



The Influence of the EU's Language Policy on the Language Policy of the Member States of the EU



A comparative research: France and Latvia

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Executive Summary

The power of the European Union's language policy is limited, since it runs its policy based on the principle of subsidiarity. However, this does not mean the EU cannot exert pressure on the member states and thus, influence national language policies. As European countries increasingly focus on the acquisition of common-spoken languages, such as English and French, it is of importance to research the influence the EU plays in the learning of languages in its member states.

This dissertation looked into the extent of the influence of the EU in terms of languages and answered the question "to what extent has the European Union's language policy influenced the national language policy of the European Union's member states?" This question was answered by researching two inherently different countries: France and Latvia.

In order to answer the research question, different research methods were used. Governmental and institutional resources were utilised to draw up the main programmes, objectives and legislation. In addition, the information and views provided by scholars were used to provide a balanced view. Moreover, two in-depth interviews were conducted. Meirion Prys Jones, the CEO of the Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity, and Christine Hélot provided valuable information and insight. The information from these sources has enabled the use of a comparative method. Differences and similarities between France and Latvia provide a good image of the influence of the EU's language.

This dissertation discussed the EU's language policy and its different programmes that aim at supporting multilingualism and wish to stimulate language learning in the member states. Despite this aim, in practice, the programmes cover multiple domains and there is a great focus on those languages that are spoken widely as a first or second language, also known as the commercial languages. In Europe, English, French and German take the lead.

The budget spent by the European Commission on language learning has decreased significantly. The EC's funding for the Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity, a network that originates from the European Parliament's goal to promote the acquisition and rights of minority languages, will soon end. Earlier years also show there is an increased focus on commercial languages over lesser-used languages. The focus on commercial languages translated to France and Latvia, two member states that award increased rights and promote the acquisition of languages such as English and German.

The research conducted shows that France's language policy has, from the French Revolution to today, awarded a superior status to French. Nevertheless, France has given more rights to bilingual

education and minority languages. This is partially thanks to the influence of the EU. Inside the country there is also a movement happening that focuses increasingly on the acquisition of English. This is present in both education and in advertisement. This movement is happening despite changes in the language policy of France and is in line with the movement that is happening around the world. Latvia, similar to France, has installed laws that award a great significance to the Latvian language as it serves as a shield for Latvia to maintain its independence. Latvia itself has, since it accessed to the EU in 2004, increasingly moved towards the learning of Western-European languages over Russian.

The comparative research revealed that both France and Latvia have kept sovereignty in terms of language policy and have been capable of defending their rights against EU and non-EU bodies. France's language policy seems to largely aim at protecting its own language, while opening possibilities for the teaching of others. Latvia, on the other hand, focuses on the large group of Russian minorities that wish for more rights for the Russian language. Another surprising similarity can be found in bilingual education. Both countries allow approximately half of the curriculum to be taught in a foreign language.

The maintenance of sovereignty does not mean there has not been an influence. Besides the programmes set up by the EU, non-EU bodies have had influence on the rights for minority languages in France and Latvia as well. The Council of Europe has adequately increased the rights for minorities by drawing up the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Few actions derive from the Council of Europe nowadays as it is mostly occupied with guarding the Charter and its conventions.

This research has shown that the EU has influenced the promotion of commercial languages in its member states. However, the promotion of commercial languages is largely in line with the trend occurring across the globe. Hence, it cannot be stated the EU has affected the language policies of the two countries to a great extent. The EU's goal to support multilingualism is only apparent inside the institutions of the EU and is hardly visible in France and Latvia. The EU has, however, strengthened the use and acquisition of commercial languages.

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Preface

Throughout my research I have had the luck of being surrounded by great people, who stimulated me, guided me and kept their patience as I was trying to put the different elements together and create a clear picture on the influence of the EU's language policy.

In the early stages of forming my dissertation topic, I owe much to Mrs Van den Haspel, who helped me find a research question that was feasible and, at the same time, interesting to me, having looked critically at earlier drafts.

During the writing of my dissertation, I found support and motivation with my supervisor Mr Van Ginhoven, who never failed to answer any of my questions and has helped me to improve my work from day one.

As I continued looking into the language policy of France, the great knowledge of Dr Christine Hélot, Professor at the University of Strasbourg in France, resulted into a thorough review of my earlier vision on the country's language teaching and planning. The insight and view she gave of France greatly balanced general assumptions of the nation's language policy, providing me with a realistic view of language in France today.

Furthermore, I would like to thank Meirion Prys Jones, the CEO of the NPLD, for expressing his view on the attention there is in Europe for (minority) language learning. His devotion to starting discourse and raising awareness for minority languages was truly inspiring.

Finally, I wish to express my thanks to the great support I have found from my family and friends, who endured my endless monologues on the contradictions in language policy and never failed to contest any views I had of my own.

List of Abbreviations

CEFR	Common European Framework of references for languages
CoE	Council of Europe
EACEA	Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency
EBLUL	European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages
EC	European Commission
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
ECRML	European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages
EEC	European Economic Community
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
FCNM	Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities
NPLD	Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
TEC	Treaty Establishing the European Community
TEU	Treaty on European Union
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the Union
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

Introduction

A total of 28 member states and 24 official languages makes for a great number of linguistic differences inside the member states of the European Union. Dealing with those differences and ensuring each official language is treated equally is not an easy task, especially with the limited power of the EU regarding language policy.

In order to promote multilingualism throughout Europe, the European Commission has set itself the long-term goal that every European citizen should master two or more languages besides the mother tongue. Moreover, the EU emphasises that all official and working languages are treated equally. There is, however, a difference between the *de jure* and the *de facto* status of languages. On top of that, the European Union runs its language policy on the principle of subsidiarity, meaning the language policy is decided on a local rather than supranational level. This leaves the EU as a mere stimulator in terms of language policy, promoting the learning of multiple languages through a variety of initiatives and measures.

Since the EU can only stimulate language learning and thus, has limited power and cannot directly change the member states' language policies, it can be questioned whether any changes in the language policy of the EU's member states can be found. To discover the influence of the EU in this area this dissertation delves into the language policy of the European Union, France and Latvia. The choice to study France and Latvia rests on the conception that these two countries have greatly different historical backgrounds and thus, a good image of how the EU's language policy affects its inherently different member states can be provided. This research answered the question "to what extent has the European Union's language policy influenced the national language policy of the European Union's member states?".

The first chapter of the dissertation focuses on clearly portraying the language policies of the European Union, France and Latvia. Chapter 2 answers to what extent the European Union actually influenced the language policy of France and Latvia. In addition, a closer look is taken at other European institutions, such as the Council of Europe and the NPLD, in the third chapter. To understand the full scale of the influence of the European Union, Chapter 4 stresses how movements and changes have appeared in the two nations without the influence of European institutions. The final chapter compares France and Latvia to each other to understand the similarities and differences that are present with an equal official status for each language.

Methodology

The goal of this dissertation is to discover the extent to which the European Union has had an influence on the language policies of its member states. In order to answer this question, this research used different methods of gathering qualitative information. Desk research was performed and valuable information has been gathered by conducting in-depth interviews.

In drawing up the main objectives, programmes and legislation, it was of importance to use governmental and institutional websites, which clearly outline the elements of the EU's, France's and Latvia's language policy and provide a great wealth of statistical data. Information was taken from the official websites of the European Commission, Council of Europe, the European Parliament, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia, the Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity and the website on France's legislative system, Legifrance.

The writing of linguists contesting, promoting and challenging the language policies was explored, in order to balance out the information provided by politically charged websites. Different views are provided by scholars, which together form a balanced picture of the actual influence the EU has. The main scholars mentioned in this dissertation are Creech, Grigas, Nic Craith, Ozolins, Phillipson and Woehrling.

To answer the research question properly, it was of importance to use a comparative method. According to Sandra Halperin and Oliver Heath, a comparative method can be approached by comparing the information that different sources provide (2012). This was done for the research conducted on the language policies of France and Latvia as well as the influence the EU has had on them.

Furthermore, in-depth interviews were conducted to gain greater insight into the topic. The decision to conduct in-depth interviews derives from the notion that a research on the EU's language policy requires critical views on whether there has been a true influence or not. A questionnaire would not have been beneficial for the research. Language policy consists of many different parts, which are all of importance. A questionnaire that would merely focus on, for instance, language learning, would provide incomplete figures. Moreover, the execution of a questionnaire covering all components of language policy would be infeasible within the limited time. The quantitative data that appear in this dissertation cover different components of language policy, and are provided by different institutions.

Qualitative research, on the other hand, proved to add greatly to the research and provided a greater depth in the research. Dr Christine Hélot, teacher of English at the University of Strasbourg in France, provided valuable information and a clear opinion on the linguistic system of France.

Furthermore, Meirion Prys Jones, the CEO of the NPLD, clarified the extent to which the European Union aims at supporting all official and minority languages and balanced out earlier research conducted for this dissertation.

Chapter 1: Language Policy

In order to create a picture of the influence the EU's language policy has on France and Latvia, it is of importance to understand what their language policies entail. This chapter discusses the main contents of the language policy of the EU, France and Latvia.

Phillipson (2003) clearly outlines the different elements that are concerned with language policy. He places them in different categories: status planning, concerning legislation and the status a language has, corpus planning, which concerns itself with the content of a language, meaning it sets out "to determine norms for a language" (p. 14), and acquisition planning, which focuses on the educational process of languages. These three incorporate in language planning (p. 14-16).

The European Union, France and Latvia have all shaped their status, corpus, and acquisition planning differently. Diverse pieces of legislation, history, and social and political pressure have created the language policies that are known today.

European Union

Articles 2 and 3 TEU and Articles 6 and 165 TFEU.

In the field of education and vocational training, the EU Treaties give the Union the task of supporting and supplementing action by the Member States aimed at developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States (Article 165(2)), while fully respecting cultural and linguistic diversity (Article 165(1)) ("Language Policy", 2014).

One of the main reasons for the EU to stimulate language learning is to "strengthen feelings of being European" (Phillipson, 2003, p. 95). Since the EU runs its language policy by the means of the principle of subsidiarity, decisions are taken at a local level rather than at a supranational level, giving limited power to the institutions of the EU (p. 9).

The EU has a total of 24 official languages (see Box 1.1 for all official languages). Within the EU, the national languages of the member states all have the same official status and thus, are all officially regarded as equal. Inside the EU there is no difference between official and working languages, as is the case in the United Nations (UN), where French and English have the status of working languages. Upon entering the European Union, the

Official and working languages of the EU:

Bulgarian	Croatian
Czech	Danish
Dutch	English
Estonian	Finnish
French	German
Greek	Hungarian
Irish	Italian
Latvian	Lithuanian
Maltese	Polish
Portuguese	Romanian
Slovak	Slovene
Spanish	Swedish

(European Commission, 2015)

Box 1.1

official working language of the new member state is adopted as an official language by the EU¹. This is not the case for subnational languages. There are still sounds of national governments seeking to make subnational languages an official and working language in the EU. Examples of this are Basque, Catalan and Galician.

The European Commission aims at making European citizenship multilingual and enabling them to communicate in two foreign languages besides their mother tongue. This objective was agreed to in 2002 in the Barcelona European Council, where the EU's Heads of State and Government agreed to this long-term goal ("Strategic Framework", 2015).

Initiatives

The limited power of the EU in terms of language policy has not drawn the EU back from establishing programmes to stimulate learning foreign languages throughout its member states. An overview of the main initiatives set up by the EU can be found in Box 1.2.

The Lifelong Learning Programme, the successor of the Socrates programme, is divided into different programmes that aim at specific types of education (see Box 1.2). The EACEA (Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency), which operates under the wings of the EC, states that the Erasmus+ programme, following the former Erasmus programme since 2014, indirectly promotes the learning of multiple languages, because it increases the mobility of students by, amongst other actions, offering funding for an exchange semester for European citizens. The Comenius programme is largely similar, however, it focuses on an earlier phase in education, namely, from pre-school to secondary school. The Leonardo Da Vinci programme, in turn, aims at vocational education and the Grundtvig programme at adult education (2013).

EU language policy's programmes

- Lifelong Learning Programme:
 - Erasmus + programme (higher education)
 - Comenius (schools, pre-school to secondary school)
 - Leonardo Da Vinci (vocational education)
 - Grundtvig (adult education)
- Creative Europe programme
- The European Year of Languages (2001)
- Translation Services

Box 1.2

The Creative Europe programme, which runs from 2014 to 2020, supports Europe's culture and creative sector. Within this programme, linguistic diversity is regarded as well. One of its aims is to provide funding for literary translations, their goal being the translation of 4,500 books.

¹ An exception was made for Ireland. Ireland's government did not wish an overload of translation tasks and thus, advised against it. After sounds of the Irish wishing the language to be made official after all, the government asked the EU for permission to add Irish to the list of the EU's official and working languages. In 2007 Irish was adopted as the 23d official language of the EU.

Besides the different programmes, the EU named 2001 the European Year of Languages. A total of €6 million was spent on 185 activities, which were organised in the then 15 member states to stimulate language learning by aiming at increasing the confidence in acquiring a foreign language.

To ensure official documents are provided in multiple languages, the EU has an extensive translation service. Creech (2005) states that the Rules of Procedure of the Court of Justice clarifies that any of the official and working languages may be used in a particular case. Rights to use a preferred language are installed throughout the European Union (p. 25). The EC has a staff of 1,750 linguists and 600 supporting staff. Furthermore, the EC has 600 full-time and 3,000 freelance interpreters working on translations commissioned by the EU.

Language Status

Important to realise when looking at the language policy of the European Union is the move towards both multilingualism and internationalisation. At the same time, it is vital to take into account the *de facto* and official status of languages.

According to Phillipson (2003), as multilingualism takes its course, the EU wishes to internationalise the member states as well. He states that it does so in specific domains, amongst them education, commerce, politics and civil society. Especially English is promoted greatly in these domains, due to the link between the EU with the USA (p. 11-12).

This internationalisation is linked to the status languages have throughout the member states. Phillipson (2003) states that it is already clear what language has its preference. Certain languages, such as English and French, have more *de facto* rights than other lesser-used languages, such as Latvian (p. 22). Even in translation services, a preference for specific languages can be discovered. Pozzo and Jacometti (2006) state the European Parliament implemented a more efficient system, whereby documents are translated to “pivot” languages: English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish. From these pivot languages the documents are translated to the remaining 18 official languages (p. 203).

These pivot languages find their way back in the ranking drawn up by Phillipson (2003). He states that “the hierarchy of languages in the internal operations of EU institutions appears to be: (1) English; (2) French; (3) German; (4) the rest” (p. 132). Creech (2005) has the same top three and continues the list with Italian, Polish and Spanish (4); Czech, Danish, Dutch, Estonian, Finnish, Greek, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Portuguese, Slovak, Slovenian and Swedish (5); Maltese (6); Irish (7); Turkish (8); and Regional and Minority languages (9) (p. 44). Today, three more languages can be added to this list: Bulgarian, Croatian and Romanian², which will unlikely rank

² Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU in 2007, Croatia in 2014.

higher than place five, considering the position of the languages spoken in the neighbouring countries.

Creech (2005) names the Office for Harmonisation in the Internal Market (OHIM) as an example for the existing hierarchy. In 1993 the EU set up the OHIM and, after a number of deliberations regarding the amount of languages to be used internally, settled for English, French, German, Italian and Spanish, leaving out other lesser-used languages (p. 32-33).

France

Toubon Law

Art. 1. The language of the republic in accordance with the constitution, the French language is a fundamental element of the personality and heritage of France.

It is the language of education, work, exchanges and public services.

It is the preferred link of the states forming the francophone community ("Loi n° 94-665 du 4 août 1994 relative à l'emploi de la langue française", n.d.)³

France is one of the founding countries of what is now the European Union and became part of the European collaboration in 1957. At the time France joined the EU, French had a more profound status inside Europe than it does now. According to Phillipson, France has remained the monolingual country it was then, valuing its internal language greatly. The high status of French in France's culture can be identified by looking at its language policy. Reasons for France's protective nature in terms of the State Language can to a large extent be explained by examining France's history (2003).

Historical Background

France's monolingual nature was largely formed during the French Revolution. According to Phillipson (2003), France draws its language culture from a republican ideology. This ideology became profound during the French Revolution (1789-1799). The move from an absolute monarchy to a republic created a great change for France's language policy. In particular, the teaching of French changed greatly. Less than half of the French population spoke French during the French Revolution (p. 41-42). In order to unite the nation, French had to be taught.

To unify via language was of great importance since all news about the Revolution was sent out in the French language. As a result, other languages' *de jure* status diminished. French was to be taught in all schools. Creating this hegemony through language meant minority languages, such as Basque, Breton and Occitan, were seen as threatening to the nation state.

³ Translated by the author of this dissertation.

Steps in creating a unified nation via language were taken even earlier on. In 1635, France set up the Académie Française. This Académie nurtured French. It increased the importance of the language throughout Europe making it the international language inside Europe about a century later.

According to Phillipson (2003) the role French has played in the world is far greater than merely to communicate inside France. French was the sole language linking elites in Europe throughout French history, before English took over this role. It was promoted greatly abroad (p. 90). Judt and Lacorne (2004) state it was given several titles, amongst them the language of civilisation, freedom's language and the language of progress (p. 28). This lasted from the seventeenth century to the First World War when Americans entered conferences on peace. The collaboration between European nations and the USA made English an important language for communication. French, in turn, declined in importance, as the significance of English increased.

Yet even with the USA influencing the communicative language inside Europe, the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) exposed the status of French in Europe had not vanished. On 7 March 1953, the European Court of Justice set down French, German, Italian, and Dutch as the official languages. Phillipson (2003) points out there is no regard for an alphabetical order in this listing, emphasising French is named first (p. 54). This order shows the significance of French still present in Europe at that time.

France itself wished to maintain this significance. Phillipson (2003) states that France itself attempted to install French as the sole official language for the European Economic Community (EEC) before the actual establishment. When Great Britain joined what is now the EU in 1972, again attempts were made to put French on a pedestal. President Pompidou, the president of the Republic of France at that time, insisted on French remaining the communicative language of the institutions of the EU (p. 54/124).

Language policy today

Even though the relevance of English is now far greater than that of French, France's language policy still seems to aim at keeping French as a superior language. The country puts its own language on a high place, despite the fact French is the sixth most widely spoken language in the world with approximately 220 million speakers of French worldwide. According to Spolsky (2004), the internal language principle is to establish one sole language and thus minority languages become less important (p. 63). However, minority languages today have more rights than they had in the past. Judt and Lacorne (2004) state that diversity in the linguistic realm is allowed in politics (p. 21).

Another example of how francophony has rooted deeply in France is the Toubon Law. According to Vanston (1999), the growing importance of English has driven the French government to the creation of the Toubon Law in 1994. The law aimed to protect the French language. It did so by not adopting any foreign vocabulary into the country itself (find the Toubon Law in Appendix I) (p. 176-181). The law is still in place today.

The law applies to both the public and private sphere, making it mandatory to use French in the marketing of goods and services that the public in France is exposed to. This means advertisements, commercials, instructions, manuals, announcements etcetera have to be written in French with no exception. Adding a translation is allowed, but the French version should always be clearer to understand (in terms of size, font, colour, writing etcetera), meaning the translation falls away compared to the French version. Officially, any violation leads to a sanction or penalty. Interestingly, if one searched for a translation of the Toubon Law, only the official French version can be found, which discloses the superior status of French also finds its way to the accessibility of the document itself.

Despite these indications of discouragement to acquire foreign languages, Hélot expresses that France teaches foreign languages actively. Teaching a foreign language starts at primary education in France. Schools can choose from Arabic, Chinese, English, German, Italian, Portuguese, Russian and Spanish (C. Hélot, personal interview, March 26, 2015).

Latvia

Official Language Law of Latvia - Section 5

Any other language used in the Republic of Latvia, except the Liv language, shall be regarded, within the meaning of this Law, as a foreign language ("Official Language Law", 2000, p. 2).

Latvia joined the European Union together with nine other Eastern European countries in 2004, only a little over a decade after the country regained its independence.

Latvia declared full independence⁴ from the Soviet Union in 1991. According to Nic Craith (2006), this independence meant a change and review for cultures and languages. In particular, the high Russian-speaking population brought difficulties to the re-establishing of policies. During the late 1980s the ethnic Latvian population in the country was only 52 per cent. Latvia decided to adopt a new policy whereby only those residents, who had lived in the country before the annexation in 1940, received automatic citizenship. The large Russian population was now excluded. Language

⁴ Latvia gained independence in 1920. It again lost its independence in 1940 to the USSR.

formed the basis for the remaining non-citizens, who wished to opt for citizenship. By the means of *linguistic qualification*⁵ residents could still receive their citizenship (p. 31-32).

The value of Latvian inside the country increased and the right to speak Russian was reduced in the public sector. New language laws were installed in different sectors. The Electronic Mass Media Law was introduced, prescribing rules for films airing on each channel in Latvia. The piece of legislation obliges channels to dub their films or add the original Latvian soundtrack, and to offer Latvian subtitles.

Difficulties for Latvia arose when dealing with the large group of non-Latvian speakers. At the time Latvia regained independence, 700,000 out of 2.5 million residents did not have sufficient knowledge of Latvian. The solution from the Latvian government was language training.

Alterations were made until, in 1998, Latvian became the sole official state language in the Latvian Constitution. May 2002 marked another step in the history of language in Latvia. During that year, election laws were amended and Latvian was installed as the working language of the Latvian Parliament (Nic Craith, 2006, p. 33).

The alterations in Latvia's language policy changed the application of citizenship greatly. Nic Craith (2006) emphasises that the process of naturalisation hardly took place. From 1995 to June 1997, 120,000 individuals were qualified to apply for citizenship and merely 7512 applied. A total of 5,944 eventually acquired Latvian citizenship. This reluctance to acquire citizenship is not just due to incompetence in the Latvian language or unwillingness to learn it. Other factors are the loss of a Russian passport and being liable for military service upon acquiring a Latvian passport (p. 33-34). The amendments of the Citizenship Law in 2013, conducted under European pressure, did lead to the wished results (see Chapter 2 for more on this amendment).

When taking a closer look at the use of the Latvian language, it is clear the alterations made in its language policy have not led to Latvian being spoken widely or even spoken by all of its citizens. Approximately 1.5 million people speak Latvian. The population of Latvia has decreased by 25 per cent between 1990 and 2014 and is now at the all-time low of 1,986,700, meaning there are more people living in Latvia than there are Latvian speakers in the world. In 2011, the population of Latvia consisted of 62.1 per cent Latvians, 26.9 per cent Russians and 11.0 per cent with other nationalities.

⁵ The process whereby individuals earn citizenship if they learn the new State Language and pass examinations, proving their competence in the language of the nation.

Despite the changes and political debates that led to establishing the importance of the Latvian language by law, minority languages still play an important role. At the end of 1999, a new law was adopted, which states that minorities inside Latvia have the right to speak their mother tongue. The Latvian government supports the internal minority languages present inside the country. It finances national minority education programmes in seven languages: Belarusian, Estonian, Hebrew, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian and Ukrainian. During the academic year 2014/2015, funding went to the 109 schools that offer national minority education programmes (there are a total of 821 general education schools in Latvia). Russian programmes, including bilingual programmes, where teaching is conducted in both Latvian and Russian, are most common with a total of 99 schools receiving funding. When looking at these numbers it must be taken into account that there is a restriction for bilingual programmes, since only 40 per cent of the curricula in public secondary school can be taught in a different language than Latvian.

Despite the emphasis on Russian and other languages of neighbouring countries, Nic Craith (2006) argues that the Baltic States have encouraged the learning of other Western-European languages over the learning of Russian upon entering the European Union (p. 38).

Chapter 2: Influence of EU on national language policy

This chapter discusses how the EU has influenced the language policy of its member states. Different contrasts are elaborated on, such as the *de facto* and official status of languages, commercial versus cultural reasons for promoting languages, and how multilingualism has its own drawbacks and is contested by the simultaneous move towards internationalisation. Furthermore, this chapter takes a closer look at the EU's main initiatives described in the previous chapter and delves into the influence these initiatives have had in France and Latvia.

European Union

Even though the language policy of the EU aims at promoting each official language, in informal settings, certain languages appear to be more dominant. According to Nic Craith (2006), despite the fact official EU documents are translated into all 24 official languages, they are usually available in English and French first. He states, "We have *de jure* linguistic equality within EU institutions but *de facto* two *lingua francas*, English and French" (p. 51-52). The dominance of English and French can be assigned to different factors. One of them is the fact a great number of official European institutions are located in a French-speaking zone (Brussels). During the time of the predecessors of the EU, it meant French and German were used between the at that time six member states. The dominance of French in Western-European history added to French being the logical choice as a communicative language (p. 46).

Furthermore, cultural and economic values take their place in today's society. The different statuses of languages derive from cultural and commercial values to languages. Creech (2005) points out the EU's cultural reasons are reflected in the learning of multiple languages, and emphasises how languages have a humanistic value, both in the European Union and the individual member states. Nevertheless, he believes the commercial value has the upper hand (p. 51).

The value the EU gives to a language has been discussed internally as well. Creech (2005) uses the debate between the European Parliament and European Council in 1997 as an example to show how the institutions of the EU themselves have been on the road to defining the value they hold to languages. The European Parliament and the European Council disagreed about the importance of culture and economics in linguistic diversity. The debate fired up as the Council had decided on adopting a programme that promoted "linguistic diversity of the Community in the information society" (p. 51). The programme was meant to ensure communication between people from different linguistic backgrounds could take place. It took into account both commercial and cultural values. However, the Parliament and Council disagreed about the extent to which the programme was based on cultural value. The Parliament gave a more extensive value to culture, whereas the Council leaned more towards the commercial value. The case appeared before the European Court

of Justice (ECJ). The European Council defended their case based on Article 157 TEC (Art. 173 TFEU), which states “the competitiveness of the Community’s industry” (p. 52) (now: Union’s industry), whereas the Parliament put forth Article 151 TEC (Art. 167 TFEU), its content being, the Community (now: the Union) should “contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States” (p. 52). The ECJ decided to base the case on Article 157 TEC, which gave the Council the sole right to the measure, showing commercial values beat cultural values (p. 51-53).

There are more signs that show the EU’s focus on commercial languages. The EC states on its website

(...) in order to reduce the cost to the tax payer, the European Commission aims to provide visitors with web content either in their own language or in one they can understand, depending on their real needs. This language policy will be applied as consistently as possible across the new web presence. An evidence-based, user-focused approach will be used to decide whether many language versions are required or not (“Official Languages of the EU”, 2015).

The limited languages used for web content reveals there is a preference for the more common-used languages, when it is unnecessary to provide them in other official EU languages, which results into some languages being left out.

It can be argued that the official status of the EU languages is no guarantee for their long-term existence. According to Nic Craith (2006), the increase in the use of English and French has led to de-territorialisation of the other non-commercial EU languages (p. 50). If so, the goal to maintain linguistic diversity and equal treatment of each language by the EU is one that cannot be reached. If the *de facto* status of languages indeed is more dominant than the official status, language laws aiming at multilingualism, including lesser-used European languages, installed by the EC have not only limited power, but provide limited results.

Phillipson (2003) agrees with this, and states that promoting tolerance towards linguistic diversity “is seldom converted into specific implementation or monitoring” (p. 142). He also states, “*Laissez faire* policies are bound to strengthen those languages that are powerful in the national and international economy” (p. 143), giving again voice to the dominance of commercial values when it comes to languages.

The lack of great influence by the EU can partially be assigned to its limited power. This means the linguistic diversity in a country can be both stimulated and discouraged by national governments more than the EU. Whereas national governments have control over language policies in different regions of their country, the EU lacks great influence on a local level. Nic Craith (2006) states that

the EU does officially support multilingualism, but it does so throughout the institutions and its employees and does not directly aim at the member states' citizens (p. 52).

This principle is named *institutional multilingualism* by Phillipson (2003). The influence the EU exerts from a supranational level may even have its drawbacks. He argues that the goal of the EU to support multilingualism, having set up translation services to ensure each language is represented, enables member states to follow a monolingual system as well (p. 129).

At the same time, Phillipson (2003) mentions that the combination of promoting multilingualism and internationalisation causes great inequality in what languages are taught where. He states that results of the internationalisation of education by the EU have not been great, it has, however, increased the use of English (p. 93).

Despite these sounds, voicing the improbability of the EU making significant changes, it is clear the Erasmus+ programme has been able to provide students with an increased mobility throughout Europe, ensuring students could experience a different culture and acquire a foreign language. Numbers published by the European Commission show 10 per cent of EU students have made their way abroad for their study or work placement. Approximately 4.5 per cent does so with the support of the Erasmus+ programme. The numbers of students making use of the Erasmus+ fund are increasing for almost each country inside the EU ("Number of Erasmus students tops 3 million", 2015).

The Creative Europe programme has also been stated to make significant changes. According to an impact assessment by the European Commission on the Creative Europe programme, drawn up before the actual establishment of the current programme, Creative Europe would result into a greater linguistic diversity ("Impact Assessment", 2011).

Despite the different programmes and official documents initiated by the EU, it can be questioned whether the EU, most particularly the European Commission, is doing enough to truly stimulate language learning of all official languages.

Meirion Prys Jones, the CEO of the Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity (NPLD), emphasises that the Erasmus funding largely focuses on commercial languages. According to Jones, this is a way for the Commission to save money. He states, "90 per cent of the funding was spent on six languages" (M.P. Jones, personal interview, May 5, 2015). The European Year of Languages also proves the little money that the EC spends on supporting languages. Phillipson (2003) argues that the budget for the European Year of Languages of €6 million is small compared to funding for agriculture and regional development (p. 92). Moreover, the EC subtly hints that it takes into

account financial concerns in a statement on their website (find the complete statement on page 19). The EC states that they may not translate web content to all languages, if there is no real need for it. As a reason for this measure, the EC puts forth the argument that it will “reduce the cost to the tax payer” (“Official Languages of the EU”, 2015).

“Although, the members of the European Union, their languages, all have an equal status, they do not get so many services”. Jones gives an example, which outlines the attitude of the Commission towards lesser-used languages. He mentions, “you have had this long list of motions going through the European Parliament with the latest one in 2013, the Alfonsi motion, which had a 92 per cent of voting for, which said to the Commission, it needed to do more about endangered languages”. However, according to Jones, the EC's response to this motion was that they did enough about endangered languages already and therefore, did not need to do more. Jones states that this, in turn, is a result of the European Council's influence on the Commission, which states that there should be a focus on economy, migration and mobility (M.P. Jones, personal interview, May 5, 2015).

This focus on economy, migration and mobility also appears in the Erasmus+ programme. According to Jones, the approximately €13 billion of funding the programme receives is largely thanks to the different fields it covers. He stresses, “The problem is that the languages in the context of minority languages or lesser-used languages do not really fit into that agenda” (M.P. Jones, personal interview, May 5, 2015).

France

It is clear the Erasmus+ programme has taken root in France. As stated above, an increasing amount of students are making use of the programme in almost every EU country. Other influences, such as the Toubon Law, have altered the way languages are regarded in the nation.

The exchange funding opportunities of the Erasmus+ Programme were increasingly used by French students. The number of students benefiting from the grant increased by 7,000 between 1994/1995 (10,000) and 1999/2000 (17,000). When taking a look at more recent numbers, provided by the European Commission, there is an even bigger increase. In the school year 2011/2012, 33,269 students made use of the Erasmus programme, which is a 4.8 per cent growth compared to the prior school year (31,747 students) (“Number of Erasmus students tops 3 million”, 2015). An increase in the number of people using the Erasmus grant does not immediately relate to an increasing number going abroad, especially since the Erasmus funding only applies to an exchange or placement semester abroad.

However, other numbers, drawn up by the Institute of International Education, do reveal the amount of students going abroad has gone up. The number of French higher education students finding their way abroad has increased significantly. In 2012, 62,416 French students were studying abroad. The most popular destination was the United Kingdom with 20.4 per cent having travelled to the country to study abroad. Canada (13.3 per cent) and the United States (12.8 per cent) ranked number two and three. Switzerland (11.9 per cent), Belgium (10.8 per cent) and Germany (9.5 per cent) were also relatively popular destinations. When looking at earlier years, it is palpable there has been a large increase. In 2005, 52,156 students went abroad, meaning over 10,000 more French students decided to study abroad in seven years. Throughout the years the United Kingdom remained the number one study destination.

Interestingly, the most popular countries seem to relate to the ranking of languages with the most *de facto* rights, since all above-mentioned countries' national language(s) are English, French and German, the three languages that make Phillipson's top three with the most *de facto* rights. Moreover, the most chosen countries offer education in French and the most taught foreign languages in France. Equally interesting are the non-European countries present in the top three. Canada and the United States rank place two and three, revealing studying abroad does not immediately relate to the influence of the Erasmus+ programme and might even indicate the importance of language when choosing a destination ("France's Students Overseas", n.d.)

When studying these numbers, it should be taken into account there has been a rise in the amount of higher education students. Between 2005 and 2012, the amount of domestic French students has increased by 79,569 students (Institute of International Education, n.d., Higher Education Sector). Since there was an increase in the amount of students and French students going abroad simultaneously, it can be argued no significant change occurred over those seven years. What can, however, be stated is that the open borders and grant make studying abroad easier, whether for an exchange or longer period, and hence, make an exchange or full study abroad more attractive for students.

International students find their way to France as well. The amount of international students coming to France even exceeds that of French students going abroad. According to the Institute of International Education, in the 2005/2006 school year, 265,710 international students enrolled. During the 2012/2013 school year, 289,274 students enrolled to study in France. Interestingly, most foreign students come from countries outside the EU: Morocco (1), China (2) and Algeria (3) make the top three. Germany appears as the first European country in the list, at place six. The top three has remained the same from the school years 2002/2003 to 2013/2014 ("International

Students in France", n.d.). France makes sure it remains attractive for international students as well with almost 700 English taught educational programmes installed throughout France.

The shift towards internationalisation is not completely installed throughout France, especially on a legislative level. The efforts of the EU have not kept France from installing the Toubon Law (see Appendix I for the Toubon Law). The introduction of the new piece of legislation led to critique. France's youth, but also several member states of the EU, expressed their criticism on the new piece of legislation. According to Vanston (1999) the Toubon Law clashes with European Union legislation. The sovereign rights of each member state was limited upon accession to what is now the EU in order to combine powers. Article 5 TEU (article is now repealed) indicates that member states are "to uphold and adhere to EU law" (p. 182). Article 29 TEC (Art. 35 TFEU) states that member states are prohibited from imposing "quantitative restrictions on imports and all measures having equivalent effect". This article raised the inquiry as to the validity of the Toubon Law, since, if indeed the law would clash with EU legislation, it would be invalid (p. 181-182).

Vanston (1999) stresses that the predecessor of the Toubon Law, the Loi Bas-Lauriol, raised some inquiries inside the EU as well. The French government defended their right to implement the law inside France based on Article 36 TEC (Art. 42 TFEU), which states that member states are permitted to "impose certain trade restrictions if they are a necessary means of implementing public policy" (p. 182). The European Community did not take down the law at the time. The same accounts for the Toubon Law. According to Lucente, the broad terms used in the piece of legislation avoided any legal issues (2015).

More signs show how France has clung to the value they hold for their language. In 1992, as the Maastricht Treaty was being ratified, the French Parliament made sure French became the language of the republic in a Constitutional Law. Moreover, it installed the Law on the Use of the French Language in 1994. In 1995, the French government campaigned for several changes in the EU's language policy. According to Phillipson (2003), their biggest argument was that English was an unclear language and did not serve as a communicative language on an international level (p. 45-48).

Phillipson (2003) stresses that the French government sees the EU's language policy in strengthening individual languages as insufficient and therefore set up programmes themselves to stimulate the learning of French. Amongst the programmes are the French language learning for EU civil servants, French training initiated for francophone translators and interpreters of the EU. In addition, training programmes have been set up to promote the use of French in the communication

and information technology field (p. 133). These programmes show to what extent the French government believes the EU has been of significance to language learning and multilingualism.

Hélot also has doubts about the influence the EU has. A big problem for the lacking influence of the EU is its bureaucratic nature when it comes to European projects. Moreover, in France, there is no compensation for participation in European projects (C. Hélot, personal interview, March 26, 2015). This makes participation quite unattractive, which leads to less data and concrete measures that could stimulate language learning more than it does now. Nevertheless, Hélot expresses that “there’s very much an insistence on learning French (...) There is absolutely no doubt about that, but at the same time there is a strong promotion of some foreign languages” (C. Hélot, personal interview, March 26, 2015).

Latvia

Similar to France, Latvia has had a rise in the amount of students making use of the Erasmus+ grant. The EC did research on the use of Erasmus+. In the 2010/2011 school year, 1,959 students made use of the grant. A year later, this number increased by 12 per cent making for a total of 2,194 students using the grant in the school year 2011/2012 (“Number of Erasmus students tops 3 million”, 2015).

Furthermore, according to Ozolins (2003), Latvia’s accession to the EU, like the other Baltic States, took longer due to “incompatibilities with international norms” (p. 231), amongst which language norms constructed by Latvia. These incompatibilities are often referred to as the European criteria. The Commission’s larger argument on the matter of language rights was “some of the provisions are worded in such a way that they could give rise to different interpretations” (p. 232). Great changes in Latvia have been the increasing use of English and the simultaneous decline in Russian speakers and Russian schooling (p. 232). Here it can be questioned whether this was due to the EU or it was largely the regaining of independence that shrunk the amount of Russian speakers in Latvia. Whichever cause is the strongest, it cannot be ignored that the EU applied the European criteria to exert pressure and change parts of its language policy.

A good example of where the EU’s pressure has led to significant results is the Citizenship Law amendments in 2013. These amendments gave voice to the European bodies wishing to increase the process of naturalisation. On 1 October 2013, the newly revised Citizenship Law came into effect, which simplified the naturalisation process and the acquisition of citizenship in Latvia. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Latvia names the accession to the EU as a reason for increasing the mobility of Latvian citizens. The amendments to the Citizenship Law allowed stateless and non-citizen parents to register their child as a Latvian citizen. These alterations

proved to have positive effects. The number of registered new-borns (of non-citizen parents) increased by 36 per cent by June 2014 ("Citizenship and Language Policy in Latvia", 2015).

However, according to Ozolins (2003) previous pressure on Latvia's economic sphere could not prevent the country from adopting a new language law in 1997, which stated there were requirements for language use in the economic sphere. The OSCE objected to such requirements. Even in the new State Language Law of 1999 the regulations for languages were not altered (p. 223).

Grigas (2012) also points out an interesting development in the education of the Russian language. The non-Russian speakers in Latvia have become less likely to choose Russian in education. Since the 1990s the language has declined as a chosen language, as the preference for Western-European languages went up (p. 10).

Simultaneously, the popularity of EU countries versus Russia and former nations of the Soviet Union for exchanges shows an interesting development. According to Grigas (2012), the promotion by Russia to stimulate exchanges from and to the Baltic states have had little effect, and the majority of Latvian citizens, who go on exchange, choose one of the EU countries over Russia (p. 10), meaning the acquisition of one of the official EU languages is stimulated more in studying abroad than that of Russian.

Chapter 3: Other European Influences

Other European institutions, aside from the official EU bodies, encourage language learning as well. This chapter describes and discusses the conventions, charters and actions by other European organisations that have created changes in the language policy of France and Latvia. Often these organisations collaborate with the institutions of the European Union.

Out of the other European organisations that involve themselves in language learning, the Council of Europe plays an important part. The Common European Framework for References of Languages (CEFR) and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) have created important changes for the rights and promotion of official and minority languages.

Clarity in the level of language learning was reached when the Council of Europe set up the Common European Framework for References of Languages (CEFR). The CEFR is mostly known for the language proficiency levels it set up, which are now used widely throughout Europe. These proficiency levels (with A1 as the lowest and C2 as the highest proficiency level) assigned a clear language level that could be used by each European country and thus, enabled better collaboration between the EU countries regarding more adequate language teaching.

The CoE also did some interesting work for the rights of regional and minority languages. In 1992, the CoE drew up the ECRML. The Charter came into effect in 1998 and raised the issue of the few rights of minority languages. According to Jones, the CoE now is “short-staffed and (...) concentrated on dealing with the issues of monitoring the implementation of the Charter” (M.P. Jones, personal interview, May 5, 2015).

The European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages (EBLUL), in line with the ECRML, supported increased rights for minority languages. The EBLUL was closed officially in 2010, but, according to Jones, had stopped operating in 2006, because it went bankrupt (M.P. Jones, personal interview, May 5, 2015).

As the EBLUL was closed, new ways to promote lesser-used languages were broached in the European Parliament and European Commission. This resulted into the establishment of different networks, which received funding by the European Commission. The Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity (NPLD) is one of these networks. The NPLD has gathered a network that focuses on enabling a discourse about language learning and planning and has pressurised the European Commission in terms of language planning and language learning of lesser-used languages.

The NPLD is a great example of the link there is between non-EU institutions and EU institutions. According to the CEO of the NPLD, Meirion Prys Jones, the NPLD emanates from a resolution by the European Parliament in 2003 and is the last one left out of the approximately 20 networks established in the years that followed⁶. Today, the NPLD is still receiving funding from the European Commission. This support will, however, come to its end in December 2015 (M.P. Jones, personal interview, May 5, 2015).

In addition, Jones stresses that the NPLD, while creating a network, has also been aiming at getting the European Commission to promote the learning of non-commercial languages more actively. According to Jones, putting pressure on the European Commission has not led to significant results, because of unwillingness on the Commission's part to spend money on lesser-used languages (M.P. Jones, personal interview, May 5, 2015).

Important to keep in mind, when looking at attempts made by the Council of Europe, the NPLD and other institutions, is the limited power of these institutions. Unlike any measures taken by the EU, the documents signed by the member states have no legislative power.

France

According to Woehrling, in terms of regional languages, France has aimed at maintaining the privileged status of French and thus, has withheld rights from minorities in terms of languages. Even though the ECRML does not state to object a privileged status to an official language, as is often considered the case in France, it does require public authorities to take into account regional languages. Article 2 of the French Constitution states that "the language of the Republic is French". The contrast between the ECRML and the French Constitution led to discourse. Amongst the topics that were debated was the matter of how Breton was regarded in France. It was debated that Breton was a language chosen by people to speak, rather than it being the language of Brittany (2005). Ultimately, France signed the charter in 1999, which was one year after the Charter came into effect.

The ECRML has improved rights for minorities and their language rights. Hélot stresses that European influence resulted into minority languages, such as Breton and Corsican, which had few rights many years back, being taught in school nowadays. France has set up bilingual programmes that teach both in French and minority languages⁷. It is evident the influence of the Council of Europe has made changes in France through both the Charter and Common European Framework.

⁶ The other networks went bankrupt, when the funding they received from the European Commission came to its end in 2010. The NPLD has been successful in installing membership fees, which enabled the NPLD to continue its work.

⁷ With at least 50 per cent of the teaching conducted in French, corresponding to the constitution.

Hélot states that “the Council of Europe has done interesting work with the Common European Framework and it has changed the approach to language teaching” (C. Hélot, personal interview, March 26, 2015).

Latvia

The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI), which is established by the CoE, reveals in their third report on Latvia the CoE has been occupied with Latvia and checking the extent of Latvian language training. The report emphasises that measures have been taken to move towards ethnic minorities learning the state language. Even though Latvia itself stimulates this move as well, it is palpable that the CoE aims at influencing Latvia. The 2007 report gives recommendations to Latvia. As it is limited in its power, these recommendations maintain what they are and are for Latvia to use as they see fit. The recommendations aim at increased promotion of the Latvian language, while keeping minority languages intact (“Third report on Latvia”, 2008).

Recommendations along with funding by European bodies do not necessarily lead to the expected results. According to Ozolins (2003) funding for language teaching before Latvia's accession to the EU has previously not led to a significant increase in naturalisation, despite their specific aim to initiate a rapid increase (p. 222). This is likely linked to the disadvantages related to acquiring Latvian citizenship (see Chapter 1 for more on these disadvantages). In addition, Ozolins (2003) states that applying Western-European norms to former Soviet Union States proves to be difficult (p. 221-222). As mentioned in Chapter 2, the changes in the Citizenship Law in 2013 did result into an increase in naturalisation.

Nevertheless, European interventions were initiated, some leading to changes. Right after the ECRML came into effect (1998), Latvia adopted a law that awarded minorities the right to speak their mother tongue. Ozolins (2003) stresses that European institutions exerted significant pressure on Latvia in 1998 to alter its Citizenship Law (p. 222).

In several cases, the CoE had more power than merely exerting pressure and making recommendations. The case of Podkolzina v. Lettonie is one of the cases taken on by the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), which is under the wings of the CoE. In this case, a Latvian citizen, Miss Podkolzina, was denied candidature for the elections for the Latvian parliament, because she lacked competence in the Latvian language. While Podkolzina had passed the language test required for parliamentary candidates, she was required to answer questions testing her knowledge of Latvian unexpectedly, and was visited by an inspector of the State Language Centre. Podkolzina went to the European Convention on Human Rights claiming a violation and won the case. Despite this outside influence in the legal system of Latvia, the ECHR pointed out

lack of proper administrative and legal processes, giving voice to Latvia's right to restrict candidature based on competence in Latvian.

The case of *Petropavlovskis v. Latvia* is another remarkable case. Similar to the case of *Podkolzina v. Lettonie*, the case was brought to the European Court of Human Rights. The case deals with the acquisition of Latvian citizenship. The activist and non-citizen Mr Petropavlovskis protested against the new education reform that came into force in 2004 and became one of the main leaders of the activist movement. Petropavlovskis gave voice to the Russian-speaking community, stating the rights of the minority groups to keep Russian as the sole language in education. As he continued to protest, he applied for Latvian citizenship, wishing to go through the naturalisation process. However, the Cabinet of Ministers refused his application. He defended his case at the ECHR based on Articles 10 (freedom of expression) and 11 (freedom of association), believing the refusal was linked to his protests. The ECHR held the articles were not applicable in this case, since the decision on refusing citizenship was not politically engaged. Moreover, the ECHR argued he had had the freedom of expression and association as his protests were covered widely in the media.

Interference has not always been initiated by European organisations themselves. In 1994, Latvia asked the United Nations Development Programme for help to draft a programme to teach the Latvian language in Latvia. International organisations got involved, amongst them the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the Organisation for Security and Co-Operation in Europe (OSCE) and the CoE.

Chapter 4: National Influences

Even though different factors play a role in encouraging and discouraging certain trends in language learning, there are signs that show how the nation itself has largely influenced movements and changes in language learning and its language policy. This chapter focuses on how France and Latvia have initiated changes themselves, without or despite a significant influence from the EU or other European institutions. Examining the national influence adds to the general information given of the language policies in France and Latvia in previous chapters.

When looking at movements in language learning, trends that take place worldwide must be taken into account. In various ways it is clear the learning of English takes place at other places outside the educational environment. As Phillipson (2003) states, “An important factor accounting for the relative success of English teaching in several parts of Europe is the fact that there is so much exposure to English outside school. English is becoming progressively less ‘foreign’ in continental Europe, in that the language is not only learned for use abroad or literary purposes” (p. 95).

English has a profound role in Europe. European citizens are introduced to English within their national borders. According to Phillipson (2003), “There is considerable exposure to English in the media, pop culture, public and private life” and “proficiency in English is required for many types of employment” (p. 96). Jones stresses that universities in Europe are increasingly making it obligatory for students to write their dissertation in English, which in turn pushes away other languages, including the students’ mother tongue (M.P. Jones, personal interview, May 5, 2015). Thus, the mere necessity to learn English and internal exposure to the language drives European Union citizens to master that language without any influence from the EU.

Even though exposure to a language through globalisation should be kept in mind, when researching language policy, there are various changes that are set in motion by internal factors as well.

France

According to Judt and Lacorne (2004), the French system has been exposed to internal pressure to change their view on minorities. A concrete domestic issue that was raised was the Corsican question (p. 30-32).

As Corsica has traditionally been part of the French Republic, the island falls under French law, meaning it inexplicably was a part of the French Revolution’s move to unify by using one language. Since Corsica is geographically and historically distinct from France, the island already had relative autonomy. This autonomy increased as the Corsican society organised actions in the 1960s, due to the decline in population size and economic resources. A great step in gaining

autonomy on Corsica was reached through the statute of 1982. In 1991, under the rule of President Mitterrand, Corsica received administrative autonomy and specific institutions were set up. The Corsican Assembly now had residual regulatory power, legislative power still being in the hands of the French government. The rise in autonomy for Corsica meant the Assembly could adopt a teaching plan for learning and teaching Corsican language. Even though there is no obligation to learn the Corsican language on Corsica, the new legislations adopted in Corsica did lead to increased rights and acknowledgment for Corsican in France.

There is also a clear pattern inside France that, despite the superiority of French, shows the importance of English. Regardless of the choice primary schools have out of eight languages to teach, about 90 per cent of primary school children are taught English. According to Hélot, “there is a very strong policy to teach foreign languages as early as possible” (C. Hélot, personal interview, March 26, 2015). This goes for bilingual education as well as the teaching of regional languages. Hélot stresses that better teaching methods mainly increase competence in foreign languages, especially English. At the same time she names “the presence of English (...) in the world” as the core reason for the high amount of pupils choosing English as their second language (C. Hélot, personal interview, March 26, 2015).

This increase in teaching foreign languages seems to contradict the contents of the Toubon Law, which is still installed in France today. According to Bakmand, political views on the protection of the French language, in particular when looking at the Toubon Law, seem largely based on ideological reason, rather than sociolinguistic or pragmatic ones (2000). Interestingly, the Toubon Law was criticised when it was first introduced, revealing the extent to which the French aim at keeping their language intact through legislation is not as solid as one might think. This is especially remarkable since the law is only an extension of its predecessor the *Loi Bas-Lauriol*. Therefore, it is not surprising the effect of the Toubon Law is not as large as is often thought. Despite the relative restrictions for foreign languages in the Toubon Law, Hélot does not think the Toubon Law has an effect on language learning. When it comes to the regulations on advertising, Hélot stresses that the law does not prevent English from appearing in advertisements. Moreover, she states that English is everywhere in advertising (C. Hélot, personal interview, March 26, 2015), which reveals that in practice pragmatic reasons are greater than ideological ones.

Furthermore, the Toubon Law did not prevent the move towards increased rights for minority languages either. Hélot states that the rights for minority languages have significantly improved, mainly under European pressure (C. Hélot, personal interview, March 26, 2015), yet movements from inside French, whether stimulated by Europe or not, can be identified. A great improvement has been made for the Breton language. According to Liddicoat and Baldauf Jr (2008), educators

and language planners in France have been aiming at improving the language education of Breton, looking closely at the different dialects and the so-called “standard” Breton. This is of great importance to the existence of Breton, since the language has many different speech forms (p. 104-105).

There is also attention in France for stimulating the acquisition of other foreign languages than merely English. The French government in collaboration with Germany tries to stimulate the learning of German. According to Gee, in France's education, English takes the greatest preference as a second language to learn, followed by Spanish. By making German more accessible – the language is often thought to be mostly accessible to the “elite” in France – the language is supposed to increase in popularity (“Could German language be forgotten in France”, 2015). This could mean a turnaround for the amount of German speakers in France, since the quantity of the German classes in the country is currently endangered. Kolb stresses that this is a trend only appearing in France, as German is increasingly learned in other parts of the world. In addition, it seems the amount of students learning German is much higher in other EU countries, such as Croatia, Denmark, Poland and the Netherlands (2015). This portrays the difference of France in language learning in terms of German and the increased focus on English.

There are more changes in the education of languages that are to be implemented in France in the coming years. Gee mentions that the acquisition of a second language by French pupils will start one year earlier than it does today, meaning foreign language learning starts at age 12 in secondary school. This measure will be implemented in September 2016. This, in turn, means hours spent on bilingual or international classes will likely be cut to create time for language teaching.

This revision in language learning, initiated by French Education Minister Najat Vallaud-Belkacem, may lead to better results for France. A report published by Education First revealed France ranked the lowest of all EU countries regarding the level of their English proficiency (France 24, 2015). This is despite the fact that nine out of ten primary schools choose to teach English (C. Hélot, personal interview, March 26, 2015).

Latvia

Ozolins (2003) emphasises that Latvia has been very capable of defending its own language laws against the pressure exerted by European bodies. He clarifies the nation has clearly expressed its point of view and challenged whatever critics and international bodies have thrown at the country. Educated linguists inside the country were able to justify Latvia's language laws accordingly (p. 234-235).

Latvia's eagerness to acquire Western-European Union languages derives from the country's attempts to detach itself from Russia. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Latvian parliament has changed its language policy considerably, as it greatly limited the rights of Russian and awarded more rights to the Latvian language.

According to Ozolins (2003), the use of Latvian after regaining independence is accepted in Latvia. Russian is still spoken widely internally and is taught at schools throughout Latvia. This widespread acceptance led to an increased competence in the Latvian language (p. 230). However, the new language teaching reform of 2004 led to protests.

According to Grigas it appears Latvia's accession to the EU and NATO in 2004, resulted into a decreased influence of Russia in the country (2012). Education in the Russian language is declining. This partly has to do with the decline in the quantity of pupils; nevertheless, there is a more rapid decline occurring in Russian schools than in Latvian schools. Kaplan and Baldauf Jr (2008) provide figures revealing the changes in quantity of students in Latvia. Whereas the total number of students grew between the school years 1995/1996 and 2002/2003, it declined rapidly since. Interestingly, this decline goes hand in hand with Latvia's accession to the EU. The number of students was 203,607 in 1995/1996 and 194,230 in 2006/2007 for education in the Latvian language. Education in the Russian language has declined each year with a drop from 132,540 students in 1995/1996 to 70,683 students in 2006/2007. The percentage of students attending schooling in Latvian has gone up by 12.7 per cent between 1995/1996 and 2006/2007 (p. 118).

Even though this trend may be directly assigned to the accession to the EU, it very likely has more to do with the Education Law of 2004, which made Latvian the language of instruction in public secondary school. This measure was protested widely and thus, it was amended, allowing 40 per cent of the curricula to be taught in a foreign language and giving orphans the right to continue their education in the language they began with.

In education the acquisition of the Russian language may be on the decline, the presence of Russia in Latvia remains strong. Grigas (2012) points out the weaknesses in the Baltic States, naming fragmentation and commercialisation as the two main weaknesses in its political system. These flaws in the system means there is room for Russian influence. Latvia's dependence on export and energy sources means Russia has quite an important role to play for Latvia's commercial sector. The nation depends on Russia mostly for oil (roughly 90 per cent reliant) and gas (100 per cent reliant). In addition, the large Russian minorities living in Latvia influence the country. Grigas states that Latvia's small economy is prone to be corrupt and lacks transparency; resulting into an increase in the significance of business interests. This, in turn, leads to a more substantial role for

Russia in Latvia, and Russian values and norms, amongst which language interests, find their way inside the political landscape of the country (p. 2-3).

Latvia has difficulties to adequately limit Russian influence, as Latvian politicians have not been able to find united policies concerning Russia. Grigas (2012) argues that governments in the Baltic states tend to be fragile and relatively often do not finish a full term in office, which means implementing concrete policies is challenging (p. 2-3).

Despite the weaknesses in Latvian politics, Grigas (2012) states that Russian minorities have not been able to exert much influence in Latvia at the beginning of the 2000s. Approximately 15 per cent of the Russian minorities in Estonia and Latvia have not acquired citizenship, in Latvia this means approximately 300,000 Russians have no state passport for the country they live in. This means they cannot influence any elections or referendums by casting their vote. In addition, no political parties that represent Russian minorities have participated in a government coalition (p. 3).

This trend shifted from 2011 onwards. In that year, Harmony Centre, a political party voicing the wishes of Russian minorities, gained most votes in the parliamentary elections. It did not become one of the parties to join the coalition, however, Nils Ušakovs, Harmony Centre's leading member, has been the mayor of Riga since 2009 and is still in office now. The win of Harmony Centre again put Russian minority rights in the minds of all residents in Latvia.

Grigas (2012) clarifies the reason for Russian minorities to influence politics is still largely based on language rights (p. 10). However, a recent referendum has not been able to increase rights for the Russian language in Latvia. On 18 February 2012, Latvia held a referendum where Latvia's eligible voters voted against Russian becoming the Second State Language (only 17 per cent voted in favour of adopting Russian). Here it must also be noted that a large percentage of the Russian population in Latvia has not acquired citizenship and thus, is not permitted to vote. Thus, many, who would have likely been in favour of adopting Russian, were unable to cast their vote.

In the domain of minority languages, Latvia has also tried to maintain power as it altered the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM). Interestingly, it did so in 2005, one year after Latvia accessed to the EU and ten years after they signed it. The ratifications limited the power of Articles 10 and 11; both govern rights to the use of the minority languages. The alterations made meant the Articles are effective only if they do not clash with the Constitution of Latvia (find Article 10 and 11 of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in Appendix IV).

Chapter 5: Analysis of France and Latvia

To comprehend the differences between member states, it is of importance to take a look at how member states' language policies are different and similar. This chapter compares the language policies of France and Latvia and pins down the extent and overlap of influence the EU has had in two inherently diverse nations.

Language Status

The status of the French and Latvian language is greatly different, not only in the manner it is regarded outside their nation's borders, but also the value it has inside the two countries.

The most prominent difference between the two countries is the value the two countries hold to their language and the history attached to that. Awarding rights to the Latvian language derives from political reasons, whereas France's language policy comes forth from a republican ideology and the desire to unite the nation. There is a clear difference between these two principles and it appears in the way society responds to changes. In Latvia, the large Russian minorities are still aiming at rights for the Russian language. Meanwhile, the acquisition of the Latvian language, and its link to citizenship, has continued to ripen over the years. It is palpable that the superior status of French is rooted in French society. Ricento (2006) states "France did not need an explicit language policy to make people understand that certain restrictions applied" (p. 119).

An interesting difference that comes forth from these principles is the argumentation used in protecting the value of French and Latvian. France attempts to protect its language due to the value it holds to French and base their arguments largely on this ideology. Latvia, on the other hand, does not seem to concern itself with protecting its language for cultural reason, rather using it as a tool to protect itself from Russia and maintain its independence. The Latvian language is, therefore, used as an argument, rather than that arguments are used to protect the longevity of the Latvian language.

Apart from the longer history France has concerning language rights, the nation also has a longer history as a member state of the European Union. Latvia has only been a member state for a little over a decade. France, however, has been part of what is now the EU since 1954 and, therefore, has had the opportunity to exert more influence on language matters over time. Significant parts of the EU's language policy that are known now were already drawn up by the time Latvia joined the EU. The higher *de facto* status of French in the European Union may to an extent be due to this early influence.

The different *de facto* statuses of French and Latvian also have a great deal to do with how widely French and Latvian are spoken. Worldwide there are 220 million French speakers and 1.5 million

Latvian speakers. As a result, the *de facto* statuses differ considerably. The ranking by Phillipson and Creech clarifies this further as French takes second place (Phillipson, 2003, p. 132) and Latvian ends fourth together with other languages (Creech, 2005, p. 44) in their list on the official EU languages with the most *de facto* rights. This, in turn, means a great deal for the influence of languages and, as scholars, such as Phillipson (2003) and Jones (M.P. Jones, personal interview, May 5, 2015) have stressed, wider spoken languages (the commercial languages) receive greater support from the European Commission.

Much like in Latvia, a proficiency in French is required to gain citizenship in France. A B1-level or higher in French is required to gain citizenship. Similarities continue when we compare the Toubon Law with the Mass Media Law. The Toubon Law is outlined more specifically and aims at all forms of expression in French. Nevertheless, the two laws are similar in the sense that they both award increased rights to the State Language and limit the rights of foreign languages.

European Influence

The status of a language seems to influence the language policy of the European Commission more than it affects non-EU institutions. Latvia has, in the past, received great support for improving Latvian language rights from non-EU bodies.

Nevertheless, Latvia, similar to France, has had a critical approach towards the Council of Europe. Both countries have critiqued documents drawn up by the CoE, which voiced rights to languages, including minority languages. The clash between the Constitution of France and the ECRML resulted into France signing the Charter in 1999, a year after it came into effect. Latvia altered the FCNM, years after it signed the document. Thus, both countries signed the documents, but decided to alter them and agree to them on their own terms.

The Erasmus+ programme does seem to affect both countries significantly. Latvia has a steeper rise in students making use of the Erasmus+ fund than France. In France, the increase of students in the school year 2011/2012 was 4.8 per cent, whereas there was a 12 per cent rise in Latvia during the same year. This shows the extent to which Latvia is invested in language and mobility programmes set up by the EU and the interest there is for EU countries. France, on the other hand, is a popular destination for international students.

As stated earlier in this Chapter, it is of importance to take into account the year of accession. There is a difference of five decades between the accession of France (1954) and Latvia (2004), which means France has been a part of the EU in its early days and has helped shape the institutions that are known now. This also means France has dodged the requirements, the so-called

European criteria, that countries need to fulfil nowadays to become a member state. Latvia had to amend parts its language policy to be eligible to access the EU.

Nevertheless, examples in both countries show France and Latvia maintained autonomy when it comes to language learning. This is in line with the principle of subsidiarity by which the EU runs its language policy. As stated in Chapter 2, Latvia has been able to put forth arguments supporting Latvia's language policy against pressure from the EU. France went one step further by voicing its concern for adequate stimulation for the learning of French by the EU, as it campaigned for changes in the EU's language policy.

National Language Policy

The European Union and other European bodies have not exerted the amount of pressure necessary to create a similar language-teaching pattern in both France and Latvia. There are great differences between the language policies that are installed in the two countries today.

Not surprisingly, different languages are taught in both countries. France gives primary schools the option to teach any of the following eight languages: Arabic, Chinese, English, German, Italian, Portuguese, Russian and Spanish. These languages are, to a large extent, the mother tongues of countries surrounding France. In Latvia, there also seems to be a focus on languages that are the official language of geographically nearby countries. Latvia's government finances education in Belarusian, Estonian, Hebrew, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian and Ukrainian.

However, Latvia has increasingly focused on Western-European languages over Russian, largely in an attempt to distance itself further from Russia. Hélot states that the same accounts for France, by emphasising France focuses on teaching children European languages over for instance languages that most migrant children speak at home (C. Hélot, personal interview, March 26, 2015).

Despite the great difference in taught languages, language reforms are occurring for both countries. Surprisingly, language teaching is in some ways almost identical. France and Latvia are nearly the same when it comes to the amount of material that can be educated in a foreign or minority language. In France, merely 50 per cent of the curriculum (in primary and secondary school) can be taught in a foreign language. In Latvia it is even stricter with a limitation of 40 per cent (in public secondary school). Even though the percentage is stricter in Latvia than in France, the restriction is effective in primary school in France as well, whereas in Latvia it limits itself to public secondary school.

Regarding the focus on minority languages, France and Latvia seem to be similar in the sense that they both signed the ECRML. However, the concern in Latvia is not so much focused on minority languages as it is in France. Whereas minorities have fought for increased rights of languages, such

as Basque, Breton, Corsican and Occitan, in France, Latvia has mostly been dealing with the large Russian minorities present in Latvia and their wish to increase the status of the Russian language in Latvia.

However, in the case of the Russian minorities, this has little to do with a fear of losing Russian as a spoken language, but simply sparks from the wish to gain more rights as an inhabitant of Latvia. Thus, it is evident the issues involving minorities and languages are inherently different in the two nations and both ask for a different policy. In France, minorities have gained rights as they are taught in bilingual education programmes nowadays. The Russian minorities in Latvia have not gained a great deal of rights. Bilingual education programmes have been set up. However, Russian language rights were further limited with the introduction of the language reform in 2004, which made it obligatory to teach at least 60 per cent of the curriculum in public secondary school in the Latvian language. This resulted into a great decrease in schooling in the Russian language. Moreover, the referendum in 2012 did not result into the Russian language being made into the second official language in Latvia.

Further contrasts can be distinguished when delving into threats to French and Latvian. Despite sounds from migrant languages, France seems mostly occupied with outside threats to the French language. There is no large group inside the country causing a great threat to the French language. On the other hand, the preservation of the Latvian language is threatened by internal as well as external factors. Linguistic threats from the inside, more specifically Russian minorities, are of the greatest concern to Latvia, whereas France seems to occupy itself mostly with preserving its language by protecting itself from threats coming from outside its borders, moreover, the growing importance of English nowadays.

In sum, there are different examples to name that show France and Latvia have similar movement, despite their inherent distinctions. However, there are also signs that show the two countries are moving in a different direction. It can be stated the overarching European organisations, both EU and non-EU, have not reached the results they aimed at in France and Latvia. There is, however, a general movement happening in both countries that reveals the increasing importance of commercial languages, which is largely in line with the *de facto* effect of the EU's language policy. In addition, the rights for minority languages have increased in both countries.

Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored France and Latvia have language policies installed that mostly serve their own nation, rather than the EU's goals. Moreover, both countries battle against any language policy, which is not largely in line with their own.

Conclusion

The different movements in language learning over time and the bodies concerned with language policy in Europe make for a many-layered linguistic landscape. Nevertheless, the focus on two inherently different member states provides a sense of the influence of the EU in terms of language policy. This narrow scope makes the question “to what extent has the European Union’s language policy influenced the national language policy of the European Union’s member states?” one that can be answered.

When determining the influence of the EU’s language policy in France and Latvia a distinction should be made between *de facto* and *de jure*. *De facto* there is a move towards commercial languages happening for the EU, France and Latvia. However, *de jure* the language policies of France and Latvia in comparison to the goals of the EU are greatly different. The language policies of both France and Latvia give a privileged status to their own language and offer schooling for bilingual education with a limited variety of languages that can be taught, whereas the EU claims to support all languages equally.

Despite the programmes set up by the institutions of the European Union, it can be questioned whether there is a true influence that aims at multilingualism. The EU’s programmes cover different fields. Migration, economy and mobility all take their place in the programmes and are to a large extent more directly focused on. Programmes managed by the EC, that only aim at supporting multilingualism and guarding the equality of all official EU languages, do not exist.

Moreover, the Lifelong Learning Programme, similar to other actions by the European Union, supports commercial languages, rather than all languages equally. It is unlikely this move is accidental, since supporting commercial languages is beneficial for the European economy and the budget of the European Union. The EU’s support for commercial languages contrasts the equal status the EU grants the 24 European languages.

A move can be seen that shows the European Commission has slowly started to remove itself from financing networks, institutions and programmes that aim at supporting the rights for lesser-used languages. Whereas approximately 20 similar networks received funding from 2007 to 2010, only the NPLD receives funding now, which is a direct result of the bankruptcy of the other networks after the European grant ended at the end of 2010. In December 2015, the grant will end for the NPLD and thus, it is in danger of having to close its doors as well. This decrease in funding has led to a decrease in the amount of agencies that aim to guard lesser-used languages and promote the learning of those in national language policies.

The increased focus on commercial languages is also noticeable in France, as 90 per cent of the pupils in primary education are taught English, whereas there are seven other choices available. In Latvia, there is an increased move towards Western-European languages over Russian.

Interestingly, the rise in students studying abroad and thus, the possibility to acquire a foreign language, does not seem to derive directly from the Erasmus+ programme. The grant is increasingly used by both French and Latvian students, however, the number two and three of most visited study destinations for French students are non-European countries. In addition, the importance of commercial languages again comes to the surface, as French students travel to countries where English, French or German is the Official State Language.

Simultaneously, the influence of non-EU bodies has not been what it used to be. Whereas the ECRML and FCNM have led to an awareness of minority languages and increased rights, there have been few other actions initiated by the Council of Europe. The institution nowadays largely focuses on guarding the CEFR, ECRML and FCNM.

It is in several cases evident that the intended road for the future of language policy of the EU is in line with that of France and Latvia. However, the two countries have kept their sovereignty in terms of language policy. Part of this can be explained by the fact the EU runs its language policy based on the principle of subsidiarity. In addition, both countries have battled to maintain what they held to be important in their national language policy. France and Latvia today have language policies installed that serve their own nation and reflect the wishes of their own population to a great extent.

Nevertheless, there has been an influence from the EU in France and Latvia, especially when looking at the Erasmus+ programme. However, the direction towards the increased learning of commercial languages cannot be directly assigned to influence of the EU. This movement is largely in line with movements that are happening across the globe. Thus, the influence of the EU in terms of language policy cannot be called great and does not achieve what is outlined in the EU's language policy.

The biggest change that was made has been within the institutions of the European Union. The advantage for France and Latvia is that there are EU documents available in their own Official State Language. Yet even on an institutional level cracks are visible as commercial values seep in. The disadvantage for Latvia is that documents will be available in Latvian later than it will be in one of the 'pivot' languages. Moreover, content on the EC's website will likely not be available in Latvian at all.

A clear difference the EU has been able to make in Latvia is the greater distinction that was created from Russia and thus, also a greater distance from the Russian language. After Latvia's accession to the EU the language learning of Western-European languages has increased.

When looking closely at France's language policy today, it should be remarked the emphasis on French that was apparent in the past has diminished greatly. Even though *de jure* French still has a superior status, France today is accepting towards foreign and minority languages. Internal, international and EU influence have all taken part in this change.

The greatest change for France that derives partially from EU influence has been the increase in studying abroad and the acquisition of English. The international students finding their way to France and the increase in students finding their way outside the borders has brought more exposure to foreign languages, hence, created greater acquisition of common-spoken languages.

In sum, it can be stated the EU has impacted the promotion of commercial languages. The EU's goal of supporting all official languages is only apparent inside the institutions of the EU and is hardly visible in France and Latvia. Since the promotion of commercial languages is largely in line with the movement happening across the globe, it cannot be stated the EU has greatly affected the language policies of the two countries. The EU has very likely strengthened the use and acquisition of commercial languages, but has not been able to support multilingualism in its purest sense.

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Appendix I: Toubon Law

ACT

Act no. 94-665 of 4 August 1994 regarding the use of the French language

(...)

Article 1

The language of the republic in accordance with the constitution, the French language is a fundamental element of the personality and heritage of France.

It is the language of education, work, exchanges and public services.

It is the preferred link of the states forming the francophone community

Article 2

In the designation, offer, presentation, user guides or manuals, the description of the size and conditions of warranty of a good, product and of a service, and for invoices and receipts, the use of the French language is obligatory.

The similar provisions apply to all advertising in writing, spoken or audiovisual.

The provisions of this Article do not apply to the description of local products and specialties of foreign origin known by the general public.

The trademark law does not preclude the application of the first and third paragraph of this Article, the remarks and messages recorded with the brand.

Article 3

All inscriptions or announcements filed or made on public roads, in a place open to the public or in a means of public transport and for public information must be formulated in the French language.

If the inscription drafted in breach of provisions above is affixed by a third user on property owned by a legal person of public law, it must give the user notice to stop, at its expense and within the time fixed by it, the deficiency noted.

If the notice is not acted upon, the use of the property may, taking into account the seriousness of the breach, be removed from the offender, regardless of the terms of the contract or the terms of the authorisation granted to it.

Article 4

When inscriptions or announcements referred to in the previous Article, posted or made by legal persons of public law or individuals engaged in public service are subject to translations, and they are at least two in number.

In all cases where such disclosures, announcements and inscriptions laid down in Article 2 and 3 of this piece of legislations are completed with one of more translations, the presentation in French must be as legible, audible and intelligible as the presentation in the foreign languages.

A decree in the Council of the State cases and the conditions in which it can be made to the provisions of this Article in the field of international transport.

Article 5

(...)

Whatever the object or forms, the contracts to which a legal person under public law or a private person performing a public service is assigned to, must be written in French.

They can neither contain foreign expressions or terms, when there is a French term or expression with the same meaning approved in accordance with the provisions relating to the enrichment of the French language.

These provisions do not apply to contracts concluded by a legal person of public law managing industrial and commercial activities, the Bank of France or the Deposit and the Consignment Office and to fully implement outside national territory. For the application of this paragraph, loans issued under the benefit of Article 131 quarter of the General Tax Code shall be deemed performed entirely outside France, as well as contracts for the provision of investment services within the meaning of Article 4 of Act no. 96-597 of 2 July 1996 on the modernisation of financial activities, that fall, for their implementation, from a foreign jurisdiction.

The contracts referred to in this Article concluded with one or more contracting parties may include, in addition to writing in French, one or more foreign language versions may equally authentic.

A party in a contract made in violation of the first paragraph may not claim a foreign language provision that would harm the party to which it is supposed.

Article 6

Any participant in an event, seminar or convention organised in France by natural or legal persons of French nationality has the right to speak French. Documents distributed to participants before and during the meeting to present the programmes must be written in French and may include translations in one or more foreign languages.

When an event, seminar or convention involves the distribution to participants of preparatory documents or work documents, or the publication of proceedings or minutes of work, texts or papers presented in the foreign language must be accompanied by at least an abstract in French.

These provisions do not apply to events, seminars and conventions exclusively organised for foreigners, nor to events promoting foreign trade of France.

Where a legal person of public law or a legal person in private law entrusted with a public service mission the initiative of the events referred to in this Article, a means of translation must be set up.

Article 7

Publications, magazines and broadcast communications in France and that emanate from a legal person of public law, a private person performing a public service

mission or a private person receiving a public subsidy, should, where written in a foreign language, have at least a summary in French.

(...)

Article 14

I. The use of a trade mark, trade or service consisting of a phrase or term foreigners is prohibited for legal persons of public law when there is a phrase or even a French term if the same meaning approved in accordance with the provisions relating to the enrichment of the French language.

This prohibition applies to legal persons of private law with a public service mission, in the execution of it.

II. The provisions of this Article shall not apply to brands used for the first time before the entry into force of this Act

Article 15

The granting by the authorities and public institutions, subsidies of any kind is subject to compliance by the beneficiaries of the provisions of this Act.

Any failure to do so little, after the person has been able to submit its observations lead to the total or partial refund of the grant.

Article 16

(...)

Violations of the provisions of the texts adopted for the application of Article 2 are searched and found by the agents mentioned in Article L. 215-1 of the Consumer Code as provided in Book II of that code.

(...)

Article 20

This Act is of public order. It applies to contracts concluded after its entry into force.

Article 21

The provisions of this Act shall be without prejudice to the laws and regulations relative to regional languages of France and do not oppose their use.

Article 22

Each year, the Government communicate to the assemblies before 15 September, a report on the implementation of this Act and the provisions of international conventions of treaties relating to the status of the French language in international institutions.

Article 23

The provisions of Article 2 shall take effect on the date of publication of the Decree of the State Council defines breaches of the provisions of this article, and no later than twelve months after the publication of this law in the Official Journal.

The provisions of Articles 3 and 4 of this Act come into force six months after the entry into force of section 2.

Article 24

Law no. 75-1349 of 31 December 1975 on the use of the French language is repealed, with the exception of Articles 1 to 3 will be repealed effective from the coming into force of section 2 this Act and Article 6, which will be repealed on the date of entry into force of section 3 of this Act (Legifrance, 2014).

This document was translated by the author of this dissertation.

Appendix II: Transcript Interview Dr Christine Hélot

Interviewer: Marieke van Mil, Student of European Studies at The Hague University, the Netherlands

Interviewee: Dr Christine Hélot, Professor of English at the University of Strasbourg, France

Where: Skype – Amstelveen, the Netherlands and Strasbourg, France

When: Thursday 26 March 2015, 14:15-15:00

I am here with Christine Hélot, she is a professor at the University of Strasbourg and I am doing my research about the European Union's language policy and the effect it has on the language policy of France and Latvia. I just wanted to quickly check whether you agree to participate in this study.

Hélot: Yes, of course I do.

It is really great that you can find some time to do the interview.

Hélot: No problem.

(...)

I understand you did a lot of research about education and multilingualism in primary school. What do you find interesting about primary school and the learning of languages there?

Hélot: I think what is interesting about working in primary school in France is that the teaching of languages is done by the mainstream teacher. So, the teaching of languages is linked to other subjects, which are taught in the school. Whereas if you work in secondary school, you find French teachers of English only teach English. Or teachers of German only teach German. So they are very much into didactics and how to teach the foreign language, but they are not interested in the links between the language and other school subjects, for example French or citizenship education or music or whatever. So, I suppose I am interested in primary education, because I work mostly with primary teachers, but this is a choice, to work only with primary teachers rather than working with secondary teachers, because I did not want to be stuck with just English.

(...)

Do you notice any change in the learning of languages in primary school? Because you mentioned that you did not want to be stuck in secondary school where it is separated.

Hélot: What is interesting about primary school is that when children are learning to read in French, then they have to learn a foreign language. Where I am, in Alsace, it is German, it is not English, but in other parts of France it is English or it could also be Italian or Spanish or Portuguese, Arabic, Russian or Chinese. There are eight languages that can be taught in primary schools in France.

That's quite a lot.

Hélot: Yes, that is the policy. But what is interesting is in practice of course it does not work like that. In practice, 90 per cent of kids are doing English and then some are doing German here in Alsace, because it is obligatory and then the other languages, only very few schools do the languages, offer the other languages. But the policy states that eight languages can be taught at primary level. Also what is interesting at primary is there are a lot of kids, who speak other languages at home. Arabic or Turkish or Chechen, Russian. You know, all kids of migrant backgrounds. And what interests me there as well is there are policies for special teaching of these languages, but it is not always implemented. So, this is what makes research problematic. Which languages there are present in the policy and which are present in school and which are absent in school and why.

Do you notice that the government itself stimulates language learning in primary school – because you mentioned in one of your papers the TESSLA project for instance, but that's not assigned by the government, right?

Hélot: The TESSLA project was very much a European project.

But does the French government in a way stimulate language learning?

Hélot: Very much so. There is a lot of policy and you know, teaching a foreign language is obligatory in France from age seven and there probably going to lower it to age six. There is a very strong policy to teach foreign languages as early as possible. In the primary, there is a very strong policy to develop bilingual education and regional languages, for example in Alsace we have about 12-13 per cent of children in bilingual education with German. Half the time through German, half the time through French. And that starts at age three.

It is quite a contrast with what you hear about France though, because one of the things I did research on is France has quite a francophone culture and that it is very much focused on teaching

French, so it is quite interesting for me to learn that there is actually quite a lot of language teaching going on. Do you still feel that there's a barrier somehow? That there are limitations.

Hélot: There's very much an insistence on learning French. The teaching of French in the curricula, for primary or secondary. It's very much at the centre. The French language is very essentialised. There is absolutely no doubt about that, but at the same time there is a strong promotion of some foreign languages. The dominant foreign languages. The European foreign languages. Definitely. The two go side by side. I think it is part of the European identity, this idea that European languages should be taught and should be learned for maybe economic reasons or cultural reasons or identity reasons, having to do with Europe. But it is true at the same time that the French language is very much promoted and in primary curricula it is always the most important thing, is teaching French. Reading and writing in French. Definitely. And for example, all the policy for newly arrived kids, migrant kids; there are also policies for them to teach them French. They should learn French as soon as possible to integrate into French society and so on. And there is really no recognition in the policy of their own languages, of the languages of these children of their plurilingual repertoire. They have to learn French, but nothing was said about their first languages and how their first languages could support their acquisition of French. If it was still taught in school, for example.

So, it is somehow stimulated, but not completely.

Hélot: I am not sure if I would put it that way. There is a strong policy to promote foreign language teaching, very strong, but not for all the languages in the same way, with inequalities between the different languages concerned.

(...)

I learned as well that during the French Revolution, French has become quite dominant and it has a profound role. I was also quite interested in learning from you whether you have seen any change in students themselves. Whether French students do go abroad more, whether they make use of the Erasmus fund.

Hélot: Definitely. Much more and they have much better competence in foreign languages. In the last maybe twenty years, but in the last ten years, definitely. For example, in the university we often invite famous sociolinguists (...). They give the lectures in English and all the students understand. That's a big change. I think twenty years ago that would have been problematic. But young people in France are really much better at foreign languages. Particularly English. They

might speak English with a strong accent, but they understand well and they can read. No, definite progress.

And why do you think that is? Do you think the EU has some influence there?

Hélot: I think better teaching methods, really. With the communicative approach they do more speaking in class. I think maybe the approach and the presence of English of course in the world. All my students watch series on the TV in English. They might get subtitles, but few of the university students would watch them in French. So, they watch a lot of TV in English, they listen to a lot of music in English and I think they travel around Europe. Not necessarily to Britain, but they go to Spain or Italy and speak English with Italians or Spaniards or Dutch people. So definitely more mobility and more TV or series and things like that. Everything they do on the computers is in English. English is more present in their lives.

You said in your English paper as well that globalisation and an increasing mobility would increase language learning.

Hélot: Yes, definitely.

Do you think that is especially the case for France here?

Hélot: It is difficult to compare. For example, if I compare with Britain. In Britain, young people do not learn foreign languages. It is not obligatory at school. So it is difficult to say. In Germany, there are better at learning languages at school than in France. Most young Germans speak at least two, if not three – at university they speak at least two or three foreign languages. And that would have also been the case 20 or 30 years ago. Most of my German colleagues speak three or four languages. Many of my French colleagues do not even speak English.

Is that an age issue?

Hélot: In France it would be an age issue.

Do you think that in comparison with other member states France is doing well in terms of teaching languages? Is it doing worse than others? What's your opinion on that?

Hélot: I think it should be doing better. I think for example compared to Spain, where I work from time to time, I think Spain is investing more in foreign language teaching from a younger age. I do not know about Italy, but Spain is a good comparison, because traditionally people are not good in foreign languages. I think policy-wise they are doing more than in France. The problem in France is the classes are too big. For example, between 25 and 30 students. The number of hours is not

sufficient either. It is between two and three per week. In Germany it is five hours per week for foreign language teaching in secondary school. I think on paper looks like it is doing a lot for foreign languages, but in reality when you go around schools you still see some traditional teaching. Languages are not prioritised as subjects. It is more mathematics and French for example.

So there is still room for improvement there?

Hélot: Yes.

Do you think the EU could do something to stimulate this more or have more of an impact, despite that they have limited power?

Hélot: I do not know. The Council of Europe has done interesting work with the Common European Framework and it has changed the approach to language teaching, definitely. Brussels, I do not know. I think the EU should be doing more about migrant kids and migrant languages. Definitely. They are mostly interested in European languages and regional languages, like Breton or Corsican, or things like that. But there is not enough done about migrant languages, because they are considered with European languages. The EU, they have a lot of projects and I have a long experience of European projects, the problem is it is very bureaucratic, these European projects. It is horrible. There is so much paperwork. I am never getting involved in another European project. It is interesting, because you meet other European colleagues and so on, but it is too much bureaucracy, too much paperwork, too complicated and in France we do not have support with these European projects. We have work on our own. I think in Britain they have special support in universities, but not in France. You just have to manage on your own and in France you do not get anything for working in a European project. You do not get less teaching, you do not get more money; it takes a lot of time. So the way it is organised in France is not great. I think the teachers in secondary school would be prepared to maybe do more European projects, if it involved less paperwork, bureaucratic stuff, or if they had support for it. There is probably a waste of money there, I would say. I am not sure, but I would say European projects, it is not working as well as it should.

You were talking about Breton and minority languages. We have seen in the past France has been repressing minority languages and has really tried to put French on a pedestal. Do you believe that has changed in any form? That they are more lenient?

Hélot: That has changed completely. I would say, mainly under European influence. Now no regional or minority languages are forbidden. None of them. On the contrary, they are taught in school. It can be two to three hours a week or it can be bilingual programmes. Bilingual

programmes in Breton, in Basque, Corsican. In Alsace it's German. Creole. And all these languages now can be in a bilingual programme, where half the curriculum is taught through the minority language and the other half through French.

So, there has been a change. But I am not incorrect when I say that everybody still has to learn French.

Hélot: Of course. Absolutely. And the thing is, in the bilingual programme, for example Breton, in public schools can only be taught 50 per cent of the school time. Not more than 50 per cent. Because it would be against the Constitution, which says that French is the language of schooling. French is the language of the Republic. So the language of the Republic is the language of schooling. But you know, up to the Second World War, children who spoke Breton in schools were hit and so on. But that is completely finished now. That has gone. The languages are of course not spoken very much, but it is accepted and it is even supported in schools through the bilingual programmes.

So, there is more freedom in languages in that sense.

Hélot: Yes, much more.

What I was quite surprised to find as well is the law that was implemented in 1994, the Toubon Law. I was wondering what your opinion was on that law, because it quite restricts the use of other languages. Do you think that is good for French? Do you think it has an effect on language learning in general?

Hélot: No, I do not think the law has any effect on language learning. I do not think so. I think the law has good sides in its cultural dimension. It is often forgotten. When people talk about the law they always talk about only language, from a linguistic point of view and not from a cultural point of view. What is important also in the Toubon law is that it is making sure that French cultural products, French songs, French films and things like that, a certain percentage should be present on French radio and on French television. So that it is limiting, if you want, American cultural products. I think that is important, because otherwise we are just going to be swamped – we are already swamped by American culture and it is just going to be a tsunami of that. So, I think it is good to protect French films, protect French artists, who are expressing themselves through French, because I mean, that is a particular language. As far as advertising, for example, the Toubon Law says that there should not be other languages in advertising and so on.

Yes, that it should appear smaller and should not appear that significantly.

Hélot: Yes. I think it does not really work. There is English everywhere in advertising. Advertisers are cleverer than lawmakers. They manage to put English everywhere and obviously when you have English in an ad, it seems to sell better than if you have no English. So the law is not very efficient. And we do not fortunately we do not have a linguistic police, which is all the time suing people, who do not respect it. I think it is fairly respected, but there is still English seeping in everywhere. From that point of view the law is not very efficient. But I do not think it is damaging language learning at all, because few people are aware of this law in fact.

So it is not always used as often or not always considered as often.

Hélot: It is not restricting interests in other languages or cultural collaboration between people of different languages and things like that, I do not think so at all. No. It concerns more for example shop signs, street signs and advertising.

And do you think that is good?

Hélot: I do not know what I think about that. I do not think the French language is in danger. I do not believe that; that it is in danger of disappearing. I do not think that. We are known in France for the country that legislates the most about its language. I think languages definitely should be protected, but maybe there are other languages to protect, like Breton or Provençal. Languages where you have very few speakers left. I am not afraid about French.

But it has in the past had more significance, especially in Europe. English has in a way taken over French.

Hélot: Absolutely, absolutely, but I have a lot of colleagues at the university that are very upset by that, but I'm not. I mean, I think, it was a colonial language and it is good it is not a colonial language anymore. Although in a sense it still is. In many African countries they communicate through French rather than their local language. I think it is good that French is not a colonial language.

So, in terms of what is a universal language you have no preference for French or English or Latvian or whatever?

Hélot: You know, as a linguist I am interested in all languages. I studied English and I am a professor of English. I read a lot in English. I love the English language. It does not really upset me that it is a dominant language all over the world, as long as it is not taking the space of other languages. I do not know what it is like in Latvia, if Latvia is in danger.

(...)

Hélot: Malta is interesting. Because everybody speaks English in Malta, but they also speak French, they also speak Italian and they also speak Arabic. So, a small island like Malta and Maltese is a language, which is not spoken by many people, but it has not been killed off by English. So, I do not believe in this theory of the killer language. It has served me very well to speak English and to learn English for my profession, because when I write in English, I am read by many more people, I am invited to many more conferences than my colleagues, who do not speak English, so I am kind of logical. I am not going to say: "Oh, this horrible language, English, has taken over the world over." Basically, I do not think it is going to last, that English is going to be a Germanic language as well, that it is going to change and be taken over by another one, maybe Chinese or whatever. Or Spanish. It is just the way languages are.

I read a book by Phillipson as well. (...) He talks about the de facto-status of languages and (...) the official status and that it is so mixed up; that the fact we speak certain languages can only mean that other languages do not have the same status and that certain people who do not speak English do not have access to as much and that in that way it is unfair.

Hélot: Yes, that is true.

Do you agree with that?

(...)

Hélot: I would agree with that point. I was kind of saying it in a different way to you, that I have had so many advantages personally, because of English. So definitely, people who do not have English are disadvantaged. That is true. I mean, access to science on all, whether it is medicine or chemistry or linguistics or socio-linguistics, if you do not read English your knowledge is so restricted. But what I would say is, if you can read English and two other languages, for example what is published in French and German, then you have access to wider knowledge.

So, you would say stimulate the learning of English.

(...)

Hélot: Absolutely, but then I would say stimulate the learning not just of English; English and other languages. I think one problem in France, for example, is that most kids learn English from age seven and then they do not think they should learn another language, because they have English. In that sense English is taking a lot of space in language learning. What I think is that kids should start with another language than English and then learn English later. So that at least they have two languages. They develop a taste of languages, because once people have English, they

tend to think it is enough and it is not enough today in the world to just have English, I think. You need to have other languages for professional development. So many people have English; you are not very different from other people if you have just English.

Because everybody speaks it nowadays. I had one question I wanted to finish with actually. (...) I was quite interested in how you see the language culture in France develop. So what do you see happening in about a decade? Do you think it will improve still? Do you think there might be a mix-up of languages?

Hélot: That is very difficult to answer, I think, because it depends very much on the political situation. There is an increase of extreme right-wing voters and if they came into power, which I hope not, there could be more focus on only French culture and anti-migrant policies and anti-migrant languages policy and so on. Anti-migration policies will obviously restrict – there is already a discussion at the moment on forbidding the teaching of languages – as we call them – of origin, you know, migrant languages. There is a discussion at the parliament about that, which is of course coming from right-wing politicians. So, to see what will happen in the next ten years. My goodness! I have not a clue.

What would be your hope?

Hélot: My hope would be (...) that children would do more of that in school, kind of a first introduction into plurilingualism and understanding that the world is multilingual and that there are 7,000 languages in the world and that it is a wealth and we should protect it. In classrooms today it is easy to have 15 languages and these 15 languages are talked about and maybe songs and poems are learned in these languages, parents coming in to talk about their language and culture. I believe in multiculturalism, I suppose, or as we call it in French *interculturel*, intercultural education. My hope would be that there would be more of that from a very young age and not just focusing on language learning, like learning English, but also focusing on doing multilingual language projects or multicultural projects involving more than one foreign language and giving a taste to young children of multilingualism, what it is like to speak many languages, and that the more languages you speak, the more windows open onto your reality and you understand people better and so on. That would be my hope.

It is quite interesting because you really focus on a young age.

Hélot: Yeah, I think we should start very young. I think children of four years of age already understand an awful lot of things about the world.

(...)

Appendix III: Informed Consent Form Dr Christine Hélot

Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent Form

- 1) **Research Project Title:** The Influence of the EU's Language Policy on the Language Policy of the Member States of the EU
- 2) **Project Description:** This dissertation delves into the language policy of the European Union, France and Latvia. It answers the question 'to what extent has the European Union's language policy influenced the national language policy of the European Union's member states?'. To answer this question the language policies of France and Latvia are compared to each other and a close look is taken at the EU's language policy and the linguistic steps that have been taken in France and Latvia.

If you agree to take part in this study please read the following statement and sign this form.

I am 16 years of age or older.

I can confirm that I have read and understood the description and aims of this research. The researcher has answered all the questions that I had to my satisfaction.

I agree to the audio recording of my interview with the researcher.

I understand that the researcher offers me the following guarantees:

All information will be treated in the strictest confidence. My name will not be used in the study unless I give permission for it.

Recordings will be accessible only by the researcher. Unless otherwise agreed, anonymity will be ensured at all times. Pseudonyms will be used in the transcriptions.

I can ask for the recording to be stopped at any time and anything to be deleted from it.

I consent to take part in the research on the basis of the guarantees outlined above.

Signed: Christine Hélot Date: 18/04/2015

Appendix IV: Article 10 and 11 of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities

Article 10

1. The Parties undertake to recognise that every person belonging to a national minority has the right to use freely and without interference his or her minority language, in private and in public, orally and in writing.

2. In areas inhabited by persons belonging to national minorities traditionally or in substantial numbers, if those persons so request and where such a request corresponds to a real need, the Parties shall endeavour to ensure, as far as possible, the conditions which would make it possible to use the minority language in relations between those persons and the administrative authorities.

3. The Parties undertake to guarantee the right of every person belonging to a national minority to be informed promptly, in a language which he or she understands, of the reasons for his or her arrest, and of the nature and cause of any accusation against him or her, and to defend himself or herself in this language, if necessary with the free assistance of an interpreter.

Article 11

1. The Parties undertake to recognise that every person belonging to a national minority has the right to use his or her surname (patronym) and first names in the minority language and the right to official recognition of them, according to modalities provided for in their legal system.

2. The Parties undertake to recognise that every person belonging to a national minority has the right to display in his or her minority language signs, inscriptions and other information of a private nature visible to the public.

In areas traditionally inhabited by substantial numbers of persons belonging to a national minority, the Parties shall endeavour, in the framework of their legal system, including, where appropriate, agreements with other States, and taking into account their specific conditions, to display traditional local names, street names and other topographical indications intended for the public also in the minority language when there is a sufficient demand for such indications ("Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities", 1995).

Appendix V: Transcript Interview Meirion Prys Jones

Interviewer: Marieke van Mil, Student of European Studies at The Hague University, the Netherlands

Interviewee: Meirion Prys Jones, CEO of the Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity (NPLD)

Where: Skype – Amstelveen, the Netherlands and Wales, the United Kingdom

When: 5 May 2015; 11:00 – 12:00 (Wales); 12:00-13:00 (the Netherlands)

(...)

I noticed you have quite some specific programmes that you set up for specific countries. I noticed that you really focused on Welsh and Finland. I wonder what makes the NPLD choose to take on these kinds of projects. Why do you choose to take a look at these types of countries?

Jones: I suppose in some ways it reflects how the network was started. The main push to start the network in the first place came initially from Wales, but we also had some good contacts with Finland, but of course before the NPLD we used to run a different network. We started the first network, I think, in 2002, which was called the Association of Language Boards and Government Departments that Deal with Languages, which is not a very snappy title. It was an idea that came from a discussion we had in the Basque country in the year 2000 about that we should try to work more closely together. It reflected the fact that by now many governments in Western Europe had departments of governments, all organisations, which were closely related to government that dealt with language planning. So, we identified which countries those were and we started off with, I think, six countries. We had the Basque country, Catalonia, Wales, Ireland, Finland and someone else I cannot remember. It is a long time ago. I think it was six of us. We started then doing some work at no cost, because each member paid to go to the meetings. And we had a small grant from the European Commission to produce examples of good practice. Between 2002 and 2005 we ran this small network. It was chaired by the Welsh language board in Cardiff. Basically, these two networks I started off. I was given the job, I think, in 1998 by the Welsh Language Board to start off this idea of having a European network. So it was part of my work I did on education, taking a brief. They said, "We want you to try and do something on a European level." So I started from there. We established this small group in 2002/2005 and then in 2005, obviously by then, I had built up some good contacts in the European Commission and we had a discussion about the fact that the organisation that was there representing minority languages at a European level was called

the European Bureau of Lesser-Used Languages. You may have come across that. It was basically coming to the end of its life.

Yes, it closed in 2012, I believe.

Jones: Formally, but it actually closed in 2006, but it may have just dragged on a short time after that, but it came to an end in 2006. The problem was that sometime around the year 2000 the Bureau was declared bankrupt and therefore, the Commission would not continue to give it money, once it was bankrupt. It kept on going with some of the projects they had already started funding, so that continued for several years, but the Commission saw that that would come to an end. Also, in 2007 there was a new programme being developed, the programme of funding between 2007 tot 2014. They pointed to the fact that within that programme there would be an opportunity to get money for it working and that would include minority languages. So, I had this discussion with them and they said, "Well, you need to have a broader base than you have at the moment in terms of membership". So in 2005 and 2006, I held meetings in Amsterdam where we invited people who were from minority language communities, and governments and NGOs to come and discuss the potential of establishing the network. We placed down what was the possible model for that. We agreed to that in 2006. It was a change, because we came to the conclusion that the only way we could sustain a network was that you would have to have something around a budget of €300,000 a year. And the only possible people, who could contribute to that, would be governments. So basically, we established the network on two levels. One, which we call full members and one we call associate members. The full members used to pay €30,000 each and the associate members, just because we wanted them with us, would pay €750. So, there is a substantial difference. Basically the NPLD, to a certain extent, has been driven most strongly by the governments, than anybody else in the network. You asked a question about Wales and Finland. So along that journey, I have had a friendship really with people living in Wales and Finland. We have done some work together in that context. I suppose that developed into a project that we also run, called MELT, which has to do with early years education. That came really from that length between Wales and Finland, more than anything else. But it is not just those two countries. The story over the years has included all of the other members as well. There is a special emphasis on Wales and Finland, but of course there is a special emphasis on Wales, because it is based here. The Secretariat was based here from 2000 onwards, within the organisation I used to run, called the Welsh Language Board, that came to an end in 2012 and then, because it got removed from that organisation, the network then had to stand on its own two feet as a private company. So, it has been a private company since 2012.

And that was shortly after you received the funding from the European Commission?

Jones: We had two grants from the European Commission. One was from 2007 to 2010 and then, from 2013 to 2015.

OK, so that just ended?

Jones: Well, it is coming to an end in December. They were two batches of three-year periods, under the same heading of networking.

That funding comes from the Lifelong Learning Programme, I assume?

Jones: Yes (...)

Do you notice that, because you receive this funding, that the European Commission in a way tries to influence what the NPLD does or tries to make sure that you move in a certain direction?

Jones: In some ways, cynically, I think they give the money, because they do not give money to anything else. Because the funding for minority languages – well, the reason that money came in the first place was a resolution that went through the European Parliament, I think in 2003, called the Ebner Report. The Ebner Report recommended, in the context of minority languages, that they should establish a centre, the same as the centre in Graz, which deals with modern languages, some kind of centre for minority languages. The Commission did not want to do that, so they went out – the Commission – for a report by an external consultancy, which argued the case for a centre or an agency or networks. It argued the case and I think it came down on the idea of having a centre or agency, but the Commission said, “No, we are going to have networks.”

So, multiple networks in this case then?

Jones: Well, maybe, but certainly in the context of this case, they were going to have networks, as apposed to one establishment. Politically, it would be very difficult to establish a centre anyway. Networks are easy, because they have no responsibility for networks. The only problem with networks of course is that, I think, all of the 20 networks that were funded from 2007 to 2010 funding period, only one survived, which is the NPLD. So, networks are not very robust organisations at all.

Why do you think the NPLD was able to survive out of all of those?

Jones: Because of the fact all of the others depended on the grant funding, because what we had done was establish a network that was not totally dependent on grant funding. We had this €3,000 a year of our own money to invest. So, what came from the Commission was in addition to that. In some ways, it is only now that it is hitting us, because when the members in 2013 decided to cut

their membership fee in half, because of the financial constraints in governments, they cut the membership fee down to €15,000. So, when they get to 2016, they then find themselves having to run the network on €200,000, as opposed to €300,000, and no grant. So, it is going to be a bit of a challenge in terms of what comes next, because the landscape has changed in terms of the European Union in quite a dramatic way. You can see, since the year 2000, the amount of funding provided for minority languages has decreased substantially. It was around €4 million in the year 2000, which was at its height I think. Then, by now, it is very, very little. The only funding left specifically for minority languages is the funding we get. We have had this change, where they have gone through two processes. One is that languages have lost the status they had before, in terms of being an issue in themselves, because if you look at the new programme for the European Commission, the Erasmus+, what they have done there is, I think, identified something like €13 billion for all languages, but it is across the issue of the economy, employment, migration, mobility, so fits into those issues and of course, the problem is the languages in the context of minority languages or lesser-used languages do not really fit into that agenda. It is very difficult to fit these issues into the agenda of economy, migration and mobility. It is a very difficult thing. So, you have the Commission saying, "of course, all our funding is open, anything you can apply" and they say, "well, surprise us, put forth an interesting project", but it is really difficult to find something that hits those issues. So, the money from networking is gone. So, although we had this Ebner report and the decision to say we do not go for a centre, we go for networks, only for maybe six or seven years. So, then, silently, without saying anything, they got rid of that. They have basically, the money now; there are very few opportunities for networks to be funded. And the networks they do fund are so specific, mainly around improving the delivery of education. If you look at the funding, it is also very difficult for you to get the funding to run anything that is not already an organisation, so they run something, but that has to be an organisation already before that funding can work. So, basically, in terms of the network we run, the network will find itself in a difficult position from 2016 onwards, because there will not be funding.

Are there no possibilities besides the EU? Are there no possibilities that you can receive some kind of funding or support from the Council of Europe for instance?

Jones: The Council of Europe is absolutely bankrupt. That is a problem.

That is a problem, yes.

Jones: It deals with a charge on virtually no cash.

Do you find some kind of – in terms of funding it might be difficult then – but collaboration-wise, do you feel that there is a good collaboration between the NPLD and the Council of Europe and the NPLD and the European Commission, when we do not think of funding?

Jones: If I take those separately, as three different bits, collaboration between us and the Council of Europe is fine. We get on well with them. We do not see them very often, because they are so short-staffed and so concentrated on dealing with the issues of monitoring the implementation of the Charter, but we do have some of the experts, who are set on that as members then, if you have a link in that way. From our perspective, yes, we have a good working relationship with the Council of Europe. The Council of Europe is in this context a rather nervous organisation. It does not want to do anything that could upset the balance they have at the moment, because we have been trying to pressurise them to do more. But they are very afraid that if they do more that somebody will criticise what the Council of Europe has been doing in terms of languages and then get rid of the whole thing. So they are very nervous about that. We have to walk quite carefully with them. But what they could do in the present parameters, is to strengthen the Charter. So, we have that relationship. There is no relationship between the Council of Europe and the European Commission as such. They do not meet. They never meet in the context of the Charter. There is no dialogue at all, as we can see. They will also say that. They never get invited to meetings. There is no discussion.

It is a shame.

Jones: Oh, yes, it is a shame, but it tells you about what is happening in terms of the European Commission, the Council and the languages of Europe. There are big changes happening at the moment, where they are basically trying to push them out of the way. And you can see that, I suppose, you have had this long list of motions going through the European Parliament, with the latest one in 2013, the Alfonsi motion, which had a 92 per cent level of voting for, which said to the Commission, it needed to do more about endangered languages and the Commission basically said, “Bah, no, we do not, we are doing enough.” So, you have this tension really, which you can see in a lot of other things between the Parliament and the Commission. The Commission responds to what the European Council says, which is the club of the leaders of the 28 countries and what they are telling the Commission is, “we are giving you money, concentrate on things to do with economy and migration and mobility and nothing else”.

So, the commercial languages in that sense. There is such a twofold message the Commission sends out, because in a way they say, “OK, we are going to support all official languages, each and every one of those 24 languages”, but at the same time the actions pretty much say they

support languages, such as English, French, German, really those languages that are used much. Do you believe that this should change? Do you think that there is any possibility it could change, if the EC is willing to?

Jones: I think what you just said is very true. When you look at the funding that was spent through the Erasmus programme from the year 2007 to 2014, 90 per cent of the funding was spent on six languages. So, you can see that when you look at Latvia, how little attention is given to the Latvian language. It is interesting, because I was in Riga last week (...). There was a conference on language and technology in Riga last week and there was an exhibition there from the European Commission on the space agency. Most of the stuff that came through was in English, and they had not bothered translating, so they are showing this in public, not in a conference, in a public place. I think what the Commission is doing slowly, they are thinking, "OK, we will save money, we will just have English as a *lingua franca*. If we just do not do too much than the natural process of English will dominate all of the other languages."

Do you think it is a threat? There are several experts, such as Phillipson, who really think that this focus on commercial languages is a threat to each and every other language, such as Latvian, such as Breton, such as Welsh.

Jones: Of course, it is a threat, because we are moving to a situation where there is only one language that has status. One of the things that came out from the conference we had in Riga last week (...), basically, in the world there are only two languages that will survive in the digital age without some help and they are, basically, Chinese and English. So all of the languages are in danger. I think, slowly, people are starting to realise that. What was facing the minority language communities until now, also now starts to hit the other languages, like Latvian. They can see that they are being pushed out of sight. So, although, the members of the European Union, their languages, all have an equal status, they do not get so many services. And the Commission keeps on saying that it is too expensive. And the larger nations say that it is too expensive. And also what you see is happening you have some kind of ruling elite, who either spoke English or have learnt to speak English and therefore, that is a skill they have, which they do not want to give up. So, they do not want it either.

So, there is great preference for English throughout.

Jones: I think that one of the concerns, which came out of the conference last week, is that increasingly universities are taking dissertations in English. And especially, in science and in higher degrees; you can only do them in English now. There is an issue there about what happens to languages where the level of debate at the highest level can only happen in English. So, a

language cannot reach that. We were talking about what happens when they started to teach philosophy and you have to do philosophy in France in English. What happens to the great tradition of discussion? It is there. You can see it already. So, there is this feeling that you can go so far with English, but what happens then in terms of the knock-on effect for all the languages. So, that is an issue I think, that is increasingly being discussed. But at the same time, of course, English is leaping forward, in terms of being a *lingua franca*. I do not think you can stop that as such, even if you wanted to stop it. But there are some knock-on effects. It does mean that the issue of languages with the European Commission is a highly sensitive one and really, one of the things they do not like us doing is making a fuss or trying to ask questions.

Being critical.

Jones: Yes, they do not want that, and you can see that with the new Commission. There is no Commission with multilingualism or languages in the title. So it is even more difficult for us to find the target in terms of a Commissioner. We launched a document in Brussels a few weeks ago called the European Roadmap for Linguistic Diversity. We invited the Commission and the Commission had to be there and the answer we got was, "We cannot at the moment, it is too sensitive." So it gives you an idea. Although the issue of languages is not high in the agenda in terms of economy and migration and mobility, it is there, it is very sensitive on a political level. But there is a feeling they are not doing enough. So, there is a conflict I think, not doing enough, not wanting to do enough, and not wanting to spend money.

It is surprising though, because it is true that there is a focus on commercial languages, but on the other hand, a Charter has been developed, it is still installed today. There are still sounds from Latvia that they really wanted to make sure the Latvian language is linked to citizenship. There are so many sounds that still say, "OK, we want to make sure that languages are kept intact." It is so contradictory with what the European Commission is putting out.

Jones: But you know this probably. I am going to tell you something you probably know now is that one of the reasons why language is so important in Latvia and Estonia and Lithuania is because of the tension with those countries in Russia.

Yes, absolutely.

Jones: So, it has its own agenda.

Yes, but for instance, France does not need that. I mean France, of course, is a country that very much focuses on their own language and makes French very superior of course, but there are

voices from different countries, as well with Catalonia, they want to keep their language as well. They want to keep those rights.

Jones: But if you think about all the member states of the European Union, which country would you identify as the member state that would stand up and say that we need to do more for smaller languages.

I cannot point out specific one. No, you are right about that.

(...)

But that is almost like there is a fear for the EU. It is almost as if it is too scary to have a supranational body like that.

Jones: Well, it is too scary, because they feel they get shouted down by everybody else. Because what you are going to get is, the people in Greece are going to object, because they have a very unpleasant tradition when it comes to minority languages, the Spanish state is going to object, the Italian state, the French state, all these states are going to object, because what they see are problems within their own state. The United Kingdom would object as well most probably. All these member states, who may do one thing inside the state, but who would certainly not want to do that at a state level outside the state. And certainly they would not want to spend money. You can see that quite clearly. Because in some ways it is a simple issue, as far as I can see. In terms of minority languages, if you wanted to do something, it would be a relatively easy task, because it would not cost you as much to make a gesture, to say, we have this range of languages, we will give them some funding, so they can help each other, in terms of good practice, developing their own patterns, all these things would not cost as much. In the context of, €13 billion they spend on education, over a couple of million euros a year, you could overcome a problem as such, within a limited range. But most probably in terms of the concept of having some kind of European responsibility for languages, that probably would take away that issue. But they do not. So it is a very short-sighted policy, I think, in terms of saying, "OK, we will not do anything. We have these languages, but let them die".

But that also completely eliminates the effect the Charter has had.

Jones: True. And it also completely eliminates the Treaties they have signed, which says they give equal respect to all languages. You have this duality really within the European Union, where they say one thing and do something completely different.

So, we could go to the Court of Justice.

Jones: The problem is that we have not got any kind of legal basis for that, because they have been very clever and kept everything out of any legal kind of basis. As far as I know, the only legal thing is, there is this 2003 Ebner report. Apparently, that is some kind of legal basis, but the Charter has no legal basis. It is just an international Charter, but if you do not sign up to it and do not keep to it then you get embarrassed. So there is nothing there. The only pieces where the European Union is willing to spend money and to give rights are to the Roman people and the simple answer to that is because they present a problem. They give the European Union a problem, dealing with Roma, because Roman people do not stay within the natural framework in which people behave. So they pose a problem, they give them status, etcetera. But minority language speakers in general do not do that. They do not give them a problem. They do not revote. They do not do anything. They just manage people, minorities. So, they do not shout. So, they do not get the attention.

And it is a small group as well, of course.

Jones: It is a small group, although it is a tenth of the population of the European Union. But they have no central political power. So, it is a difficult issue to get across, a frustrating one. So, that is why we run a network, because that is the only way we can try and bring all these elements together. But even then, of course, we are not just the only network. There is another network that operates in Eastern Europe.

Do you collaborate with that network as well?

Jones: Well, the other network is called FUEN and they are mainly based in Mid-Central and Eastern Europe, because of course they have a slightly different gender to ours, because ours is to do with language planning and how do you keep a language alive, basically and their issue is more to do with human rights. Because if you look at Eastern Europe, you do not have so many minority languages. There are very few there. Most of them are cross-border languages.

(...)

Jones: In Hungary, there are 13 minorities. They are all the languages from all around. Because there has been so much movement inside Europe, all the languages and all the borders are just mixed up. So, it is not an issue of "this language will die". It will not, because it is a State Language in another place. So, there it is not so easy to name – there are some small pockets of small dialects, which are called languages, but in general it is only in Western Europe you have languages, which are substantially different to the one next door. Such as Welsh and English. Basque and Spanish. They are quite different. Only Western Europe has those. So, the two

networks are different in that way. And in some ways, it is simpler than what we do in terms of Human Rights; that is an incredibly difficult one to deal with. Human linguistic rights. Where we try and take the softer approach and say, "OK. How do we help each other and how do we put pressure on the European Commission to give us some more funds", because basically, it has to do with funding.

I wanted to ask you about that as well, because you mention in one of your interviews that one of your goals is to put pressure on the European Union. How do you do that? By continuously asking questions, in a way, maybe, that they would feel provoked.

Jones: Yes. Basically, yes. I think in terms of what we are doing at the moment, in terms of putting pressure on the Commission, obviously, we try and have a dialogue with them, which is not very easy, because by today the unit that deals with multilingualism, which used to be around 25 people, shrunk to four. We also try and target the Commissioner and there was a Commissioner that was responsible for multilingualism until 2010. Then the Walter Education was responsible from 2010 to 2014 and so, we have a dialogue with them, but we find it difficult. We can have a reasonable dialogue with the Commissioner and the Commissioner's staff; that is fine. We call it the Cabinet. But then trying to hit the bureaucrats is really, really difficult. There was an interesting discussion we had where the Commissioner's representative said, "Yes, of course, we will help you with this new Roadmap" and she said, "We could find some money to help you fund that development". So, we went to see the bureaucrats and they said, "that is no problem, he can pay for his own salary." That was the response. (...) The other thing they said was, "you are wasting your time." That is the kind of dialogue we have there. Of course, it is also the same between the Parliament and the Commission. I mentioned about these resolutions going through and they are having no effect. You can see then that it is not an easy one to crack. If the Parliament cannot have any effect, then the effect we have is limited as well.

How have you seen change then? Because there is significant amount of projects that you have set up. You have quite some objectives and principles. If you could name one very specific change that you were able to make what would that be?

Jones: I think, most probably, the change, which has to do internally with the network itself. The network is based on two elements. One is this element of advocacy at the European level, in terms of trying to get the European Union to do more, which I think, we are hitting our heads against a brick wall. And the other one, then of course, is the sharing of good practice. That, I think, we do, because obviously we have a situation now, where all the main players – if you think about language planning and language promotion at a world level, there is a general acceptance that the

best language planning and the best practice happens in Europe. You start from there and then, we would say, that the best actual language practice happens in the membership of the network. We have all the players, who do that work within the network. So, most probably in terms of the discourse and the understanding, it is at its highest in terms of the practical application of theory in terms of how do you regenerate the network, is in the network itself. It is the sharing of that I think and you can see that in terms of the discussion we have had. It is not an easy one, because naturally governments do not share. Civil servants do not share. They do not like sharing. They tell people what to do. They do not share. We had to overcome that issue in terms of getting all these people together and having a discourse about what do you do, what are the different aspects that you have to deal within your own community. One of the interesting documents that we commissioned was written by Professor Colin William from the University of Cardiff. It was one where he compares all the language strategies of the members of the network. That is on our website.

Yes, I read his name somewhere on your website.

Jones: So, he has run a comparative study of all the language strategies. So, if you wanted to start from scratch, start from the beginning with language policy, it is all in that document. What you need to do, what are the important parts, what do you need to prioritise. I think that is a major contribution. The trouble is that civil servants did not read it. So, you have to repeat things over and over again. Because there is a mixture of approaches, they do learn from each other that you can do it this and this way and it will have this effect, but you may also do it this way and you will do it that way, and it is worth considering all the aspects. Because what happens in general is that when the lesser-used languages get into the hands of politicians, they want to change everything into policy. But some of the members also see that policy will only take you so far. So, you need to be subtler, in some ways. You need to try and influence people's behaviours in their homes, in their communities etcetera, and you cannot do that through policy.

So, looking at influencing on a local level?

Jones: Yes, well, people's behaviour. You have to think about how to influence people's behaviour. For example, one of the things we are concentrating our effort on is this concept of the early years of a child's life. How do you help parents, especially in bilingual communities, to transmit a minority language to their child? So, that issue. How do you provide pre-school education and early years education. So those elements are practical planning. How do you deal with that? Because it is not simple. You can say, it is important, but we know it is important, everything tells us it is important, but how do you actually influence in somebody's home. When you have one parent speaking a minority language and the other one not and then maybe the family

of one says, "Why are you speaking that language to your child?" Those things, on a practical level. But we also share things about education; we have just commissioned work on how language fits in with the economy, because we can see that is an important issue. And also, we try to look at the issue of migration and minority languages and there has been a study in Helsinki and Barcelona on that. So it is trying to work our way through our agenda. So, if you say, "what have we achieved?" It is that debate. If it was not for the network this debate would not be happening across these lines.

So, very much awareness and a how-to guide?

Jones: Yes, yes. Making them think, because you can never take what is in another country and implement it in yours. It does not work that way. It is a process saying, "OK, they are doing that, what ideas does that give me? What can I do with that in my own context?" It is developing and sharing good practice, but it has more to do with promoting people to have ideas themselves. It is a long process.

I can imagine. Especially, if the EC is not really collaborating and helping you in that sense.

Jones: Oh, no. It is not helping us at all in that context. It has no interest in that context at all. You can see it is driven by the club; all 28 members. And only what affect those are the issues.

What it seems like to me is they hide behind this shield of having limited power.

Jones: Yes. They always say it is a matter of subsidiarity when it comes to languages. I think our argument there is, there is an overarching responsibility within the European continent for the languages within. That some of the communities and countries in there do not care for their languages. There is a European responsibility of having an overview and saying, "OK, we are losing some of the treasures we have here and therefore, at a European level we need to do something to help in that context."

(...)

Do you think that the member states would mind if the EC had more power in terms of language learning? Do you think that they would mind if it would influence language policies more?

Jones: When you say language learning, no. I think they are keen for the European Union to deal with language learning as such. But I do not think they would want them to deal with anything apart from learning languages. Of course, you can see the influence there is mainly on the learning of what you called the commercial languages. (...) That is what the European Council wants. They would not mind that in terms of language learning, but they do not want to give any languages, any

minority languages – of course, part of the history as well is to do with Spain and the countries within Spain, in terms of Catalonia and the Basque country have, whether you agree or not is another issue, but has been pushing for more financial independence. In the past you had ETA in the Basque region. All that has been seen as a very negative influence in terms of people viewing languages as a dangerous issue. I think that is also part of the mix. It is also part of the way of avoiding the issue. They are taking it as an excuse not to do anything.

Do you think that it is also the member states only – because they do want to support multilingualism, that is clear, you see many countries that aim at learning languages – do you think that they just want funding? That they think, just give me money and we will arrange the rest.

Jones: There is an element with that with everything the European Union does. When you say multilingualism and you look at the data, what multilingualism means is a language plus English. That is the problem you have with the EU. They go, “Of course we promote multilingualism.” They promote multilingualism in a big way, but it means English. It does not mean anything else. So, it is not a true policy of promoting multilingualism as such. Although they keep on saying, they do not promote English, because English is so strong, but even so, *de facto* it is happening. It is difficult to get away from that. (...) When you are talking about a timespan, this has happened in the last 20 years.

(...)

Appendix VI: Informed Consent Form Meirion Prys Jones

Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent Form

- 1) **Research Project Title:** The Influence of the EU's Language Policy on the Language Policy of the Member States of the EU. A comparative research: France and Latvia
- 2) **Project Description:** This dissertation delves into the language policy of the European Union, France and Latvia. It answers the question 'to what extent has the European Union's language policy influenced the national language policy of the European Union's member states?'. To answer this question the language policies of France and Latvia are compared to each other and a close look is taken at the EU's language policy and the linguistic steps that have been taken in France and Latvia.

If you agree to take part in this study please read the following statement and sign this form.

I am 16 years of age or older.

I can confirm that I have read and understood the description and aims of this research. The researcher has answered all the questions that I had to my satisfaction.

I agree to the audio recording of my interview with the researcher.

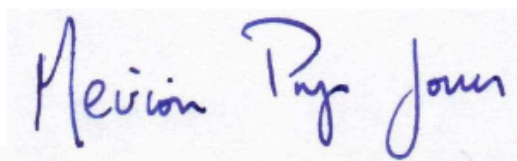
I understand that the researcher offers me the following guarantees:

All information will be treated in the strictest confidence. My name will not be used in the study unless I give permission for it.

Recordings will be accessible only by the researcher. Unless otherwise agreed, anonymity will be ensured at all times. Pseudonyms will be used in the transcriptions.

I can ask for the recording to be stopped at any time and anything to be deleted from it.

I consent to take part in the research on the basis of the guarantees outlined above.



Signed: _____ **Date:** 05/05/15 _____

Appendix VII: Student Ethics Form

Student Ethics Form

European Studies Student Ethics Form

Your name: Marieke van Mil

Supervisor: Mr Van Ginhoven

Instructions/checklist

Before completing this form you should read the APA Ethics Code (<http://www.apa.org/ethics/code/index.aspx>). If you are planning research with human subjects you should also look at the sample consent form available in the Final Project and Dissertation Guide.

- a. ☐ Read section 3 that your supervisor will have to sign. Make sure that you cover all these issues in section 1.
- b. ☐ Complete sections 1 and, if you are using human subjects, section 2, of this form, and sign it.
- c. ☐ Ask your project supervisor to read these sections (and the draft consent form if you have one) and sign the form.
- d. ☐ Append this signed form as an appendix to your dissertation.

Section 1. Project Outline (to be completed by student)

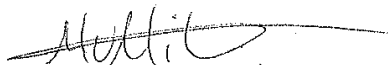
- (i) **Title of Project:** The Influence of the EU's Language Policy on the Language Policy of the Member States of the EU. A comparative research: France and Latvia
- (ii) **Aims of project:** Discovering the extent to which the EU's language policy has influenced the language policy of France and Latvia.
- (iii) **Will you involve other people in your project – e.g. via formal or informal interviews, group discussions, questionnaires, internet surveys etc. (Note: if you are using data that has already been collected by another researcher – e.g. recordings or transcripts of conversations given to you by your supervisor, you should answer 'NO' to this question.)**

YES

If no: you should now sign the statement below and return the form to your supervisor. You have completed this form.

This project is not designed to include research with human subjects. I understand that I do not have ethical clearance to interview people (formally or informally) about the topic of my research, to carry out internet research (e.g. on chat rooms or discussion boards) or in any other way to use people as subjects in my research.

Student's signature



date 3 May 2015

If yes: you should complete the rest of this form.

Section 2 Complete this section only if you answered YES to question (iii) above.

(i) What will the participants have to do? (v. brief outline of procedure):

The participants will be requested to answer questions that concern the language policy of the EU, France or Latvia. The interviews that are to be conducted will be in-depth interviews.

(ii) What sort of people will the participants be and how will they be recruited?

The participants will be experts in the field of the language policy of the EU, France or Latvia. They will be working in the field of linguistics, create language policy or work at institutions aiming at changes in language policy. The recruitment of these participants will happen by personal emails requesting their participation in the dissertation.

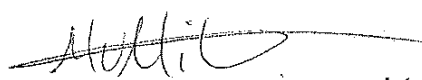
(iii) What sort stimuli or materials will your participants be exposed to, tick the appropriate boxes and then state what they are in the space below?

Questionnaires[] ; Pictures[] ; Sounds [] ; Words[X] ; Other[] .

(iv) Consent: Informed consent must be obtained for all participants before they take part in your project. Either verbally or by means of an informed consent form you should state what participants will be doing, drawing attention to anything they could conceivably object to subsequently. You should also state how they can withdraw from the study at any time and the measures you are taking to ensure the confidentiality of data. A standard informed consent form is available in the Dissertation Manual.

(vi) What procedures will you follow in order to guarantee the confidentiality of participants' data? Personal data (name, addresses etc.) should not be stored in such a way that they can be associated with the participant's data.

Since the participants will take part in in-depth interviews, names of the experts will be stated in the dissertation. Great care will be taken to ensure answers to questions are not altered as to twist their true meaning. Besides their official name no other contact details will be published in the dissertation.


Student's signature: date: 3 May 2015

Supervisor's signature (if satisfied with the proposed procedures): date: 3 May 2015

