



RECODE 6-7 May 2011 Workshop  
Linguistic Diversity and the Changing Dynamics of Political Integration  
**Final Report**

## **1 Summary**

The workshop was organized by Peter A. Kraus (Helsinki) and Tünde Puskás (Linköping) as part of the activities of Section 1 of the RECODE network ('Linguistic Diversity and Political Communication'). The point of departure was to take linguistic identities and language use, from a social science perspective, as indicators of sweeping socio-political and socio-cultural transformations. In modern times, language attained a central role in the formation of nation-states. The consolidation of nation-states involved major efforts at achieving a linguistic standardization that worked against diversity and involved high costs for members of non-dominant language groups, who we nowadays call minorities.

The main aim of the workshop was to make a first systematic attempt at assessing the impact of complex diversity on language politics and language policies. Thus, special attention was paid to analyzing how the legacies of the old and the challenges of the new interact in this realm. Revealing insights were reached by contrasting European and Canadian experiences. In view of current debates on how unity can be achieved in the context of institutional settings committed to maintaining linguistic diversity, it proved particularly important to scrutinize paths of nation-building and democratization that indicate the compatibility of political integration and multilingualism.

The workshop was structured along three major thematic lines. Line 1 – *Linguistic diversity, nation-building and nationalism* – discussed the intricate relationship between political integration and diversity in institutional settings marked by multilingualism and varying degrees of language conflict. The contributions to line 2 – *Language, transnational integration, and Europeanization* – focused on the linguistic foundations of a diversity-sensitive transnational politics. Finally, line 3 – *Language and the politics of immigration* – paid tribute to the increasing importance the linguistic dimension has attained in the approach Western democracies adopt vis-à-vis 'new' minorities.

The workshop was preceded by a launching panel in the afternoon of 5 May 2011, which was not tightly linked to the workshop, but rather meant to offer a general introduction to RECODE from the different thematic angles and geo-cultural areas covered by and represented in the different sections of the program. This panel consisted of four papers, three of which were given by Steering Committee members (Keith Banting, Rainer Bauböck and Riva Kastoryano). The fourth paper delivered at the launching event was by Ferran Requejo, who is a member of the Spanish RECODE team.

## 2 **Description of the scientific content of and discussion at the event**

A total of twelve papers were presented at the workshop: six papers under line 1, and three papers, respectively, under lines 2 and 3. There were alternating chairs between the different sessions; in addition to Tünde Puskás and Peter A. Kraus, two Steering Committee members (Francisco Colom and João Rosas) acted as chairpersons. Moreover, the workshop incorporated three other participants in the SC meeting as discussants (Keith Banting, John Erik Fossum and Johanne Poirier); the fourth discussant was Keith Battarbee (University of Turku). The contributions to the three thematic lines are summarized in the following paragraphs.

### *Line 1: Linguistic diversity, nation-building and nationalism*

Nenad Stojanovic

#### **Direct Democracy and the Political Integration of Linguistic Minorities in a Multilingual Country**

The presence of two or more linguistically separated public spaces in a given country may constitute an obstacle for a functioning democracy since in such places a united public opinion can hardly exist. Is it possible to bridge this gap? The main claim of the paper is that the goal is achievable, provided that we have integrative institutions. Starting from the Swiss experience, the paper highlights possible advantages that direct democracy – i.e., a frequent use of referendums – can bring in a linguistically fragmented country.

Linda Cardinal

#### **Language Regimes in Canada and in Quebec: From Competition to Collaboration?**

The paper examines how the Canadian and Quebec language regimes accommodate the country's two main languages, English and French. Students of language politics are aware of the history of tensions between the two regimes. Both are informed by distinct national projects and understanding of the state's role in promoting languages. However, we still need to understand the administrative and institutional contexts in which they operate concretely. While previous studies have largely focused on representations, especially on the nature of Quebec and Canadian nationalisms, it is also necessary to look at the administrative and institutional legacies in which both regimes evolve. A more contextual approach to the development of language regimes may thus provide new ways of looking at the nature of state intervention in the area of language policy-making and planning.

Albert Branchadell

#### **One Nation, One (Common) Language? Language and Nationalism in 21st Century Catalonia**

The paper describes a shift in the ideology that underlies catalanization policies in Catalonia and considers its relevance for normative reflection. Catalonia has witnessed an 'instrumental turn' that has attempted to de-ethnicize Catalan. But in face of Catalonia's linguistic duality, the new motto 'one nation, one common language' raises well-known normative problems. Rather than sticking to a nationalist frame, we explore a post-nationalist alternative to current language ideologies.

Pasi Saukkonen

### **The Finnish Paradox: Language and Politics in Finland**

Nationalism and multiculturalism are strange bedfellows. In the Finnish case, however, they have formed a relatively well-functioning couple for almost a century. The paper discusses the institutional arrangements and symbolic constructions of this relationship, with special attention to the political organization of linguistic diversity in Finland. The final section brings out some new pressures and challenges that the Finnish linguistic policy is facing at present.

Tadhg Ó hIfearnáin

### **The Politics of Double Minorities, Revitalisation and Regeneration of Irish**

In a series of consultations and commissioned reports from the 2001 Gaeltacht Commission through to the publication of a national 20 year strategy for Irish in December 2010, the state has been re-assessing its policy positions in relation to the Irish language. The power of ideologically driven state language regeneration policy for millions of people which targets revitalisation of the language of a subgroup of tens of thousands of active speakers has inevitably produced mismatches, that may paradoxically have further endangered the future of Irish as a community language while pursuing national language management goals. This paper focuses on emerging language policy in the Gaeltacht and in particular on the stance of the monolingual English-speaking minority and inactive Irish speakers in those regions.

Donna Patrick

### **Indigeneity and the Politics of Language in Canada**

The paper examines the issue of linguistic diversity, nation-building, and nationalism through the lens of indigenous language collectivities and identities in Canada, offering an analysis of the ways in which Indigenous language rights and recognition issues have been linked to political and social mobilisation of indigenous groups in Canada and how particular identities have been formed as a result of these linkages. The key question to be addressed is how Indigenous language politics is tied to Indigenous political movements and, in turn, how language politics is linked to contemporary social and political Indigenous identities. The paper's basic claim is that rights and recognition discourses can play an active role in shaping linguistic, social, and political identities, but only when they are tied to specific languages and to indigenous political struggles for more institutional control over education and other spheres in which language is prominent.

### ***Line 2: Language, transnational integration, and Europeanization***

Guus Extra

### **Towards a European Index of Multilingual Policies and Practices**

The paper outlines the *Language Rich Europe* project, co-funded by the European Commission and initiated by the British Council in Berlin and Brussels, putting special emphasis on the development of a European Index of Multilingualism. It addresses the following main topics will be addressed: the spectrum of language varieties and language domains aimed at in the Index, European bench markers for the Index in terms of key documents and key statistics, and the processes of data collection and data analysis.

Jean-Claude Barbier

### **Languages, Political Cultures and Solidarity in Europe**

One crucial reason why systems of social protection have remained essentially national is that these systems are bounded empirically (territory, history and language) and are based on 'bonds' which are essential for the actual and situated exercise of politics (citizenship law, reciprocity and identification). Politics in Europe means the use of diverse languages, and there is no imaginable way of circumventing this empirical fact of democracy. At the same time, the politicization of cross-EU matters is increasing. Hence, understanding how solidarity fares and will fare across the EU members has to be firmly based on the understanding of the social processes at the national level, and should situate them in the wider polity of the European integration. It is precisely at a time – the present crisis - when élites have really started, albeit reluctantly, to try and 'jump over their shadows' ('über ihren Schatten springen', to use Jürgen Habermas' expression), that they are confronted most importantly with the language issue and the tenacious resilience of political cultures, and, so far, they have doggedly endeavoured to ignore it.

Peter A. Kraus

### **The politics of linguistic identity in Europe**

The attribution of unequal official status to different language communities can be seen, in retrospect, as the basis of struggles for recognition, in which minority groups try to capture public space to make themselves audible vis-à-vis the hegemonic majorities. In general terms, such struggles aim at overcoming those effects of diglossia which seem particularly negative from the minority perspective. Against this background, the question emerges to what extent the dynamics of Europeanization and transnationalism, and the manifold changes related to it, are entailing a redefinition of the terms of language politics. If language was a key factor in nationalist mobilization all over Europe, it can be assumed that the reframing of nationalism has a significant impact on the relations between majorities and minorities. The paper discusses the challenges involved when it comes to constructing communicative spaces that transcend the legacies of nationalism.

### ***Line 3: Language and the politics of immigration***

Ayelet Banai

### **The Languages of the Social Contract**

The paper defends a modified version of the distinction used in the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, arguing that (a) the recognition and protection of languages should indeed remain bounded to territories; and (b) immigrants do not usually have a justified claim for their languages to be recognized as protected minority languages in their receiving countries. Instead, immigrants have a justified claim to the resources and institutional arrangements that would enable them to acquire the local language(s) and in the meantime would secure their access to public services and spheres. This position is defended as follows. First, the paper provides a critical review of three positions that defend the protection of minority languages but do not support the distinction: (i) the democratic inclusion view; (ii) the cultural identity view; (iii) the liberal neutrality/fairness view. It then goes on to propose an alternative justification for policies of language protection, which construes language as an element of the principle of self-determination, and which sustains a distinction between 'traditional' and 'immigrants' languages re-defined.

Silvia Adamo

### **Policies on Immigration and the Language Issue in Denmark**

In Denmark, the new and much debated point-system for permanent residence and the immigration test before family reunification are two of the latest measures in a string of legal instruments imposing a formal and compulsory requirement of language proficiency for immigrants. Drawing up on Danish legislation and policy, the paper addresses the issue of language proficiency for integration and immigration purposes. Is it an excessive and unfair term of integration, or is it a necessary measure for the socio-economic integration of immigrants?

Tünde Puskás

### **Managing immigrant multilingualism in monolingual Swedish schools**

This paper focuses on how language policies formulated at the national level are accommodated, challenged and negotiated by school politicians at the local level. Local school politicians are of particular interest here because in Sweden it is the task of the municipal educational committees to ensure that educational activities are conducted in compliance with state regulations and guidelines. The results suggest that there is a large discrepancy between politico-ideological discourses on multilingualism and multiculturalism and the educational discourses on Swedish as the key to school success.

All participants had circulated their papers in advance, which allowed for a thorough preparation of each session and contributed to the lively and highly stimulating discussion that was a characteristic of the entire workshop. A substantial effort had been made to accentuate the event's interdisciplinary profile. Thus, the paper-givers represented the areas of anthropology, law, linguistics, political science, philosophy and sociology. The strong interdisciplinary component did not entail significant problems regarding the mutual intelligibility of approaches and concepts. At the same time, and rather unsurprisingly, it also became evident that the very term 'language' carries a considerably thicker body of meaning for linguists than for lawyers or political scientists. All in all, when it comes to language issues in Canada and Europe, we are dealing with settings where the manifold legacies of the old – such as the discourse of linguistic nationalism, which is still very powerful in the realms of both politics and science – are a ubiquitous phenomenon, while new ways of articulating diversity are emerging as well, if we think of the multilingualism that nowadays is a striking feature of global metropolitan areas. Against this background, the main challenge of the programme remains to develop an analytic framework that integrates different perspectives across countries and disciplines and at the same time leads to developing an innovative approach to the phenomena we are looking at.

## **3 Assessment of the results and impact of the event**

The workshop successfully brought out the substantial connections between the programme's general framework and the field of language politics. Thus, several of the contributors made a substantial effort at grasping the very *complexity* of the issues at stake here in a period in which linguistic identities are generally seen as more fluid and permeable than in the times of, say, high nationalism. Nevertheless, there is still much to be done if we want to come to grips with the manifold expressions of complex diversity on the terrain of language, politics

and society. To be more precise: What does complexity here stand for concretely, in terms of the ‘new configuration of social conflict in post-industrial societies’ we refer to in our programme? It remains to be seen to what extent we will be able to coin a new *conceptual vocabulary* that helps us to tackle the variegated bundle of the phenomena we need to address when we aim at analyzing the relationship between linguistic repertoires, social differentiation and politics in cities such as Barcelona, Brussels, Helsinki, or Montréal, where the interplay of ‘endogenous’ and ‘exogenous’ layers of diversity is particularly salient.

Against this background, and with regard to the general structure of the project, the Steering Committee must play a critical role to make sure that knowledge gets passed across sections and along workshops, and is thereby produced in cumulative ways. Accordingly, and as discussed in the SC meeting held on May 5<sup>th</sup>, a sound approach would consist in making sure that at least two SC members, in addition to the chair, are involved (as discussants, or with similar roles) in each workshop, so that the questions that arise out of a workshop are taken up in the next and subsequent workshops. For the same reason, workshop organizers should be in touch with their peers in charge of previous events (both across and, especially, within sections) before finalizing their programmes.

Concerning knowledge production, the importance of a smooth preparation of a RECODE working papers series has to be underlined. Independent of parallel book publication plans, these working papers will be made available online after each workshop. The availability of the working papers (and of other material thematically related to the project) will also contribute to the thematic and conceptual interconnectedness of the workshops, in the sense of both fleshing out and substantiating the multiple meanings of complex diversity in Europe and North America. Tünde Puskás and Peter A. Kraus, as the organizers of workshop 1, and Francisco Colom and Gianni D’Amato, as the organizers of workshop 2, will discuss how to proceed for the initial online working papers and inform the RECODE team about their conclusions.

## 4 Final programme of the meeting

### Workshop 1 Programme

Friday May 6<sup>th</sup>

Workshop Day 1

#### Session 1 – Linguistic Diversity, Nation-Building and Nationalism

##### 10:00–12:30 Session 1A

Nenad Stojanovic	Switzerland	Direct Democracy and the Political Integration of Linguistic Minorities in a Multilingual Country
Linda Cardinal	Canada	Language Regimes in Canada and in Quebec: From Competition to Collaboration?
Albert Branchadell	Spain	One Nation, One (Common) Language? Language and Nationalism in 21st Century Catalonia
Keith Banting	Canada	Discussant

*Chair: Peter A. Kraus*

##### 14.00–16:30 Session 1B

Pasi Saukkonen	Finland	The Finnish Paradox: Language and Politics in Finland
Tadhg Ó hIfearnáin	Ireland	The Politics of Double Minorities, Revitalisation and Regeneration of Irish
Donna Patrick	Canada	Indigeneity and the Politics of Language in Canada
John Erik Fossum	Norway	Discussant

*Chair: Tünde Puskás*

#### Session 2 – Language and the Dynamics of Transnational Integration/Europeanization

##### 17:00–19:30

Guus Extra	Netherlands	Towards a European Index of Multilingual Policies and Practices
Jean-Claude Barbier	France	Languages, Political Cultures and Solidarity in Europe
Peter A. Kraus	Finland	The Politics of Linguistic Diversity at the European Level
Keith Battarbee	Finland	Discussant

*Chair: Francisco Colom-González*

Saturday May 7<sup>th</sup>

Workshop Day 2

#### Session 3 – Language and the Politics of Immigration

##### 10:00–12:30

Ayelet Banai	Germany	The Languages of the Social Contract
Silvia Adamo	Denmark	What's the point? – Policies on Immigration and the Language Issue in Denmark
Tünde Puskás	Sweden	Managing Immigrant Multilingualism in Monolingual Swedish Schools
Johanne Poirier	Belgium	Discussant

*Chair: João Cardoso Rosas*

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## **Other RECODE Events (Connected to Workshop) – Thursday May 5<sup>th</sup>, 2011**

**Steering Committee Meeting, Helsinki 9:00-13:00**

**RECODE Public Launch Event, Helsinki – Panel Discussion, 16:00**

**Welcoming Words:** Ulla-Maija Forsberg (Vice-Rector, University of Helsinki)

**Introduction and Discussion Chair:** Peter A. Kraus (RECODE Programme Chair)

**Panel:**

Keith Banting	Canada	Is the Atlantic Getting Bigger or Smaller? Multiculturalism and Civic Integration in Canada and Europe
Ferran Requejo	Spain	Conceptual and Institutional Shortcomings in Plurinational Democracies: A Theoretical and Comparative Approach
Riva Kastoryano	France	De-territorialised diversity: Global and transnational dimensions
Rainer Bauböck	Austria	Territory, Birthright and Language: the Particularistic Sources of Political Community

### **Appendix 1 – List of Participants**

Silvia Adamo	Denmark
Ayelet Banai	Germany
Keith Banting	Canada
Jean-Claude Barbier	France
Keith Battarbee	Finland
Rainer Bauböck	Austria
Albert Branchadell	Spain
Linda Cardinal	Canada
João Cardoso Rosas	Portugal
Francisco Colom-González	Spain
Guus Extra	Netherlands
John Erik Fossum	Norway
Riva Kastoryano	France
Margaret Kelleher*	Ireland
Peter A. Kraus	Finland, Chair
Tadhg Ó hIfearnáin	Ireland
Donna Patrick	Canada
Johanne Poirier	Belgium
Tünde Puskás	Sweden
Ferran Requejo	Spain
Pasi Saukkonen	Finland
Birte Siim	Denmark
Nenad Stojanovic	Switzerland

\*Participation in SC meeting via video-conference