tend to avoid responding to national language controversies – and are therefore uninteresting for the media, most of which cater to a national or regional audience.

Protection of languages more accepted than protection of minorities

WP6a examined how public bilingual signs in the Czech Republic, Hungary, UK, and Croatia were introduced and how people reacted to this. Where the term “minority languages” was seen as a synonym for “languages of *ethnic* minorities”, this tended to result in more resistance with interethnic conflicts reflected therein. Public bilingual signs, however, were less contentious if they were perceived and presented as being in the interest of a certain language and of the speakers of this language – regardless of their ethnicity. They were also less contentious if policy-makers had the backing of national or European law, enabling local policy-makers to claim to “do this because of a national law – we don't have much of a choice”, and both local and national policy-makers justifying the signs “because we adopted the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages – we don't have much of a choice”. In contrast, no issue was taken with bilingual signs the local population perceived as commercial or catering to tourists, hence creating an economic advantage.

Economic value vs. human rights

Although the term “multilingualism” is often used in European policy documents, its meaning is not at all clear – not even to decision-makers from European language planning institutions and from monitoring institutions, as interviews in WP4 have shown. When asked to define multilingualism, the majority of interviewees answered in vague terms or used institutionalised, pre-formulated responses. Multilingualism was often associated with individual language competence, with the EU's obligation to use its official languages in contact with member state citizens, and with language use within the EU institutions themselves. In none of these areas was the precise meaning of multilingualism – and how it should be managed – clear.

While the term “multilingualism” is defined in certain policy documents, these definitions do not make the concept less problematic as they contain two conflicting ideas: multilingualism, as used by the EU, is rooted in a linguistic human rights discourse but has recently been increasingly associated with socio-economic ideologies. In the human rights discourse, all languages are equal and valuable as a cultural asset. From an economic point of view, however, a certain kind of multilingualism is seen as an economic asset that improves Europe’s competitiveness and also increases the permeability of Europe’s internal market.

The active promotion of the economic dimension in current multilingualism policy often runs counter to ideologies derived from linguistic human rights provisions. For example, from a purely economic perspective, minority languages are of little international importance, whereas in a human rights discourse all languages are equal – no matter how many people speak them.

The economic aspect of multilingualism has been stressed in court cases before the European Court of Justice (EJC; investigated by WP10), which has ruled that language requirements may not be used as a pretext to protect labour or service and goods markets. According to the EJC, a shop owner in Germany cannot be prevented from selling a product merely labelled (in English) “Pasta sauce with olives and capers”. Claiming that this label, which is perfectly intelligible to German-speaking consumers, provides inadequate information would be a pretext to protect the German market. In this case, which language is used is irrelevant to the EJC, as long as the text is comprehensible.

Stakeholders and policy-makers seem to find it difficult to reconcile the contradiction between the discourses on human rights and economic value, and tend to focus on one or the other, but not on both. Their argumentation is prone to fail when they are specifically asked to reconcile the two. The situation becomes even more complex when considering terms such as “plurilingualism” and “language diversity”, and trying to tell the difference between multilingualism and these concepts.

The interviewed policy-makers and stakeholders also called multilingualism an instrument for intercultural dialogue. However, they did not address their earlier, practicality and communication-driven, unanimous agreement to unofficially reduce internal working languages to two or three, i.e. English, French and German.

The controversial role of English, then, was also discussed. All interviewed policy-makers and stakeholders considered English to be the biggest challenge to multilingualism policy. They also accepted its ubiquity as an immutable fact. For practical reasons, they said, the institutions of the EU could not work in all its official languages simultaneously, and that in this regard a common language – i.e. English – was welcome. However, English was not welcome for cultural and ideological reasons, as it would reduce linguistic diversity to one language, and create negative feelings among the member states.

Multilingualism: a term easily misunderstood or abused

Research in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (WP4) shows that the term “multilingualism” is unclear, likely to change meaning and liable to political, ideological and other interpretations serving various ethnic, social and political groups and interests. Language planners in the Baltic states seem to have different understandings of multilingualism. Latvian language planners generally stress that multilingualism is a language diversity issue with a focus on minority languages and expressing concern that Russian might receive minority status and that the country might revert to the Soviet situation. Estonian officials stress the learning of the languages, while for Lithuanian policy-makers multilingualism boils down to learning Europe’s major languages, i.e. what they call plurilingualism, but in reality it means English.

The ability to interpret or misinterpret basic notions of EU policies gives room to various political, ideological and ethnic factions and groups to apply EU policies to their own narrow goals. Respondents perceive the EU as having imposed unclear standards, and being more orthodox in its demands placed on the new accession states than on its existing member states. They see EU policies as uncoordinated and inconsistent, sometimes threatening member states’ language policies.

The local situation and past experience seem to shape not only the drift and implementation of EU legislation, but also the understanding of the basic concepts of multilingualism. EU multilingualism efforts, unless clearly explained, can be and have been misunderstood and misapplied.

Conclusion

Official discourse presents an idyllic picture of Europe and of multilingualism while citizens are very much aware of conflicts and power relations between languages and nations. If policies addressed these issues it would bring them closer to citizens’ everyday lives and render them more credible. It would also reduce the risk that multilingualism policies are seen as a soft issue with no relevant impact on everyday life.

6.2 Language diversity applies to more than just official and standard languages

Summary

It became evident from LINEE case studies that European countries’ language policies (at best) concentrate on three types of languages: the state’s standard language(s), any minority language(s) believed to have “always” been present in a part of the country, and foreign languages considered to be an economic asset. In contrast, dialects and immigrant languages are rarely dealt with, despite the vital role they play in integration, social life

and economy.

Language policies should consider non-standard languages

Dialects and non-standard languages in general are important for people's identities, as LINEE case studies have shown (WP1, WP3). People also have positive attitudes towards their dialects (according to WP9a), while the standard language is in some cases considered to be cold and distant (according to WP1). Language policies, however, concentrate on (the) standard language(s) and thereby underestimate the role of non-standard languages.

In Croatia and Cyprus, for example, many experts perceive the standard language as a symbol of national identity and unity (according to WP2). Lay people in Istria (Croatia),⁴ however, do not agree: they value their local (non-standard) varieties, rate standard Croatian negatively but feel indifferent towards language debates.

Language debates in Switzerland often focus on integration (according to WP4): language is seen as a vital tool for integration. However, existing laws do not specify the language(s) immigrants are expected to learn (French, Italian, German, Romansh, a dialect?) and language courses for immigrants in the German-speaking part of Switzerland usually target Standard German rather than the dialect. But immigrants who have learned Standard German will still not understand much of what Swiss people say, as locals mostly talk Swiss German and are often reluctant to switch to Standard German. Because the dialect seems, in this case, to be at least equally valuable for social inclusion as Standard German, and, as the dialect seems to work as a language in its own right, language policies should not exclusively concentrate on Standard German.

According to WP3a, many interviewees in Istria (Croatia) also said that newcomers should learn the local varieties and use them in everyday communication with the locals. "Local varieties", however, can mean a lot in this context: standard Italian, standard Croatian, Istro-Venetian, Chakavian, an urban Pula Croatian vernacular, and others. On the other hand, many Istrians consider standard Croatian to be cold, distant and formal, in some cases even a useless artificial language which nobody uses (according to WP1). In Czech Teschen Silesia, interviewees also felt connected with their region by its dialect (according to WP3).

However, the standard language is not always rated more negatively than non-standard languages: minority Hungarian-speaking people in Transylvania (Romania), Vojvodina (Serbia) and Slovakia associated standard Hungarian with more positive values than the local regional variety of Hungarian spoken by themselves (according to WP9a).

4 Istria is an officially bilingual but actually multilingual region where Croatian is the national and Italian a minority language.

The above shows that the relationship between non-standard and standard languages is complex but that the importance of non-standard languages in people's lives cannot be denied. Language policies that want to adequately assess and deal with language issues in a specific region therefore need to take into account non-standard languages.

Non-standard languages need protection

The focus on standard languages is also expressed in the way minority languages are protected (or not): German and Polish (among others) are recognised as minority languages in the Czech Republic; in Istria (Croatia) the same is true for Italian, and for German (among others) in Romania and France. However, it is the standardised form of the language that is protected, not the vernacular varieties actually spoken in these regions.⁵ In these cases, the protected standard languages are fairly strong as they are official languages and majority languages of other states. Moreover, they can be turned into an asset on the job market, above all in the case of German. In contrast, the non-standard languages in these regions are not as widely used and not recognised as languages of their own. Therefore, in terms of preserving linguistic diversity as a cultural asset, these dialects (or languages) rather than the standard languages would need protection.

Language policies ignore immigrant languages

New opportunities for employment and accommodation have led to migration not only to urban areas, but to rural areas as well. In these rural areas, "old" linguistic minorities are now confronted with immigrants' "new" linguistic minorities. However, language policies have not yet adapted to these new communities.

Case studies for WP5a in Castelló and Morella (Spain), in Cardiff/Llanelli and Llanybydder (UK) and in Chur, Ilanz, Tujetsch and Disentis (Switzerland) have shown that language policies are mainly concerned with the "old" minority language and the dominant national language. Migrant languages, on the other hand, receive little attention: policies are bilingual rather than multilingual. Therefore, many important questions are not addressed, e.g. Should immigrants learn the regional language, which they can only use in a small region, or should they learn the dominant national language, which they can use in a bigger part of the country but not necessarily in the region where they live?, How and where could they learn it?, How can the old minority language be protected or promoted without excluding immigrants' languages?

Languages that happen to be considered as "indigenous" to a specific territory at a particular moment in its history are promoted and protected, whereas other languages used on the territory are ignored. For example, approximately 61,000 Vietnamese currently live in the Czech Republic, which makes them the country's third largest

5 Some would not even speak of varieties or dialects, but of separate languages.

immigrant community after Ukrainians and Slovaks (31 May, 2010, Czech Statistical Office). So far, however, these Vietnamese have not been granted official national minority status, and enjoy no special rights regarding the maintenance of their culture or language. Nor is this situation likely to change in the near future, as the Act on the Rights of Members of National Minorities explicitly protects only “indigenous” minorities who are also citizens of the Czech Republic: “Members of national minorities having lived traditionally and for a long time on the territory of the Czech Republic have the right of upbringing and education in their mother tongue [...]”.

This attitude is also reflected at the European level: according to WP4, EU statistics often operate within the system of official languages, ignoring minority languages and non-European languages, often citing the countries’ total populations as carriers of the official language, or disregarding knowledge of non-official languages when describing language proficiency.

If language policies concentrate only on such “old” minorities and on the dominant state language, they act contrary to the principle of rights-based citizenship, which gives certain rights to citizens regardless of their place of birth or parentage (e.g. some 5,000 to 6,000 Czech citizens of Vietnamese extraction), and disregard the social reality, e.g. of the approximately 61,000 Vietnamese, who may not be citizens but are nonetheless residents of the Czech Republic.

Integration requires more than just language skills

Contrary to what language policies suggest, language is often not the immigrants’ main concern. For them, integration can be subsumed by more “vital” considerations of health and security and employment (according to WP0a). Respondents believed that their hard work and general law-abidingness were sufficient demonstration of their commitment to countries in which they were resident.

In the case studies of WP5a in Valencia (Spain), Wales (UK) and the Grisons (Switzerland), policies considered language to be the key to integration. Mastery of the host community’s language is believed to be proof of the willingness to integrate. However, many migrants interviewed who speak the host community’s language say that they still are treated as foreigners.

While Romanian immigrants in Castelló and Barcelona acknowledge that it is easier to get work if they speak some Spanish, they also say that it is not essential since they could find work with little or no knowledge of Spanish in sectors such as domestic help, construction or agriculture (according to WP5).

In this respect, African immigrants in Germany and Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic face a similar situation (according to WP11): their jobs do not require sophisticated knowledge of the host community’s language, and neither encourage

nor enable them to learn it. Nor can these individuals turn their multilingualism into a resource on the job market – even if their multilingualism involves “colonial languages” such as French.

For other migrants, such as many Polish and Portuguese immigrants in Jersey on the Channel Islands, speaking the language of the host community is not a high priority, as they live in areas where many of their compatriots live (according to WP3a). Consequently, they have few opportunities to use the host community’s language, either in their free time or during work.

Some Romanian immigrants, who were interviewed in Basel (Switzerland) for WP5, confirm these problems: they state that knowledge of German facilitates social integration and communication, but they also feel that language is not enough for integration, and that economic and educational integration is equally important.

Other questions concern the desirable level of language proficiency, whether someone who is not used to reading complex texts in their mother tongue can and should be expected to achieve this in a foreign language, and, finally, how language competence can be measured fairly?

There is no doubt that language learning is an important part of integration. For example, WP11a shows that, for the Vietnamese living in the Czech Republic, language is the main stumbling block on the way to social integration. However, immigration, integration and the patterns of interaction in migrant and host communities are too complex to be reduced to language issues alone.

Migrant languages: an economic asset?

WP12a examined how immigrants in Austria, the UK, the Channel Islands, Croatia, and the Czech Republic can or cannot turn their multilingualism into an economic asset. This largely depends on the working environment and type of work, e.g. professional work, tourism, community learning/immigrant resource centres, menial labour, being self-employed or employed by other immigrants or host companies. Another important factor is the first (and subsequent) immigrant generation’s educational and class levels. Without a certain level of education and class, immigrants have no access to jobs that require their specific language competences, and that may enhance their career opportunities.

However, WP0a found that immigrants’ mother tongues can be quite valuable for them to find employment through migrant networks, in migrant-managed companies or when they return home. When migrants want to improve life chances for children or have specific technical or academic goals then greater emphasis is placed on language skills in the host community’s language.

For an individual who is going to work in international business, English is a must; further languages, migrant languages included, are in some cases treated as an asset. For multinational companies, multilingualism is an asset as they (have to) adapt their language use towards their customers. Local languages symbolise national identities and are used for special purposes (such as saying something in a language that others cannot understand) or to express emotions.

Assimilation rather than integration

Theoretically, immigrant “integration” works both ways: immigrants become familiar with the host community and vice versa. However, in reality migration tends to be more of a one-way street, resulting in assimilation rather than integration. The UK language policy (as far as it exists through sections of other non-linguistic policies) promotes state monolingualism, with multicultural practices encouraged, but – according to WP5 – with few or no allowances made for the use of languages other than English in public life. English is seen as the key to Britishness: automatic translation of information on access to rights and support is being reduced in the belief that this will encourage (if not compel) immigrants to learn English.

Furthermore, not all immigrants are treated equally. In Switzerland, citizens of the EU or EFTA as well as highly qualified workers and speakers of English do not have to attend language courses – other immigrants do. Similarly, in the UK citizens from outside the EU have to be “active citizens” or show commitment to adopt what is portrayed as the dominant way of life in order to earn citizenship, whereas these criteria do not apply to citizens of the EU – or to UK-born citizens, for that matter. And from autumn 2010 onwards, non-EU immigrants wishing to marry or join their spouse in the UK will have to pass an English language test in their country of origin before they are allowed to move to the UK. More such measures are on the horizon, according to a quote from Home Secretary Theresa May, published by AFP, the BBC and other news sources on June 8, 2010: “This is only the first step. We are currently reviewing English language requirements across the visa system with a view to tightening the rules further in the future.”

In Spain, too, there are tendencies towards unequal treatment of immigrants: any moves to link language competence with permission to enter or reside in the country would implicitly favour Latin American immigrants.

Efficient language policies are created bottom-up

Current migratory flows are difficult to predict as they depend on labour demand in certain countries, on legislation, on economic ups and downs. Language policies have difficulties to adapt to these fluctuating migratory flows, as LINEE case studies in Spain, the UK and Switzerland have indicated (WP5). Governments require a great deal of time

to collect and analyse data, and to plan, negotiate and actually implement their language policies. Inevitably, some of today's policies solve yesterday's problems.

Small local organisations, however, can respond quickly and effectively to rapidly changing migratory flows, as case studies in Spain, the UK and Switzerland have shown. *Valencia Acoge*, Polish Advice Centre, *Cymdeithas Y Neuadd*, and Chur Intercultural Library⁶ are examples of such small local organisations.



Small local organisations can respond quickly and effectively to rapidly changing migratory flows: Portuguese speaking migrants in Zernez (Switzerland) learning the local language Romansh

Conclusion

The arrival of new immigrant communities in many European cities and villages does not seem to be reflected in language policies. Similar to language classrooms, where

⁶ *Valencia Acoge*: an organisation in Valencia aimed at facilitating the integration and participation of immigrants in the Valencian community; Polish Advice Centre: an advice centre for the Polish community of Llanelli; *Cymdeithas Neuadd yr Ysgol*: a rural amenities association in Llanfihangel ar Arth; Chur Intercultural Library: a library in Chur that, in 2009 for example, provided books in fifteen languages and a place where immigrants and the local population could meet.

many teachers act as if their students were monolinguals, language policies are drafted as if these new minorities did not exist. When migrant languages are addressed, it is mostly in the context of “language as a tool for integration”. However, while language is an important aspect of integration, it is only one of several. Things become rather more complex as soon as one asks questions such as, “Who should learn which language?, In which group should immigrants integrate?” and, of course, “Who is going to pay?” Despite the important role non-standard varieties play in everyday life – not least in the context of immigration and integration – they are often disregarded.

For language, immigration and integration policies to be successful, they must respond to the arrival of new immigrant communities, to their specific resources and needs, and address the relation between established linguistic minorities, standard languages, non-standard languages and immigrant languages. As migratory flows can change very quickly and many small regions have very different resources and needs, a decentralised approach seems to be the most effective, for example by supporting local organisations such as *Valencia Acoge*, Polish Advice Centre, *Cymdeithas Y Neuadd* and Chur Intercultural Library.

6.3 The role of English in Europe

Summary

English has emerged from the LINEE case studies as a more or less neutral common language with only marginal national connotation. Nor does it seem to threaten linguistic diversity: although some interviewees feel that the ubiquity of English reduces their motivation to learn further languages, many others say that speaking English is not enough. Erasmus students, for example, use English to gain access to educational institutions in Hungary or the Czech Republic, where they also learn some Hungarian or Czech and other languages from their peers. In these cases, English facilitates cultural exchange, grants access to multilingual environments and thereby increases the motivation for language learning.

Surprisingly, native speakers of English are not the most successful communicators in multilingual contexts: they are reported to be hard to understand and not to have non-native speakers’ communicative skills. Apparently, while native speakers of English do not have to learn English as a second language, they should learn how to speak English with non-native speakers.

However, LINEE research has also brought to light concerns that English threatens linguistic diversity.

“It’s not English, it’s ELF”

Many people interviewed by LINEE researchers see English as a useful tool for communication – nothing more, nothing less, and representing a language known by a large number. In this context, English is seen as a neutral language not primarily associated with the U.S. or the UK, a kind of English often called “English as a Lingua Franca” (ELF). This view emerged from interviews with decision-makers involved in European multilingualism policy (WP4) as well as from interviews with students of English (WP7a). A particular group of students, Erasmus students in Hungary, saw English as a means to express their culture *through* English, rather than as an expression of culture itself. Employees of non-American and non-British multinational companies (interviewed by WP12) also perceived English to be a neutral language.

However, as interviews with students of English and an analysis of internet forums have shown (WP7), many oppose this view of English. They clearly associate English with the UK or the U.S., sometimes rejecting it as an international language due to this association.

Similar views also emerged when WP0a investigated the role of English within LINEE. Some members of LINEE attributed English to its native speakers and therefore saw its dominance as an unfair advantage for native speakers. Others perceived English as ELF and related it to an efficient medium of communication in intercultural contexts.

To some of the members of LINEE, the project was a good learning environment for English, but not for other languages, because English was so much used. In their eyes, it disadvantaged the less proficient speakers of English and put the native speakers into an advantageous position. To other members of LINEE, English was the “common denominator”, a neutral language that created equal opportunities for all.

The economics of English

The multinational companies surveyed by WP10a did not insist on the use of a particular language, other than for the purpose of reporting. Many of them do have a corporate language, which is often English, but if employees are more comfortable communicating in another language this does not seem to be a problem. WP12 has also shown that when companies choose a corporate language or design language courses, they consider what languages their potential customers would like to use and what languages their potential employees speak best. English is important for international communication because it is understandable to so many, but as soon as companies communicate with customers or the government of the region they are working in, other languages are used as well. In sum, multinational companies seem to manage their language use flexibly and do not focus solely on English.

LINEE developed a similar language use in some respects. A language survey showed that English was the only language that each and every member of LINEE understood and could use. Therefore, presentations and reports that had to be understandable to all LINEE members were created in English. However, when the situation allowed or even called for it, other languages were used as well. As all members of LINEE were multilingual, there was a lot of switching and mixing of languages during meetings and presentations.

Most participants (also some of those who raised concerns about the dominance of English in LINEE) agreed that English was an efficient tool for communication. Economic considerations influenced LINEE's language use: should we invest resources to translate a report into other languages or should we use the money for other purposes? What are the costs and what are the benefits? For practical reasons, most of the members of LINEE said that they would do things much the same way if they were to participate in a similar project again.

English: a support for linguistic diversity?

LINEE research indicates that English does not reduce linguistic diversity, but actually promotes it. This is at least true for the Erasmus students interviewed by LINEE researchers (for WP7). English allowed them to enter communities to which they may not otherwise have had access insofar as they attended educational institutions in Hungary and the Czech Republic, which they would probably not have done had they had to learn Hungarian or Czech first. Once they were there, they felt it was necessary to learn at least some words of the local language. Furthermore, they practiced their previously learned foreign languages and learned new languages from the native speakers of those languages. To these students, speaking English was not enough and did not reduce their motivation to learn other languages – be it the local languages (Hungarian or Czech) or other, widely spoken languages. In this context, English acts as a facilitator for making connections between people and cultures, which encourages rather than prevents further language learning.

Interviews with students at two secondary schools in Szeged (Hungary), who unlike the Erasmus students were not engaged in a multilingual community, showed similar results (WP7): students who said they were interested in learning English were no less interested in learning other foreign languages.

However, some students in the UK who were interviewed for another LINEE study (WP8) admitted that the ubiquity of English did limit their motivation to learn other languages. Many other students were torn between the attractiveness of English as a language for worldwide communication and the belief that the increase of English might be at the expense of less widely used languages (according to WP7). This last concern was also voiced by decision-makers involved in European language policy (interviewed for

WP4). They were afraid that English would reduce linguistic diversity to one language. In this respect, as one interviewee put it, multilingualism is seen as a policy to avoid the worst-case scenario of English only.

European statistics confirm the impression that English has not ceased to gain importance in Europe: more and more students in the EU-27 countries are studying English. In 2000, 73.3% of secondary-school students learned English; by 2007 their number had risen to 85.8%.⁷

However, this does not necessarily diminish the number of students studying other languages: 6.4% of secondary-school students had been studying Spanish in 2000, 10.2% in 2007; 20.7% learned French in 2000, 25.3% in 2007; 14.2% learned German in 2000, 14.5% in 2007; 3.8% learned Russian in 2000, 2.9% in 2007. And while minority languages in Europe have not been taught widely, they do not seem to be taught less in favour of English: in 2001/02, 7% of students in the EU-27 countries learned a language other than English, French, German, Spanish and Russian; in 2005/06 the percentage had risen to 7.4%.⁸

Students have positive attitudes towards English

English enjoys a high prestige among the Hungarian-speaking minority students in Romania, Serbia and Slovakia, and among the German-speaking minority students in Romania (according to WP9a). Researchers had them listen to speech samples in various languages and asked them to rate the speakers concerning status traits such as “successful, educated, rich, prominent” and solidarity traits such as “nice, reliable, honest, generous”. Both the Hungarian and the German minority students rated speakers of English higher than speakers of the majority language, both on status and solidarity traits. Surprisingly, the Hungarian minority students rated speakers of English even higher than speakers of the minority language.

The results on language attitudes among the Ladin minority were less surprising: English speakers received high ratings on status traits, but were not always better rated than speakers of the minority language. As far as solidarity traits are concerned, speakers of the minority language received the highest ratings.

Other students, interviewed for WP7a in the UK and the Czech Republic, stated that communication in English with non-native speakers was mostly helpful and successful. However, they also reported feeling guilty because, in international oral exchanges, English is usually favoured over other languages.

7 According to Eurostat (<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>)

8 According to Eurydice publication, “Key Data on Teaching Languages at School in Europe”, 2005 and 2008.

Native speakers of English at a disadvantage

Life is unfair: non-native speakers spend years and years learning English, while native speakers are “naturally equipped” with that knowledge – and speak the language at a level that many non-native speakers would like – but are not likely – to achieve. However, LINEE research has shown that life is not so unfair after all: native speakers are not the most successful communicators among the Erasmus student community examined by LINEE researchers (for WP7). Native speakers have been reported to be hard to understand due to their accent, rate of speech and use of unfamiliar vocabulary.

Moreover, the Erasmus community has developed new norms for English (according to WP7a), using vocabulary and structures that are largely known only to its members. They also borrow words from each other, use their mother tongues to resolve linguistic problems, and accommodate their speech to their counterparts. Native speakers of English seem to have difficulty adapting to this new variant of their language, and are therefore seldom perceived as full, caring or concerned group members.

In the Erasmus community it becomes clear that speaking English is not primarily a question of mastering the language, but is about communicating in a context-appropriate way.

Although native speakers of English are not the most successful communicators in the Erasmus community, the way they speak is still a model for other Erasmus students (according to WP7), who strive to sound like them but know that they cannot necessarily achieve their goal. When it comes to realistic aspirations, they want to reach a level of good, but “understandable” English, accepting a non-native accent. On the contrary, to some of them speaking English without an accent would mean denying their own culture.

These students are aware that there are more non-native speakers of English, which means that it is more important for them to be able to communicate with their non-native counterparts.

They are also at first worried about speaking “correct” English – probably also due to their classroom experiences. In time, however, they forget about being completely correct and instead focus on communicative success: making themselves understood is more important to them than immaculate grammar, word-choice and pronunciation. This attitude is confirmed by students in the UK who say that they were impressed by non-native speaker’s good communication skills and their ability to hold a conversation (according to WP7a), adding that non-native speakers do not speak English “perfectly”, that is “like native speakers”, but are nevertheless intelligible. They agreed that – at the end of the day – this is what matters most.

Native speakers are not the most successful communicators in the Erasmus community and are said to be hard to understand and not accommodating the new “rules” for

English within the community. This suggests that while native speakers of English may not have to learn English as a foreign language, they have to learn how to use English as a *lingua franca*.

6.4 Monolingualism in foreign language classrooms

Summary

Despite EU efforts to promote multilingualism as an asset, educational systems in Europe consider only a limited set of languages to be an asset. This usually includes the dominant national language(s), plus English and a few other languages that open up job opportunities (in borderland regions or in multinational companies, for example). However, dialects, other non-standard and migrant languages are neither promoted nor appreciated.

Research has also shown that teaching the state's language to linguistic minorities currently lacks a second language teaching perspective (e.g. in Romania and Slovakia), with the state language being taught as if it was the students' mother tongue.

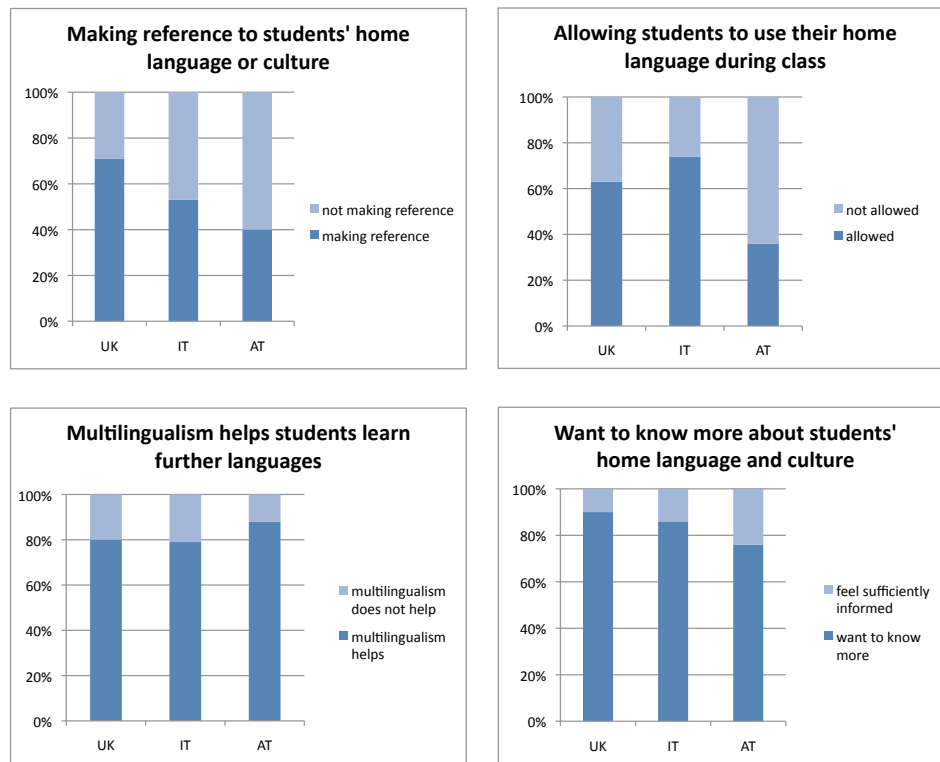
European classrooms abound with a multitude of languages including autochthonous minority languages and the languages of new migrants groups. But most language teachers act as though all students were monolingual. Some teachers believe that the frequent use of home languages (e.g. Turkish among Turkish-speaking immigrants to Austria) delays the learning of the official language and is a source of learner confusion. In teaching foreign languages as well, teachers neither appreciate nor exploit their students' existing linguistic resources. Believing that only the target language should be used in the classroom, they fail to seize the chance to tap into their students' knowledge.

Teachers' beliefs and assumptions are contradicted by numerous research results that show bilingualism to be positively associated with third or additional language learning (for a review, see De Angelis 2007). Teachers should be better trained and informed in order to recognise and make use of their students' multilingualism; curricula should be adapted accordingly.

Monolingual approach to multilingualism in classrooms

A significant number of the teachers of foreign language classes studied by WP8a follow a "monolingual approach", stating that they do not usually make reference to immigrant students' home language or culture, though this varied considerably by country. There was considerable variation as to whether they allowed students to use their home language during class, and a minority of teachers also believe that knowing several

languages does not help immigrant students learn other languages. These attitudes and beliefs may partly be explained by those teachers' lack of interest in their students' language and culture.



Case studies in the UK, Italy and Austria: teachers' attitudes and beliefs concerning multilingualism in classroom

This monolingual attitude reappeared in another set of case studies by WP9a, which investigated attitudes and language use in English classes for minorities in Romania and Italy. Here, teachers claimed to use English almost exclusively during their lessons. However, classroom observations revealed that other languages were actually used, for example to explain things or to rebuke students. The fact that teachers claim to use English only suggests that this is the ideal to which they aspire. It is an ideal that is questioned by research showing that language learners benefit from using languages other than the target language.

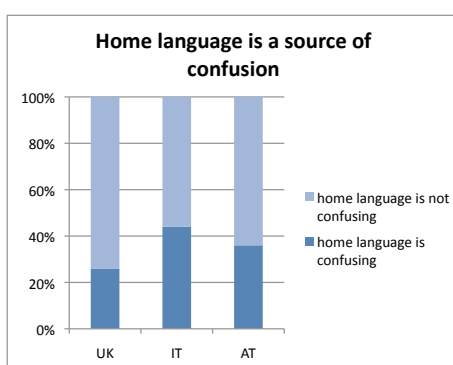
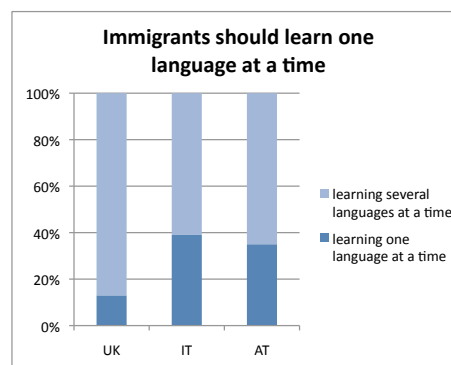
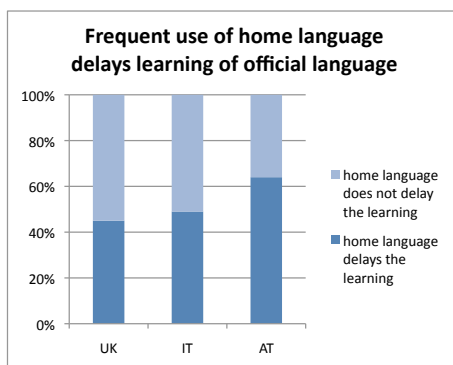
Another set of case studies of German as a second/foreign language in Hungary, the UK and Italy (WP8) indicates that while teachers are active and engaging, most lessons are strongly teacher centred and few opportunities exist for students to use the target language more independently. Classes rarely addressed issues such as students' first languages, non-standard varieties and other foreign languages.

Further case studies looked into classroom cultures at schools for linguistic minorities in Serbia, Romania, Slovakia and Italy (WP9). Although in this context the students had a common mother tongue and – obviously – a multilingual background, even in these cases teachers regularly failed to make reference to the students’ mother tongue – with some exceptions in Italy.

Finally, in Serbia, Romania and Slovakia, linguistic minorities are taught the state language as if they were native speakers. In Slovakia, for example, the 5th-year reading syllabus consists of 19th-century Slovak literature and of specialised texts. Primary and secondary education of linguistic minorities in schools participating in this study clearly lacks a second-language teaching perspective.

Multilingualism perceived as an impediment to further language learning

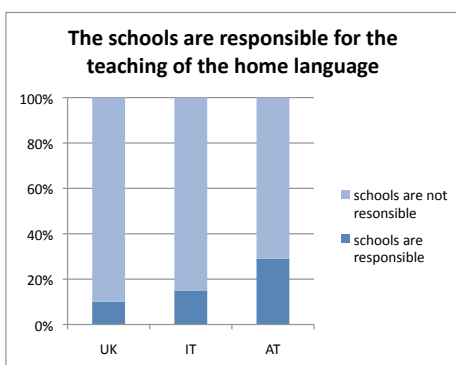
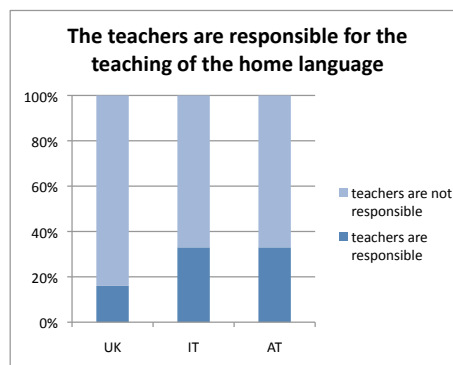
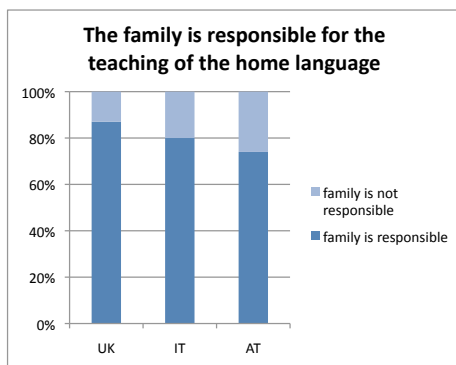
Around half of the teachers surveyed by WP8a agree with the statement that “frequent use of the home language delays the learning of the official language”. Moreover, a considerable minority agrees with the statement that “immigrant students should learn one language at a time” and that the frequent use of the home language while learning the official language is a source of confusion for the learner. These views are contradicted by research results which indicate that children easily learn several languages at a time, and that knowing and using several languages can facilitate the learning of further languages. Teachers, however, tend to perceive immigrants’ multilingualism as a burden rather than as a resource.



Teachers’ attitudes and beliefs concerning home language use by immigrants

Home-language maintenance neglected rather than rejected

As case studies in Italy, the UK and Austria (WP8a) have shown, the educational system does not promote maintenance of immigrants’ home language (e.g. Turkish in the case of Turkish-speaking immigrants in Austria). Most teachers agree that “the family is responsible for teaching of the home language”, while a minority agree that this falls within the teachers’ or the schools’ remit.



Teachers’ attitudes and beliefs concerning responsibility for the teaching of the home language

This suggests that teachers seem to delegate to families the responsibility of maintaining their home languages. However, some teachers also feel that the school plays an important role in helping students retain their bi/multilingualism. In other words, there are teachers who have the kind of openness required for home-language maintenance initiatives to be successful.

The educational system wastes a great deal of potential

Case studies in Austria, Italy and the UK (WP8a) suggest that students’ attitudes towards multilingualism differ from those of their teachers. In informal communication with their classmates, they use their home languages, are interested in their peers’ languages and employ effective strategies to communicate in a multilingual environment, making the best of the languages they already know.

Many of the interviewed students believe that knowledge of many languages could help them in their future careers and that being multilingual would help them learn additional languages. They do not perceive the need to achieve native-speaker-like competence in a language to consider themselves multilingual.

However, immigrant students are also aware of the power and prestige of certain languages over others. In the case of South Tyrol (Italy), for example, only German/Italian bilingualism seems to enjoy legitimate status. During a focus group interview, knowledge of other languages was not even called bilingualism or multilingualism.

Students often have a positive attitude towards multilingualism. They respond to complex linguistic situations with flexibility, creativity and effectiveness, a behaviour that LINEE has labelled with the more comprehensive term “multicompetence”. However, students rarely use their multilingualism when interacting with their teachers.

One such effective learner strategy to deal with multilingual situations is to focus on making oneself understood rather than trying to speak a language “perfectly”. However, this strategy is valued in few language classrooms: a case study in the UK (WP8) showed a strong focus on accuracy and grammar in classrooms where German is taught. Teachers immediately home in on students’ mistakes, rather than letting them speak and, if necessary, pointing out recurring problems later.

In contrast, in an observed Hungarian classroom the focus was more clearly on communication and reading skills rather than on grammar, with teachers correcting formal language errors implicitly rather than explicitly. For example, asking a question or contributing to a discussion, the teacher would repeat parts of sentences their student had just used (e.g.: “*das Küche ist groß*”), but correcting any grammatical errors (e.g. saying, “*die Küche ist groß*”).

In an upper secondary school classroom in Italy, there was a balance between accuracy and fluency. Teachers corrected students discreetly, and also introduced new vocabulary and taught spelling and pronunciation.

All in all, teachers do not seem to value or develop the effective everyday strategies their students use to communicate in a multilingual environment. This is largely true for the potential that immigrants and minority speakers bring to school from their homes: both enter the classroom already as multilingual individuals – but they have to leave their colourful multilingual habits in the locker. In the classroom, uniformity is the main steering force, and this holds true also for foreign language classes. In this way, a great deal of creativity is wasted and the students cannot use their full potential.

Effective learning strategies outside the classroom

For WP7a, LINEE researchers also investigated a group of Erasmus students, who spend a part of their study time abroad, in Hungary. These students employed a number of effective learning and communication strategies while speaking English as a lingua franca. They quite often switched to their mother tongue or, sometimes, to other languages they knew – a practice not encouraged in language classrooms. However, it is a strategy that proved to be beneficial not only for communicative but also for social purposes: students switch languages not merely as a last resort if they cannot find a translation equivalent, but also to build relations and create a feeling of belonging together. The other speakers not only accept such code-switching, but help by providing suggestions for the meaning of a word, describing its meaning, giving examples and routinely using their linguistic resources in a creative way.

Moreover, students consciously use words that others may not know and may find useful, funny or otherwise interesting. They do this not only in English but also in their mother tongue or other languages. By doing so, they build relationships, signal membership in a community of multilingual speakers, teach and learn informally.

In general, students automatically assess an interlocutor's competence in a language and adjust. Often, group members seem to identify an "expert" among them, who is not necessarily a native speaker of English but "simply" a successful communicator, and try to learn from that person.

No clear policies about multilingualism in the classroom

Researchers found that schools in Italy, Austria and the UK that participated in the study (for WP8a) did not follow clear policies regarding multilingualism in the classroom. Moreover, even if schools did have some sort of informal language policy teachers still acted as they saw fit based on their personal experience.

Certain languages perceived as an asset rather than multilingualism per se

In official EU discourse, multilingualism is called an asset. However, the educational systems that LINEE researchers have studied only seem to value a limited set of languages. It would appear that it is a set of powerful languages rather than multilingualism as such which is perceived as an asset.

For example, case studies focusing on German-speaking minorities in France, the Czech Republic and Romania (WP6), found that German (in addition to English) is seen as an economic asset and said to provide access to job opportunities. "German", however, means "Standard German" rather than the German dialects spoken in the regions

investigated,⁹ which in fact would be minority languages requiring protection. These German dialects are considered to be unimportant in terms of job opportunities and are not therefore supported by the educational system.

Similarly, according to WP8a, bilingualism in German and Italian seems to be the only legitimate form of bilingualism in South Tyrol (Italy). This bilingualism, together with the knowledge of English, is considered to be an asset on the job market.

Migrant parents in Morella (Spain) prefer their children to take a maximum number of classes in Castilian although, according to WP5a, people in Morella mainly use Valencian for everyday purposes. Teachers think that this is for economic reasons, as the statement of a school principal illustrates [English translation]: “I suppose it’s because it is more widespread as a language and because it could open more doors for them if they learn Castilian well. So it can open more doors than learning Valencian well, that’s obvious.”



Learning widespread languages is seen as an asset: migrant parents in Morella (Spain) prefer their children to take a maximum number of classes in Castilian

9 Lorraine (France), Sibiu (Romania), Prague (Czech Republic).

Analysing data from several Work Packages (WP5a, WP9, WP10a, WP12), WP0a found different types of multilingualism at the workplace, all of which were limited in a way: workplaces with a vast majority of monolingual workers, workplaces functioning with two or three languages, and workplaces where interpretation and translation services had to be used to ensure communication. Direct trading situations were the only ones where knowing and using as many languages as possible was an asset: traders and shop owners who know greetings, numbers and product names in many different languages to help and please the customers. However, knowledge of more than these basic phrases was not desirable to them.

These examples show that before learning a language and before signing up to learning a particular language in a formal setting, people ask, “Will this increase my income, my job opportunities, or at least make my life more comfortable?” Other considerations, such as the cultural value of a language or the benefit of being multilingual, seem to be secondary.

Conclusion

LINEE research found that only certain types of multilingualism are appreciated and promoted in the educational system, and that teachers are inadequately informed about the benefits of multilingualism and about how to make use of students’ multilingual resources in the classroom. Students themselves employ successful strategies for language learning and coping with a multilingual environment (which is part of what LINEE calls “being multicompetent”), but are not allowed to use these strategies in the classroom.

Teachers enjoy significant power regarding language use, language maintenance and the future of their pupils in general. This is true not only inside but also outside the school setting: teachers frequently advise parents on the issue of home language maintenance. This makes it all the more important that they are trained and given the resources to recognise and make use of their students’ multilingual resources.

7 Conclusions

7.1 Policy implications

Explaining the term “multilingualism”

The term “multilingualism” is very complex. Most importantly, it involves human rights discourses as well as the discourse of multilingualism as an economic asset. The two are hard to reconcile: while in the human rights discourse all languages are equal and valuable, in the economic discourse certain languages are just more valuable than others. Furthermore, some mainly associate multilingualism with language education, while others associate it with minority language protection, and yet others with the mastery of a few widely spoken languages. Some also make a distinction between multilingualism and plurilingualism, multilingualism meaning the use of more than one language in a society, plurilingualism meaning the use of more than one language by a single person. Elsewhere, multilingualism and plurilingualism are used synonymously. Hence, if the term multilingualism is used without an explanation of how it is meant in a particular context, it is bound to produce misunderstandings.

Considering conflicts in policies

European initiatives and policy documents tend to highlight the bright side of language diversity but largely fail to address contentious issues such as the role of English in Europe, the economic value of major European languages, power relations and past conflicts between European countries, or the confrontation of “old” minority languages and dialects on the one hand and immigrant languages on the other. This makes EU policies sound nice and non-contentious, but also too good to be true. Citizens are highly aware of the economic value of certain languages, of conflicts and power relations, and are also aware of the role of language as a factor in identity formation. Programmes and policies promoting multilingualism that do not address such issues sound less credible. This increases the risk that “multilingualism” is perceived as just a promotional campaign with little impact on or relevance to real life.

Considering non-standard varieties and immigrant languages

Language policies should deal in detail and explicitly with non-standard varieties and immigrant languages because of their relevance for identity, social cohesion, integration and economy. So far, language policies have been mainly concerned with officially recognised minority languages – and there are still a great many non-recognised ones. However, immigration from within and from outside Europe is a fact that cannot be ignored, even less so as rural areas are becoming increasingly involved. It is clear that

democratic policies take time to be designed and implemented – too long for some of them to respond to developments in the society in a timely fashion. A possible solution is to provide more support to small local organisations that can address these problems more quickly and are more adaptable to local stakeholders' specific needs.

Adjusting school curricula

Treating languages as separate objects that have to be learnt independently from each other is not the most successful way of structuring language courses. Instead, integrative methods of language teaching should be adopted. Making connections between several languages and using competences in one language to use them in another should be encouraged by designing curricula in such a way that these connections emerge. The Ladin school systems' integrated language didactics could be a possible model to follow.¹⁰

Training teachers

Many children, especially immigrant children, already know several languages by the time they enter school. Other children grow up in a multilingual environment and learn how to deal with that in their everyday life. Exploiting their knowledge about language improves their further learning or the learning of other languages. Failing to do so is a waste of resources.

Currently, some teachers appear to see children's multilingualism as an obstacle to the learning process. Hence, they either disregard or actively suppress multilingualism in the classroom. Therefore, teachers should be made aware of the beneficial role of multilingualism for the learning process. And teachers should learn how to deal effectively and efficiently with their students' multilingualism.

Teacher training of this kind could be encouraged in connection with programmes promoting teacher mobility, such as the EU Comenius programme. Programmes aiming at promoting teachers' intercultural skills also should promote knowledge about the role of multilingualism in the learning process. Summer universities such as the one organised by the SemLang project in July 2009 might be a way of promoting this kind of teacher training.¹¹

¹⁰ See next page for a detailed description of the system.

¹¹ The summer university aimed at „bringing together decision makers in the domain of language and education policy, in order to reflect on ways of improving the efficiency of language teacher training in the European Union“.

7.2 An example of good practice

The so-called “parity school system” of the Ladin Valleys in the province of Bozen-Bolzano in South Tyrol (Italy) offers multilingual education with very good results. It is a trilingual system, with Italian and German taught equally throughout all compulsory education. The goal is for pupils to achieve the same competence in German and Italian. Ladin is the majority of the pupils’ mother tongue; it features as a school subject and, in the early school years, is used as an auxiliary language, for example to explain things.

Although implemented in different ways, the system applies in kindergartens, primary schools and secondary schools. Compared to their peers who visit German-only or Italian-only schools, where the other community’s language is taught as a second language, pupils achieve similar results at university-entrance diploma examinations although they less frequently obtain the highest scores.

Ladin is the language generally used in kindergartens in the Ladin valleys of South Tyrol, where Ladin is the majority language. However, German and Italian are integrated as well. At primary school, the same subject is normally taught in German and Italian by the same teacher according to a flexible time-management language system with a weekly rotation of teaching language for all subjects, giving children a natural experience of multilingualism. Primary school teachers must be trilingual and are trained in special university courses.

In the first year of primary school, the children learn to read and write in German or Italian, while Ladin is mainly used orally. In secondary school, subjects are taught in German and Italian in equal measure but by different teachers; Ladin features as a subject of instruction.

Other Ladin communities outside the province of South Tyrol perceive this system as a role model.¹²

12 Further information in German can be found in the following contributions:

- Verra, R. 2006: Die ladinische Schule und ihre Mehrsprachigkeit. In: Wiater, W., Videsott, G. (eds.): Schule in mehrsprachigen Regionen Europas / Schools Systems in Multilingual Regions of Europe. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 225–236.
- Rifesser, T. 2006: Das ladinische Schulmodell im Vergleich zum deutschen und italienischen in Südtirol. In: Wiater, W., Videsott, G. (eds.): Schule in mehrsprachigen Regionen Europas / Schools Systems in Multilingual Regions of Europe. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 237–252.

8 Outlook

8.1 New nationalisms as a challenge for multilingualism

Nationalist movements in Europe are on the rise. As they often see language as *the* symbol of national identity and therefore promote one language at the expense of others, this is a serious challenge to multilingualism.

One language – one nation

Europe's history before the creation of the EU was closely associated with the concept of the nation state, which developed over the previous two centuries and implied one national language as a symbol of national identity. But there have always been other types of both polyethnic and multilingual state organisation, e.g. the Austro-Hungarian Empire, or the Soviet Union. In the early 1990s, the EU set out to overcome Europe's nationalist heritage and to develop gradually into a true Union with a European identity.

However, political developments such as German reunification (uniting two states within one nation into one Federal Republic), the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia and the creation of Post-Soviet states in the Baltic (to mention only a few examples) led to a revitalisation of what Brubaker (1996) called “nationalising”, i.e. claiming to build a state on the imagined community of people belonging to the same nation. This tendency has promoted the creation or adoption of a common language as a symbol for such newly re-imagined nations.

Actions against diversity

In some of the new EU member states and some of the candidate states, the move away from diversity and the adoption of a more explicit ideology of one national language has been strengthened.

- In the Baltic states, Russian, the language of the former rulers, was declared a foreign language and people had to learn the national languages in order to be accepted as citizens of the newly formed states.
- In countries that emerged from former Yugoslavia “new” languages were (re)created: while Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian were once seen as variants of the same language, in official contexts, they are now treated as three separate languages. According to research in WP2, language policies in Croatia are purist and prescriptive, “protecting” the Croatian language against influences of other languages (in the 1990s against Serbian, today mostly against English) and trying to define the Croatian language, and what is correct or wrong.

- Slovenia promoted Slovene as the national language, which created problems with speakers of minority languages in Slovenia.
- The Bulgarian constitution does not only allow everybody to learn and to speak Bulgarian, but also obliges every citizen to learn and speak the language, implying that speakers of minority languages have to learn and to speak the national language in addition to their first languages.
- In Belgium, the elections of June 2010 have shown that the federal multilingual state is drifting apart into two monolingual parts (and a small German speaking one).
- In Carinthia, the deceased politician Jörg Haider struggled with bilingual road signs in German-Slovenian settlements; the struggle continues.
- A final example is the new nationalism concerning Hungary and its “co-nationals” who live in neighbouring countries: nationalising them as belonging to the imagined community of Hungarians has led to an antagonism between Hungarian as their national language and the languages of the states where they reside. This is clearly shown by WP9a, which revealed the Romanian language’s very low prestige among Hungarian students living in Transylvania.

There is generally a growing tendency in European countries to attempt to integrate new immigrants by requiring (or obliging) them to learn the respective official language. The result is that immigrants become multilingual, speaking their first language(s) and the newly acquired state language. However, especially in English-speaking countries, the nationals do not need to learn any foreign language(s).

But there are also some areas that clearly strive against this development of new nationalisms, for example Spain (with Catalanian, etc.), the Italian autonomous regions (e.g. South Tyrol) or the Sorbian regions in Germany.

Nevertheless, the spread of the national-language ideology is significant and becoming increasingly relevant, both in some EU member states and outside the EU. The trend to enforce national languages severely challenges the EU’s ideology of multilingualism as an asset.

Direct national policies

Due to its principle of subsidiarity and member states’ rights, the EU has very limited possibilities to regulate on national languages. Its only option is to provide incentives, i.e. by fostering foreign language instruction in classrooms; recommending to its members that every citizen should be given the opportunity to learn additional languages; calling for the provision of appropriate measures to ensure immigrant integration; and adhering to the principles laid down in the European Minority Charter and the Framework Convention.

However, this kind of policy-making is essentially directed at EU citizens as individuals who are otherwise subject to their respective state laws and constitutions. Delegating multilingualism to individual efforts in order to improve the individual's value on the labour market does not address old and new nationalising tendencies in Europe. This is clearly shown in research conducted by WP2: While “ordinary Croatians” do not welcome, let alone like Standard Croatian and language purism, the country's national language policy promotes Standard Croatian as a symbol of national identity and “defends” the language against other linguistic influences.

Nor do national policies automatically reflect individual attitudes. A future policy of European multilingualism, therefore, will have to address the situation of individuals and that of EU member states, who should adopt a policy of internal multilingualism. This will be a great challenge. Take for example the history of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which clearly shows that member states are most reluctant to bestow a more official character on languages spoken by minorities, immigrants both older and more recent, and on foreign languages in general. Even old EU member states, such as France or Italy, find it difficult to accept their traditional linguistic minorities, and fail to acknowledge new minorities.

Fighting nationalism by means of European identity has not been successful. Mere lip service is being paid to the notion of Unity in Diversity. When it comes to hard politics, there is no room for this kind of symbolic values.

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