



EDUCATION
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YOUTH

Euromosaic

The production and
reproduction of the minority
language groups in the
European Union



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Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1996

ISBN 92-827-5512-6

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Printed in Luxembourg

EUROMOSAIC

THE PRODUCTION AND REPRODUCTION OF THE MINORITY LANGUAGE GROUPS OF THE EU

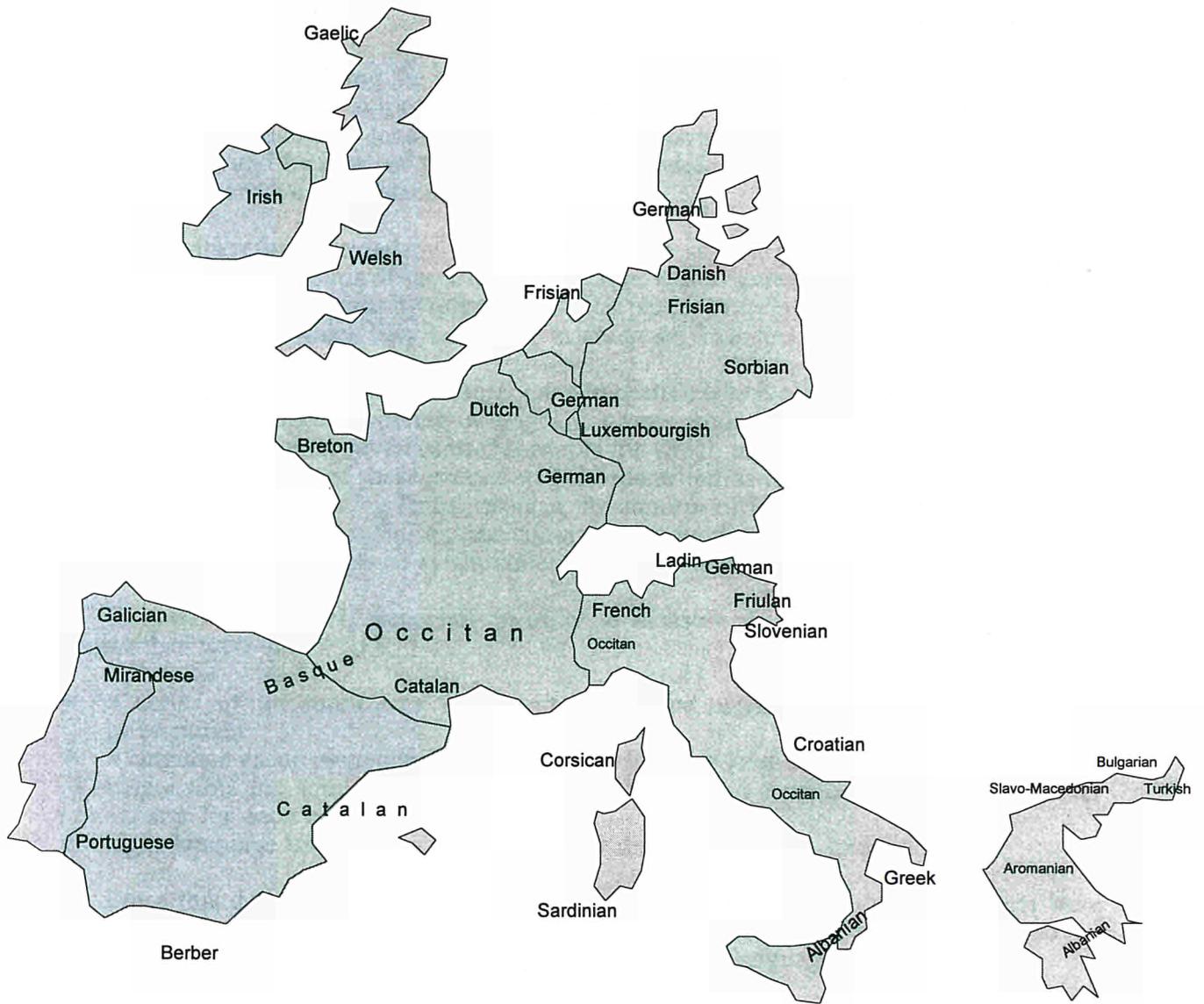
The project 'EUROMOSAIC' is a research project in the field of language and culture. It is a collaborative effort between researchers from various European countries. The project aims to explore the production and reproduction of minority language groups in the EU. The research will focus on the social and cultural contexts in which these languages are used and how they are maintained and transmitted across generations. The project will involve fieldwork, interviews, and the analysis of linguistic data. The findings will be shared through a series of workshops and a final report.

REPORT

REPORT OF THE EXPERT GROUP ON THE
EFFECTS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION ON
THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

This report was prepared for the European Commission by Peter Nelde of the Onderzoeks Centrum voor Meertaligheid, KU University, Brussels; Miquel Strubell of the Direcció General de Política Lingüística, Barcelona; and Glyn Williams of Research Centre Wales, University of Wales, Bangor. The information it contains does not necessarily reflect the position or the views of the European Commission.

Brussels, June 1995



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. For over ten years the Commission has been providing financial support for initiatives aimed at promoting those languages excluded from the main language-linked programmes of the Union. This support is a direct result of increasing demands from the European Parliament and other organisations which point to the need for the public authorities to actively compensate for the negative effects of economic and political integration. The increasing demand for such assistance has led DG XXII - Education, Training and Youth - to seek the necessary background information on each of these linguistic communities that will facilitate applying the resources that are devoted to them for activities which can best serve the needs of each group. Such information is especially important both because of the rapidly changing legal, institutional and social situation in a number of these communities, and because of the need for a methodologically sound study which would allow a comparative understanding of them.

2. It was therefore decided by the Commission to solicit proposals for a study of the minority language groups of the EU. Its objective was to ascertain the current situation of the various language groups by reference to their potential for production and reproduction, and the difficulties which they encounter in doing so. This report derives from that study.

3. The study was based upon a theoretical perspective which considered the various social and institutional aspects whereby a language group produces and reproduces itself. This involved focusing upon seven central concepts for which empirical measures were sought. The primary agencies of these processes were identified as the family, education and the community. The motivating force involved the concept of language prestige, or the value of a language for social mobility, and cultural reproduction. The link between ability and use related to the concepts of institutionalisation and legitimisation.

4. In gathering the data necessary in order to measure these concepts, three empirical approaches were mobilised:

- a series of questionnaires were sent to various authorities at different levels of government;
- a language group respondent was nominated for each language group. This person was responsible for administering formal questionnaires to a series of 'key witnesses' or experts for each of the language groups;
- eight language use surveys covering 2,400 respondents were undertaken.

5. From this data lengthy language group reports and language use survey reports were prepared. These constituted the internal analysis of each case which facilitated an understanding of the internal dynamics of the respective language groups.

6. In order to facilitate comparative analysis across all cases a series of seven scaling devices were developed, one for each variable. Each case was allocated a score on each scale, subject to the customary control of validity and reliability. The results allowed the team to compare all cases by reference to the seven variables individually or in different relationships. They also allowed a cluster analysis to be undertaken by reference to the total scores for all cases.

7. This analysis revealed five clusters ranging from a small cluster of four language groups which scored highly across all seven variables, to a large cluster of fifteen language groups with low scores across most, or all, variables. This kind of analysis, which does not rely upon demography nor economic structure, allows the analyst to ascertain the extent to which different languages have the social, cultural and organisational components which can continue to play a productive and reproductive role when confronted by an accelerated

economic restructuring process. It also allows the analyst to question the relevance of the size of the group by reference to the capacity for adaptive response.

8. The variable analysis indicates that those language groups which are in a position to sustain themselves are those which receive considerable state support which activates and promotes the production and reproduction processes operating within civil society. There is also a small group which does receive considerable state support but which reveal less activity within civil society. On the other hand the vast majority of language group suffer not only from a lack of such support but sometimes from open hostility to their existence and activities.

9. This analysis is then placed within the context of the on-going process of economic restructuring within Europe on the one hand, and of demographic information on the other. This indicates that the demographic size of a language group is no guarantee of the group's viability capacity, with the existence of some of Europe's largest language groups being severely threatened. It also indicates that many of the more successful groups have established a symbiotic relationship with the broader economic context, establishing specific economic niches for their members. Their success has not derived from confronting and adapting to processes of socio-economic change. Any enhanced integration into the general process of economic restructuring would be threatening to such groups. The main ingredient of such change appears to be the accelerated process of migration associated with the circulation of capital, much of which revolves around the increasing relevance of tourism for local economies.

10. Having established the manner in which the institutional organisation of minority language groups has developed within the context of the relationship between the various states and the language groups that exist within their territories, the Report proceeds to consider the implications of the more general process of political and economic restructuring within the EU for minority language groups. In so doing it highlights the shift in thinking about the value of diversity for economic development and European integration. It argues that language is a central component of diversity, and that if diversity is the cornerstone of innovative development then attention must be given to sustaining the existing pool of diversity within the EU.

11. The Report concludes by focusing upon the difficulties of proactive planning given the existing constraints upon the deployment of existing budgetary resources and calls for the implementation of a Programme which can be the basis for the necessary forward planning.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	I - IV
SECTION I: ORIENTATION	1
1. The Minoritisation of Languages	1
2. Theoretical Orientation	4
i) Introduction	
ii) Primary Agencies of Language Group Production and Reproduction	
iii) The Economic Order	
iv) Institutionalisation and Legitimation	
3. Conclusion	12
SECTION II: METHODOLOGY	14
1. Introduction	14
2. Inclusion of Cases	14
3. Data Sources	15
4. Scale Construction	18
5. Conclusion	20
SECTION III: ANALYSIS	21
1. Introduction	21
2. Language Use Surveys	21
3. Analysis of Scales	24
i) Introduction	
ii) Rank Order and Clusters	
iii) State and Civil Society	
iv) Individual variables	
4. Conclusion	30

	PAGE
SECTION IV: THE RESTRUCTURING OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SPACE	32
1. Introduction	32
2. Economic Restructuring	34
3. The Clusters	35
i) Cluster A	
ii) Cluster B	
iii) Cluster C	
iv) Cluster D	
v) Cluster E	
4. Conclusion	42
 SECTION V: DIVERSITY AND DEVELOPMENT	 45
1. Introduction	45
2. From Financial Capital to Human Capital	45
3. Towards a Model of Peripheral Development	49
4. Diversity	51
5. The Relevance of the Data	54
6. Conclusion	56
 SECTION VI: CONCLUSION	 58
1. General Observations	58
2. Diversity and Development	59
3. Future Research	61
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 63

LIST OF TABLES

1. Variable scores by language group in ranked order
2. Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients of Variable
3. Demographic Scale and Economic Restructuring

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Schematic Representation of Language Group Production and Reproduction
2. Conditions of Institutionalisation and Legitimation
3. Rank Order of Language Groups by Total Scale Scores
4. Graph of Variable Scores for each Language Group distributed by State/Civil Society Distinction
5. Bar Graph of Ranked Scores divided by State/Civil Society Distinction
6. Bar Graph of Ranked Language Prestige and Education Scores
7. Bar Graph of Ranked Language Prestige and Cultural Reproduction Scores
8. Bar Graph of Ranked Family and Community Scores
9. Graph of Demographic Scale and Total Score

INTRODUCTION

Since the early eighties, the institutions of the European Union have taken an increasing interest in the circumstances of those autochthonous communities whose languages are not the official languages of their respective states, many of which display a high degree of social and cultural creativity. As a result of this interest, and on the basis of a growing number of resolutions and reports - the most politically significant of which is the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages - the Commission began to devote resources to the support of these linguistic communities. This support was and is coherent with the general aims of an integrated Europe, in which every citizen can fulfil his or her own aims in a suitable social environment, and in which the European institutions provide support through their programmes so that such aims can be achieved. However, the formulation of policy in this area was hampered both by the rapidly changing legal, institutional and social situation in a number of these communities, and by the lack of a methodologically sound study which would facilitate a comparative understanding of them.

The Commission therefore published a call for tender¹ for a study of the various minority language groups within the twelve states which were members of the European Union at that time. The contract was awarded to four centres² with the intention that they cooperate in undertaking the specific demands of the research brief. At the request of DG XXII this report has been written by the centres at Bangor, Barcelona and Brussels.

Evidently, such a study builds upon the earlier reports which have been placed before the various institutions of the European Union³. However, it also differs from such reports in having drawn upon the theoretical and methodological resources of the social sciences in undertaking the study which has served as the basis for the Report. The research brief involved two basic tasks:

1. To elaborate for each linguistic community a description of the language and its historic and literary profile; an analysis of the legal, political, administrative and socio-economic situation; an idea of its social use and of the number of speakers by age distribution; the existence of different levels of the school and non-school teaching of the languages; its use in the written and audio-visual media, in professional and commercial life.
2. To present the research results in a clear and precise form deploying the same criteria for all languages.

This brief presents the researcher with the task of accommodating comparative research on a range of diverse topics. This means that it is essential to conceptualise the various dimensions outlined in the brief by reference to a theoretical orientation that can

¹ 92/C, November 11th., 1992

² Institut de Sociolinguística Catalana, Generalitat de Catalunya
Centre de Recherche sur le Plurilinguisme, KUB, Brussels
Research Centre Wales, University of Wales, Bangor
Fédération National des Foyers Ruraux, Paris

³ Jacoby (1991); Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana (1986); Siguan (1990); Arfe (1981,1983); Kuijpers (1987); Reding (1990); Kililea (1994)

accommodate the comparative perspective of the social sciences. This represents a forceful challenge, especially given the limitation of time and resources. The breadth of the task was theoretically and methodologically ambitious and demanding, obliging the team to develop an innovative orientation rather than resorting to orthodox procedures. As a consequence the project represented one of the most extensive studies of minority language groups ever undertaken.

In many respects the team felt obliged to depart from the normativity of orthodox sociolinguistics and the sociology of language. This normativity involves a strong tendency to reify language, leading to concepts such as 'language shift' or 'language contact' which, on the surface, are devoid of any social or economic context. Indeed, from the outset it was agreed that the study was not about language per se, but about language groups which were to be analysed as social groups. However, it was essential to treat language groups as merely one of several social groups which had to be discussed in tandem, since the same actor may well simultaneously belong to more than one social group. Thus, we also decided to refuse to treat language groups as culturally constituted, or to view them as residual categories such as ethnicity which relegate the groups to the margins of society on account of their deviation from the normativity of society writ large. In contrast, we chose to approach the task at hand by reference to a perspective which focused attention upon the various processes and components of the production and reproduction of language groups, feeling that such an approach would help us to throw new light upon what others have conceived in terms of language shift, language erosion and similar concepts which have ignored the socio-structural nature of this process.

It is important to clarify the difference between the study and this Report at the outset. The study, in the final form presented to the Commission, consisted of 48 language group reports which amounted to more than 2,000 pages of text, which were subsequently reduced in summarised from to more than 500 pages, and eight reports on language use based upon the analysis of the data gathered from more than 2,400 lengthy interviews across eight language groups. Evidently, the amount of work that has gone into data collection and analysis is hardly represented by a Report such as this one. Rather, this Report constitutes the main findings that derive from the study. In this respect it focuses upon the comparative part of the work in the sense that most of the time, energy and resources of the team was devoted to data collection and analysis for each individual language group, whereas the Report seeks to compare these results by developing an comparative analytic perspective. It is through such a comparison that generalisations about the universal process of change can be made, generalisations which draw upon the specifics of each individual case.

The study relates to the general processes of social, cultural, economic and political restructuring that is currently in progress in Europe. As we emphasise in the first section, for over two centuries a specific relationship has developed between the respective European states and the various language groups within their different territories. Despite variation, the general discourse that has been responsible for consolidating this relationship has leaned towards the importance of cultural and linguistic homogeneity for development and progress. This is not to suggest that every state has been intolerant of its own minorities, though many examples of such intolerance, both within specific states and within particular historical conjunctures, can be identified; but rather, that it has been taken for granted that the rationality that is claimed to be the essential pre-requisite of development and progress is founded upon intra-state homogeneity. It is this that partly accounts for the absence of relevant data about many minority language groups. On the other hand we are currently locked in one of those historical periods which witness a profound shift in discursive position. This has to do with the search for a driving force which will propel a United Europe further

along the path of 'progress'. This theme is at the core of the current debate concerning the Single Market and European integration. In many respects it constitutes a new beginning, and a redressing of former relationships. As we argue at the end of the report, this new discourse leads to a reevaluation of the issue of diversity and human capital for the future of Europe. This lends minority language groups a new importance, one that contributes directly to the future prosperity of Europe as a whole. What is interesting is that it is not the minority language groups themselves which are making this claim of relevance for diversity, but those in Europe who are responsible for research and policy development. It is as if the challenge of a 'New Europe' allows them to hear that which hitherto could not be said. This development makes the kind of analysis which we have undertaken extremely important, an analysis which can only be undertaken by the collection of primary data. In this respect that data achieves a new significance, one which suggests that a study such as this one will be merely the first among many which will be required to inform European development.

The Report consists of six sections. It begins with a section titled 'Orientation' which discusses the way in which history has constructed minority language groups. This links with our critique of the orthodox social science approach, and our attempt to develop the orientation for the study and the associated concepts which support it. This is followed by a discussion of methodology which is of relevance not only to the Report but also to the study. In that section we place considerable emphasis upon how we created a scaling instrument which allowed us to move the analytical procedure towards a comparative approach. This leads to a discussion of the analysis which covers two sections. In the first of these sections we discuss the language use surveys before proceeding to an overview of the multidimensional analysis of the scales. This allows us to undertake a comparative analysis of the various dimensions of language group production and reproduction without paying undue attention to factors of demographic scale and the on-going process of economic restructuring. That is, we are able to establish the extent to which the various language groups are equipped to adapt to the process of change regardless of size. We then turn to a consideration of the relevance of demographic scale and the degree to which the various language groups are involved in the economic restructuring process. We then make the argument that what the study has uncovered is the consequences of the established relationship between the various language groups and the states to which they pertain. This leads us to a discussion of how the emerging focus upon economic and political restructuring offers a new context for the relevance of minority language groups within a distinctive conception of diversity and innovation. Given this new context, we are obliged to consider the relevance of the data generated in our analysis for such a context. Finally, we seek to draw the work together in a concluding section which also makes an argument for policy recommendations which can ensure that minority language groups move to the centre of the debate on European development and integration, rather than being relegated to a marginal position at the periphery of such a debate.

Inevitably a study such as the one being reported upon here relies upon the contributions of many who are not included in the list of authors it would be unfair not to acknowledge this contribution, though the responsibility for the contents of the Report rests entirely with the authors. Firstly we should mention Henri Giordan, the fourth member of the team who remained with us until the end of the data gathering process. The discussions with him were both invigorating and useful in concentrating the ideas of the rest of the team. We are grateful for the contribution of our liaisons in DG XXII - Mr. Frank Fay and Dr. Olga Profili, and for the active interest of Ms. Helen O'Murchu, President of the European Bureau of Lesser Used Languages.

The Scientific Committee for the study were a constant source of advice, all of which was valuable, even if it was not always acted upon. This Committee consisted of

Panayote Dimitras, Hans Goebel, Durk Goerter, Norman Labrie, Robert Lafont, Tullio de Mauro, Antoni Milián, Pádraig O'Riagain, Miquel Siguan and Wolfgang Wolck. They were consulted individually throughout the course of the study. Furthermore, two meetings of the Committee were held in Brussels and Pau (Aquitaine) respectively. We also wish to extend our gratitude to the Conseil General des Pyrénées Atlantiques, and especially its President and French Minister for National Education, M. François Bayrou, for hosting the second meeting of the Scientific Committee.

Each centre operated as a team which drew upon its own resources. Among the staff who must be mentioned in this context are Jackie Hall, Aina Villonga and Marc Leprete at the Barcelona centre, Delyth Morris, Linda Hughes and Colin Baker at Bangor; and Peter Weber who coordinated the work of the Brussels team.

Finally, there is no space to thank the hundreds of language group correspondents and key witnesses throughout Europe, and for the dozens of interviewees, for their invaluable information, advice and support.

SECTION I

ORIENTATION

1. The minoritisation of languages

The concept of minority by reference to language groups does not refer to empirical measures, but rather, to issues of power. That is, they are language groups, conceived of as social groups, marked by a specific language and culture, that exist within wider societies and states but which lack the political, institutional and ideological structures which can guarantee the relevance of those languages for the everyday life of members of such groups. It is this understanding of language by reference to its relationship to the social that allows us to consider the study of minority language groups as a sociological endeavour. The onset of their minoritisation relates to the period of the emergence and consolidation of the 'modern' state. This is not to suggest that minority languages did not exist prior to the 18th century, but that understanding the current spatial and political context of minority language groups obliges us to focus upon 'modern' history. An account of that process of minoritisation is an essential pre-requisite of any attempt to come to terms with the issues surrounding minority language groups, for it is from such a historical context that the 'taken for granted' orientations that are representative of their minority status emerge.

The 18th century witnessed a prolonged period of struggle between the old order of political and administrative management of Europe and the new order which was, eventually, to transform the state into its modern or absolutist form. The social philosophers from the time of Locke, Rousseau, Vico and Machiavelli argued for a new basis for social order, one based upon the fundamentals of reason. Deriving from the Enlightenment, modernism was an affirmation that the essence of being human pertained to a world governed by natural laws to which reason itself submitted. It identifies the people, the nation, as a collective humankind which constitutes a social body which also functions according to these natural laws. During the Enlightenment it was claimed that these natural laws would replace what was regarded as a form of organisation and irrational domination which derived their legitimacy from recourse to revelation or super-human decision. Modernism came to be understood as the diffusion of the products of rational, scientific, technological administrative activity. God was to be replaced at the centre of society by science which was to be the driving force for development towards the good life. Rational society involved the extension of scientific and technical reason to encompass the government of humankind and the administration of things. It is hardly surprising therefore that society and the state were conceived of in terms of overlapping interests. Indeed, they were coterminous and, from that time on, it was inconceivable that anyone could lie outside of either society or the state. Furthermore, the state became centrally involved in the construction and conservation of social order, an order that was creative, with reason as the instrument of creative order. Modernism was a new discourse which was to direct society via a rationalist image of the world, integrating humankind with nature.

In contrast to what was conceived of as a 'modern' order based upon the elements of reason, there was a concern with what was presented as an allegiance to certain

sentiments, customs and beliefs which was conceived of in terms of 'tradition'. These latter forms were characterised as being related to the old order which the new was seeking to displace. Little wonder therefore that the relationship between 'modern' and 'traditional' was one of antagonism, with 'tradition' being seen as the 'Other' of the modern. During the 18th century this was the central thrust of an unashamedly political antagonism, and it was only towards the end of the century that it was divested of its political essence through the extension of the principles of science to accommodate society, giving birth to the proto sociology of Saint Simon, Comte and Condorcet. The modernist discourse denigrated the 'traditional' by placing it in terms of the converse of reason - in the world of an uncontrolled emotion, involving the raw materials of human nature which reason was striving to control. This opposition of reason and emotion has been a stumbling block for the understanding of both language groups and gender in contemporary society (Nelde, 1979).

Since traditional allegiances were to be displaced by those based upon reason, it was argued that this was a natural process. What was an explicitly political argument, through social philosophy, was placed in the world of the natural. Society was conceived of as an order, with reason as the instrument of creative order. Furthermore, this has been the cornerstone of the subsequent developments which became the social sciences, and we would argue that these sciences have retained the inherent biases of that political statement which aimed at displacing what was termed as 'traditional' in the legitimation of the modern state. This much is evident in the manner in which such key concepts as ethnicity, which is defined in terms of a part society, is discussed by reference to the subjective elements of identity, community, etc., rather than being conceived within the parameters of the social and the rational. Ethnicity is defined by default, by its difference from the normative which is society. Thus, by definition, ethnicity is treated as deviance. For this reason there are specific concepts, including ethnicity, which we wish to avoid.

The means whereby the ascendancy of the modern was achieved involved an argument based upon the equation of progress and development which was labelled 'modernisation'. Reason was reified as the agent of all development. This development achieved a certain inevitability, since reason was meant to lead to the establishment of a perfect society vested with the good life for all worthy citizens. Once again we witness this prophetic thrust as a central feature of much of social scientific theory. The individual submitted to the interests of the collectivity, while society replaced God as the principle of moral judgment while also being an object of study, of explication and of the evaluation of all conduct. The divine was replaced by the political as the expression of the sacred in social life. Society became the field of social conflict between past and future, interest and tradition, public and private life.

The idea of the inevitability of progress was integrated in the 19th century evolutionary argument which claimed that reason led to the gradual movement of society towards the stage of perfection. Given such a schema it became possible to measure different societies along an evolutionary scale. Evolutionism constituted the 'discovery' of the laws of progress. In a characteristically ethnocentric claim, the point closest to the end point of perfection that was labelled as 'civilisation' was reserved for the European states!

The evolutionary argument claimed that the link between reason and progress meant that the continued exposure to the forces of reason over time led to societies that were more evolved than those without such an exposure who were still subject to the emotive forces that derived from nature. This claim was linked to knowledge through the claim that societies exposed to reason were more knowledgeable. However, the key element was the linking of knowledge with ability, claiming that through reason, the more knowledgeable were, inevitably, also the more able, hence the claim for progress. It

meant that two entities, existing in the same location, at the same moment in time could, nonetheless, be classified respectively as 'traditional' and 'modern', simply on the basis of their place within the evolutionary argument. Entities which exist in the same place and the same time are not only treated differently but, evaluatively, as superior and inferior. Once this link between ability and knowledge is broken, the absurdity of the evolutionary argument is evident. Nonetheless it was a very forceful basis for claiming the superiority of certain forms, especially of the modern over the traditional.

It was the French Enlightenment that seized upon this general discourse in claiming that the state, through legislation, could eliminate any interference to progress, thereby making progress a feature that was inseparable from the polity. The state became the custodian of the search for perfection through progress. The link to language rested on an argument which claimed that some languages were the languages of reason whereas others, somehow, lay outside of reason (Calvet, 1974). Thus, the languages of reason, that is, the state languages, the 'modern' languages, were to be deployed in pursuing 'modern' activities demanding the essence of reason - administration, education, science. The other languages could be deployed for the emotive context of the 'traditional'. This exercise in language planning made language use the prerogative of the state. It is this explicitly political debate on language that lies behind what, in a totally apolitical discussion, has been referred to as diglossia. In a sense these dichotomous distinctions, based upon evaluation rather than difference, relate to what later became the distinction between state and civil society.

It was the separation of language and thought, a claim that was denied in the recent rise of post-structuralism, which was the fundamental principle of modernism and led to a suspicion of language. If thought was the basis of reason, and if language was the transmitter of thought, then a match between thought, reason and language was essential. A weakness in one betrayed a weakness in the others. It led to a focus on political evolution, being the basis of the claim that non-civilised societies were incapable of developing polities and, conversely, that those linked with the languages that stood outside of reason, the stateless languages, constituted a threat to the state. Social order derived from a general will that was reflected in a social contract. This was the basis of the nation based on reason. Since humankind required government, the government required law as the basis of social order, and this law had to be written. Writing became the symbol of a linguistic evolution that justified the shift from barbarism to civilisation and citizenship. The Babel thesis which ranked languages in terms of proximity to the divine was replaced by an argument concerning the relationship of languages to perfection through reason. The Classical languages, Greek and Latin, were taken as the model of rational language in a neo-Classical age, and attempts were made to model the 'modern' languages of the state on these two languages through a process of language standardisation (Balibar, 1985). The legacy of this argument remains in the form of the limitation on the labelling of languages as 'modern'.

The modern European state grew on this argument concerning the role of the state in fostering the extension of reason and the associated elimination of the traditional, or, at least, its expulsion out of the activities of reason to the world of the emotional. However, if we return for a moment to our discussion of the social philosophers, we do encounter distinctions of degree, even if the main thrust of the argument is universal. Thus the Kantian emphasis upon humankind as a moral subject, with the individual submitting to a general will, led to a focus upon the need for communication between the individual and the collective. Kant was suspicious of the individual and argued that reason should be developed in the 'race' rather than the individual. Humankind submitted to the universality of reason that fostered social order. This thrust was central for the Jacobinism of the French state. In contrast, Hegel withdrew from the individualism of 18th century France in arguing against the subordination of the individual to the state.

Rather, following Herder, he argued that it was the citizen of a concrete historic nation, a 'Volk', who had rights, as members of historically real nations and cultures, to participate in the progress of reason. In this respect he opposed the universalism of reason. This distinction is important in explaining the different orientations which different states within contemporary Europe have towards minority language groups.

This discourse on language and reason has had a devastating effect upon many language groups, and continues to be effective, both by reference to the accuser and the accused (Nelde et al., 1991; Nelde, 1992). It is not its absurdity that stands out, but rather, its consequence, or its effect upon social practice. The overlap between society, state, language and reason has had far reaching consequences for minority or stateless languages. Most evidently, language became the marker of boundaries, not only between one state and another, but also between one society and another. The entire edifice of the social sciences, founded as they were upon the idea of society, was imbued with a statist bias which has coloured the subsequent study of society. Social groups were always identified by reference to the state which included them, either as normative entities as in the case of social classes, or as deviant elements as in the case of ethnic groups which were characterised by the features which differentiated them from the normative, while still insisting upon their inclusion within society. An awareness of these effects of discourse makes it particularly difficult to study society without resorting to conceptualisations which carry this bias in their construction.

What emerges as a challenge, as well as a crucial irony, is the manner in which the New Europe is obliging us to reconsider the relationship between the state and society (Nelde, 1995). New social and political spaces are being opened up by the current thrust of political and economic restructuring. Identities are being reformed on bases that are quite distinct from those which modernity was premised. This leads to one of two possibilities: either the statist thrust remains but is reconstituted, or that statism itself is questioned. Whichever the case, it obliges us to give careful consideration to the manner in which we resort to the conceptualisation of society and the groups which it contains. In the following discussion some readers might be dismayed that we do not resort to the concept of ethnicity. The reason should be evident: ethnicity has been constructed as a feature of deviance within the modernist thrust of sociology and anthropology. This construction makes it difficult, if not impossible, to discuss ethnic groups without reference to such deviance where we are at pains to stress in our analysis that the main concern of language groups is to establish themselves as normative (Nelde, 1984). However, this is merely one example, and in the following section we have attempted to give careful attention to this issue in developing a conceptual framework that reflects the critical philosophical and theoretical thrust that we feel is essential in coming to terms with the subject at hand. In this respect the New Europe offers an unique opportunity to consider the way in which the emergence of a supra-state that unsettles the prior unitary state obliges us to rethink the nature of the social sciences and the way in which they lead to an understanding of a society that must be different from that of orthodox social science. In our view it is an issue which those seeking to develop a multi-lingual and multi-cultural European society have to take seriously.

2. Theoretical orientation

i) Introduction

It is hardly surprising that sociolinguists have uncovered the effects of such discourses. What they have systematically failed to do is to account for it in terms that recognise

the political context of causality. We argue that this is partly because, in pursuing their work, they have not recognised that the very disciplines which they resort to in developing their frameworks are tainted with the same bias; and partly because of their difficulty in conceiving of the issues at stake by reference to language groups as social groups. Of course, there is also the issue of the extent to which the main claims of the modernist discourse has become normativised, the way it has been absorbed into an unquestioned 'taken for granted'. A central issue confronting anyone expressing a concern about minority languages involves transgressing this normativity and making him/her sensitive to what it conceals, while also understanding how it hinders the drive towards a respect for diversity. The social scientists themselves are no less guilty of submitting to this normativity. Thus, in developing our own perspective on minority language groups we have proceeded from a sustained critique of orthodox sociolinguistics and the sociology of language (Williams, 1992).

In adopting the stance that a language group is a social group, we are resorting to the sociological concern with the relationship between society, the political and the economic. In adopting such an orientation we maintain that the starting point for any analysis of a minority language must include the following:

- a language group is a social group;
- as a social group it is only one among many social groups that must be considered in relation to one another;
- as a consequence a language group is one of the various bases of group formation;
- the same individual will belong to more than one social group;
- this means that there are various bases of social identity that overlap and intermingle;
- that more than one language group can coexist as social groups, with the bilingual having access to more than one language group and to more than one language based identity;
- that social groups are unequal.

While this is a limited starting point, it does allow us to proceed to a consideration of a sociological viewpoint. As we have already implied this viewpoint departs from the orthodoxy of mainstream sociolinguistics and the sociology of language which we maintain have operated by reference to the modernist sociology that we have criticised above (Williams, 1992). In contrast, we proceed from a dynamic understanding of society within which language groups occupy a particular position that is always subject to change. Our starting point is to develop a conceptualisation of the changing nature of language groups. Thus, rather than resorting to the static concepts of language maintenance and language shift, with their reification of language, we resort to a conception based on the reproduction, production and non-reproduction of language groups (Williams, 1987). This has the advantage of relating these three processes to the more general processes of social and cultural reproduction. By the same token, as is emphasised below, we reject the concept of domains as an ideal-typological construct which focuses excessively upon context rather than upon the interactional point of reference (Williams and Roberts, 1982). It is increasingly evident that languages are not structured simply through the institutionalisation of language related activity implied in the domain concept, but, rather, by reference to who is available to speak which language with whom.

ii) Primary Agencies of Language group production and reproduction

In referring to language reproduction we refer to the inter-generational transmission of the language. Language production on the other hand refers to the learning of a language

by those whose parents did not speak that language. Conversely, non-reproduction refers to a process where children do not speak the language that was spoken by their parents. It should be clear how these three concepts relate to the idea of a language group as a social group. What is required next is an understanding of the various agencies and processes which facilitate or hinder these three processes of acquisition or rejection (fig.1).

We maintain that the concepts of language production and reproduction relate to three primary agencies - the family, education and community. A secondary agency is that of the media (Hall and Strubell, 1992). Much of the inter-generational transmission of language occurs through family socialisation, or through the enculturation process of formal education. On the other hand the community, as a social institution, is also capable of playing a central role in language acquisition. Of course, it is self-evident, but not impossible, that the family is unlikely to play a role in language production which refers to the learning of a language by children whose parents did not speak that language. Similarly, there is abundant evidence concerning how the formal education can lead to non-reproduction, with parents being persuaded that teaching their children the minority language is counter-productive for their social and economic progress because it clashes with the language policy of formal education. Nonetheless, a consideration of the relationship between these three primary agencies of language production and reproduction is crucial if we are to come to terms with the dynamics of language group formation.

The next step involves considering which factors influence the ability of these primary agencies to perform the role of language group production or reproduction. The ability of the family to perform such a role depends largely, but not exclusively, on who it is in the family who can play the transmission role, and in this respect the concept of language group endogamy is crucial (Strubell, 1991a:202; Williams, 1987a:89-94). Where there is a tendency for minority language group members to marry persons from the same language group, that is, where both spouses speak the minority language, the conditions for language group reproduction are established.

Whether those conditions are activated is a separate issue that we will return to momentarily. There are, of course, a variety of factors which contribute to endogamous marriage patterns. In most societies the process is institutionalised in the sense that it becomes a social practice that is taken for granted by the members of any society. Thus, despite the prominence of the idea of romantic love and freedom of choice in the ideology of courtship and marriage within western society, it is clear that most marriages are endogamous by reference to social class, that is, marriages across social class are rare. In other societies there are strict rules which restrict choice, rules which to a great extent reflect similar restrictions based upon incest taboos in western society. Where geographical mobility is limited, and territoriality becomes a central feature of social organisation, this will often involve an overlay between principles of kinship and principles of territory, leading to patterns of exogamy and endogamy. The anthropological literature is strewn with work on these various patterns. The main point to be made is that where there is a substantial circulation of capital within western society it is accompanied by the circulation of people or migration. Thus the process of economic restructuring does have a direct influence upon migration, and consequently upon patterns of endogamy, unless there are strict rules of circumscription which are restrictive. The greater the movement of population across autochthonous language areas, the greater the probability of minority language group exogamy. This is not to imply that exogamous marriages prevent the use of the minority language within the family, but that it inhibits such use, and evidence suggests that inter-generational transmission or reproduction is curtailed.

Some of the process we have just referred to are also relevant to the importance of community as an agency of minority language production or reproduction. Where migration into a minority language community is pronounced, and the propensity to produce the language is limited, there will be increasing pressure to conduct community affairs through the medium of the dominant language spoken by the in-migrants. There may well be a tendency for networks to focus by reference to language groups but the pressures remain. The various community institutions play a crucial role in producing the language while reinforcing the process of reproduction.

The third primary agency of production and reproduction, education, is largely subject to the policies of the authorities responsible for administering education. As we have already indicated it can operate as an agency that promotes non-reproduction. On the other hand there are more positive aspects that link with both production and reproduction. In this respect what must be recognised is the dual role of education in contemporary society, on the one hand as the ideological component in articulating the individual with the state as a worthy citizen; and on the other, as the basis for supplying the workforce that meets economic demand. If the relationship of the minority language group to the state and to the economic order is exclusively by reference to the dominant language, it takes an extremely enlightened perspective to integrate such languages into the formal education system in such a way that it bears reference to these two functions of education. Where it does occur a major issue involves the extent to which it links with the other two primary agencies of production and reproduction - family and community - in transforming ability into competence, and then into fluency, where language becomes an element of social practice.

iii) The Economic Order

What is clear from the preceding discussion is that an understanding and conceptualisation of the economic order is an essential ingredient of our theoretical discussion. It is evident that the primary agencies of production and reproduction are all influenced by the location of the relevant language group within the economic order, and by the role which the local economic order plays within the more general process of economic restructuring that affects all of Europe, albeit that different locations are influenced to different degrees and in different ways by the process of change.

Since social groups are partly constituted in terms of their position within the economic system, with their boundaries capable of being defined by reference to that position, it is essential to consider the relationship of the diversity of social groups to the economic order. Given that we are concerned in this study with autochthonous language groups, the spatial dimension must figure large in any consideration of the relationship between language groups and the economic order, since the geographical division of labour determines the manner in which different locations are influenced in different ways by economic forces.

There are two fundamental points that must be made by reference to the economic order. Firstly, that the economy must be seen as a dynamic entity that is constantly in a cyclical process of growth and recession; and, secondly, that the dynamics of economic growth are not evenly distributed by reference to space. From the first point we recognise that the process of economic restructuring derives from a need to stimulate and generate growth, even, or especially, in times of recession. This, in turn, means that the economy is in a constant cycle of adjustment caused by the drive for growth and the generation of wealth. This restructuring process does not relate merely to the internal economic system, but to the world economic system, with different parts of the world playing different roles within that global system.

From the second point we recognise that if language groups are spatially defined, then different language groups will be located within the economic order in quite different ways. It is this recognition of the spatial dimension of economic growth, and the concentration of economic activity that is behind the concern of the EU with striving to eliminate the core-periphery distinction within its territory. It also means that different locations have different functions within the economic system. Thus while capital may well be in constant circulation, its circulation is not evenly distributed in the sense that access to it, and control over its deployment does not accrue on an equal basis to all locations. Restructuring involves an insistence upon the constant redefinition of the relevance of geographical location for the process of economic growth. It also insists upon the free circulation or movement of the labour force. It is these processes that allow us to understand the nature and relevance of the forces that relate to demographic change and migration factors.

There is also a relationship between economic ownership and control and the spatial dimension. The ownership and control of capital tends to focus on the core locations involving 'The City' or 'The Golden Triangle', etc. It is also in such locations that the decision making and administrative functions associated with the concentration of capital are concentrated. These are the centres or core locations from where the initiatives for the deployment of those resources in order to generate wealth derive. They often involve a devolved and impersonal form of control that hinges upon the concept of 'international capital'. In this respect it is crucial to resist viewing the control element as some form of conspiratorial phenomenon. We have more to say on this issue at the end of the report.

In contrast, the periphery has quite a different profile by reference to the economic system, and serves quite different functions within the economic order. They tend to be locations with a limited direct access to, and control over, capital. Their main function within the economy tends to be characterised by primary sector activity, specific forms of development focusing upon power plants, tourism, etc. which take advantage, either of physical goods, or the factor of isolation from large populations, or the provision of labour power which is usually cheaper than its counterpart in the core. They are the activities which have the greatest level of the displacement of labour by capital and they tend to be of relatively short duration. Peripheral economic structures are characterised by an excessive focus on a single sector, usually the service sector. This is reflected in the nature of the labour force which tends to have a low rate of female activity, a high incidence of self-employment, a high marginal involvement of unqualified, low skilled, part time labour; and a high degree of unemployment much of which tends to be long term unemployment. These are all factors which contribute to three aspects of peripheral economies which appear to be universal:

- a high propensity for skills leakage;
- a high propensity for constant restructuring, much of which is seasonal in nature;
- a high dependency upon core enterprise and core capital;
- a low degree of sustainability.

Of course politics and policy factors are not divorced from this debate. While the economy can be said to disregard state boundaries, the various states do have access to a substantial amount of capital, and they also have the resources, be it in the form of human capital, consumption or merely locational advantages, which can be deployed to attract financial capital. Thus state policy is a crucial factor in addressing the relationship between the economics of wealth production and space.

When we consider the location of the minority language groups within the EU by reference to the spatial dimension of economic inequality and the distribution of economic activity, we are struck by the ability to make three generalisations:

- most minority language groups, almost all of them stateless languages, are located within the economic periphery;
- among this category there is a distinction between those which are located at the fringes of Europe - Galicia, Sorbia, Scotland, etc. - and those which occupy less favourable locations at the heart of Europe - Ladin, Friulan, etc.;
- there are also the extra-territorial state languages which are found on the fringes of the states which have those languages as their state languages.

Indeed the very borders of these states have often moved over history, thus creating these extra-territorial groups (Ros and Strubell, 1984:5). These tend to be located close to the core. This seems to imply that most stateless, minority language groups are unfavourably located vis a vis economic advantage. This, in turn, leads to the question of whether there is any relationship between such disadvantageous spatial locations and the production and reproduction of such groups. This is an issue we shall return to in considering the analysis of our data. For the moment we simply wish to make the observation that the dynamic socio-economic equilibrium that has been established by some minority language groups can very quickly be undermined and displaced by the profound changes associated with economic restructuring. Thus, the extent to which such locations are incorporated into the restructuring process, and the context in which it occurs, is crucial for our understanding of minority language groups, and for making statements about their foreseeable future.

We must not restrict ourselves to a discussion of the locational factors of economic process. It is essential that at least the two key factors of labour markets and sectorialism also be considered. The interface between economy and society is to be found at the point of intersection between the economic structure and the labour force, that is, in terms of labour markets. Capital circulates across labour markets, and migration occurs in response to different labour market conditions fuelled by that circulation. We have already implied that, for the private sector, labour markets are a key consideration, for it is the labour force that is largely responsible for the creation of wealth. It is also in the labour market that inequality is generated and exercised. However labour markets are by no means uniform, and it is essential to consider the relevance of local, regional and state and international labour markets, as well as the nature of the articulation between them. We maintain that there is a crucial relationship between languages and these different labour markets.

Perhaps the easiest place to begin such a discussion is by reference to the international labour market, by far the wealthiest and most powerful of the four labour markets. The international context makes it essential that some form of *lingua franca* is deployed in making that labour market operational. This tends to be one of the so-called 'modern' languages, usually English. However this labour market only has meaning by reference to its articulation with the regional labour market where it seeks to obtain its value added activities. This articulation may well be activated via key brokers who use the *lingua franca* in the articulation role, but will usually relate to the regional labour market through the medium of a different language, usually one or other of the state languages. The link between these two labour markets and the local labour market is often weak. As a consequence much of the activity of the local labour market relates to the public sector, but with some small scale private sector activities also being evident. These local labour markets may or may not use the minority language.

What is interesting at present is the manner in which the Single Market involves collapsing the distinction between state labour markets and a segment of the international labour markets. The state loses control over labour markets in the orthodox sense and resorts to limited regulation as the last element of such control. This development also has an impact upon the articulation between local and regional labour markets on the one hand, and state labour markets on the other. It is recognised that the Single Market will serve to consolidate core dominance within the New Europe as a consequence of which various forms of fiscal intervention are implemented in order to stimulate integral development at the level of local and regional labour markets. However these labour markets will not articulate with the state labour market, but with the Single Market. This could have profound implications for minority language groups located in the periphery.

The drive to improve the circulation of labour across the Single Market by extending language ability appears to be having most effect among the higher classes and leads to a concern about a 'brain drain' from the periphery to the core (Tabatoni and O'Callaghan, 1993). By the same token there are a series of impacts on the local and regional labour markets which derive from central policy. It is clear that R&D activities rely on networking across firms and that this is happening almost exclusively in the core, partly because of the absence of large enterprises in the periphery. A central plank of the current argument concerning restructuring in Europe involves extending the principles of networking across all of Europe in an attempt to stimulate both employment and integral development at the local level. All of these activities have a profound implications for minority language groups which can make a significant contribution to this process under the right circumstances (Hingel, 1993).

The relevance of the minority languages for the regional labour market often depends upon the sector concerned, and also upon the nature of the relationship of that sectorial activity to the core. Where core enterprises control the regional labour market it is conceivable that a cultural division of labour will derive, with higher level positions being reserved for personnel from the core and lower level activities being performed by local labour (Williams, 1985). This is a very specific form of articulation between the local and the regional or state labour markets. It may be restricted to certain sectors such as retail, manufacturing or the service sector. In contrast the public sector will tend to be locally focused. Where the core does not make any significant input into the regional economy, it is conceivable that the minority language can play a significant role. On the other hand, it is clear that in many cases the minority language plays no role in economic activity at any level.

There is one labour market context in which a minority language group can seek to deploy the language to its economic advantage. This involves what is referred to as labour market segmentation. It occurs when specific employment niches are reserved for specific personnel, thereby opening up employment opportunities for specific populations by narrowing the labour market. It can be argued that the international labour market does this by reserving positions within it, not only for speakers of the *lingua franca*, but also for citizens of the states which dominate that level of the world economy. At the other end of the spectrum it is possible for minority language groups to achieve the same effect within the local and even the regional labour market. Where a case can be made for the relevance and importance of the minority language for specific positions, labour market segmentation can occur. However, it will not be universal by reference to the labour market, and may well concentrate on certain activities and sectors such as those involving education or social work. Often the distinction, where it exists, will, once again, reflect the rational/emotional distinction by reference to activities. Thus specific niches may emerge which are dominated by minority language groups who are

able to use their languages in controlling at least part of one or other of the labour markets. As will be evident, our data has uncovered several cases where this occurs.

The discussion leads towards a discussion of the concept of language prestige, which is crucial for our analytic framework. We define language prestige as the value of a language for social mobility (Williams, 1978). We maintain that where such prestige is high, there will be positive and evident value in having access to that language, and that this will have a significant impact upon the orientation of people towards that language. Here we are leading away from the usual conception of language attitudes as some free floating entity, by claiming that attitudes are structured and conditioned by the same forces as those that contribute to status formation. In this respect we refer to language status as the status that accrues to the speaker of a language relative to that of other languages or language groups. Clearly we establish a direct relationship between language prestige and language status.

Since labour markets have a dynamic quality about them, being related partly to the extent to which the restructuring process involves diversifying local and regional economies, then the relationship between international, regional and local labour markets is constantly shifting. Furthermore, the relationship of language groups to these dynamics is crucial for the future of such groups. It involves not merely the access of their members to the respective labour markets, but also the extent to which the associated circulation of capital generates cycles of population movements into and out of specific territories or locations and across labour markets. Clearly minority language research cannot come to terms with the subject without a clear understanding of economic forces within a global system.

The model which we have presented in fig 1 should now begin to be clarified. We argue that the independent variable is that of economic restructuring and the role of the autochthonous territory and the minority language in that process. While a minority language group may well be able to segment the labour market to its advantage, or may isolate a particular economic niche for its members, the restructuring process can create other difficulties. Economic restructuring involves an intensification in the circulation of capital that is accompanied by the circulation of people, or migration. Where autochthonous areas are subject to a high degree of in-migration through the economic diversification that is associated with restructuring, there is a likelihood that the degree of language group endogamy will decline. This leads to diminishing the capacity of the family to serve as an agency of minority language reproduction. Similarly, the entry of a substantial number of non-speakers into the community will undermine that community's capacity for minority language reproduction and production.

It is here that we must shift the focus of attention from the dynamics of the relationship between economy and society towards a consideration of political policy, both at the local and the central or state level. We do this via a consideration of the concepts of institutionalisation and legitimisation.

iv) Institutionalisation and legitimisation

As we have indicated, the relevance of the third primary agency of production and reproduction, education, and the secondary agency of the media, will largely depend upon the relevance of policy associated with whatever official level that is responsible for policy formation in these agencies. This leads us to a consideration of the final two concepts which we have deployed, those of institutionalisation and legitimisation (fig.2). Whereas the above discussion refers to the factors which influence the generation of ability, the concepts of institutionalisation and legitimisation refer to language use, and

to the transitional relationship between ability, competence and fluency. Evidently our model seeks to address the relationship between ability and use while paying strict attention to the diversity of factors that relate to each taken separately.

The concept of domain has emerged in the sociology of language as a substitute for the more general sociological concept of institutionalisation. The latter involves the extent to which social practice occurs in a 'taken for granted' or unconscious manner such as in institutionalised statism, racism or sexism, where statist, racist or sexist remarks are made without the speaker recognising the statist racist or sexist nature of these remarks. While the original conceptualisation referred to 'institutions' it is evident that its operationalisation refers to the extent to which language use within specific contexts conforms with expected patterns of behaviour such that it is taken for granted. Thus domain really refers to the situational use of language in a 'taken for granted' manner. Unfortunately, it ignores the relevance of the capacity of interlocutors to speak the respective languages and the influence this has on language use. In this respect it ignores the importance of the enabling or empowering principle. It also implies that such use is the consequence of rational choice, devoid of any power factors. It is for such reasons that we prefer to return to the concept of institutionalisation. In the present study, it involves the extent to which a language is institutionalised in a variety of contexts so that it is employed without any reflection on the part of the public in general. It corresponds to what is referred to as normalisation in other languages. This is not to suggest that it refers to anything that is 'normal' in everyday language since it draws upon the sociological concepts of norm and normativity in the sense of the customary.

Legitimation on the other hand bears a more direct relationship to the official agencies of policy formation. It can involve direct legislation, or it can refer to the establishing of language related policies as features of social policy. In this respect institutionalisation relates to legitimising forces. Such forces often operate at the level of discourse. Thus what we have said above about the division of the world into 'modern' and 'traditional', and its association with specific languages merely serves to legitimise certain languages at the expense of others. A clarification of the ideological nature of such arguments would go a long way towards redressing the denigration effect by reference to language groups.

The relationship between institutionalisation and legitimation is particularly interesting. We would claim that, in some respects, institutionalisation is more important in the sense that it is possible to legitimise a language without necessarily having any influence upon the use of that language. Indeed, it has been argued that the absence of a legal status is preferable to conferring on a language a status that legitimises the language as a minority language (Williams, 1987b). Furthermore, as we will discuss below, there is a shift away from legislation towards the concept of enabling which involves creating the facilities for social practice, and thereby giving the individual a choice between alternatives. That is, there is an overlap between legislation and the enabling principle. Extending this thrust to language not only has implications for the concept of domain which lacks the choice element, but also suggests that institutionalisation is prioritised in the relationship between policy and practice.

3. Conclusion

The preceding discussion begins to clarify that what is at stake is the relationship between the state and civil society. The family and community are located in civil society whereas the legitimation forces, education and the media, tend to be state

controlled. Without the integration of both levels it is difficult to envisage a future for minority language groups. However, history tells us that the goal of the state has nearly always involved the integration of civil society through the homogenisation of cultural and linguistic elements. It is our claim that the future, in contrast, must involve a reorientation of that integration within the context of diversity and that the emergence of the supra-state affords an important opportunity to realise this goal.

Clearly, the preceding argument also involves the relationship between social and cultural reproduction. Our discussion of language groups as social groups has encompassed a conception of social classes in that the social mobility that is a feature of language prestige implicitly pays reference to social class. It involves an argument about the relevance of certain social class configuration for the language group. It also addresses gender as social categories since women and men are not integrated into the various labour markets in the same way. The advantage of such an orientation lies in its ability to treat language as a social entity.

On the other hand, our reference to cultural reproduction involves the extent to which languages afford access to the creation of meaning. In this respect both the educational system and the media are key elements. There is a clear relationship between meaning and institutionalisation. Since people draw upon the past in establishing meaning, and in resolving the inherent ambiguity that is characteristic of all meaning, the relevance of language as a marker of difference is crucial. Furthermore, treating language as discourse obliges us to recognise that institutionalisation involves non-marked aspects of language. Identities are formed out of the manner in which the past structures our understanding of the present, and the meanings that we associate with such an understanding. In this respect the different meanings of the past link with quite distinctive identity formations. It is in the relationship between history and that distinctiveness that the language group achieves its meaning. The awareness of this relationship leads us to back to our discussion at the beginning of the chapter where we outlined how history has explicitly constructed minority language groups as features of the emotive, of the traditional. The importance of politics in this respect is, of course, crucial. Political discourse and practice has divided language groups politically and socially. It is hardly surprising therefore that not all members of language groups are socially constituted in the sense that such a membership achieves any constitutive coherence in the form of a positive identity. It is this absence, and its relationship to negative identity, that contributes to much of what we have referred to as non-reproduction. Important as this process of cultural reproduction may be it is erroneous to disassociate it from the wider social and economic processes that we have discussed above.

Having established the theoretical principles upon which the Euromosaic study was based, and having developed the central concepts deployed from those principles it is necessary to move to a consideration of how operationalise these concepts. The discussion of methodological issues that follows seeks to come to terms with the need to link global processes with local understanding.

SECTION II

METHODOLOGY

1. Introduction

Having presented an outline of our theoretical orientation it is now necessary to clarify the methodological procedures which were deployed in guiding the study. The link between theory and method involves the shift from the construction of concepts to their use as the basis for measurement. The empirical method allows these measurements to achieve meaning through the application of an analytical procedure that resorts back to the theoretical framework. In developing the conceptual framework in the preceding section we have made implicit, and sometimes explicit, reference to tentative hypotheses concerning the relationship between language, economy and society. It is these hypotheses, involving the relationship between variables, which are explored in the empirical study.

Any project that involves the study of forty or more language groups is obliged to resort to some form of comparative approach. That is, some basis for the comparison of the respective cases must be deployed. This means that the researchers must be confident that they are comparing like with like, and that the data that is gathered by reference to one case is comparable with data from the other cases. While the comparative perspective by no means precludes the use of qualitative methods, there is no doubt that comparison across cases is facilitated by quantitative methods. In many respects there is room to claim that the qualitative and the quantitative should go hand in hand, providing the differing degrees of generalisations can be accommodated. However, the limitation of time and resources precluded such an approach in the EUROMOSAIC study. Adopting an empirical approach obliges the researcher to insure that the measures deployed derive from a basis and orientation that is common to all cases. Thus one of our first tasks was to consider how such a framework could be constructed.

2. Inclusion of cases

An essential starting point that derives from this orientation is a consideration of what constitutes a minority language group, what are the entities that can serve as the basis for our comparison. Our research brief restricted us to the autochthonous language groups⁴. That is, to language groups which claimed a territorial base that links language and society. In pursuing this issue we were obliged to recognise that the acceptance of one linguistic form as a 'language', and another as a 'dialect', is a political and not a linguistic decision. Linguistics has sought to appropriate this issue of what is a language

⁴ This excludes interesting cases such as Jewish or Gypsy languages. Similarly, limiting our work to the minority language groups of the member states of the E.U. within continental Europe excludes for example the Channel Islands, Greenland, the Isle of Man, etc.

and what is a dialect for itself, deploying the units of linguistic theory as the basis for establishing typological systems of form involving categories and sub-categories, including language and dialect. However, practice makes it clear that it is only when certain political conditions emerge that the decision of the identity of a language form is resolved. Thus there are various state languages that vary in form, but are still classified as a single language, e.g. German in Germany and Switzerland. Their distinctiveness is addressed by reference to the political which precludes their being classified as variants or dialects of a single language independent of political affiliation. On the other hand, dialects of a state language within one state might be included as a language in another. What is difficult in resolving this dilemma is that the political element is not static. The current flux in the realignment of political space within Europe means that forms which hitherto might have been regarded as a dialect of the state language suddenly become promoted as regional languages by the new proto-states within Europe. The overlay between language and politics that is based upon the principle of difference is clear.

The ability of the state to serve as an agency that standardises form is an important ingredient in this respect. Given the political nature of such issues it was imperative that distinctions between 'national', 'official', 'regional', 'lesser used', etc., languages had to be recognised as social constructs, and any negative connotation that derives from such classifications had to be set aside. In this respects it involves the manner in which the objects of discourse are constructed. Thus it is evident that reference to 'lesser used languages' allows intra-territorial state languages such as Irish or Luxembourgesse to be included within the context of 'minority languages' where a direct reference to minority languages would be at odds with the understanding of the prefix 'minority' as being outside of the confines of state related power. Yet it was clear that we were dealing with a variety of cases which ranged from the powerful state language groups such as Irish or Luxembourgesse, through extra territorial state language groups such as German or French, to a variety of stateless languages including Ladin, Welsh or Catalan, with different degrees of power and a vast range of language density and numbers of speakers. Our task involved comparing a language such as Cornish, where the number of speakers was so small that it had to be conceived of in terms of networks rather than as a language group, with languages such as Catalan which is spoken by nearly seven million people, or with Occitan which, until recently, had a similar magnitude of speakers but which lacks the political and institutional support of the Catalan language. Unsatisfactory though the existing definitions of languages might be, our theoretical perspective has sought to accommodate this range of issues, and this simplifies the task of developing a comparative method since the comparison focuses upon the variables that derive from our theoretical framework.

3. Data sources

Clearly the goal is one of collecting relevant data associated with the different variables that derive from the concepts which form the corner stone of our study, and with the various hypotheses that derive from using these concepts. The data has to be compatible and comparable across all cases, and has to be subjected to scrutiny by reference to validity and reliability. The fewer the number of respondents contributing any single piece of data, the more difficult the task of establishing reliability and validity for that data. It is only when these fundamental principles of empirical research can be guaranteed that the investigator is in a position to move to a consideration of data sources.

Five main sources were exploited in collecting relevant data and information:

i) Secondary sources: many of these derive from a consultation of the various data banks that exist concerning minority language groups. Some of the studies undertaken are of a very high quality but, unfortunately, most of them are of limited value since they do not conform with the canons of scientific research. Even when reliable empirical studies are available, the theoretical, philosophical and methodological context might be so far removed from those of the current study that their value is limited. Nonetheless, the value of these source as the essential background for the survey data collected specifically for this study should not be ignored. Thus, for example, resorting to census data on language groups, where it exists, is an essential starting point for creating a sample design for a survey of language use;

ii) The official authorities in the member states: such authorities include the permanent representatives of the member states of the Commission, the various consulates, and local and regional governments or authorities. They were asked to complete a specially designed questionnaire which covered issues of official policy, data sources and factual information about the various language groups;

iii) Language group correspondents: for each of the language groups one person was allocated the task of gathering a diverse nature of data based on another questionnaire. Such a person was usually a researcher, wherever possible a social scientist, working in one or other of the European universities. In putting the answers to that questionnaire together, each language group correspondent were asked to carefully select a series of what we termed 'key witnesses' who were experts in the various fields which the initial questionnaire tapped. These 'key witnesses' were, in turn, asked to answer a lengthy and detailed questionnaire that was standardised across the various language groups. Of course, given the diversity of expertise represented by the key witnesses, differing degrees of detail were given to the various topics by the different respondents. Nonetheless, they were all asked to complete every part of the questionnaire;

iv) Other experts and well informed professionals: in order to check the validity and reliability of the data collected a range of other contacts were exploited, these people being asked to complete yet another questionnaire and to comment on the various pieces of information collected. This data set was employed for two purposes. Firstly, to generate measures for each language group on the variables around which the analytic work was centred; and secondly to create a series of reports for each language group. These reports constitute the most detailed and up to date information concerning the various language groups currently available and are meant to serve as a valuable reference source in their own right. In this respect they represent what is the most detailed reference base concerning European diversity currently in existence.

v) Language Use Surveys: the fifth source of data consisted of a series of empirical field surveys on a carefully selected sample of eight language groups. These surveys focused upon language use among the respective language groups and the survey instrument was specifically designed to gather data concerning our analytic variables.

Language use surveys are not new in the study of minority language groups, and some of them are of a very high quality. However, it is surprising how few of them have been constructed by reference to the rigour of an explicit theoretical perspective as is customary in survey research. Rather, they have often consisted of little more than a check list of language use contexts sprinkled with questions concerning attitudes which are not theoretically contextualised. In this respect the investigators appear either to be working intuitively, or to be deploying some form of inductive method. We suspect this is because so little of the work on minority language groups have actually conceived of

such groups as social groups. Rather, there has been a tendency to reify language, and to relate such a view of language to its use almost as an afterthought.

The available resources restricted the work on language use surveys that could be undertaken at this stage to eight language groups, and to 300 interviews in each case. Since then survey work on a further ten language groups has commenced and this will contribute a valuable addition to the on-going work. Nonetheless, this limitation meant that careful attention had to be given, first of all to the selection of cases, and secondly, to the way in which two quite different sets of data could be related in order to create valid empirical measures for all language groups. We shall return to this second issue momentarily. For the moment we will focus upon the language use surveys.

The selection of the eight cases was based upon fairly common sense principles:

- we sought to avoid replicating the best of the language use surveys that had already been undertaken. This excluded the Frisians, the Irish and the Basques. While the interview schedule of these surveys were by no means identical to our own, the topics covered in the surveys and the statistical validity of the data was such that they could, nonetheless, be used as valuable data sources for our purposes;
- given the variation in the relevance of minority languages for social policy across the various members states it seemed appropriate to include cases which encompassed this variation. It was decided not to include more than two cases from any single state;
- one of the values of survey work is that it allows the investigator to generalise from a large population while also permitting the investigation of a range of issues. There are language groups which were included in the study whose numbers are small and whose use contexts are extremely limited. It would be futile to deploy the large scale method of survey research for such cases;
- there were also good reasons for avoiding the more contentious cases - the limited time scale, the newness of the approach, etc.

It is these reasons that led to the selection of the following language groups as the basis for our language use survey work: Breton, Catalan in Aragon, Welsh, Gaelic, Sorbian, Sardinian, Ladin, and Galician.

It is customary to resort to a sample of at least 1,000 respondents for such surveys in order to assure that the numbers in each of the cells of the sampling frame contain sufficient numbers for analysis. Financial constraints limited the size of our samples for each case to 300 respondents. This is problematic in that it limits the range of analysis that is possible. Thus we were obliged to collapse some of our variables such as the social class variable which is usually divided into six occupational classes, into two categories. However, collecting data by reference to broader categories does, to some extent, overcome this problem. It also means that a considerable part of the analysis pertains to general configurations for each of the language groups. In many respects these language use surveys can be seen as pilot projects for further research.

Recognising these limitations does not mean that the value of the findings is by any means diminished, but rather, it points to the restrictions that are imposed upon the breadth of the analysis.

The sampling frame for the language use surveys, in so far as was possible, had to be comparable across all cases. Thus it was essential that the main social variables of age,

gender, social class, and the spatial dimension involving the selection of a variety of locations had to serve as the basis for the sampling frame. Where large scale data is available it is possible to use it as a basis for developing the sample frame. In the case of Wales and Scotland the official decennial census contains such data, and in the case of Galicia we were able to draw upon a much larger survey of 40,000 respondents which contained data about language. It was possible to produce a quota sample which was proportional and representative by reference to the social and locational variables. In the other five cases we were obliged to divide the 300 interviews into ten locational sub-sets which were then divided by reference to age, gender and social class. Each of the ten sampling points was assigned a quota which had to be randomly obtained.

The interviews were undertaken by a trained team of native speakers who were carefully supervised. Each interviewer was allocated a quota within the location which they were responsible for and care was taken to insure that the principles of random selection were adhered to. While this is time consuming it is an essential pre-requisite of successful survey work. The interview schedules were transferred to Bangor for coding, data entry and analysis.

The interview schedule was long, each interview taking between 45 minutes and an hour, which meant that the training of the interviewers was essential. It consisted of a series of questions concerning a range of issues covering basic demographic information, information about language use by reference to family, education, work, community activities, leisure, religion and related contexts. In this respect it sought to cover most of the inter-personal contacts which most people within the various communities would encounter. These items were constructed in such a way that they gave very precise measures on the relevant variables. The schedule ended with a series of opinion and attitude scales. The opinion scales asked each respondent to pass judgement on a fixed scale concerning the degree of commitment of various agencies, institutions and social actors by reference to the language in question. Similarly the attitude scales consisted of a series of items based on Semantic Differential Scaling Technique.

One of the problems with survey research is what has been referred to as the normative or social desirability factor (Achard, 1993). It involves the extent to which the interviewee is answering in accordance with what s/he feels the answer should be, or in accordance with the perceived requirements of the interviewer. There are various ways of controlling for this and, in our view, the most effective for the purpose at hand involves asking the respondent to complete a diary of contacts made during the preceding day, including information about the context of the contact, language use and the nature of the relationship with the contact. This was the opening part of the interview and, in addition to providing valuable data, it also set the scene for what was to follow.

4. Scale construction

We have touched upon the issue of using data that is quantitatively and qualitatively different in order to establish a series of scores across all of the language groups. A more developed consideration of this issue leads to a discussion of the various scales that were employed as the basis for our comparative analysis. The use of scales for comparative research in the social sciences is common. If properly designed and employed they serve as a valuable tool for comparison across a number of disparate cases. However, they do demand attention to a number of technical issues that touch upon both scale design and scale validity.

Among the fundamental principles of scaling considered were the following:

- the scales had to be sufficiently broad to encompass the entire range of cases to be included;
- the distance between the respective scores had to be uniform;
- the scales had to be internally consistent;
- some measure of validity and reliability had to be incorporated, both by reference to the scales themselves, and by reference to the scores that derive from their use;
- for the scales to be integrated the same range of scores had to be deployed for each scale, and no more than one scale could be employed for each dimension of the integration.
- while only one scale could be employed for each dimension this did not preclude the possibility that there was more than one dimension to each of the variables thereby permitting the use of sub-scales which had to be correlated by reference to the degree of relationship between them.

Resorting to these principles it was possible to create scores for each language group on our key variables, and, by adding these scores, to generate an overall score for each language group. This process had to be undertaken independently by several analysts, the comparison producing measures of inter-rator reliability for each scale and each case. These measures were then employed in order to generate reliable figures.

Clearly this is a complicated issue, and it must be recognised that generating universal scores for each case overlooks the likelihood of considerable variation within the territory of each language group. Indeed, this was the source of much of the disagreement among those responsible for creating the various scales. In this respect the scales are highly general but this is inevitable given the need for comparability, and the level of generalisation must be similar across all cases. Nonetheless, each person responsible for allocating the various scores did so by reference to the same information sources which consisted of the various language group reports and the eight language use surveys. The relationship between these two data sets is important. Evidently, for eight cases we had two sets of data and it is no surprise that these were the cases where there was the greatest degree of agreement across those undertaking the measurements. On the other hand, we were also able to make comparisons across these eight cases and the remaining cases so that the eight cases served as a standard against which the others were measured. This is achieved by, first of all, scoring the eight cases from the survey data on each of the scales, and establishing a satisfactory level of agreement by reference to these scores. This is a relatively easy task, given the nature of the data. Secondly, independently scoring the same eight cases on the same scales by using the respective language reports as the basis for this task, and establishing agreement on these scores. It was then possible to compare the respective sets of scores on all scales. In this way we were able to evaluate the level of comparability of the two data sets. Where comparability was low it was then possible to ascertain the reason for the lack of comparability and to build this knowledge into our general approach to validity and reliability across all of the cases.

5. Conclusion

This section has sought to outline the rationale for the study and the manner in which this rationale was operationalised. It seeks to make clear that our aim of understanding the nature and incidence of the various forces which influence and determine the strength of a minority language and of the associated linguistic diversity rests firmly on an understanding of social and economic forces. While the conception of minority language groups and their place in society inevitably has a direct influence upon the policies which influence them, such conceptions also enter into policy through the absence of any sensitivity to the role of language in structuring social groups. Thus whereas social class or gender will warrant specific consideration in policies which aim at dispersing the principle of inclusion or non-discrimination there may well be a systematic silence with reference to language groups. This is as true of policy that relates to economic and social integration as it is of educational policy. We hope that the preceding discussion serves to indicate that it is necessary to consider the relationship between such policies and the reference point of the involvement of language groups within the associated processes of social change.

Having considered the economic and methodological issues that have guided our study we now wish to resort to an analysis of the data that derived from our methodological procedures. It is this analysis that leads us towards our conclusions.

ANALYSIS

1. Introduction

The broad nature of the analysis to be undertaken should already be evident from the preceding discussion. It derives from two related data sets:

- that which exists in the various language group reports,
- the data gathered via the eight language use surveys.

In the study presented to those who commissioned the work, a detailed analysis of these two data sets was presented in two lengthy volumes. In this summary report it is not our intention to present the same detail of analysis, but rather to use that data in order to convey the main thrust of the arguments that derive from our theoretical perspective and insights. In this respect this section of the report will allow the reader to recognise the manner in which our analysis leads us to the conclusions that follow.

The data sets which we have referred to in the preceding paragraph are the basis on which a series of scales which facilitated our comparative analysis were constructed. Such a procedure involves shifting from a specific level of analysis to a more general level. This is necessary since comparative analysis involves establishing the degree of relationship between a number of cases, across all of the conceptual variables that are of relevance for the theoretical propositions which served as the guiding principles of the research. It allows the analyst to make higher order statements which will hold across all cases, rather than the lower order statements that are relevant to specific cases.

As we have been at pains to emphasise, the two data sets are of a different order, one being quantitative and the other qualitative. In many respects the survey data is of greatest value for analytic purposes since it does allow a statistically based evaluation of the relationship between variables across several cases. In this respect it is a more reliable source of analysis. For this reason alone the decision to undertake further surveys among other language groups is important. Before proceeding to a consideration of the analysis that is facilitated by the various scales it is useful to pause and consider what the eight language use surveys thus far completed tells us about these eight cases. Even though space precludes the detailed statistical analysis of the unpublished reports on each of these surveys it will, nonetheless, allow us briefly to demonstrate the difference between the general analysis that scaling facilitates, and the more specific analysis of survey data.

2. Language Use Survey

The eight cases considered - Breton, Catalan in Aragon, Gaelic, Galician, Ladin, Sardinian, Sorbian, and Welsh - represent a considerable range of salience with reference

to language use. They also represent cases with differing degrees of exposure to economic differentiation. Some exist in areas where the extent of economic diversification is limited and where the pace of economic restructuring has been relatively slow. Other language groups have been subjected to a constant process of economic restructuring associated with the circulation of both capital and people in recent years. It will be evident when we consult the overall configuration of the language groups across the EU that the cases which we have chosen for the language use surveys involve at least three cases for which a considerable degree of optimism for the future use of the language can be claimed, at least on superficial scrutiny of the data. A further three cases cannot be regarded as devoid of hope, and there are two cases for which considerable concern about the future conditions conducive to minority language use must be expressed. This range makes our analysis particularly interesting, and it is our intention to discuss them in this context.

The three cases which afford some optimism concerning language use are Galician, Ladin and Welsh. Yet their circumstances are quite different. Galician has a high language density over most of its territory, considerable support by reference to education and the media, and is increasingly demonstrating positive signs of economic integration. On the other hand it is a language with limited linguistic distance from the dominant language and is located in a peripheral location which, thus far, has experienced little evidence of economic diversification. It should be evident that, from our perspective, it is the pace of the restructuring process that stimulates such diversification on the one hand, and the relevance of language for that process on the other hand, that constitutes the greatest threat to minority language groups. Ladin, on the other hand, is located in a peripheral location close to the European core, in the -Alpine areas where, hitherto, the range of economic options have been limited. Again there is little evidence of economic diversification in the area, but the language group has succeeded in carving out specific economic niches for Ladin speakers. There is considerable support by reference to both education and the media. However, the population is relatively small and it also tends to be trilingual by reference to the state language, Italian, the neighbouring state language, German, and Ladin itself. Welsh, on the other hand, has a middle range of numbers, but displays a low language density with considerable internal variation. This is partly on account of the recent economic diversification which involves restructuring a declining, primary and manufacturing sector base. There is high support in both education and the media and a fairly high degree of language prestige.

Both Breton and Sardinian are language groups which demonstrate the virtual retreat of language use within two generations. The older generations use both languages extensively whereas the ability to do so is extremely limited by reference to the younger generation. This is characteristic of languages with a low status and a restrained range of institutionalised use which is confronted by rapid change processes. In the case of Breton this has involved the intensification of commercial agricultural activity and the introduction of high technology activities and tourism on a large scale as important factors in the economy. In both cases the support required by the various agencies of language production and reproduction in order to confront this intensity of change has not been forthcoming. The limited penetration of the languages into the new economic activities limits their prestige value and leads to the production of a negative identity among Breton and Sardinian speakers. Unlike the case of Wales, the impact of in-migration and the associated decline in language group endogamy cannot be held primarily responsible for the decline in ability. Rather, that decline derives from a rejection of the language associated with a negative identity that links with the relegation of the language and the language group into a world which is conceived of as 'traditional'. As we have previously emphasised, such 'traditional' worlds are social constructs which are highly effective in persuading those who carry the attributes of these worlds,

be they language or any other dimension, to distance themselves from these attributes in simultaneously denying the 'traditional' and claiming the 'modern'. Neither is there any primary community based agency such as the church which can serve as a catalyst by reference to language use. In both cases the Church resorts virtually exclusively to the state language. It is in such circumstances that the link between social mobility and a single language inevitably places pressure on even the family to resort to the use of the dominant language 'for the good of the children'. The main support for these languages is emotive, regarding them as features of an identity which can never be conceived of as a 'national' identity since that is reserved for the state and the allegiance that it demands from its citizens. The state and the community are polarised, and while the state seeks to incorporate the community into its very being, it does so by reference to a commonality that transcends locality, that transcendence being the world of the 'modern' that displaces allegiance to the local and the 'traditional'.

The three intermediate cases consist of Gaelic, Catalan in Aragon and Sorbian. These language groups are very different in several respects. Even though Gaelic, as a Celtic language, is regarded by many as the autochthonous language of Scotland, its incidence tends to concentrate in the western Isles where there is a fairly high density of speakers. Yet the data refers not merely to these locations, but also to urban centres across Scotland. Sorbian is similarly divided, with the High Sorbe area being quite different on a series of dimensions from the Low Sorbe area. This distinction has not been retained in the scaling exercise and the language use survey aggregates the data from the two areas. On the other hand Catalan in Aragon, despite having a smaller linguistic distance from the state language than either Gaelic or Sorbian, benefits from being part of one of, if not the largest, and the most dynamic of the minority language groups in Europe. What all three cases have in common is a relatively limited penetration of economic diversification. It is this that contributes to their similarity in other contexts since they lack the institutions which other language groups have developed as a consequence of their integration into the restructuring process. Given the relatively small size of the populations and the limited degree of institutional support for the use of the respective languages, it must be said that such an integration could have extensive negative effects on the respective language groups.

All three groups have a fairly high degree of cultural activities linked to the media. In the case of Catalan in Aragon this derives from being so close to Catalonia with its relative wealth of such activities. In Scotland there has been something of a knock on effect from the development of Welsh language television. Certainly the concentration of many of these media activities in the western Isles of Scotland has served to revitalise the language group, drawing what were previously disparate communities together as a self-conscious language group, while also increasing language prestige. In the case of Sorbian both educational and media activities survive from a previous regime which was supportive in this respect. It is also relevant that, until recently, the Sorbian language groups were located within a political system which placed considerable emphasis upon community integration. Also, the religious institutions which play a central role in the community activities did serve as agencies of political resistance.

It should be clear from this brief presentation that the language use surveys have allowed us to move from the specific detail of the empirical data to a series of general conclusions based upon a comparison across all cases. It is this ability and the confidence to take such steps that is afforded by survey research that generates an insight into the relationship between the different processes of social change that are operating across Europe and language use. It is clear to us that the depth of insight to be gained from a method that is sensitive to individual detail while also accommodating social variation within and across cases is considerable. We cannot claim that the same level of confidence exists by reference to the data that derives from the other survey

instruments - the responses of the language group correspondents, the key witnesses and the various official authorities. Nonetheless, given the immense effort that went into ascertaining the validity and reliability of the data generated, we are convinced that it is sufficient to allow us to construct the scales which serve as the basis for the next stage of our analysis. This conviction derives partly from our ability to match up the data that derives from the language use surveys on the one hand and the other survey sources on the other by reference to the eight language groups where both sets of data existed. This comparison indicated that the degree of reliability was sufficient for us to use the available data across all cases in constructing the scales that will facilitate our universal analysis. The extension of the language use surveys in the future to include other language groups will allow us to extend this exercise in sophisticating the analysis. For the moment, and for the purpose of this report, we will proceed to a consideration of the scaling exercise and to the analysis that it facilitates.

3. Analysis of Scales

i) Introduction

It should be evident from our discussion of methodological issues in the preceding section that our main objective in this facet of our analysis is the allocation of a score to each of the language groups on the seven main variables of our theoretical model:

- family role in language group reproduction;
- role of community in language group production and reproduction;
- role of education in language group production and reproduction;
- value of language for social mobility - language prestige;
- relevance of culture in reproduction;
- legitimisation of language use;
- institutionalisation of language use.

The subsequent use of a multivariate technique that can enable each individual case to be identified is important in order to redress the possibility of any miscategorisation of the variables. In the following analysis it is our intention to:

- generate a rank order of the various cases, firstly by reference to each of the variables, and then by reference to their total scores;
- undertake a cluster analysis that will isolate cases with similar scores;
- undertake a correlational analysis that will allow us to determine which variables relate to each other, in which way, while also establishing the strength of the relationship.

In pursuing such an exercise it must be recognised that the number of cases that we are dealing with is small by reference to facilitating a valuable statistical comparison. Also, the scores allocated have usually been allocated by reference to the entire territory, and

there may well be locations within that territory where the language group merits a higher or lower score. Where there are definite administrative differences, such as those between Catalonia and Valencia by reference to Catalan, or between Catalan in Catalonia and Catalan in France, the language group has been sub-divided. While we are not entirely happy about this distinction, it does facilitate clarification.

The statistical analysis has to be followed by a consideration of the findings by reference to a broader knowledge of the wider processes in operation. That is, the data has to be contextualised. It should be clear that in pursuing our analysis we have focused upon the adjective 'minority' by reference to power rather than numerism, and in this respect the variables around which our analysis focuses allows us to pursue this line of enquiry. However, there is a certain static feature to this approach, and there is a need to extend beyond these preliminary findings to consider the relevance of process and scale. Thus there is a need to consider the relevance of the extent of economic diversification associated with economic restructuring within the different autochthonous areas, the relevance of the size of the language group and the extent of its language density. It is such factors that allow us to relate our empirical findings to the broad process of social and economic change, leading to the possibilities of adopting practical policy recommendations. This will be the goal of the next section.

In table 1 and figure 3 the variable scores are presented for each of the language groups, as are the total scores. Using these total scores the language groups have been ranked in order and clusters of language groups with similar scores have been isolated. The range of scores for each variable extends from 0 to 4. It has to be emphasised that the various scales are linear, their construction having involved paying careful attention to insuring that the points on the scales are equidistant. However, the scores at each of the scale are not exhaustive in the sense that a score of '4' is indicative of a perfect situation, or that a score of '0' implies the complete absence of the relevant dimension. The nature of a Report such as this whose goal is to synthesise the results of the study precludes any intensive discussion of the individual scaling measures and of the details of each individual case. Such details will be presented in future publications.

ii) Rank order and Clusters

A consideration of the data presented in table 1 and figure 3 indicates that there is a cluster of four language groups with high scores across all of the variables. This group consists of German in New Belgium, Luxembourgish, Catalan in Catalonia and German in Italy. Evidently three of the four groups pertain to state languages, two of them being extra-territorial language groups. Luxembourgish appears to be something of an anomaly in that it is an official intra-territorial state language, but the case of Irish indicates that this in itself is insufficient guarantee of a high score. Nonetheless, the existence of these two cases - Luxembourgish and Irish do raise issues concerning policy which we will return to later. Two of the other three cases are extra territorial state languages in adjoining territories - German in New Belgium and Italy. However once again the case of German in Old Belgium, or German in Denmark indicates that it is not the mere fact of being a group which uses a state language that guarantees a high score. However, there is no denying that the status of using a state language in a contiguous territory does help boost the scores, if only because there is a likelihood of achieving a high score by reference to the 'cultural reproduction' variable where media services designed for that state's population are available to speakers outside of it's territory. The fourth case is that of Catalan in Catalonia, the best placed of the various stateless language groups. However, it is a case that suggests that 'stateless' may be an exaggerated term since the degree of autonomy that it possesses is considerable when compared with other language groups. The existence of a proto-state which has increasing relevance as the

process of European incorporation on a regional basis proceeds is of crucial importance. Of course the size of the Catalan language group is also important in that it makes a number of relevant policies practical.

The next cluster contains eight language groups, all of which have fairly high overall scores and no low scores across the seven variables. Five of these eight groups are to be found in Spain, two of them being Catalan language groups that exist outside of the narrow spatio-political definition of Catalonia. This is significant in that the transition of Spain from being a highly centralised state to one of the most devolved political system within the Union has been rapid and relevant. However, we should emphasise that it is not simply the process of decentralisation that is of relevance, but that such a decentralisation must encompass the kind of language-related processes that pertain to the variables as they derive from our theoretical arguments. That is, decentralisation in itself is not sufficient a condition to influence the salience of a language group. Nonetheless, it is becoming increasingly clear that the data points to a high incidence within these two highest clusters of language groups whose language point of reference is either a state or a proto-state. The other three cases include one extra-territorial state language in an adjoining state - German in France, and minority language groups which are well placed in relation to other such groups - Welsh, and Ladin.

This is followed by a cluster of thirteen language groups which display a greater range of scores across the variables than was found in the preceding two clusters. They include Basque in Navarre, and Catalan in both France and Aragon which draw upon the strength of their core areas in some contexts, while lacking institutional facilities in others. This is also true of the extra territorial contexts of Danish in Germany, German in Denmark and French in Italy. Also included in this cluster are Friulan and Slovene which are neighbours in northern Italy, Sorbian, Gaelic and Frise which is the only minority language group in the Netherlands, Irish in Ireland, and Turkish in Greece. Given the border locations of many of these groups their ranking is somewhat misleading since many of them derive some advantage from the action of language groups in neighbouring states or proto-states. What they all have in common is some degree of state support, whether that support derives from their own or from a neighbouring state. In many cases this involves specific treaties which afford reciprocal support for extra-territorial state languages. Again, the existence of the Irish language group in Ireland presents an anomaly since it is a state language which is capable of drawing upon resources which are not available to stateless languages. Nonetheless its relatively low position in the ranking order serves to betray the weakness of an argument which links power to the acceptance of a language as a state language.

Next, we encounter a cluster of eight language groups which display a limited degree of vitality. Among them is Breton which we have discussed above. Perhaps surprisingly, given the number of speakers claimed for the language, it includes Occitan in both France and Italy. This highlights the value of not treating minority by reference to numerism.

At the other end of the spectrum is a cluster of thirteen language groups whose score is less than a quarter of the total possible score. Four of these are located in Greece, a further three in Italy, and the remaining eight are divided across various states. Most of them, such as Bulgarian or Albanian in Greece; or French, Greek or Croatian in Italy; or Portuguese in Spain and Dutch in France speak extra territorial state languages. The two Frisian cases which fit into this category can also be considered as detached from the core of Frisian speakers. Yet another language group - Cornish, uses a language which was not spoken for centuries prior to its recent revival. It is significant that eight of the thirteen cases are found in adjoining areas of the European periphery - in southern Italy and in Greece. While there is a substantial number of language groups in these

areas, none of them display the kind of strength that offers much hope for the future. Given the size of the language group it is somewhat surprising to find Sardinian among this cluster. The rapid decline in the use of Sardinian and the lack of a formal institutional context for its production and reproduction indicates that the language group is facing a situation of crisis.

iii) State and civil society

The next stage of our analysis involves considering the extent of the relationships between the seven variables, while also introducing a demography variable. This allows us to consider the relationship between, on the one hand, the institutional and social variables as they relate to the issue of power, and on the other hand, the relevance of demographic factors. Our reluctance to introduce the demographic variable from the outset was a consequence of our awareness of the limitations of much geo-linguistic work which prioritises its spatial preoccupation while demoting the social and political components of power to a position of secondary importance. However, it would clearly be inappropriate for us to entirely ignore the demographic and spatial dimensions.

In pursuing this part of the analysis the product-moment coefficients between each of the seven variables, and between these and the demographic variables was calculated. Such a procedure allows us to establish the extent to which there is, or there is not, a relationship between the scores on the various variables. Thus we established a high correlation (0.79 to 0.86) between four variables - 'language prestige', 'institutionalisation', 'legitimation' and 'education'. This should hardly be surprising since it is these four variables which derive largely from the activities of the state, and in this respect it would appear that if the state does take steps to involve a minority language in its activities it will tend to do so on a broad basis.

The other three variables - 'family', 'community' and 'cultural reproduction' - we treated as 'social' or 'civil society' variables. This distinction between state and civil society is never entirely satisfactory within modern polities since the state has penetrated many aspects of civil society. Nonetheless, in abstract terms, it does allow us to the social and cultural aspects of language group activity by reference to the relationship of such a group to the state within which it exists. The correlations between these three variables and the 'state' variables was lower but was still within the range 0.54 to 0.82. Finally, the seven variables correlate at a much lower level (0.21 to 0.43) with the demographic variable (Table 2). This confirms our decision to down play the demographic variable in order to highlight the importance of social and political variables.

By calculating a measure for the three 'civil society' variables taken together, and the four 'state' variables taken together, we are able to produce a graph which demonstrates the relationship between these two variables (Figs. 4 and 5). Evidently a diagonal line from left to right would represent the 'perfect' case where there is a balanced relationship between the role of the state and the role of civil society by reference to the activities which we claim are of primary importance for any language group. Those cases below this line display a degree of state support for language related activities that is disproportionate to the ability of the civil society to produce and reproduce the language. Conversely, those language groups to the left of the line are obliged to rely on the efforts of civil society to a far greater extent.

This graph (Fig. 4) can also be employed in order to throw more light on the preceding cluster analysis. It reveals a group of nine language groups which score high (2.5-4.0) on both sets of variables: German in New Belgium, German in Italy, German in France, Catalan in Catalonia and Valencia, Luxembourgish, Ladin, Galician and Basque in

Euskadi. There is another large group of eighteen cases which score low (0.0-1.5) on both dimensions: Cornish; east and north Frisian; Greek in Italy; Aromanian; Albanian in both Greece and Italy; Portuguese in Spain; Sardinian; Slavo-Macedonian and Bulgarian in Greece; Dutch, Occitan, Breton and Corsican in France; Irish in the U.K.; Berber in Spain; and Mirandese in Portugal. Between these two is another group of six cases which have intermediate scores (1.6-2.4) on both dimensions: Gaelic; Frisian in the Netherlands; Slovenian and Friulan in Italy; Sorbian in Germany; and German in Denmark. It is this group which could benefit from a greater degree of state intervention in order to increase the level of language production and reproduction. One language group - Welsh - does not fall into any of these three categories, scoring 2.75 on the 'state' dimension and 2.33 on the 'civil society' dimension (Fig. 5).

The number of cases which have similar scores on both dimension is limited to seven, all of them being among the top third on the overall ranking scores. There are a further twelve cases which do not deviate significantly from this pattern, many of these having low overall ranking scores. Among these language groups, the degree of state support is proportional to the extent of civil society activity. On the other hand there are a further twenty nine cases which deviate from this normality, revealing a degree of state support or lack of state support relative to their civil society salience. There are two of these cases where the degree of state support plays a significantly larger role in sustaining the language group than does the activities of civil society - Irish in Ireland (2.5/1.33) and French in Italy (2.25/1.33). At a much lower level of activity the same is true of east Frisian (0.75/0.0).

In most cases the extent of state support lags behind the activities of civil society by reference to language production and reproduction. This is particularly true of Turkish in Greece (1.0/2.33); Catalan in Aragon (1.0/2.67); Basque in Navarre and Danish in Germany (1.25/2.67); Occitan in Italy (0.75/2.0); and German in Old Belgium (0.5/2.0). It is less marked by reference to Catalan in both the Balearic Islands (2.0/3.0) and in France (1.25/2.0); to Occitan in Spain (2.25/3.0); to Basque in France (1.0/2.0); to Catalan in Italy (1.0/1.5); and to Croatian in Italy (0.25/1.67).

Interestingly, there is little relationship between the specific state and the manner in which support is allocated to the different language groups within that state. While Greece appears to offer virtually no such support, thereby accounting for the small cluster of language groups whose future potential by reference to either language production or reproduction is severely limited. Among these languages in Greece are extra territorial state languages from the Balkans. On the other hand, as we have indicated, there are a few language groups which appear to have little activity in civil society but which do receive some degree of state support. These tend to be cases where the size of the language group is small. The other states appear to treat each case differently, not having a blanket policy for all minority language groups within their territory. This would seem to indicate that the state does not have any specific language policy but treats each language group differently, and often in response to the degree of militancy generated by the language group. However, it would be an error to imagine that the same degree of militancy or civil society activity could generate the same level of response from different states. It is clear that some states have a more enlightened view on minority language groups than others.

When we turn to consider the variables individually (Fig. 3) several points emerge. We have already referred to a lack of a blanket policy by respective states and this is evident by reference to educational policy and practice. Within states there are cases where some language groups received substantial concessions while others receive virtually none. This is the case in Britain, Italy and France. Evidently the situation is not that simple, factors such as the size of the language group, its degree of militancy, the role of the

language in the labour market and the degree of devolution of administrative function are all contributing factors.

iv) Individual variables

Turning to a consideration of the relationship between individual variables some things are self-evident. Given that the education system of any state has two primary functions - on the one hand the ideological task of promoting and enculturating state identity and integration; and, on the other hand, producing actors adequately equipped for the labour market, it is reasonable to expect a relationship between the role of a minority language in education and the prestige of that language. However figure 6 demonstrates that things are not so clear cut. While the majority of the cases do show equal scores on both dimensions there are deviations. The majority of these deviations suggest a greater support for educational practice than for the entry of the language into labour market activities. This is true of the Sorbian language group, the Irish in Ireland, Danish in Germany, Corse and Catalan in France and east Frisian. At the other extreme is the German language group in France which has a high prestige value and a lower degree of educational support. Evidently, a number of these cases are trans-frontier cases and the increased freedom of mobility of labour across state boundaries leads to the integration of workers into different labour markets. On the other hand there is also evidence of a discourse which claims that whereas a language can be supported for activity in civil society, it has no place in the economic world.

Figure 6 also makes it clear that there is a substantial number of language groups, located mainly in Italy and Greece, which have no formal educational support and have no prestige value. These are the language groups which rely heavily upon civil society activity to sustain themselves. In Greece all language groups, apart from the Turkish language group, which receives a degree of educational support as a consequence of a reciprocal treaty between Greece and Turkey, fit into this category. There is a similar number of neglected groups in Italy. Side by side with Turkish in Greece is another small cluster of three language groups - Cornish, Mirandese and Albanian in Italy - with the same conditions by reference to these two variables, albeit that the extent of educational use of these language is far from extensive.

Trans-frontier activity is also important by reference to a comparison of language prestige and media exposure or the ingredient we have used by reference to cultural reproduction (Fig. 7). Thus a number of language groups such as the Danes in Germany or the Germans in Denmark, the Catalans or the Basques in France, etc., benefit from media and other cultural activities that are available to them across state boundaries. As a consequence we once again recognise that there are cases where cultural reproduction is more relevant than is the prestige value of the language. On the other hand there are some cases where media activity has served to increase the prestige of the minority language. Of course it can be argued that media activities, even where they use the minority language, do not reproduce the associated culture, but merely reinforce the normative culture through the medium of the minority language. This being the case it obliges researchers and those involved in media production to pay close attention to how the cultural ingredient is addressed.

Similarly a cross tabulation of family and community is revealing (Fig. 8). Again most cases reveal similar scores on both dimensions, with only 13 cases deviating from such a pattern. Most of these deviant cases are those where family support is stronger than community support. The most extreme of such cases are the Portuguese language group in Spain, German in Old Belgium, Croatian in Italy, Turkish in Greece and Mirandese in Portugal. There are two cases where the language does not appear to function either

at the community or family level - Cornish and east Frisian. Evidently where community support is negligible it can be argued that a language group is not constituted as a social group and that it is effectively a private language. As many as 15% of the cases could be thus classified, among them being Irish as a state language, and Portuguese as an extra territorial state language! This does not mean that this situation cannot change, with family activity and even disparate communities being integrated into a self-conscious language group. Some would argue that this has recently occurred through the introduction of minority language mass media activities in Scotland, and that it could also work among the Albanians in Italy for example. Indeed the Albanians in Italy do suggest a greater degree of community activity around the language than one would expect from the incidence of family use, but once again it must be said that these language communities display little territorial continuity.

Finally, fig.9 compares the numerical size of the language group and the overall scores on the seven variables. While it clearly demonstrates the considerable degree of variation from any linear relationship, it can be argued that for most of the cases there is a degree of relationship between demographic size and variable score. The deviations serve to confirm our scepticism concerning the tendency to relate language group size and language group activity. The normative cases, on the other hand, suggest that the size of a language group does have some significance for vitality. What this diagram shows in simple terms is that the smaller language groups have little vitality whereas the larger groups have a considerable degree of vitality. Two thirds of the language groups have a demographic size smaller than 300,000, and this does seem to be a significant point in distinguishing between the vitality of the various language groups. Most of those whose membership is larger than this figure have high scores, the two exceptions being Sardinian and Breton. This is not to deny that there are smaller groups such as Ladin, Occitan in Spain and German in New Belgium which also have high scores. There is also a number of language groups with membership of between 100,000 and 300,000 which have low scores - Irish in the U.K., Arvanite, Aromanian and Slavo-Macedonian in Greece. Clearly the relationship between the size of a language group and its vitality is not simple.

4. Conclusion

In this section we have sought to indicate the nature of the analysis which we have undertaken on the data collected, without seeking to resort to the entire range of that analysis. It should be evident that the analytical potential of the data collected is vast, and that what we have sought to achieve in this section is to condense such a potential in order to focus upon the main configurations provided by the data. This we have done by condensing highly detailed information into a series of seven scores which pertain to our primary analytic variables for each language group. The shift from the detail of the specific data to the general of the scales thus produced allows us to make observations across all of the language groups.

We have been able to divide the various language groups into clusters by reference to their position along the seven dimensions which have deemed are crucial for analytic purposes. We have succeeded in identifying which factors are strong and weak by reference to the various language groups. In this respect we have taken what we feel is the first essential step in developing an understanding of which language groups are capable of accepting positive action that will lead to revitalisation, while also allowing us to consider which areas of life should be targeted for the respective language groups.

Such an analysis is clearly the sine qua non of any language policy at the European level.

The analysis suggests that the demographic size of a language group is only one among many factors which contribute to the vitality of a language group, and that focusing upon this variable can be misleading. It also indicates that while state level policy is of clear importance, unless states have a broad negative orientation towards minority languages, there is no universality to their treatment of different language groups within their territory. It also leads us to suggest that while some extra-territorial state language groups may be well placed, this is not true of all state languages, and it would appear that the best placed are French and German. This lack of a universal pattern across what many feel are the main dimensions of language behaviour indicates a complexity that should be instructive. It certainly suggests that things are by no means as clear cut as most people would like to believe, and that underlying language group relationships involves a diversity and complexity that requires attention.

In the next section we seek to give attention to these factors by turning to a broader consideration of what has been discussed above. This involves stepping back from the detail of our data in considering the implications of the patterns discerned in the preceding analysis for the more general processes of social and economic change. It obliges us to consider the relevance of our variables for that process, while also obliging us to consider how that process serves to structure the patterns that we have identified. In this respect the emphasis is very much upon causal analysis.

THE RESTRUCTURING OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SPACE

1. Introduction

The preceding analysis has allowed us to achieve what the normal focus upon size of the language group and language density of geolinguists and others could not achieve - it has allowed us to establish the incidence and relationship between the main variables which we consider of relevance for language production and reproduction across all language groups. This is not to suggest that there is no relationship between the variables which we have focused upon in our analysis and the size of the language group, or its degree of economic diversification, but that we have focused attention upon the internal relationship between the seven variables in order to develop a clear understanding of the nature and incidence of the respective agencies of production and reproduction. In this section the focus shifts to a different level of analysis in that we are obliged to stand back from our preceding analysis in order to weigh up the relevance of our broader understanding of the relevant processes of social and economic change for language production and reproduction in the light of our preceding findings. It is here therefore that we focus upon the issue of the size of the respective language groups and how this variable has a bearing upon its production and reproduction. It is also here that we wish to give the preceding analysis a more dynamic context by considering the nature of political and economic restructuring in Europe, and the relevance of these issues for minority language groups. The size of a language group becomes relevant by reference to the conceived potential for sustaining such groups once social policy options are considered relevant by those in a position to take such decisions. On the other hand, the restructuring process is of significance precisely because it is the extent to which the economic space within which the language operates is incorporated in the restructuring process that determines the nature and extent of social change by reference to the potential for production and reproduction of such groups.

It seems clear that there is a wide diversity in the extent to which the different language groups can draw upon the resources necessary to reproduce the language. Some language groups have substantial family, community and institutional resources which are deployed in language reproduction. On the other hand there is an even wider diversity in the resources which can produce the language. It would appear that this function insists upon some form of state support unless the density of speakers and the institutionalised use of language is so high that this function can be undertaken by the community, or that these resources are available, at least in part, on a trans-frontier basis. That is, a motivational basis is necessary which can be operationalised to such an extent that it influences family and community language practices, while also influencing in-migrants to want to integrate with the language group. There are those language groups which have many of the resources necessary, both to produce and to reproduce the language at the local level, but which systematically fail to achieve that end. Thus Sorbian and Breton are cases among our language use surveys which suggest that this is the case. We have implied that the relevance of a language for economic activity

constitutes precisely such a motivation, and for this reason we have placed considerable emphasis upon the concept of language prestige. Yet it is also clear that if the local economy is caught in the process of restructuring, that the relevance of a minority language for labour market activity is likely to change in one direction or another.

The language groups which are likely to survive to the future are those which are capable of both production and reproduction, while having sufficient status to ensure not only a desire to learn the language on the part of non-speakers, but also to ensure that speakers do not abandon the language. Such a situation demands a degree of cooperation at the level of civil society on the one hand, and at the state level on the other. It demands an enlightened orientation and a tolerance towards diversity among its citizens on the part of the state, and it demands a drive for dignity through the use of the autochthonous language on the part of the language group. Yet, it is amazing that such a degree of cooperative development is even possible, given the extent to which the divisive effect of the modernist discourse has penetrated European societies, and the extent to which that discourse, at least in the past, has expressed such an outright hostility towards minority language groups. This hostility has been, and in many cases, still is, particularly strong by reference to stateless languages. Yet, as we shall discuss momentarily there is evidence that the discourse on a New Europe is beginning to redress the situation in this respect.

While we have focused upon the distribution of the variables which we have identified as fundamental for the vitality of language groups, this does not mean that there are not other factors which must also be considered. Two such factors are the size of the language group and its relationship to the current process of economic restructuring in European. In this section we intend to consider the above clusters of language groups by reference to these two variables, albeit by a more systematically descriptive approach as opposed to the more empirical orientation of our prior analysis. A comparison of two of Europe's two largest language groups, Catalan and Occitan, makes it evident that the size of a group is not a determining factor by reference to its vitality. However the size of a group is important by reference to evaluating what is practical in considering policy formulations. Thus, for example, if broadcasting is increasingly being privatised it is hardly conceivable that such services will be provided exclusively for language groups of limited numbers. In the same vein we have argued that it is no solace to recognise that a language group is sustaining its present level of use, if it does not have the institutions and policies in place which can sustain that position if that group is drawn into the processes of economic diversification and is affected by the population movements across states associated with such restructuring. Before proceeding to a consideration of how the drive for European integration is promoting a reevaluation of the issue of diversity within a new political context, and how this bears relevance for a reevaluation of economic restructuring policies, we intend briefly to reflect upon the preceding analysis by considering the relevance of the previous phase of restructuring for the various language groups. In so doing we are suggesting that this previous phase of restructuring that was driven primarily by state interests within a global economic order is giving way to new political and economic forces. Thus we proceed by drawing the various language groups together into the five clusters indicated by the preceding analysis and discussing them by reference to demographic factors and restructuring processes. However, we begin by recalling what was said in the introductory section concerning the economic order.

2. Economic Restructuring

The economic order is characterised by a constant thrust to sustain economic growth. Yet there is an essential contradiction by reference to how this occurs. Whereas on the one hand there has always been the claim for the autonomy of the economic system as a motor that generates growth, on the other hand it is evident that the state has always played a central role in that process. It is evident that economic growth is by no means a smooth, constant process but that it is subject to a series of cycles of growth and stagnation. The role of the state is to stimulate growth while seeking to counter the effects of stagnation. Certainly the state is no innocent bystander in the entire process of economic restructuring that is associated with the drive for growth through efficiency.

On the other hand, when we conceive of economy as a global order it becomes evident that the state plays only a partial role, and that capital has the ability to transcend state boundaries as it is deployed in order to create growth. Nonetheless, it is correct to claim that the state does have the ability to influence most of the economic activity within its territory. In this respect it has the capacity to organise that activity through regulation. This is particularly significant by reference to how the economic space of any state is organised. Whereas primary activities are determined by reference to the location of basic resources, and while in the past much of the supplementary activity has grown close to these locations, that relationship is now being eliminated. Nonetheless, it is such areas, where manufacturing activity grew in relation to the availability of advantages relating to raw materials and transportation which have tended to remain as the most dynamic locations of economic activity within each state. This is not to deny that the state has not sought to counteract this concentration, but it has also sought to build upon the advantages that accrue to such locations. In contrast, other locations are allocated quite different functions within the economic planning objectives of the state. Thus, much as we can divide the world economic system into core locations and peripheral systems, depending upon their function in the overall order, and the relationship which this has to resources and decision making, it is also true of the territory of each state.

As a consequence it is possible to talk of peripheral economic structures that are constructed out of the specific economic functions of such locations and the manner in which they lead to the concentration of certain activities. Thus we find a tendency to resort to such locations for the location of capital intensive, relatively short term activities associated with primary sector activities, with tourism or with locationally strategic developments such as nuclear power plants.

At certain points within the cycle of economic activity the population of the periphery may well become the target of core establishments which are seeking cheap, unorganised labour, only for such interests to withdraw to the core during the following recession. The net result is that the economic structure of the periphery is distinctive in many respects. There is a tendency to focus excessively upon a single sector, usually the service sector; the emphasis upon tourist activity within the international division of labour gives a heightened degree of seasonality to the economic activity; while the short term nature of many developments compound the uncertainty and fluidity of economic activity. This, in turn, has a consequence for the nature of the labour force. Such locations tend to have a higher rate of unemployment than in the core, there is a lower degree of female activity, there is an exaggerated degree of self-employment and part-time employment among the workers, and the extent of general exclusion and marginality is higher than in the core.

This structure means that, in contrast to the customary view of the periphery, the rate of change is more rapid than in the core, and there is a constant, seasonal demand for adjustment or adaptation on the part of the labour force. As implied above, the cause of

adjustment or adaptation on the part of the labour force. As implied above, the cause of this specific structure is the dependent relationship between core and periphery, with the decision making and the capital deployment decisions remaining in the core and only being applied to the periphery for specific purposes and at specific times. Thus, not all peripheral locations are drawn into the constant process of economic restructuring that derives from the core. As we have implied, this is not to maintain that the situation in the periphery is not a fluid one, but that the restructuring process does not impact in the same way, at all times, in all parts of the periphery. This is particularly important by reference to the next stage of our analysis. Perhaps most important is the knowledge that the circulation of capital is usually accompanied by the circulation of people, that is, by migration. The entry of capital into the periphery is accompanied by the entry of people from outside of the language groups. Unless the conditions exist for this population to be accommodated into the language group, that is, for production to occur, the possibility of reproduction declines.

Having briefly considered the nature of economic restructuring, and the role of the state in that process, we can now turn to a consideration of how this has affected the various language groups which we have considered. In so doing it will become evident that the process has not touched all locations in the same way, and that the ability of some groups to reproduce themselves is largely a consequence of having remained aloof from these processes and the manner in which they affect socio-cultural change.

3. The Clusters

i) Cluster A

The preceding analysis has indicated that there is a small cluster of four language groups which score high on every dimension, and a further eight language groups with relatively high scores across all dimensions. The first group includes two extra territorial state languages which draw upon the resources of those states, and which are increasingly becoming integrated, or have the potential for integration, into cross boundary labour markets - German in New Belgium and German in Italy. A third involves a state language - Luxembourgish. Thus, questions of size and economic diversification and integration are less relevant here, especially since they are also located within the 'Golden Triangle' of the European core. The fourth case involves Catalan in Catalonia, which is among the largest minority language group in terms of size and has an economy that is among the strongest and most integrated in Europe. The advent of the regional proto-state is of immense value in promoting an economic development which is at the heart of the Mediterranean Archipelago. Thus, once again, we are discussing a language group which is at the heart of European economic development. This is not to deny the difficulties that still face this language group, difficulties that derive partly from the need to accommodate a substantial number of immigrants, and partly from the incomplete nature of political autonomy. Nonetheless, the conditions for promoting the language group certainly exist.

ii) Cluster B

The second cluster is quite diverse in composition. It includes languages with relatively few speakers, and cases whose economic diversification is limited. Some groups are small but have carved out economic niches in relation to a limited number of economic activities, primarily agriculture and tourism. In this respect Ladin with 56,000 members,

and Aranese with 3,700 members stand out. In other contexts Aranese, as an extension of Occitan, would benefit from the resources that pertain to the heartland, but despite the large numbers which are claimed for this language group in France, neglect and denigration of the part of the state has served to guarantee that it has little to offer the Aranese. Indeed, it is ironic that the vitality of Occitan is stronger in a state where the numbers are small. Clearly the orientation of the respective authorities towards the language group is quite different. However, the small size of the group merits concern in that the recent influx associated with construction and tourism can have profound effects. Similar remarks could be made concerning Ladin. Galician is a different case in having large numbers - 2,420,000 - and, even though the economy does not have the diversification associated with core areas, it is by no means monocultural. However, the recent decline in the fortunes of agriculture and fishing, two of the mainstays of the Galician economy, may well lead to a process of diversification. On the other hand it would appear that the recently won political autonomy gives the necessary infrastructure to ensure that if the normalisation process proceeds, structures that can withstand such developments will be put in place.

Two of the language groups - Basque and Welsh - are similar in many respects. They are both languages which have considerable linguistic distance from the respective dominant languages, and they have a similar degree of language density and a comparable number of speakers, about half a million. They are also integrated into the mainstream of economic diversification, even if the entire population of speakers are differentially integrated into that process. The rapid process of economic change and the associated process of in-migration has had a profound impact upon the respective languages, but it has also stimulated a reaction that has led to innovative developments by reference to the production of the languages which is the sine qua non of survival under such conditions. Yet the low percentage of speakers within the territory merits concern. The political autonomy of the Basques gives this language group distinctive advantages over the Welsh, notwithstanding that the British state has established the Welsh Language Board as a form of language watchdog that will be responsible for implementing the recent Welsh Language Act.

Finally, the three outposts of state or proto state languages, Catalan in Valencia and the Balearic Islands, and German in France are included in this sub-category. We begin with the Catalan groups. In both cases the numbers are considerable - almost two million in Valencia and 428,000 in the Balearics, and in both cases there is economic diversification, even though there is a strong reliance on tourism in the Balearics. A major problem for both is the influx of non-speakers as a consequence of the growth in tourist activity. They are both cases that can benefit from the size and activities of the Catalan language group, even though their political identity may be distinctive. Finally, the above comments with reference to how the German language groups in New Belgium and in Italy draw upon the resources of the same language group in Germany or Switzerland, are also applicable to German in France. Not surprisingly, given the orientation of the French state, notwithstanding some recent changes, this group suffers on account of the limited support from the state, particularly by reference to education. The other state functions can partly be overcome because of the frontier location.

Clearly it is unrealistic to treat clusters A and B as uniform. While on the surface there may appear to be grounds for believing that these language groups can continue to be reproduced, relatively minor adjustments in the impact of social and economic change can have a rapid and detrimental effect upon facets of language production and reproduction. This observation will also be true of some of the other cases we will discuss below.

iii) Cluster C

What characterises the next cluster of thirteen language groups is the potential for changing their situation vis a vis their reproduction potential. However, once again this must depend upon their position by reference to demographic and economic factors. Most of the language groups in this cluster have access to the main agencies of cultural reproduction, and also have some form of educational support that can supplement what happens in civil society. However, some of them have fewer than 100,000 speakers. They include Gaelic with about 59,000 members; Sorbian with about 50,000 members; the Danish in Germany with 25,000 members; Slovenian in Italy with 85,000; the German language group in Denmark which has about about 15,000-20,000 members; and the Basques in Navarre numbering 53,000; the 50,000 French speakers in Italy; and the 48,000 Catalan speakers in Aragon. The Catalan language group in France has 150,000 members, and the Turkish language group in Greece between 90,000 and 120,000 members. However, the main exceptions within this group are the Friulan, and Frisians, both of which have about 400,000 members. Perhaps the Irish language group in Ireland should also be included with these two language groups since the number who claim an ability exceeds one million, but, on the other hand, its use is far less, but still extends to more than 400,000.

The advent of the Single Market will inevitably lead to a realignment of local and regional labour markets in specific trans-frontier locations and this will have an impact upon some language groups within this cluster. Thus Germans and Danish in the border areas between Denmark and Germany, and the Catalans in France are likely to be affected. However the most immediate stimulant is likely to occur where initiatives associated with the INTERREG Programme are implemented.

Perhaps one of the more intriguing possibilities in this respect involves the possibility that is afforded to Irish and Gaelic whose linguistic affiliation affords considerable potential. In the western isles of Scotland, as we have already mentioned, Gaelic media developments are promoting the emergence of a more integrated language group cohesion, while also stimulating a degree of return migration. The effects of these developments extend to Northern Ireland. The recent census figures which have revealed that in excess of 140,000 people claim a knowledge of Irish in the north has been a surprise to many, even if they remain sceptical about the nature of these claims. In the Republic, Irish has received considerable state support to the extent that the educational system insures that a knowledge of the language is fairly widespread. However, outside of the Gaeltacht it is questionable whether this involves anything more than networked based use. Nonetheless, the advent of media based activity in Irish and the possibility of linking with similar developments in Scotland do offer possibilities which could serve as the basis for regenerating the former extent of interaction across this territory within the context of a European region. The demographic base would then be quite considerable.

By reference to economic restructuring the troubles in the north have limited such developments while the peripheral location of the western isles of Scotland has kept them aloof from such developments. In the Republic on the other hand there have been attempts to integrate Irish with the on-going process of social change but without much of an enlightened understanding of how this should be achieved. On the other hand, as an official state language it does have access to resources not available to stateless languages and their neighbours could benefit from this advantage.

Many of the language groups in this cluster are located in areas which are characteristically marginal to the general process of economic restructuring. This is not to imply that their situation is static but rather, that they are subject to specific features

of such restructuring that do not involve the more dynamic contexts of economic growth. They are often subject to tourist developments which are often seasonal in nature, which they often combine with agricultural activity, the pluri-activity being seen by many as the solution to the negative effect of European policy upon the agricultural sector. Side by side with these activities are the capital intensive projects which we have already referred to. On the surface this would appear to imply that change proceeds at a pace that can be accommodated by the respective language groups, partly because the associated degree of in-migration is not disruptive. However, this is misleading, and many of these locations have had a massive input of in-migrants, often associated with tourist activity and especially retirement populations. The Mediterranean locations are particularly affected in this respect. Thus northern Catalan has a rate of in-migration that is among the highest in France, the Basques of Navarre are similarly affected, while a third of the population of Val d'Aosta consist of in-migrants, although it must be said that industrial developments have contributed to this migration process.

On the other hand the Slovenian and Friulan language groups located in the Alpine areas of north Italy have not been subject either to the same degree of population movement nor of economic diversification, and the local economy retains a particular focus upon the service sector. In both areas the focus is upon locally owned SMEs and a considerable degree of agricultural and agriculturally related activity. In contrast to much of the Italian periphery where other minority language groups are located, the living standard of the population is relatively high. Unemployment is relatively low, while per capita income figures are relatively high. This does have a positive effect upon language status. Yet there is evidence of a degree of emerging economic diversity. While a certain amount of industrial activity in the Slovenian area focuses upon the establishment of industrial parks, it is of limited scale and focuses primarily upon local development through local actors. In the Friulan area the developments that have focused upon tourism, electromechanical engineering, chemicals and micro electronics have prompted some degree of in-migration. If the goal of maintaining diversity is desirable, it seems essential in these areas such developments must either involve integral growth focusing upon local actors, or the institutional structures that can promote language production must be in place.

The Franco-Provencal language group in Italy is located in two different areas - Val d'Aosta and the Piedmont, and the difference between the two populations suggests that they no longer exist as a single, coherent language group. As we have already indicated the Val d'Aosta area has experienced considerable in-migration in recent years. The situation in this location is complicated by the fact that a special statute exists which serves as the basis for the promotion of standard French which is spoken by about 5% of the population. As a consequence Franco-Provencal suffers by comparison, being seen by many as an inferior form of French. The degree of autonomy of this area has been responsible for the economic development focusing upon tourism, commerce and industry which has largely been responsible for the above mentioned in-migration. About two thirds of the 68,000 members of this language group exist in this location. In contrast the Piedmont is a relatively impoverished location where the remaining third of the language group members live. The degree of economic diversity is limited. Once again the status of the language group is low.

It is questionable that the remaining autochthonous territory - Friesland can be included as part of the periphery. The recent developments wherein core financial and other enterprises have moved out of the core into the semi-periphery because of the high cost of real estate and labour has included movement of such activities into Friesland. This increasing integration with the core is responsible for the process of economic restructuring in the area, a process that focuses upon the service sector. The bulk of the population is employed in this service sector, in agricultural and agriculturally related

activities, and in the retail services. On the other hand it shares with other peripheral locations the tendency to be treated as a retreat for the core population. The size of the language group is quite large, and the institutional structure is such that there is potential for accommodating structural changes.

iv) Cluster D

This cluster includes eight language groups: Basque, Corsican, Breton and Occitan in France; Catalan, Occitan and Albanian in Italy; and German in Old Belgium. Most of them are lacking in the necessary degree of state support to promote reproduction. This, linked with the low status of the language, which, as we have indicated, relates to the remoteness of the language from labour market activity, makes production unlikely and the group is obliged to operate from the existing language resource base. Yet it includes two of the demographically largest of the language groups - Breton and Occitan.

It is tempting to claim that the inclusion of Breton and Occitan in this cluster is a consequence of the extreme position of the French state by reference to the modernist goal of cultural and linguistic homogenisation, and the associated denigration and neglect of minority language groups within its territory. This has certainly been responsible for generating a profound negative identity among members of the respective language groups. Furthermore, while the current situation begins to approximate a situation of benign neglect, there is little indication of any policy development that seeks to redress the situation. Yet, given that this political context has been in existence for over two hundred years, such a view must be too simplistic, otherwise the number of speakers would be far smaller. Clearly, something has happened during the recent past to change the capacity for reproduction of these language groups.

Both areas have experienced considerable economic diversification even though it has by no means been uniform across the respective territories. This has involved some industrialisation, a commercialisation of agricultural activity and a pronounced increase in tourist related activity. Yet the extent of in-migration, while considerable, has not been anywhere as pronounced as in other areas. In the absence of an alternative explanation we are obliged to conclude that the almost complete absence of any state support by reference to the agencies of production and reproduction, the exaggerated negative identity that has been promoted by the excessive ideological centralisation and homogenisation, and the manner in which inter-generational occupational and locational continuity has been ruptured by the process of economic restructuring have, between them, contributed to the changes that are so evident since the second world war.

Given that we are discussing language groups by reference to the states which affect their capacity to generate policies and institutions that are capable of producing and reproducing them, we are obliged to ask if the same must not also be true of both the Basque and Corsican language groups in France. The Corsican language group is claimed to have 25,000 members who use the language as a first language and a further 100,000 who do use the language. These figures suggest that there has been a decline of about 25% in the proportion of the population who use the language during the past fifteen years. This is not unrelated to the massive in-migration that has occurred in recent years, and the parallel out-migration, to the extent that half of the population currently resident in Corsica was born elsewhere. Such a massive disruption of the demographic base of the local community must have profound repercussions, not least of which involves the ability of the language group to produce and reproduce itself. These demographic shifts are related to changes in the tertiary sector, and especially to the pronounced focus upon tourism as the basis for economic development. Many of these developments have been entirely remote from any semblance of local control and

have tended not to include any pronounced degree of local involvement. In contrast to other language groups in France there has been a limited degree of state intervention and concessions have been made in education, but these seem to have been far too few and far too late to be effective. Certainly the prestige of the language is virtually non-existent.

The situation among the Basque language group in France is, in some respects, similar to that of the Corsicans. The membership of this language group is about 85,000 or about a third of the local population. Again this is an area that has been subject to a massive in-migration, to the extent that there was a population growth of 25% between 1961 and 1991, with as much as 43% of the population in the district of Lapurdi being in-migrants. Again this is a phenomenon that appears to relate primarily to the increase in tourist activity and the attraction of the area as a retirement haven for the rest of France. If anything, this language group receives even less recognition and support from the French state than does the Corsican, but this is countered by its proximity to the language group in Spain whose media resources are accessible across the frontier.

According to optimistic estimates, two of the language groups in Italy - Occitan has about 80,000 members and Albanian has a little more than 100,000 members. Both groups consist of dispersed pockets rather than a continuous territorial base. Albanian extends from Abruzzis to Sicily, being located in the small and dispersed rural settlements of the area. It is among the more depressed areas of the European periphery, an area which has experienced a profound degree of out-migration to the industrial locations of Italy and the rest of Europe. The standard of living is considerably lower than the more affluent of the Italian regions, and the undiversified economy is subject to decline. The agricultural and craft sectors have suffered considerably in recent years, and much of the rest of the employment is in the service sector. The low socio-economic status of the language group, together with the absence of any official support contributes to the development of a negative identity and to a rapid decline of the language group. Thus we encounter a situation where the younger generation leaves the group and even the region, and those who remain exist as isolated pockets of the language group. In this respect the absence of any unifying force results in the progressive emergence of distinctive dialectic forms.

Even though the Occitan language group in Italy occupies a distinctive geographical location, being found in the higher Alpine valleys of the Piedmont, their situation, in many respects, is similar to that of the Albanian language group. The depressed nature of the economy has contributed to massive rates of depopulation through out-migration. Many of these communities are among the most impoverished in Italy, revealing a high incidence of the customary indicators of deprivation. The Occitan live in a rural environment of small towns and villages where the conditions and circumstances are not dissimilar to those of the Albanians.

The Catalan language group in Italy represents yet another situation. Membership is limited to about 15,000 in a single city in north western Sardinia - Alghero. Given the size of the population and its restricted territorial domain it is difficult to conceive of this as a language group in the customary sense of being a social group. Once again the general migratory trends associated with Europe in particular and Italy specifically after 1950 were duplicated for this particular population, with many of this language group's members leaving the area for other parts of Italy, and a substantial number of in-migrants from the rest of Sardinia and Italy moving into the area. The in-migration was linked to the process of rural industrialisation and the growth of tourism that occurred in the area. The local economic structure is dominated by tourism and services which accounts for almost two thirds of the labour force, a small industrial sector which, together with construction employs a further 32%, and a small agricultural sector. The

absence of any prestige context for the language, the almost complete lack of an official institutional context, and the associated negative identity means that the recent change in the size of the group is significant.

Finally, the German language group in what is referred to as Old Belgium number fewer than 42,000. This is distributed between three locations: Montzener Land, Boholz and Areler Land on the Luxembourg border. It is an area that has been subject to territorial adjustment and boundary movement during the 19th century. The local economic activity focuses upon agriculture and tourism. Until the end of the Second World War German was widely used in a number of contexts including education and religion. By today its existence is limited to the informal context of family and community, largely in the smaller villages. French is the only official language in the area. This extends to education except that in the primary sector attention is given to the child's mother tongue, and in Areler Land it is taught as a second language at the primary level. and is taught as such to about 1,700 students. There is also a limited use as a 'foreign' language in Secondary education. In many respects it contrasts with New Belgium by reference to the use of German in cultural production, advertising and related activities.

v) Cluster E

This final cluster consists of fifteen language groups, all of which lack any legal status, have no official support infrastructure, and rarely use the respective languages in either the family or the community. Many of them are small in size. Ten of the groups have a membership of less than 30,000 - Greek in Italy, Cornish, Portuguese in Spain, East and North Frisian, Dutch in France, Berber, Mirandese, Bulgarian and Croatian. Of the remainder the largest is Sardinian with over a million and a quarter members, followed by Irish in Northern Ireland with 142,000 members; Aromanian, Albanian and Slavo-Macedonian in Greece each of which has an estimated membership of between 50,000 and 80,000.

A number of these groups exist in areas of the periphery where diversification and restructuring has had a minimal effect. Thus, the three language groups in Greece, Mirandese in Portugal and Portuguese in Spain, the Greeks in Italy fit into this category. Not only is the economic structure of such areas undiversified, but they are also very poor areas with per capita incomes that are the lowest within the EU. This leads to considerable out-migration and low self-esteem. The combined influence of the small size and the marginalised situation does not auger well for the future of these groups. It is conceivable that any attempts to improve the economic circumstances, particularly if driven by external forces and involving in-migration, will result in the demise of the majority of them. Some of these groups entirely lack the structure necessary to organise their economic diversification within the context of linguistic diversification.

There are a further two groups - Sardinian and Dutch in France - which cannot claim to be either small nor located in the extreme periphery with an undiversified economy. This is not to claim that either group are located at the hub of economic activity in the EU. The Pas de Calais has experienced considerable economic decline associated with the demise of the European coal industry, while the economy of Sardinia has been amongst the most dynamic. With between 20,000 and 40,000 speakers, and a geographical proximity to the same state language, the Dutch speakers should be in a much stronger position than they are. Again there is little evidence that the French state has adopted an enlightened stance and has played a role in stimulating diversity. Given their low density in the area, and despite being a variant of a state language, the absence of state support in education, cultural reproduction, etc., means that language reproduction is difficult and language production impossible. Consequently

non-reproduction is prominent, leading to a pronounced inter-generational decline in ability.

Sardinian, despite having over a million speakers, suffers from similar conditions. As the language use survey report indicates, it is in a process of rapid retreat. In many respects it would appear to be one of the few language groups that conforms to the customary sociolinguistic perspective wherein language behaviour is deeply institutionalised to the extent that its contextual flexibility seems to be impaired. The increase in internal migration into the larger cities associated with the restructuring that accompanied a degree of political devolution has not been beneficial in this respect, since it involves movement to locations where associations are not based on the customary knowledge of personal relationships. Since use is largely determined by such a personalised knowledge and by socio-economic status, the focus of the economic activities associated with the higher social classes in the urban centres means not only that the language is either privatised or class specific, but that it is increasingly confined to rural locations. Evidently, the relationship between language and life style is crucial and has an important bearing upon the strengthening of a language related negative identity. Yet given the considerable size of the language group, the potential remains considerable. The recent Bill passed by the regional government with the aim to introduce Sardinian into education and public administration may be a step in the right direction.

4. Conclusion

Whereas the preceding section discussed the production and reproduction of minority language groups by reference to the institutional context, this section has sought to give that discussion a more dynamic context by focusing upon the relationship between the size of the language group and the extent of its incorporation into the general process of economic restructuring. The rationale associated with this orientation is that the size of a language group has some effect upon the extent to which any state which has a positive attitude towards diversity within its territory will consider state support as a valid proposition. We have already seen that it is rarely that state's have ever had a uniformly positive policy towards the different language groups within its territory. This seems to be explained by at least three factors:

- whether the language groups are autochthonous groups;
- the degree of militancy of the respective groups;
- the size of the respective groups.

If this is correct then it is in this context that the size of language groups should be considered.

Secondly, the issue of incorporation within the general process of economic restructuring is of relevance because of our claim that the general process of social change that effects the ability of language groups to produce and reproduce themselves are strongly affected by the process of economic change. Such changes have profound influences upon the relationship between different labour markets and thereby upon the processes of migration. It is also this process that serves to integrate the core with the periphery, binding the periphery into dependent relationships with the core, relationships which have a considerable impact upon language related factors.

It is possible to summarize the preceding two sections in the following table (Table 3). It shows that most of the groups in clusters A and B are groups in the core or semi-periphery which have been able to withstand the process of restructuring or have occupied specific economic niches for the language group. Many of them have also been able to withstand the associated high degree of in-migration. In a sense they have all been involved in a process of labour market segmentation and it is evident that without developing the prestige of the language, something that relates to promoting a split labour market, their situation would be far more perilous. In contrast, few of the language groups in cluster C have been subjected to the same degree of exposure to the consequences of economic restructuring, but where this has occurred, and where it has been accompanied by heavy in-migration, the language group is threatened. Cluster D is characterised by language groups which are more likely to be located in the periphery but which have been subject to a high degree of restructuring and a fairly high degree of in-migration. Finally the language groups in cluster E are again located mainly in the periphery, tend to be relatively small in size, do not appear to have been subject to a high rate of in-migration, and most of them have not been much affected by the restructuring process.

What the preceding discussion suggests is that the situation in Europe is far from simple. It is evident that there are areas which are subject to intense economic restructuring, while there are others which do not experience much impact from this general process. While no one is exempt from this general process, it is evident that the impact is by no means evenly distributed. By and large it is possible to consider four different contexts by reference to the relationship between economic restructuring and language groups:

- those locations where there is little evidence of the effects of economic restructuring and the language group appears capable of sustaining itself from its existing resources. Usually these are situations where the status of the language group is fairly high, partly as a consequence of state support;
- those locations which appear to remain aloof from the main impact of economic restructuring, but which experience considerable out-migration and where the low socio-economic status is matched by a low group status. These are locations where the language groups receive little or no support from the state. The net result is that the relevant language groups are faced with elimination;
- locations which experience the full brunt of economic restructuring, where the language groups receive little state support, and involving language groups which lack the institutional resources to sustain themselves;
- locations which have also been subject to a high degree of economic restructuring but where the language groups have considerable state support and which, thereby are able not only to accommodate the change, but in many respects to benefit from it.

Clearly this understanding of the relevance of scale and economic process is central to the main thrust of our argument and allows us to understand the relevance of the role of the state in the general process of sustaining language groups.

What has been suggested above is that the process of economic restructuring in Europe in many cases proceeds without any awareness of its effect upon the existing pool of diversity. That is, sustaining diversity and stimulating economic growth are seen as separate processes. This is consistent with the modernist claim that economic growth is best promoted through a process of cultural homogenisation that leads to universal rationalism. In many respects it is this view that has characterised the way in which neo-

classical economics has considered the relationship between the core and the periphery of the state's territory. This economist discourse has claimed that the economic transformation of the periphery depends upon two factors, firstly breaking down isolation through facilitating communication and, secondly, incorporating a deficiency argument wherein the cultural features of the population of the periphery must be eliminated in order to promote 'rationalist' economic orientations on behalf of the periphery. As we have claimed it is this statist bias that has constituted most of the thinking about minority language groups during the past two centuries, a thinking that has led to a reduction of diversity in Europe. It is hardly surprising therefore that there is clear evidence that the absence of any understanding of the process of change in the fortunes of minority language groups is widespread, and that the role of the state in sustaining the resources of diversity within its territory has been limited and, where it has existed, it has been far from uniform by reference to its relevance nor by reference to the span of affected language groups. These observations are as true of individual states as they are of the trans-state picture. This should come as no surprise, given what we have claimed in the opening section where we indicated that minority language groups were relegated to the world of the emotive which was outside of the world of reason to which economic activity belongs. What is less evident is that those who have sought to promote the interests of minority language groups have been no less guilty in this respect, tending to reify language, to focus upon the emotive elements of 'tradition' while failing to recognise the need to extend their understanding of such groups into the domain of the normative, and to break the emotive/rational distinction.

Our argument and our analysis clearly indicates that it is facile to place the onus for adjustment upon the minority language group and its speakers. Such a process involves attempts to institutionalise or to normativise the use of the minority language in contexts hitherto reserved for the dominant language. This will often engender resistance and open opposition, even on the part of some members of the language group themselves. Given the forcefulness of the concept of freedom and liberty in the contemporary discourse on democracy, such a reaction carries substantial weight. Clearly the cooperation and commitment of the state, in its various guises, is essential.

Furthermore, while it cannot be said that the situation has changed to the point where the respective states will voluntarily act to redress the minority context, it is clear that some states have been more willing than others to accept the relevance and value of the concept of diversity. It is only two centuries since the damaging effect of the modernist discourse took a firm hold on political practice, yet the effect has been far reaching, and it is not easy to undo the extent to which the associated ideas and positions on diversity are embedded. Some would argue that the spate of devolutionary developments which have been introduced in some states is a move in the right direction.

In the following section we seek to address the extent to which there is the potential for breaking this negative trend within the discourse on the New Europe which is responsible for restructuring political and economic space in Europe. Certainly, on the surface, a great deal of attention is given to the issue of diversity. It remains to be seen whether this is anything more than rhetoric.

SECTION V

DIVERSITY AND DEVELOPMENT

1. Introduction

Whereas the preceding section has established the current situation by reference to the extent to which the diverse language groups within the EU are, or are not, able to reproduce themselves, it is recognised that the context for such an evaluation derives primarily from the long-term relationship between the language group and the state within which it is located. It is evident that this situation is subject to considerable variation, with some states taking a more benevolent and enlightened attitude than others, and most states having different approaches to different language groups within their territory.

In this section it is our intention to acknowledge the profound changes that are currently associated with the process of economic and political restructuring. While the Community has been in place for some decades it is only following the establishment of the Single Market, and the profound effect it has had upon state regulation, that it is possible to claim that we are locked within an entirely new process, one which obliges a distinctive perspective by reference to the role of language groups within that process. This is not to claim that the associated discourse has been firmly embedded, and drives the process of change. Indeed, there remains a struggle over the nature of the New Europe, and of the role that the existing state will play in that structure. Nonetheless, it is evident that the Single Market has been a massive step forward, a step that is already having widespread repercussions.

Within this general process of political and economic restructuring there are highly specific discourses emerging. We shall consider some of these: - the relevance of neo-liberalism for the shift in emphasis from financial to human capital; the discourse on the role of diversity in economic development; and the discourse surrounding the nature and process of European integration. In so doing it will become clear that language groups are centrally involved in these discourses and that a reevaluation of their importance is already in place, albeit that it has yet to feed through into a self-evident social policy.

2. From Financial Capital to Human Capital

Inevitably perhaps, given the need to resort to new measures in order to resolve the problems of recession and the need to generate a more competitive infrastructure, there has emerged a distinctive orientation towards development. In many respects this orientation is not new but draws upon the focus on human capital that has been at the heart of our understanding of the relationship between economy and society for well over a century. The main thrust of this orientation involves what is referred to as neo-liberalism.

This shift from a focus on financial capital to an emphasis upon the relevance of human capital for development does not mean that the former orientation entirely disappears. On the contrary, the idea of European integration involves the transfer of jurisdiction in economic and market policy from the state to the EU, but without the inherent idea of a strong state-like organisation which would regulate new developments. The Single Market entails state systems of co-determination being replaced by an interlocking business structure across state borders in an attempt to create Europe wide firms that can compete effectively on the world market. In a sense this can be seen as establishing the conditions for the concentration of financial capital. It can also be argued that much of the focus on human capital in the current debate relates to the periphery of Europe rather than to the core, and that, in this respect, it is once again based on a deficiency argument which claims that the entrepreneurialism upon which the strength of the core is constructed must be diffused to the periphery. However this would be to oversimplify a complex argument.

Central to the arguments of neo-liberalism is a critique of the manner in which state welfarism has created a paternalistic, dependent relationship between the individual and the state, a relationship which has fettered individual creativity. Thus the relationship between the individual and the state must be adjusted, and a new conception of democracy developed, one based upon responsibility. This democracy is based upon the principle of enabling rather than upon some inherent idea of rights as citizen, or even upon universal ethical principles. It is claimed that such developments remove all ethical principles from political action, leading to a technicist emphasis on individual action. The enabling principle focuses upon the idea of non-directionality, or the claim that states should respond to the needs and expectations of the citizen rather than directing them towards certain ends. It involves a focus upon the animator state that responds to problems via organisation, cooperation and confrontation between public services, elected administration and associations, leading to social actors playing a more active role in the solution of social and economic problems. A regulated, re-ordered, space is created, within which agents participate in the amelioration of their own social problems. It involves embodying the metaphor of network, encompassing an emphasis upon the political, economic and cultural importance of mobility. Clearly, these are important developments worthy of close scrutiny.

As a political discourse neo-liberalism derives from orthodox liberal arguments which envisaged two natural orders: on the one hand an individualistic, egocentric, interest-motivated economy; and, on the other, an associational, communitarian civil society. In this respect it paralleled the modernist tendency that fed into the social sciences which tended to divide economy and society into separate but related endeavours. The reality of the market is seen as a quasi-natural domain with its own form of self-regulation. Thus, individuals are involved in certain relations, the economic relations, which are indifferent to membership in any particular society. They are also involved in the variety and scope of the social relations which characterise any particular, localised civil society. Whereas market activity divides, the social activity of civil society fuses. The general problem of liberal government involves the relationship it should establish with the complex quasi-natural reality 'over which it presides but with which it cannot do just what it likes' (Foucault, 1993:272). To a certain extent this dilemma has, hitherto, been addressed via the creation of an overlap between state, society and nation, deriving consent through the relationship between these concepts and the principles of 'democracy'.

Liberal government also addressed the issue of the techniques, procedures and regulations that were necessary in order to achieve an optimum effect in the production of wealth and the simultaneous promotion of well-being. This has tended to be achieved through paternalistic relations between state and citizen, something which reached its

apogee in the form of state welfarism. By the same token, the modernist distinction between reason and emotion was projected onto the reason of economic markets and the potential irrationality of culture and society. In contrast to the view of government as the art of acting on the action of individuals in order to modify the way they conduct themselves, liberalism tended to withdraw from the paternalism of the state and simply let people get on with things. This was linked with a faith in the human capacity for reason in all areas of life.

In contrast, neo-liberalism does not accept the market as an already existing quasi-natural reality. Rather it argues that the market can only exist under conditions that must be actively constructed by government. However, it also claims that this is only possible by denying the concept of society which is displaced by a focus upon the individual, the family and the community. The liberal understanding of society as one of two natural, self-governing orders involving '...spontaneous relationships of power, authority and subordination' is cast aside. Society is relegated to a construct of government, shaped by an imposed authority in the form of the various elements of welfarism and imbued with an associated dependency. As an invention of government, society cannot be the spontaneous order of liberalism. Furthermore, neo-liberalism claims that welfarism is not only costly, but that it is also counter productive by reference to the economic order in that it is a source of 'irrationality' that generates a new form of 'serfdom' (Hayek, 1974) or dependency.

Clearly neo-liberalism is not only anti-society, but it is also opposed to excessive government and preaches the rolling back of the state. This raises the issue of how such a position can be compatible with the essential goal of governing. Whereas the political economists of the late 18th century saw civil society as the natural correlate of the spontaneous market, such a stand is regarded as impractical on account of the disruptive consequences of dismantling the apparatus of the welfare state. Thus an attempt is made to embed a proliferating variety of models of action based upon liberal conceptions of the self-regulating market in the various apparati of the welfare state. These are invariably models of self-regulation or self-government leading to what Donzelot (1984) refers to as autonomization - the governing of society via self-government. It is this that lies at the heart of the concept of enabling or empowering which strives to undo the effects of dependency.

The fundamental principles of such action derive from the concept of an economic enterprise, with autonomy directly relating to the freedom to be economically enterprising. The more freedom is exercised, the greater the autonomy. Furthermore, subjecting to the models serves to create autonomous and enterprising subjects. In implementing this idea the state develops technologies of government which aim to generate a new and different autonomy based upon the logic of the economic market, leading to what Donzelot (1991) calls 'contractual implications', involving the procedures linked to an 'enabling state', which contrasts with the welfare state. The enabling state encourages the citizen to take a more active role in the solution of their own economic, health and social problems. It is here, of course, that we witness the emergence of the concern with a bottom up or a grass root approach that links with the overriding need to ascertain the needs and expectations of the citizen as customer within the provision of services.

The concept of order has now assumed the meaning of 'the order of a market' that guarantees an equitable outcome. It relies upon the idea of bilateral transfers for general welfare. In practical terms it involves the individual subsuming personal interest in the interest of the greater good of the community. This includes a concern with morality and ethics, elements which hitherto were integrated in the concept of state welfarism. Individualism is channelled in the direction of the greater good as a moral crusade.

Similarly, since the market creates unemployment there is another moral dilemma to be confronted. In market terms waste is viewed as immoral and efficiency is seen as the antidote. Since the market is viewed as the most efficient way of managing resources it is seen as a moral order and the transfer of its hegemony into the world of what was previously the world of the social is part of a moral campaign. The effects of neo-liberalism are held to be that people govern themselves in a liberal and efficient way, involving an emphasis upon quality assurance, and a focus upon innovation in practice. Welfarism is relegated to the community and is operated through the principle of the greater good.

Clearly a central issue associated with this conception involves the extent to which society can, and should, be conceived of in terms of the market. It involves what Dodd (1995:150) has referred to as the 'conceptual boundary' involving the interconnection between economy and society. In many respects it is not unlike the boundary between language and culture, or language and society that we have already referred to. However, given that the relationship between the market and society has assumed an axiomatic context, being far more than an analogy, it has far reaching implications. It has already permeated the world of language planning (Williams, 1995). It ignores the difficulties of the concept of a perfect market which has never existed in practice (Gilpin, 1987:18). It focuses upon what Granovetter (1985:56) has referred to as the difference between the undersocialized model of human behaviour and decision-making of neo-classical economics, and the oversocialised model of Parsonian structural functionalism. While this is not the place to pursue this issue, it certainly is not something that should be ignored.

The rationale associated with many of the concepts and principles currently driving much policy applications in the European Union should now be evident. There is a focus upon non-directionality in the sense of action responding to the needs and expectations of the population, rather than directing them towards specific goals. This non-directionality is linked with the idea of enabling or empowering. However, it also refers to the totality in the concept of participation, and community development work focuses upon involving the entire community or, at least, in obtaining an understanding of the needs and expectations of the entire community. It also focuses upon integrating the individual with the community through cohesion in such a way that the individual operates by reference to the greater good of the community. Only in this way can the value of cohesion be positively harnessed and operationalised.

This has profound implications for the orthodox understanding of language planning. It can no longer be conceived of in terms of the modernist conception of state benevolence, acting on behalf of the language group within a general framework of democracy. It also means that language planning can no longer be viewed as an already constituted sociology of language or sociolinguistics. In common with other forms of planning it is far more likely to be seen in terms of the strategic planning of the business enterprise, with a focus upon forward planning, prioritising, evaluating strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. It will involve seeking to replicate success in one location, in other locations. This will implicate local personnel in achieving such a goal, and responding to the needs and expectations of the local personnel by reference to marketing. In a sense it will be obliged to acknowledge that there is a contradiction between planning and the idea of a market, and will have to develop flexible strategies in its practices.

While we are uneasy about the possibility of understanding human behaviour by reference to a market model, we also recognise the strength of discourse in directing human behaviour. In this respect the market model cannot be ignored. What this means is that language planning, as a discipline which has largely been constructed on a

moralist platform involving local rights, is obliged to reassess its enterprise. It also means that the search for a rationale for the relevance of diversity must accommodate this orientation.

3. Towards a Model of Peripheral Development

The essential issue that we are addressing in this section is one of establishing the relevance of a diversity that is based upon language, for the process of European development and integration without falling into the trap of the modernist thrust of development through cultural homogeneity. We have started to discuss this issue above in referring to how a new role for diversity is becoming evident at the European level. We would now like to proceed to give this role a broader context by considering the developmental model constructed through the FAST Programme. In so doing, once again we emphasise the relationship between peripheralism and the locational dimension of most European minority language groups. However it will also become evident that this discussion derives from the policy thrust of neo-liberalism. On the other hand it is not an approach that slavishly seeks to dismiss the social by arguing that human behaviour is market led.

While there have been numerous attempts to resolve the problem of peripheralism, current thinking along these lines has to come to terms with the political and economic context by reference to which that resolution must conform. The Single Market exists and it is within that context that the solution must be found. However, it is also clear that the Single Market has accentuated the problems for the periphery since it has served to promote the interests of core enterprises. There are many reasons for this, among them being the accumulation of linking previous core locations, and the concentration of R&D and related activities in the core; but what is selected as being of crucial importance by the FAST team is the innovatory benefits that accrue from networking, leading to a concern with 'Network-led Development' (Hingel 1993).

The main orientation of the model involves relating micro-economic factors to networking principles. It is argued that in the shift from a linear to a systems model of technical change, the traditional techno-industrial system has been replaced by a distinctive relationship between science, technology and production. The orthodox belief that there is a linear relationship between economic and employment growth, and that given sufficient growth, unemployment would disappear, has been shown to be unjustified in the past fifteen years in Europe. The extent of growth required to achieve total employment in most of the Member States is regarded as unobtainable by reference to the orthodox model which merely leads to social and cultural decline, and to social and economic exclusion. It is replaced by the 'New Model of Development' involving a more employment intensive and decentralised network economy deriving from grass roots local initiatives that draw upon resources of cultural and social diversity and transnational cooperation. In this sense it can be claimed that this model involves integral growth, not necessarily by reference to European integration, but rather by reference to integrating the various components of the local economy. Within this systems model the importance of accessibility to material resources is replaced by an awareness of the relevance and potential of human resources, involving knowledge, organisations, creativity, innovation, etc. Networking becomes the basis for economic transactions that emphasise multi-directional links and feedback processes in the innovation system.

The model draws upon the experience of science and technology, claiming that within

the scientific community loose networks are usually formed, and it is these that lead to innovative developments. These are strategic rather than territorial networks, yet it focuses upon an integrated economic space. Indeed, as social network analysis has emphasised, adopting a network perspective problematises the entire issue of boundary formation and maintenance. It is also argued that this awareness of the relevance of networks for innovation can serve as the basis for promoting a European commonality side by side '...with the reality of lasting diversity' (Bressand et. al. 1990). This activity also extends into the competitive world of biotechnology and information technology, with companies networking for both marketing and R&D purposes. Crucial for such developments are close communication and interaction, and the integration of different skills and cognitive frames. This is the value of diversity within this domain.

The relevance of this work for the Single Market should be evident, since one of the aims of the Single Market is to stimulate interaction between companies which, hitherto, was restricted by state regulation. It would seem that networking in certain activities has increased as a result of the Single Market, and that much of this activity revolves around nodal companies which branch out into different network systems. The existing network systems have been studied by reference to their boundaries, leading to the classification of various Archipelagos or islands of R&D concentration involving a high degree of networking among laboratories and enterprises within Europe (Hilpert, 1992). The spatial concentration of such activity helps to define the European core, since only 5% of such activity is found in the periphery. To a great extent this core corresponds to the 'Golden Triangle' that extends from London to Marseilles and Munich. Furthermore, new developments appear to be merely consolidating the existing core while serving to further marginalise the periphery, partly through a process of dependent articulation between core and periphery. It is argued that such developments are largely related to the accessibility and receptivity of different regions to innovation principles.

It is also clear that this model building draws upon social network analysis which, in turn, derived from the various socio-metric techniques of social psychology. However, it must be recognised that there is a significant difference between social networks and business networks, because the various positive elements are incorporated and mobilised in different ways and on different principles. Thus, in social networks the various elements of community cohesion, be they based upon real or fictive kinship links, language group structures, religious group structures or any other socially based dimension of integration, theoretically has a much greater potential for solidarity in network based behaviour because of the relationship between the social and cultural elements of such cohesion and the nature of individual transactions within the networks. Whereas social network analysis initially derived from an attempt to transcend the focus upon the social in social science analysis, it has become clear that the overlap between the social and the interactional basis of networking carries considerable relevance and significance. This is because many aspects of cooperation rely upon the principles of social solidarity and the way this relates to reciprocal relationships within networks (Williams, 1992). In this respect there is a need to proceed beyond the input-output orientation of most of the work of the FAST Programme for as Hingel (1993:18) acknowledges, little is known about what actually happens within the various systems of cooperation.

This issue is partly taken up in the way the model refers to the relevance of 'civics' within local systems. This derives from the claim that '...the quality of inter linkages, information flows and cooperation setups between local actors are essential for innovation and local development.' (Hingel, 1993:28). It is acknowledged that there are local ways of deploying the various competences and initiatives for innovation, implying the existence of diverse systems of innovation rather than some universal form. Furthermore, the diversity of systems of innovation is viewed as an essential prerequisite

for innovation and growth (Goffered, 1993). It should be emphasised that, despite the close relationship between states and educational systems, these innovation systems are local in character. It is here that the issue of diversity achieves significance.

This argument for network led development is extended to encompass the periphery through a bottom-up principle that pertains not simply to developmental principles, but specifically to answering the need for both employment and growth. Again we have a focus upon networking within a network-led integration that goes hand in hand with the innovative capacities of regions and local communities. However, what achieves priority in this part of the argument is the importance of diversity.

4. Diversity

It is argued that civics, or the diversity of civic customs, can have consequences for both economic development and forms of welfarism (Putnam et. al. 1993). What this source draws upon is the awareness that the extent to which different regions of Europe have different forms of civic organisations around which community activity is constructed. Whereas the focus of their work is upon Italy, it pursues much the same line of enquiry as that undertaken in the EUROMOSAIC research and indicates the importance and relevance of the breadth of data gathered in that study. In a sense this is not new for, at least since the 1940s, much of the social and cultural anthropological endeavour has been directed towards the qualitative study of such local systems. Neither is it new by reference to a comprehension of such elements as risk in innovatory practices (Williams 1976). What is new is the way in which it is given a specificity by reference to the European problems and the resolution of those problems. In this respect it also departs from much of the work on innovation which has focused upon the individual and personality factors, rather than social correlates, where the emphasis is very much upon the entrepreneur as socially and culturally 'marginal' (Long, 1977). On the other hand the disconcerting aspect of this part of the model involves the reference to primordiality in that such ideas inevitably lead towards deficiency models. There is also a simplistic claim based upon simple correlationism that the different levels of civic engagement account for differing degrees of economic development.

Civics is also held to account for the ability to maintain social cohesion in the face of 'social, economic and technological challenges' (Duclos, 1993). Notwithstanding the unilinear evolutionism of this claim it points to the importance of cohesion for networking activity. It also leads to the claim that if European integration is to be something more than a legalistic venture into citizenship, it depends upon the ability of the various elements of civics to transcend their local reference in assimilating trans-state and European dimensions (Hingel, 1993:31). Clearly the model is beginning to integrate the idea of network led local development with the more general problem of European integration. It is also seeking to extend the relevance of innovative practices in business and science based organisations, into the more general world of social and economic behaviour.

However, it is also clear that the FAST programme finds considerable difficulty in addressing the issue of diversity. This is partly because, thus far, the model is little more than a typological model that seeks to address development and integration. The difficulties are acknowledged:

'While socio-economic disparities in the Community are images of inequalities and a threat to European construction, "diversity" (differences based on diverse cultural and historical backgrounds) is an underrated and poorly exploited source of development and progress' (Hingel, 1993:31).

What is recognised is the relevance of diversity for knowledge and innovation. Thus:

'Diminishing diversity could be a threat to an important part of the Community knowledge base and would reduce the number of development options which are open and the learning capabilities of local actors in the Community' (Hingel, 1993:31).

Clearly, such a stance on diversity is the converse of the assimilationist model of modernism.

Such views emphasise that local systems of innovation are heavily dependent upon the existence of diversity. Such local systems benefit from essentially different innovative systems (Gaffard et. al. 1993) which means that diversity of systems is essential for innovation. This now becomes a central component in the rationale for European integration, with diverse systems linking across space in order to stimulate innovative capacity.

On the basis of the conception of systems of innovation, a taxonomy of types of European territories has been developed around two axes, one involving relations between firms, and the other involving relations between employers and employees. Such systems are claimed to be innovative-efficient if they display evidence of high cooperation or strong market relation, or if they maintain stable relations with the outside. In contrast there are other areas which are characterised by internal relationships which are in a process of change and which are not subject to such a typification.

This taxonomy has a great deal of relevance for the core-periphery relationships, as does the general argument concerning European integration. On the one hand there is an awareness that the periphery is an important source of European diversity. On the other hand there is the beginning of an approach which seeks to integrate the link between institutional structure, social networks and business networks. However, there remains the danger that core-periphery articulation will be promoted simply in order to benefit from the relevance of diversity for innovation. In contrast we would argue that unless attention is paid to the bound-dependent consequence of dependency relationships, such a promotion can be counter productive. This means that emphasis must be placed on developing local systems of integration side by side with European integration. In this respect the FAST model must be integrated with a local integral development model in the periphery, a model within which diversity achieves prominence. In such a consideration we are drawn towards what the FAST model refers to as 'modes of living'.

In certain respects there is an overlap between the concept of civics and that of modes of living as the list of components of modes of living reveals:

- historical durability - the persistence of historical roots and their effects on behaviour, values and technic;
- the local modes of organisation of work - local family structures, solidarity structures, forms of inter-generational transmission of know-how as they relate to industrial structures and forms of entrepreneurship;
- the local collective dynamics - the existence of local networks of actors, etc.

Such modes of living are claimed to affect modes of diffusion and appropriation of technology and knowledge (Scardigli, et. al. 1993). The variation in modes of living is seen as another component of diversity which is reproduced in new dimensions and thereby influences the functioning of society. It becomes particularly relevant for technological developments.

Before concluding this section, a word is in order about the limitations of the concept of culture as employed in this model. The major tendency is to discuss culture by reference to values, disregarding the range of criticisms of the functionalist preoccupation with value systems. The main issue of contention here is that values are conceived of as pre-given entities that structure rational behaviour through rational choice from among alternatives. Action research aims to influence values and attitudes in order to promote desired forms of social action. This is essentially an over-simplistic conception within which people are judged by reference to possession, or the lack of possession, of values; once again leading to a blaming of the victim. It is simplistic in that it affords easy solutions by promoting change in value orientation for what are complex issues. In so doing it denies the inherent rationality of alternative practices (Williams, 1978). It also makes the relationship between language groups or gender difficult to handle since the diacritica of such groups are held to be responsible for the absence of desired values where this is encountered, and the entire argument is constructed in an ethnocentric and counter-productive way that once again focuses upon a deficiency model. The evolutionism of such an argument is entirely opposed to viewing culture by reference to a diversity that has positive value. Rather, it tends to treat values and language as related, but as separate.

In contrast, treating culture by reference to meaning, and language as the form whereby meaning is socially constructed as discourse, leads to a much clearer understanding of the relevance of language for diversity. Different languages will have different processes of meaning construction, allowing some things to be said and preventing other things from being said, while also determining how things are said. This is the very motor of diversity, and the way in which diversity and innovation can be constructively handled. We suspect that the continuing focus upon culture as linked to value systems, and the continuing modernist focus upon the relationship between reason, culture and homogenisation reasons why Hingel (1993:31) finds that diversity is so poorly understood as of relevance for development and progress. It demands a great deal of an orientation that, as a feature of modernity, derides certain cultures in its focus upon value orientation, to conceive of culture as a universal feature which always carries value for development, regardless of the group to which the culture pertains.

There has also emerged a confusing tendency to treat culture as an undifferentiated form, much of the discussion leading to conceptions such as 'work culture'. While this probably derives either from a naïveté or from a desire to stimulate equality in the promotion of culture, it does have its problems. In our view it is this perspective that largely leads to the denigrating and dismissive view of language or other groups as culture groups who have a common work culture that is simply not operating effectively. Again we confront the deficiency argument. Culture operates at different levels, being differentially prioritised as different forms of discursive practice, and there is a need to make clear distinction between culture and sub-culture if this danger is to be avoided.

In relation to the issue of diversity as discussed in the FAST model, language clearly has two functions. In common with other phenomenon such as religion it can serve as the symbolic basis of group formation. Thus, while language groups bear a relationship to the economic order, they also carry strong boundaries of cohesive inclusion. Within the periphery of Europe it is the nature and solidarity of such particularistic social groupings which have contributed to much of the thrust of nationalist movements which

have deployed cultural features such as language or culture as markers of inclusion and exclusion, a process which promotes the centrality of the differing nature of the conceptions of 'us' and 'them' that has focused upon the distinction between state and nation. The energy and cohesiveness of such a social groups is a valuable resource. The recent reorganisation of political and economic space within the EU is promoting a realignment of the relationship between such groups and political space. This can serve to free the energy and organisation hitherto directed towards nationalist movements for economic purposes that link to the idea of European region and integration. Conceptions of 'us' and 'them' will remain, the issue is one harnessing them within a new sense of integration.

The second context for language within diversity involves how it serves to give form and content to subjects and objects in and through discourse. It involves how the prior discourse of history feeds into existing discourse in structuring the present, and how current relationships to subjects and objects achieve salience or meaning. This focus upon the relationship between language and meaning is central to our understanding of culture. Evidently, it is of crucial importance in structuring the essential features of innovation, as well as being crucial by reference to the basis of what is referred to as 'human capital.'

5. The relevance of the data

What has been indicated above is that the conceptualisation and understanding of the relationship between civil society and the state has shifted, and that neo-liberalism serves as the dominant discourse that drives current practice. We have also implied that the data which we have analysed presents a picture of a situation which derives primarily from the modernist discourse on society, one in which cultural homogenisation was seen as the essential prerequisite of state integration and economic development. It therefore remains to consider the relevance of this data for what we have indicated is a new political and economic context.

In distinguishing between the role of the state and that of civil society in the production and reproduction of language groups we have left open a consideration of the possibility of a different relationship between them. Indeed this is already implicit in what we have discussed in the relevant sections, where we implied that the degree of corporatism of different state systems was a relevant factor in the relationship between state and civil society. Nonetheless the shift towards the 'enabling state' outlined above requires specific attention.

What immediately emerges is that the features which neo-liberalism regards as of value - cohesion, community, innovation, risk orientation or networking - are integral features of many language groups, albeit that there is considerable variation across these groups. In many respects they are the forms which we have drawn together in empirically evaluating the extent to which language groups are produced and reproduced within civil society. Of course, it is this variety that is one aspect of what is referred to as diversity. Secondly, if such factors do have value then it opens the possibility of exploiting them through policy implementation for economic purposes, a process which should strengthen their production and reproduction capacity. This being the case, it should have considerable relevance for language prestige.

It also means that we must readdress the relevance of the state for the entire process. If it is indeed the case that the rolling back of the state is a central feature of

neo-liberalism, and we are not convinced that this is universally the case, then the relationship between those features of minority language groups addressed by reference to civil society on the one hand, and the enabling state on the other, will be quite different than was hitherto the case. Yet it is also evident that this will only occur if primacy is accorded to the relevance and importance of diversity. It is, of course, conceivable that such a relevance will not emerge and that it will not be viewed as a central feature of the enabling state, especially if the enabling is merely a means of responding to the needs and expectations of a population which, over the centuries, have been conditioned to deny the relevance of minority languages. Furthermore, as we have implied, there is currently a vast distance between the neo-liberalism that fuels policy and the understanding of the principles and relevance of neo-liberalism among those responsible for implementing policy. This means that local action is often devoid of the essential reference to diversity as a fundamental principle. Indeed, where the principle of non-directionality is applied in bilingual communities where not everyone speaks the minority language there is a tendency for implementation to occur through the medium of the dominant language (Williams, Morris and Williams, 1995). This is merely one example of the contradictions that exist between the various principles of neo-liberalism. In this case the principle of non-directionality contradicts the directionalism of language planning, and highlights the difficulties of simultaneously promoting non-directionality and community-wide integration without questioning the nature of community. Evidently there is a need to give the local models of development which we have referred to careful consideration, not merely by reference to practice, but also to the operationalisation of the various concepts out of which the model is to be constructed. Nonetheless, if the relationship between policy formation and implementation can be rationalised, then the implications for many of the language groups which we have considered could be profound.

This means that it becomes necessary to reconceive of the potential for production and reproduction of those language groups with high scores by reference to civil society, but low scores by reference to state intervention. These are the cases which could benefit most directly from the full implementation of neo-liberalism. Similarly, those language groups which have not suffered through direct involvement in the processes of restructuring can look forward to sustaining and even improving their production and reproduction capacity if diversity becomes a central feature of development.

However, our discussion of the principles of production and reproduction indicate that the discourse on development that emphasises the relevance of diversity must be extended to encompass far more than community development. It must be extended into the very essence of the educational process, becoming a central feature of skills training, of formal educational principles and of the diversity that will inevitably expand into this area of activity. Yet there remain contradictions between those EU policies which seek to extend language training in order to promote geographical mobility within the European labour market, and the ability to promote the relevance of minority languages within the education process. There is the very grave danger that enhancing mobility will merely serve to promote a massive brain drain from the periphery to the core (Tabatoni and O'Callaghan, 1993), thereby limiting the capacity for promoting diversity and stimulating local development.

Perhaps our main concern is with the extent to which the ideas which are responsible for developing policy statements can be extended into implementation practices. We have already referred to this concern several times. We suspect that for many the idea of diversity does not extend beyond a concern for the fate of state languages, and certainly the understanding of the concept of culture by reference to implementation practices is extremely limited. We have already uncovered evidence that the principles of neo-liberalism in community development projects are applied in such a way that the

role of the community in producing and reproducing the minority language is undermined (Williams, Morris and Williams, 1995). Evidently, there is the possibility that despite the promise of a more enlightened conception of the relevance of minority language groups for the issue of diversity, the future does not offer easy solutions.

6. Conclusion

While neo-liberalism does constitute a radical departure from the more orthodox principles of modernism which have governed the relationship between the state and society, it is also clear that as a discourse it is broad in the sense that it accommodates different orientations. Whereas on the one hand we do encounter arguments which eliminate society from any consideration, arguing that human behaviour pertains to principles of market behaviour, it is also clear that other orientations, including that encountered in the FAST Programme, retain the customary conception of society, albeit that it is associated with many of the principles of neo-liberalism.

As a typological construct the FAST model is inevitably crude, especially by reference to the relationship between the local and the global. Nonetheless it does seek to direct the principles along which local models of integral development can be developed. Central to such models is the concept of diversity and in this sense the FAST work constitutes a welcome deviation from the homogenisation model of orthodox modernity with its focus upon deficiency that derives from diversity.

In preserving the distinction between economy and society of classical sociology, characterised in Weberianism, there has nonetheless been a switch away from Weber's distinction between ideological commitment and economic innovation (Weber, 1968). The tendency for much work on entrepreneurialism to focus upon identifying entrepreneurs by reference to social structure in order to target potential entrepreneurs has also been abandoned. While the Weberian ethnocentrism of seeking to diffuse value orientations to underdeveloped contexts has not entirely disappeared, it has receded. What we witness in the FAST model is an attempt to discover a model that looks closely at the mobilisation and organisation of resources, especially human resources. This permits them to explore the relationship between social attributes - diversity, and ideological commitment - cohesion, in discovering how they give differential advantage in the organisation and development of enterprise.

It should be evident to social scientists that the emphasis upon networking links to the transactional analysis of anthropologists such as Barth (1969) who drew upon social network analysis in identifying the type of exchanges that occur between the entrepreneur and her/his social environment. The overall objective is to show how various restrictions and incentives affect economic behaviour and to enquire about how human resources can best be mobilised to promote integral development.

While the ingredients of the FAST model are in no way new, and while the essence of neo-liberalism derives from the market orientation of the 19th century, there are shifts away from the modernist thinking that conditioned previous approaches to innovation and development. Discussing the detail of such developments is beyond the scope of this paper. However it is clear that the main shift that is of relevance to minority language group is the relevance that diversity achieves in the model, and how this constitutes a distinctive contrast to the homogenisation approach that characterised the modernist approach to development. While this is partly a consequence of the attempts to create a New Europe in the sense that there is a need to transcend the statist discourse which

sought to generate a culturally homogenous citizenry, it involves far more in that it seeks to integrate Weber's relationship between ideological commitment and economic innovation in an innovative way.

Even if we recognise that both the sociological and the economist discourses are merely discourses which have no privileged claim to the discovery of truth or reality, we must recognise that discourses have real effects in terms of social practice. Thus it is insufficient to dismiss neo-liberalism as merely another move in the modernist drive for progress through reason. As a discourse which generates policy initiatives and implementation it is a very real force that conditions all of our lives.

What is now required is to extend the model by developing local models of integral development within which diversity, networking and innovation plays a central role. Such models will be subject to considerable variation but will serve as the basis for further comprehension of the relationship between local integral development and European integration within a conception of core-periphery relationships that are based upon principles of equity and cohesion. In addition to the focus upon diversity and networking, these models must accommodate the specific demands of peripheral economies which are prone to low sustainability by reference to economic, environmental and cultural principles. They are also prone to high skills leakage and constant restructuring. Flexibility is an essential component, not merely by reference to the workforce, but also by reference to management. Cultural diversity must be integrated into every aspect of these various components.

SECTION VI

CONCLUSION

1. General Observations

On the surface, what we have sought to achieve in this study is fairly simple, involving a clarification of the forces which influence the production and reproduction of minority language groups, and the differential extent to which these processes are in operation within the EU. Rather than treating minority language groups as cultural anomalies which deviate from the normativity of the state, we have insisted upon treating them as social groups that sit side by side and overlap with other social groups. In so doing we hope to have overcome the deficiencies and difficulties which mainstream social science has in discussing such groups.

Among the things which the study has revealed is the very wide range of situations of the various language groups. The straightforward division between stateless languages and extra-territorial state language groups conceals enormous internal variation. The tendency to think in terms of languages rather than language groups leads to the claim that stateless languages are more threatened, in that the generic feature of languages will ensure that at least the intra-territorial state version will persist, even if the extra-territorial language groups disappears. While we have shown that the existence of a core language source can be of advantage to satellite groups, viewing the populations as language groups means that the relationship between social groups which draw upon the same language cannot be taken for granted. That is there is a tendency to over-exaggerate the relationship between a state and language groups constructed in relation to the language of that state. In this respect the tendency to relate language and culture as synonymous is also undermined. This being the case, the range of cultural diversity is even greater than most observers imagine. Furthermore, the changing political context throws some of these orthodox views into disarray. The rolling back of the state, the debate concerning the future use of languages within the EU, and the role that will be reserved for some languages if the change which some feel is inevitable as the Union expands comes about, gives a certain uncertainty about the relevance of state languages. While the drive to promote language competence in order to engender geographical mobility within the Single Market will continue, it is doubtful that this feature of language promotion will extend beyond a few languages which will increasingly serve as the *linguae francae* of Europe, and there is even greater doubt that such mobility will extend across all social classes.

The range of situations which we have uncovered raises a number of issues. Our approach has served to demonstrate this range of situations in relation to the contexts which we feel are essential for the promotion and persistence of the various language groups. It is tempting to suggest that this range is a consequence of different state policies. While there is more than an element of truth in this claim, particularly when such state policies have been in force for a period of centuries, it is also clear that most states do not appear to have uniform policies by reference to the various autochthonous language groups that occupy their territory. Neither does it have much to do with the demographic size of the language groups. Nonetheless, what is clear is that specific

policy directions are essential if positive outcomes that will sustain these language groups are to be witnessed. The study does indicate the nature of these directions and how they may well vary from one case to another.

2. Diversity and Development

In this Report we have also sought to place these findings within the context of current arguments concerning European development and integration. It should be evident from the data which we have presented that many of the groups under discussion are no longer capable of operating as social groups in the sense of displaying the features of commonality that serve to generate cohesion based around collective memory and shared interests. Rather, they are more akin to a series of networks or inchoate communities, dispersed across space. If this is, indeed, the case, then the contribution which these groups can make to the pool of European diversity and creativity is already limited. On the other hand other groups do display a vibrancy of corporate activity and cohesion that appears to be the converse of the anomic individualism which economic planners deplore.

Central to the focus upon development and integration is a parallel concern with social exclusion. This exclusion involves a direct relationship to marginality. We have already indicated that most of the minority language groups are located in the periphery. It need hardly be added that they are also among the population that is most exposed to the danger of marginalisation. Indeed, it can be argued that their treatment as deviations from the normativity of the state to which they pertain is one factor that generates such a marginality. Another feature which promotes marginality is the exclusion from the economic process. Research has indicated that some members of minority language groups are subject to the overlay of more than one principle of exclusion, with female members of minority language group being more prone to exclusion than almost any other social group. It clearly illustrates the relationship between economic exclusion and low self-conception that are the ingredients of marginality. The orthodox argument would claim that the antidote involves their assimilation into society via homogenisation into the normativity of each state's society. We have shown the futility and misplaced assumption of this argument. The integration of those potentially at risk into the mainstream of economic activity as members of minority language groups depends upon the extension of the use of the particular language into employment. The debate involving the centrality of diversity for development accommodates such an extension. If social exclusion involves the disintegration and fragmentation of social relations, and if these social relations have been structured by the institutions and relationships which are organised around language groups as elements of social cohesion, then the undermining of the institutionalisation of language-based behaviour which integrates the individual into the language group will merely continue to promote both marginality and exclusion simultaneously. That is, whereas it is recognised that exclusion represents a progressive process of marginalisation, leading to economic deprivation and various forms of social and cultural disadvantage, the simultaneous advent of both processes is less evident. We feel that the study upon which this Report is based has a great deal to contribute to the understanding of the complex and diverse processes of exclusion and marginality, much as it has to contribute to the converse processes of integration and development.

On the positive side we believe that the study has also started to uncover the specific nature of the human capital that is claimed to be so essential for the future development of the European periphery. This involves the manner in which meaning is socially

constructed through the form of language as discourse. If this is, indeed, the case, then innovative behaviour which derives from networking diverse systems of meaning construction must benefit from the diversity of language groups. What needs to be investigated is how this resource can be mobilised for innovative developmental outcomes.

Given what is claimed concerning the importance of diversity as one of the advantages which Europe has over competing regions in the world economy, there is an obvious need to be able to exploit that advantage. As we have implied, the study to which this report pertains suggests that a substantial part of that pool of diversity is beyond the point where it can be effectively mobilised for innovation and development. There are other parts which are under threat and which require urgent attention.

This leads us to a point which cannot be over-emphasised: the need for a Programme of action to promote minority language groups as sources of diversity that derives from language and culture. In many respects this is not a new insight, with one after another of the various reports presented to the Commission making similar suggestions. What is different in this Report is that whereas previous suggestions have conceived of minority language groups in emotive terms associated with the 'traditional' activities which are the emotional converse of rational 'modernity', concerned with the poetic, the literary or the musical, but never with the economic and the political, our argument involves the need to develop such action, not for the benefit of the various language groups as a European heritage, but for the economic advantage of the entire Community. While the Commission acknowledges the need to promote minority language groups in its allocation of specific budget line for that purpose, the manner in which this is done is, in some respects, counter-productive. If diversity is of such central importance, then it is absurd that so much energy, resources, and effort must be devoted annually to renewing a budget line that is so evidently over-subscribed. In a sense this over-subscription is a measure of both the need for such resources and also of the effectiveness of its administration. That is, we are not questioning the need for such a budget-line, but suggesting that the manner in which it is allocated to those responsible for its administration is not entirely conducive of efficiency. Particularly relevant here is the manner in which current practice sets limits on the possibility of forward planning by those who are responsible for deploying that budget-line. The manner in which we have constructed our argument makes it clear that socialisation and education are central features of creating the diversity that is embedded in the various language groups. This feature of the Commission's current work, which is so essential for promoting minority language groups, must be retained and, if possible, expanded. However, we suggest that it is also necessary to develop a means whereby the human resources that are encapsulated in language groups can be deployed for the advantage of economic development. There is an obvious need to constructively create a Programme of action which aims both to sustain the available diversity base and also to constructively direct it towards development objectives. In this respect there is also a need for existing Programmes to recognise the relevance of language and diversity for their implementation. Indeed, there is a strong case to be made for explicitly integrating minority language groups into certain existing Programmes as a manifestation of the philosophy that guides such Programmes. Thus, it is abundantly clear that the community development initiatives in the European periphery, for instance, pay only minimal attention to the relevance of language and culture, and that even then the principles upon which the relationship between diversity and development are constructed are ill-understood by those responsible for policy implementation. This is hardly surprising given what we have claimed concerning the manner in which the modernist discourse constructs minority language groups as deficient.

This leads us to recognise a major difficulty with developing effective policy within the

context of neo-liberalism. The need to assume an enabling role which addresses the needs and expectations of the individual as consumer of policy means that policy operates by reference to the needs and expectations of the consumer. However, if these needs and expectations have been conditioned, often for centuries, by the negative identity that derives from the modernist denigration of minority language groups and of the language as a symbol of membership, then it is unlikely that sustaining diversity will necessarily be prominent in those needs and expectations. Thus, non-directionality will merely reinforce the very dependency which it is meant to redress. The relationship between the principles of community development and language planning require careful consideration, for a pro-active policy is clearly needed in many if not most cases.

Above we made reference to two things. Firstly, that the study which we undertook has enabled us to recognise patterns in the processes of language group production, reproduction and non-reproduction. It has also identified which aspect of the production/reproduction process is deficient by reference to which language group, thereby indicating where action can be most successfully pursued for the different language groups in order to promote production and reproduction. Secondly, we have indicated that if there is value in diversity, then there is an urgent need to develop a positive policy initiative. We feel that these two issues can be drawn together, with the results of the study serving as the basis for beginning to sketch an outline of such a policy initiative. It is conceivable, in this context, that European integration may result in the demographically smaller state language groups, despite their official status within the EU, facing problems similar to those of the minority language groups (Strubell, 1991b).

3. Future Research

If our confidence in the value of the study is upheld then we would hope that this study will only be the first among many which continually seek to throw light upon the minority language groups of the EU. In line with the Commission's orientation towards other social issues, there is a need to create a body of data which informs the debate surrounding social and economic policy at the European level. By placing the minority language groups within the context of development policy we hope to have made a contribution to that debate.

While the data collected for the study constitutes the richest source of information about the institutional context of European diversity, and it is also of clear importance for the debate concerning the relevance of human capital for economic development. Nonetheless, there is a need to extend this line of enquiry. It should be clear to any researcher looking through the individual reports that the data is by no means even in its detail, and that the language use surveys, albeit that they are limited in number, afford far greater detail than does the other data. There is a need to extend such survey research. On the other hand there is also a need to match the empirical work with qualitative research which will help to throw light upon such issues as the relationship between ability, competence, fluency and use; about the manner in which language is implicated in the generation of community and cohesion; about the specific ways in which form relates to the construction of meaning; about how networking that draws upon the cohesion of language groups can facilitate reciprocally based, integral development. It should also be evident that while much of what is said about the relationship between diversity, human capital and development remains at the level of rhetoric, there is a pressing need to seriously investigate how diversity and innovation are activated by meaning systems that are locked in heterogeneous discursive forms.

Clearly, our reference to a Euromosaic has been well considered. What we have sought to do is to give a pattern to that mosaic, arguing that there is order in what initially appears to be a dislocated myriad. We are by no means implying that there is a similarity across all cases, but we do imply that we have succeeded in classing the different language groups into categories which are confronting the forces of change from similar resource positions. In this respect we would argue that while some policies can have an impact upon all minority language groups, it should also be clear that different groups will require different forms of policy implementations and practices. We hope that those responsible will have the wisdom and courage to seize the challenge for the benefit of all. Europe's diversity belongs to us all, it is OUR wealth, let us invest in it wisely.

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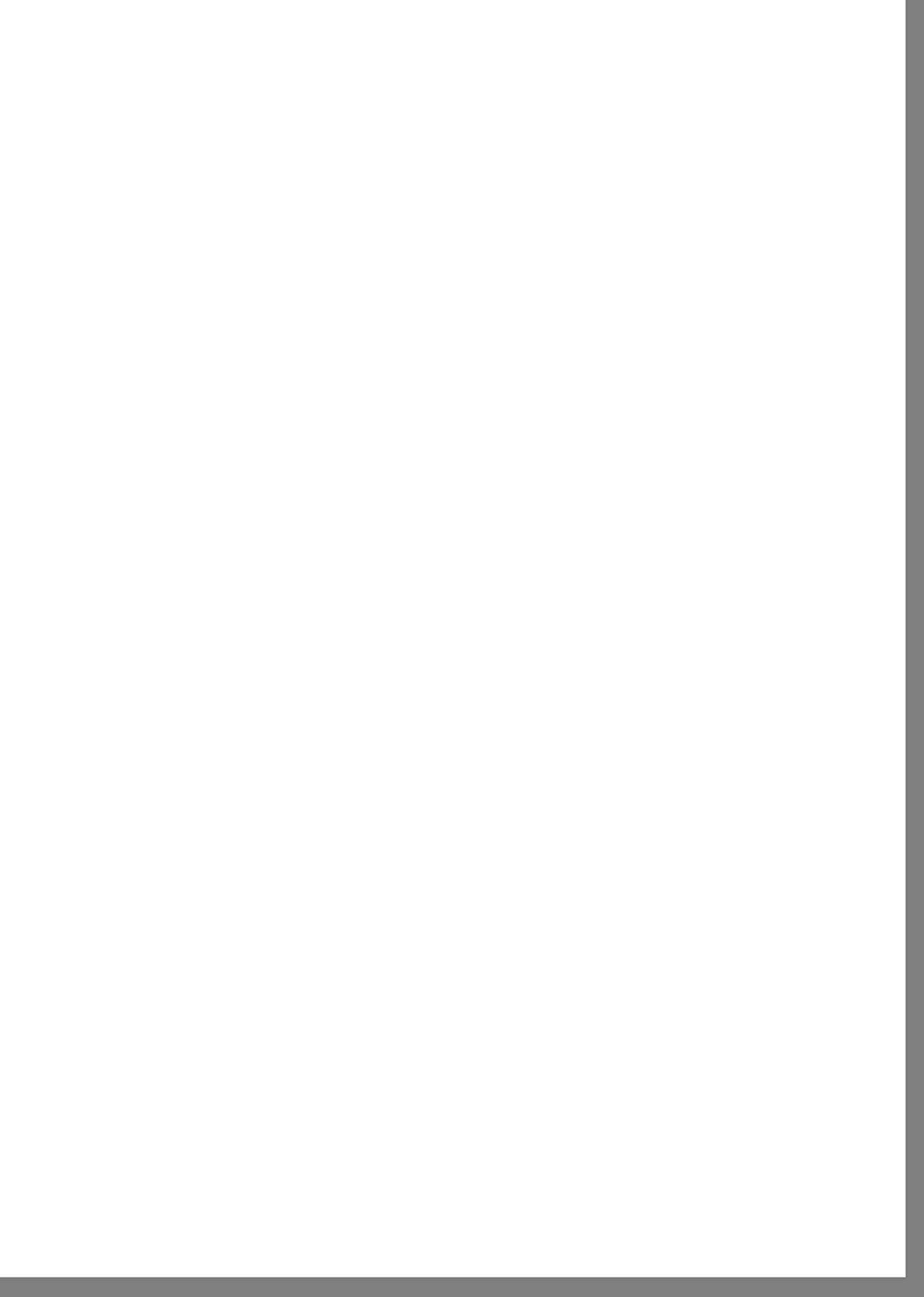
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			Family	Cul. Repr.	Commun.	Prestige	Instit.	Legitim.	Educ.	TOTAL
1	B	German (New-B)	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	28
2	LUX	Luxembourgish	4	3	4	4	4	4	4	27
3	E	Catalan (Catalonia)	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	27
4	I	German (I)	4	4	4	3	4	3	3	25
5	E	Galician	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	21
6	F	German (F)	3	4	2	3	3	3	1	19
7	E	Catalan (Valencia)	3	3	2	2	3	3	3	19
8	E	Basque (CAV)	2	4	2	2	2	4	3	19
9	I	Ladin	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	19
10	E	Occitan (E)	3	3	3	2	2	3	2	18
11	UK	Welsh	2	3	2	3	2	3	3	18
12	E	Catalan (Balearic I)	4	2	3	2	2	2	2	17
13	IRL	Irish (IRL)	1	2	1	2	2	3	3	14
14	UK	Gaelic	2	3	2	2	1	2	2	14
15	NL	Frisian (NL)	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
16	I	Slovenian (I)	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
17	I	Friulan	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	14
18	D	Sorbian	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	13
19	D	Danish (D)	2	4	2	1	1	1	2	13
20	I	French (I)	1	2	1	2	2	2	3	13
21	E	Basque (Navarra)	3	3	2	1	1	2	1	13
22	DK	German (DK)	1	4	1	2	1	1	2	12
23	E	Catalan (Aragon)	3	3	2	1	2	0	1	12
24	GR	Turkish (GR)	3	2	2	0	1	1	3	12
25	F	Catalan (F)	2	3	1	1	1	1	2	11
26	F	Basque (F)	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	10
27	F	Corsican	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	10
28	I	Catalan (I)	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	9
29	I	Occitan (I)	3	1	2	1	1	0	1	9
30	B	German (Old-B)	2	4	0	1	0	0	1	8
31	F	Occitan (F)	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	8
32	F	Breton	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	8
33	I	Albanian (I)	1	1	2	0	2	1	1	8
34	P	Mirandese (P)	3	0	1	0	1	1	1	7
35	D	North Frisian (D)	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	6
36	I	Croatian (I)	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	6
37	UK	Irish (UK)	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	5
38	E	Berber	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
39	F	Dutch (F)	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	4
40	I	Greek (I)	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	4
41	I	Sardinian	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	4
42	GR	Slavo-Macedonian (GR)	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
43	GR	Bulgarian (GR)	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
44	D	East Frisian (D)	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	3
45	E	Portuguese (E)	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
46	GR	Albanian (GR)	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
47	GR	Aromanian	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
48	UK	Cornish	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

Table 1: VARIABLE SCORES BY LANGUAGE GROUPS, IN RANK ORDER



	Fam.	Cul.Rep.	Commy	Prest.	Instit.	Legit.	Educ.	TOTAL
Fam.	-	0,46	0,66	0,50	0,57	0,54	0,70	0,85
Cul.Rep.	0,46	-	0,53	0,73	0,61	0,65	0,63	0,79
Commy	0,66	0,53	-	0,73	0,83	0,75	0,65	0,85
Prest.	0,50	0,73	0,73	-	0,85	0,86	0,85	0,93
Instit.	0,57	0,61	0,83	0,85	-	0,84	0,79	0,92
Legit.	0,54	0,65	0,75	0,86	0,84	-	0,84	0,92
Educ.	0,70	0,63	0,65	0,85	0,79	0,84	-	0,87
TOTAL	0,85	0,79	0,85	0,93	0,92	0,92	0,87	-

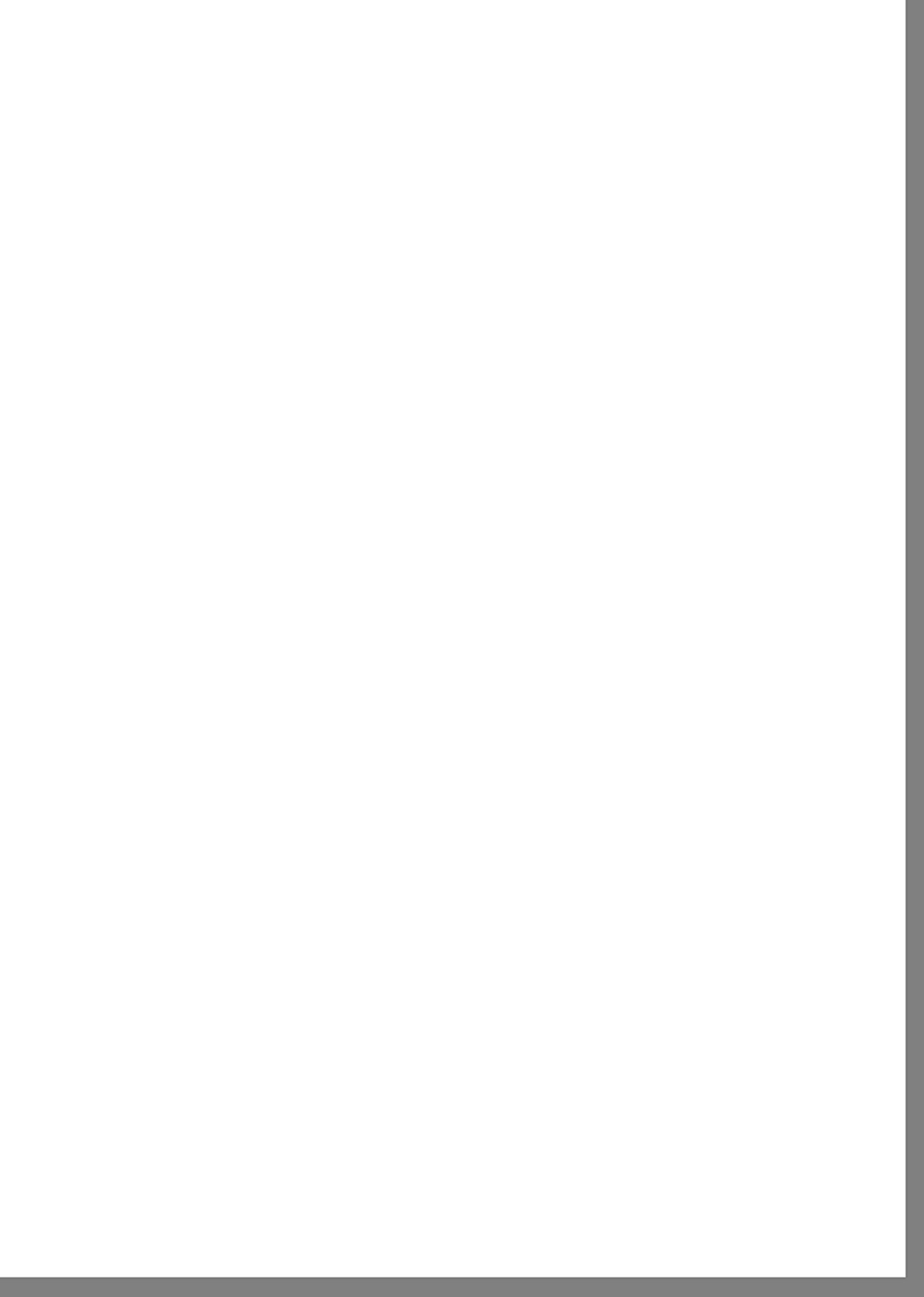
Table 2: PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF VARIABLES

Language Group	Cluster/ Rank	Size	Economic Diversity	In- migration	Core- Periphery	Heartland
German - New Belgium	A 1	68,000	High	Low	Core	No
Luxembourg ish	A 2	350,000	High	High	Core	Yes
Catalan	A 2	4,065,000	High	High	Core	Yes
German (It)	A 4	290,000	Medium	Low	Semi	No
Galician	B 5	2,420,000	Medium	Low	Periphery	Yes
German (Fr)	B 6	1,800,000	High	Medium	Core	No
Catalan (Valencia)	B 6	1,909,000	High	High	Semi	No
Basque (BAC)	B 6	544,000	High	High	Semi	Yes
Ladin	B 6	56,000	Low	Low	Periphery	Yes
Occitan (Sp)	B 10	3,700	Low	Low	Periphery	No
Welsh	B 10	508,000	High	High	Semi	Yes
Catalan (Is Balearic)	B 12	428,000	Medium	High	Semi	No
Irish	C 13	1,095,000	High	Low	Periphery	Yes
Gaelic	C 13	59,000	Low	Low	Periphery	Yes
Frisian	C 13	400,000	High	High	Semi	Yes
Slovenian	C 13	85,000	Medium	High	Semi	No
Friulan	C 13	400,000	Medium	Medium	Semi	Yes
Sorbian	C 18	50,000	Low	High	Periphery	Yes
Danish (Ger)	C 18	25,000	Low	Low	Semi	No
French (It)	C 18	50,000	Medium	High	Semi	No
Basque (Navare)	C 18	53,000	Medium	Low	Semi	No
German (Denmark)	C 22	15-20,000	Low	Low	Semi	No
Catalan (Aragon)	C 24	48,000	Low	Low	Periphery	No
Catalan (Fr)	C 24	150,000	Medium	High	Semi	No

Table 3: DEMOGRAPHIC SCALE AND ECONOMIC RETRUCTURING

Turkish	C 24	ca 100,000	Low	Low	Periphery	No
Basque (Fr)	D 26	86,000	Medium	High	Semi	No
Corsican	D 26	125,000	Medium	High	Periphery	Yes
Catalan (It)	D 28	15,000	Medium	High	Periphery	No
Occitan (It)	D 28	35-80,000	Low	Low	Periphery	No
German (Old Belg.)	D 30	42,000	Medium	Low	Semi	No
Occitan	D 30	2,100,000	High	Medium	Semi	Yes
Breton	D 30	180-250,000	Medium	Low	Semi	Yes
Albanian (It)	D 30	80- 135,000	Low	Low	Periphery	No
Mirandes	E 34	15,000	Low	Low	Periphery	No
N. Frisian	E 35	9,000	Medium	Medium	Semi	No
Croatian (It)	E 35	1,700	Medium	Medium	Semi	No
Irish (UK)	E 37	142,000	Medium	Low	Periphery	No
Berber	E 38	25,000	Medium	Low	Periphery	No
Slavo- Macedonian	E 38	ca 75.000	Low	Low	Periphery	No
Dutch (Fr)	E 38	20-40,000	Medium	Low	Core	No
Bulgarian	E 38	ca 30,000	Low	Low	Periphery	No
E. Frisian	E 42	2,000	Medium	Low	Semi	No
Sardinian	E 42	1,300,000	Medium	Medium	Periphery	Yes
Portugese (Sp)	E 44	3,600	Low	Low	Periphery	No
Albanian (Gr)	E 44	ca 80,000	Low	Low	Periphery	No
Aroumanian	E 44	ca 50,000	Low	Low	Periphery	No
Cornish	E 47	1,000	Medium	High	Semi	Yes
Greek (It)	E 47	7,500	Low	Low	Periphery	No

Table 3 (continued)



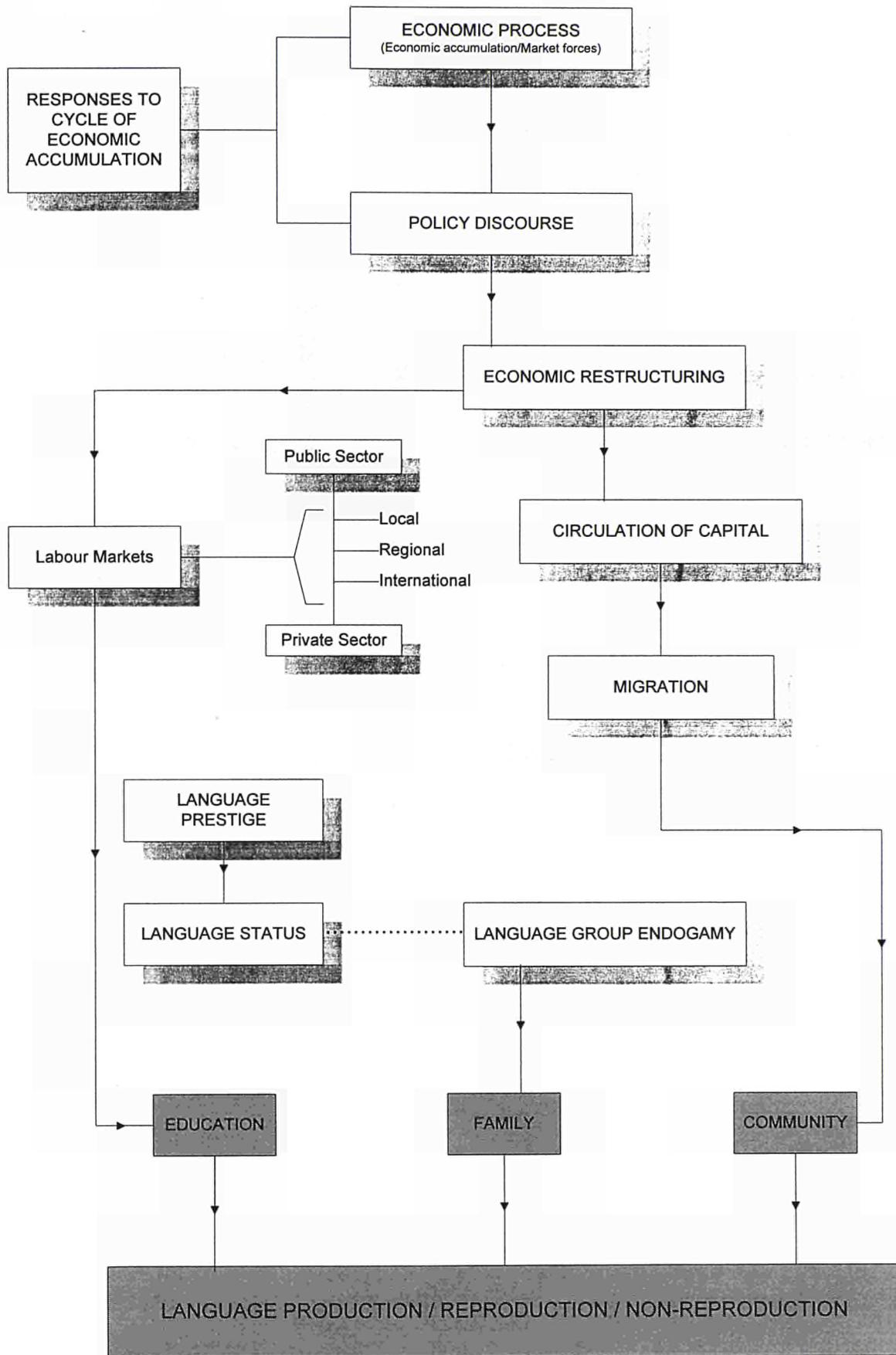
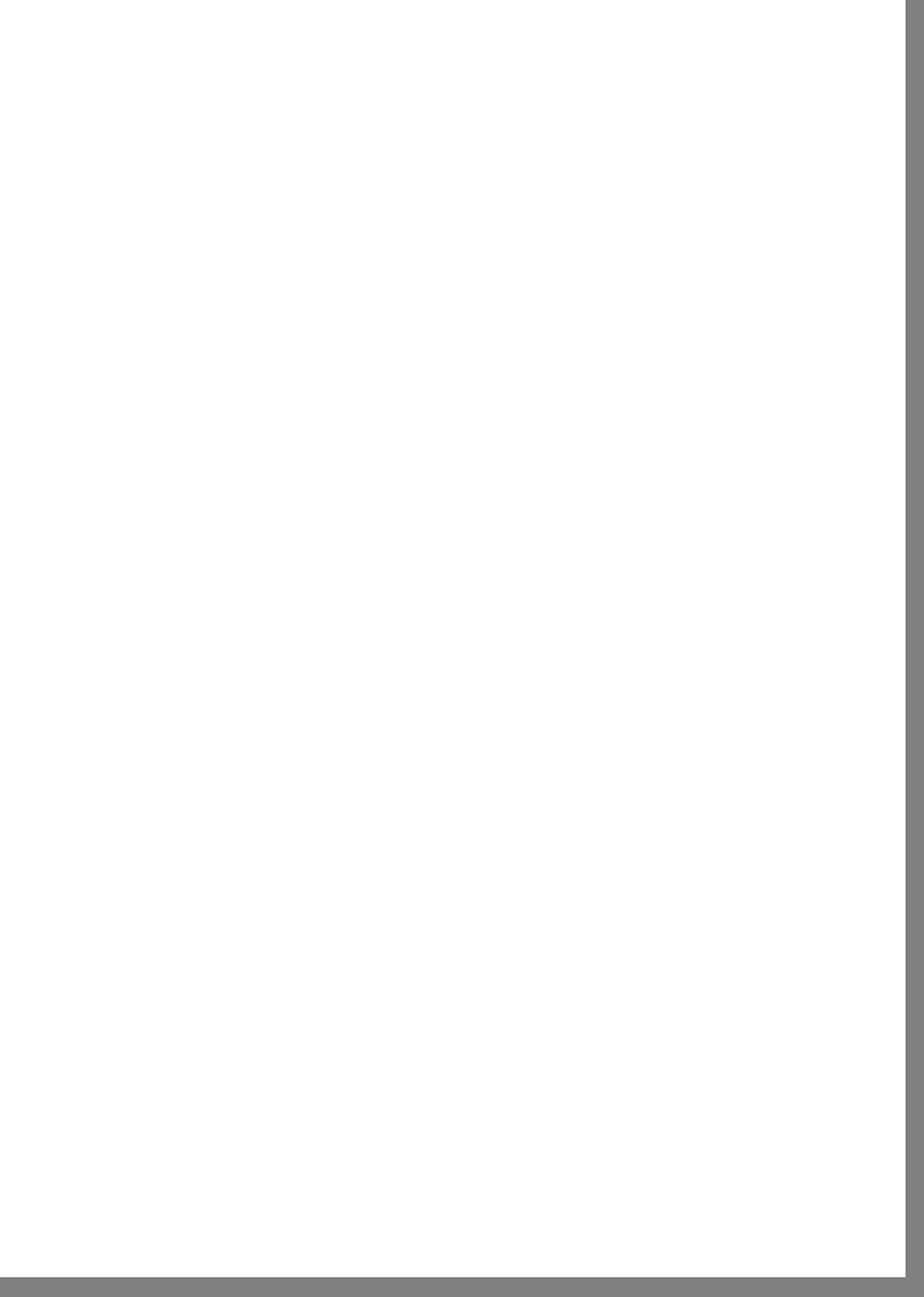


Fig. 1: SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF LANGUAGE PRODUCTION AND REPRODUCTION



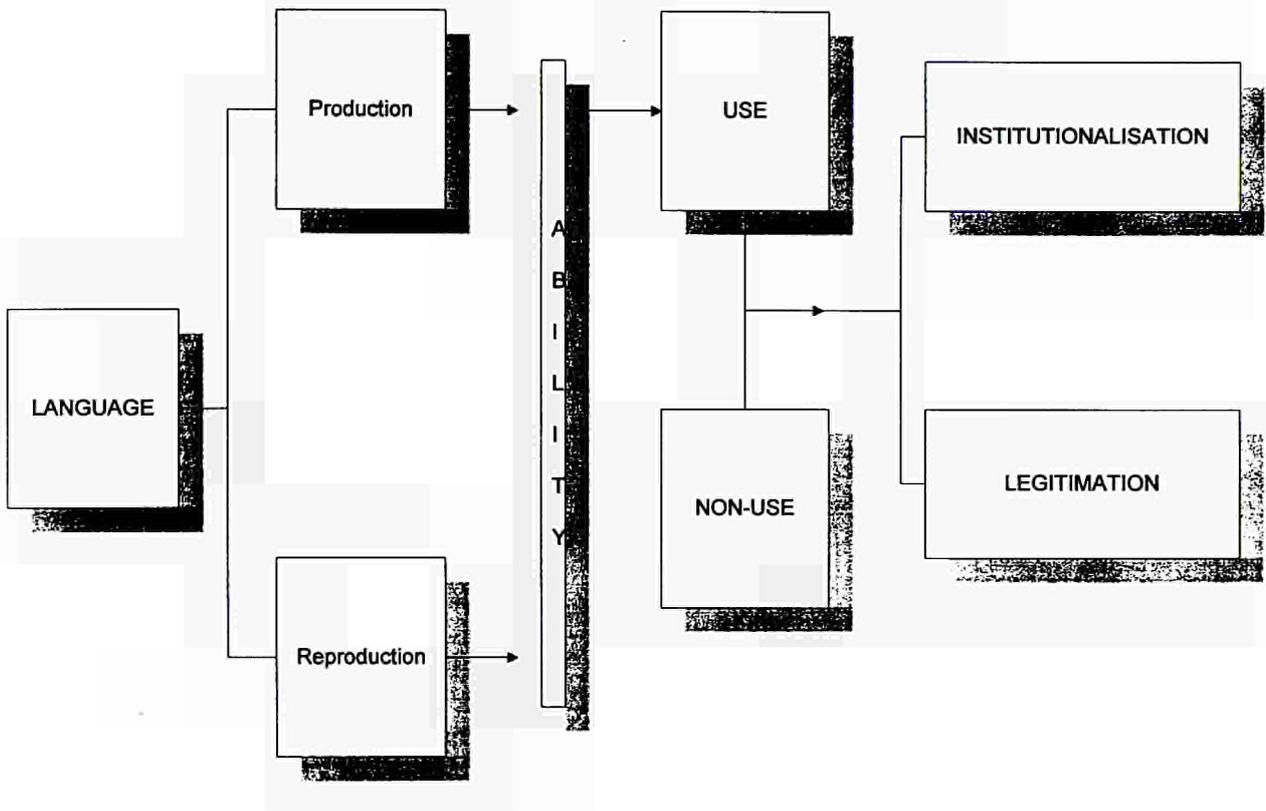
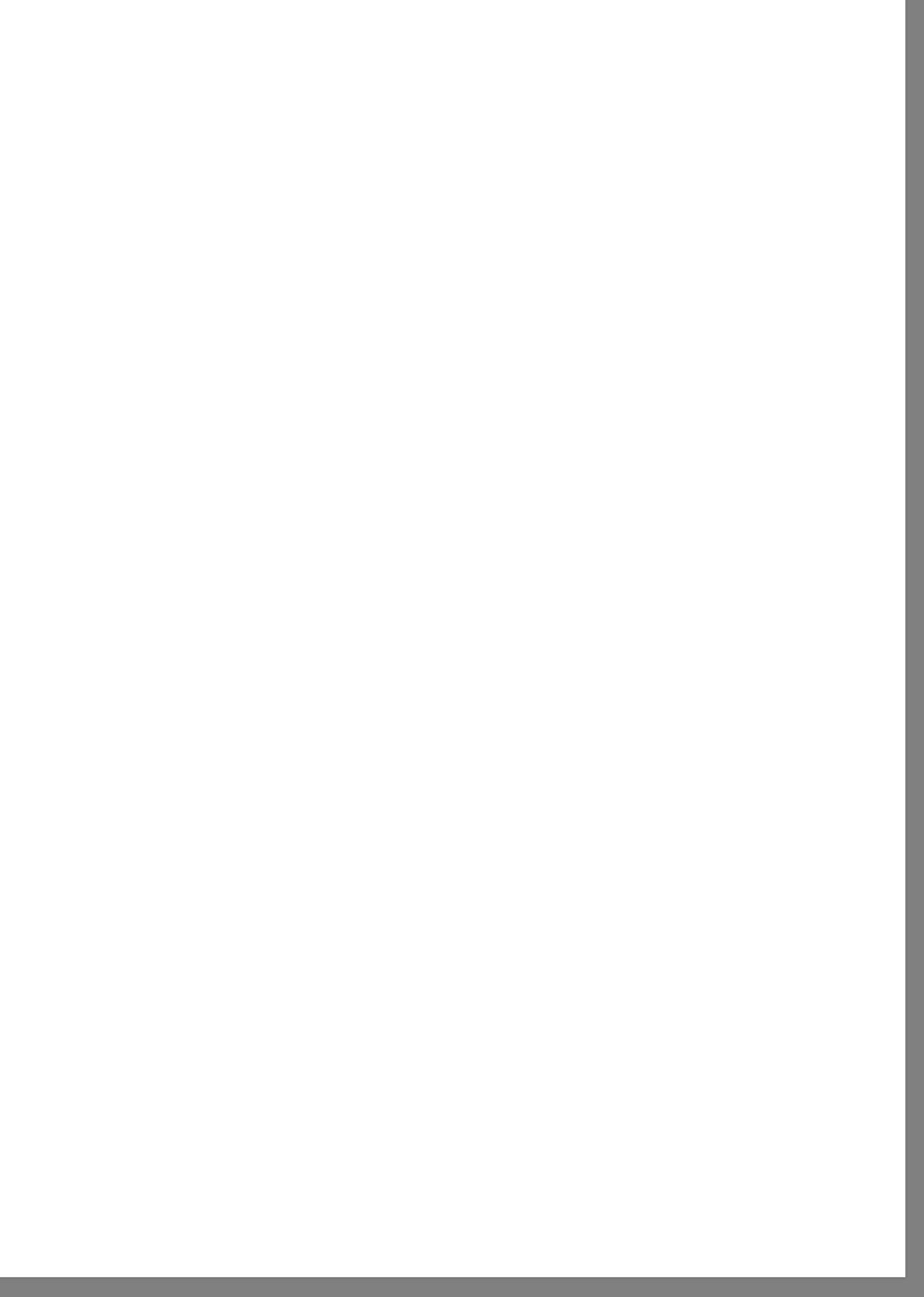


Fig. 2: CONDITIONS OF INSTITUTIONALISATION AND LEGITIMATION



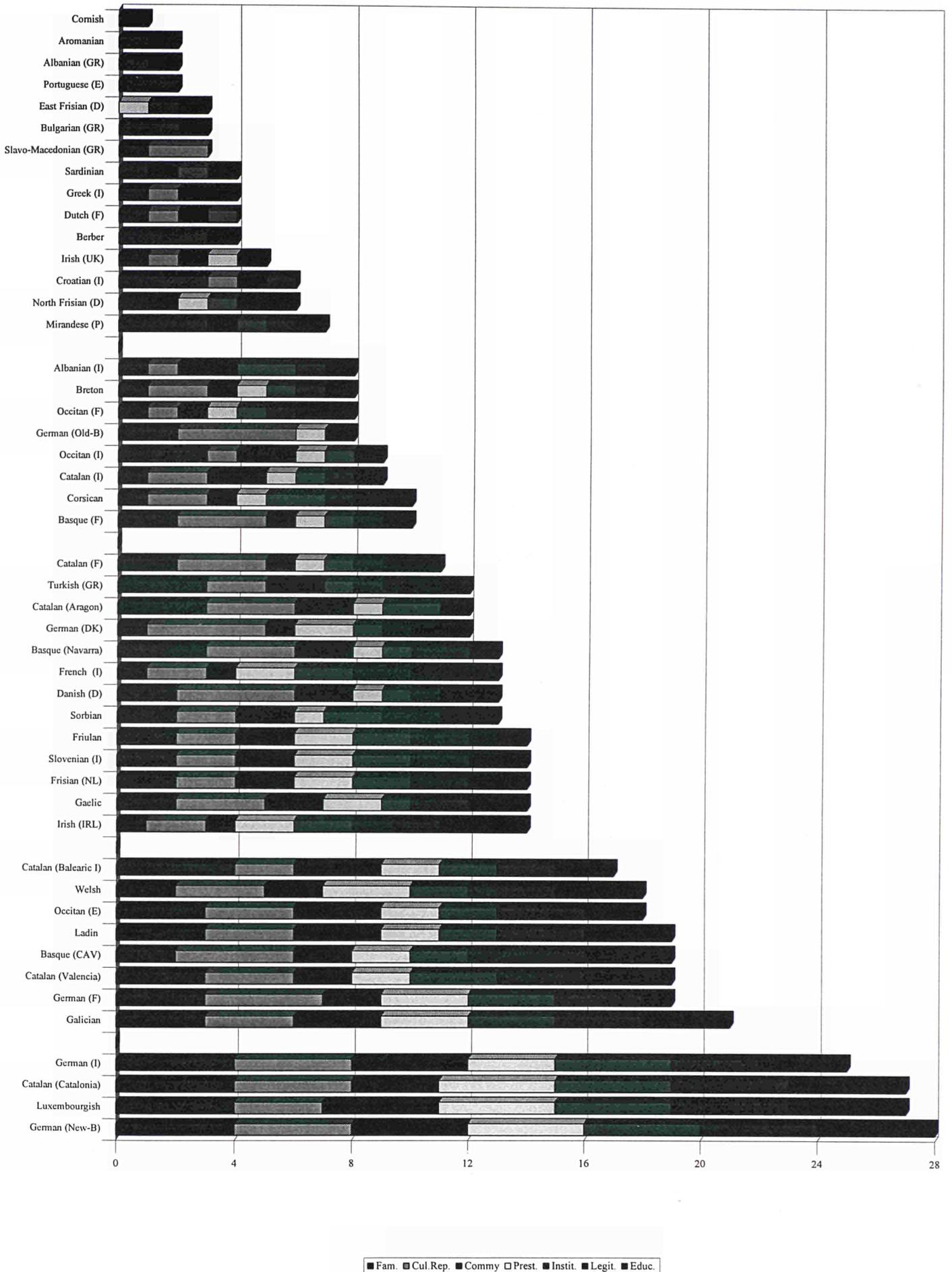
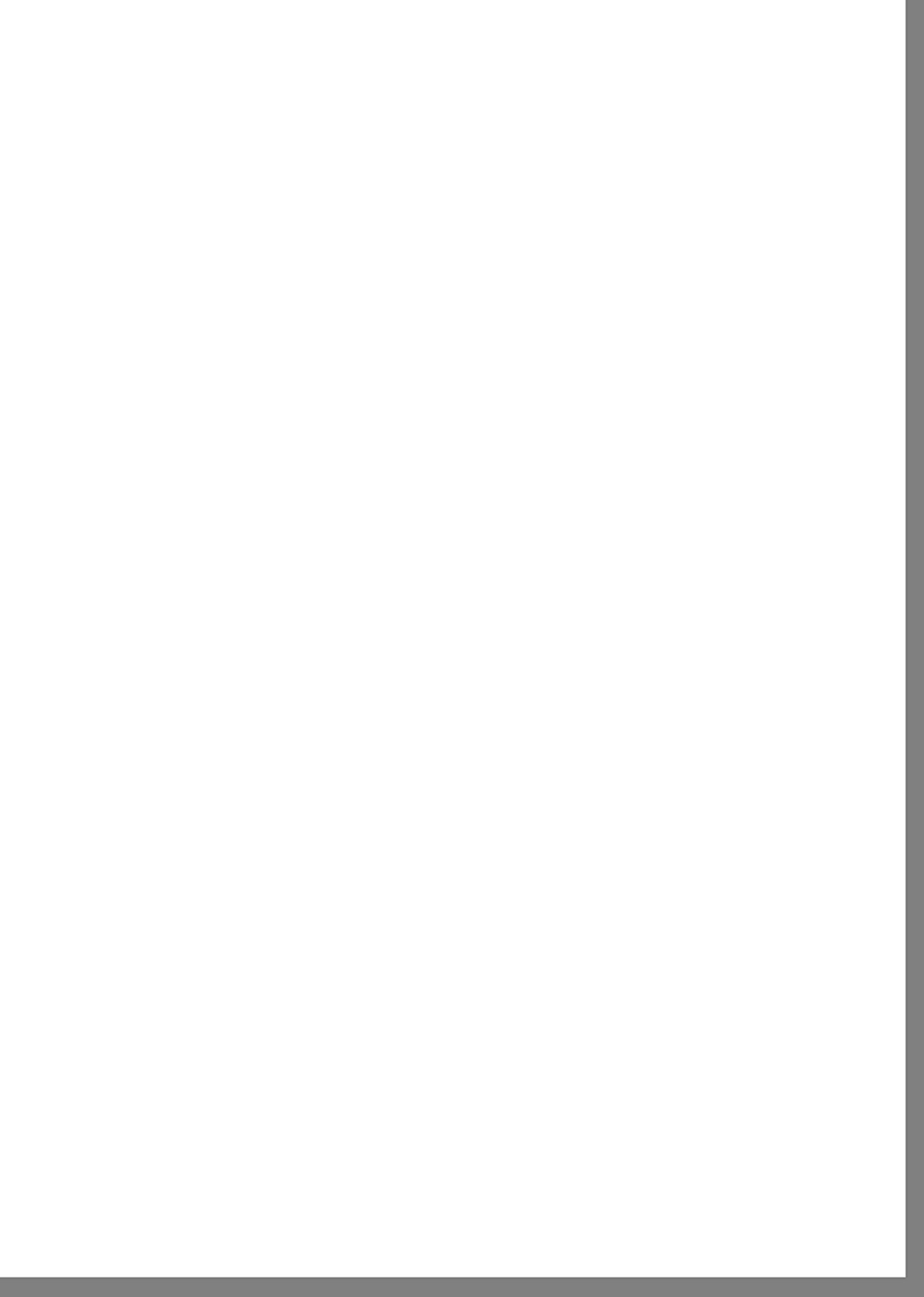


Fig. 3: RANK ORDER OF LANGUAGE GROUPS, BY TOTAL SCALE SCORES



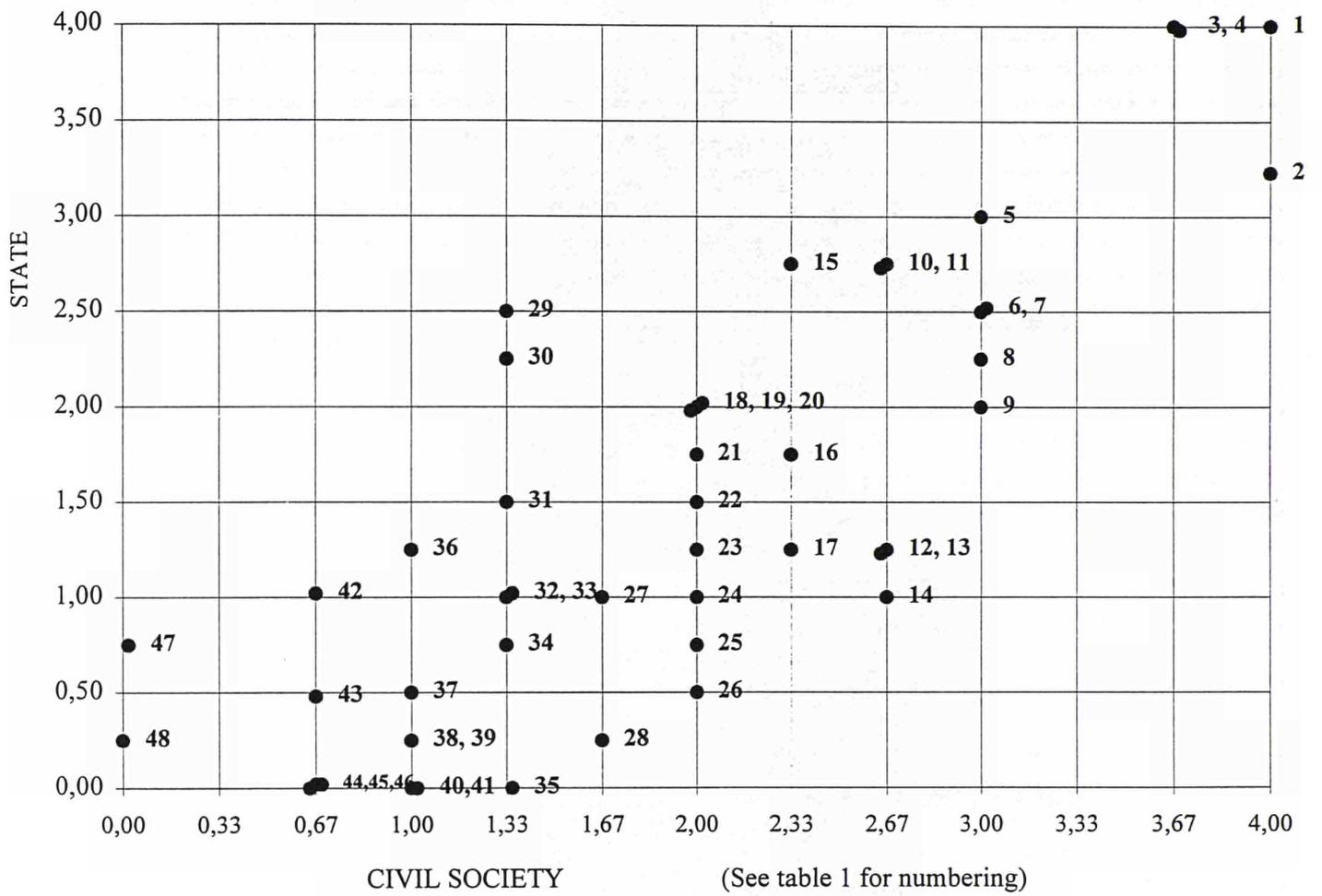
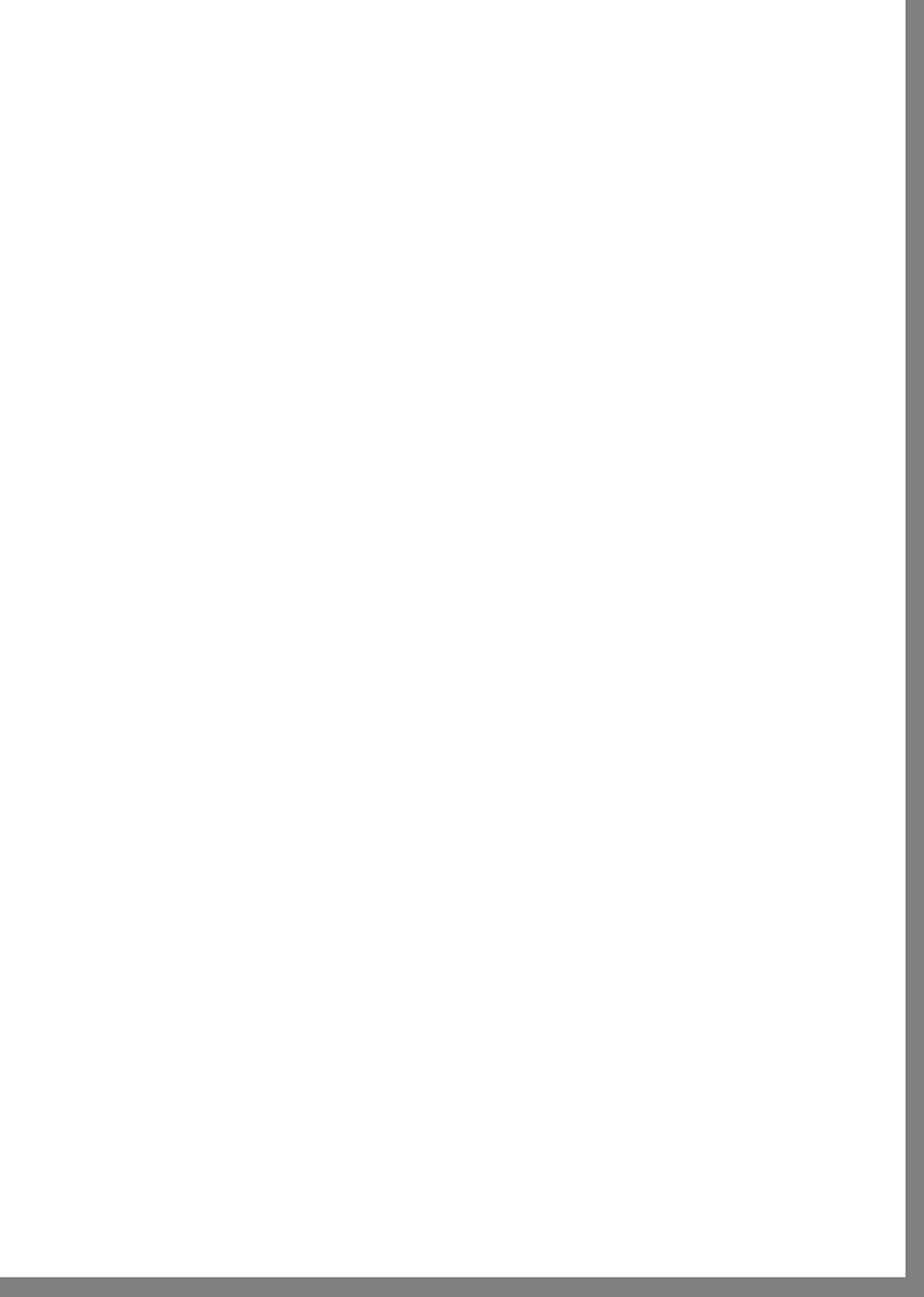


Fig. 4: GRAPH OF VARIABLE SCORES FOR EACH LANGUAGE GROUP DISTRIBUTED BY STATE / CIVIL SOCIETY DISTINCTION



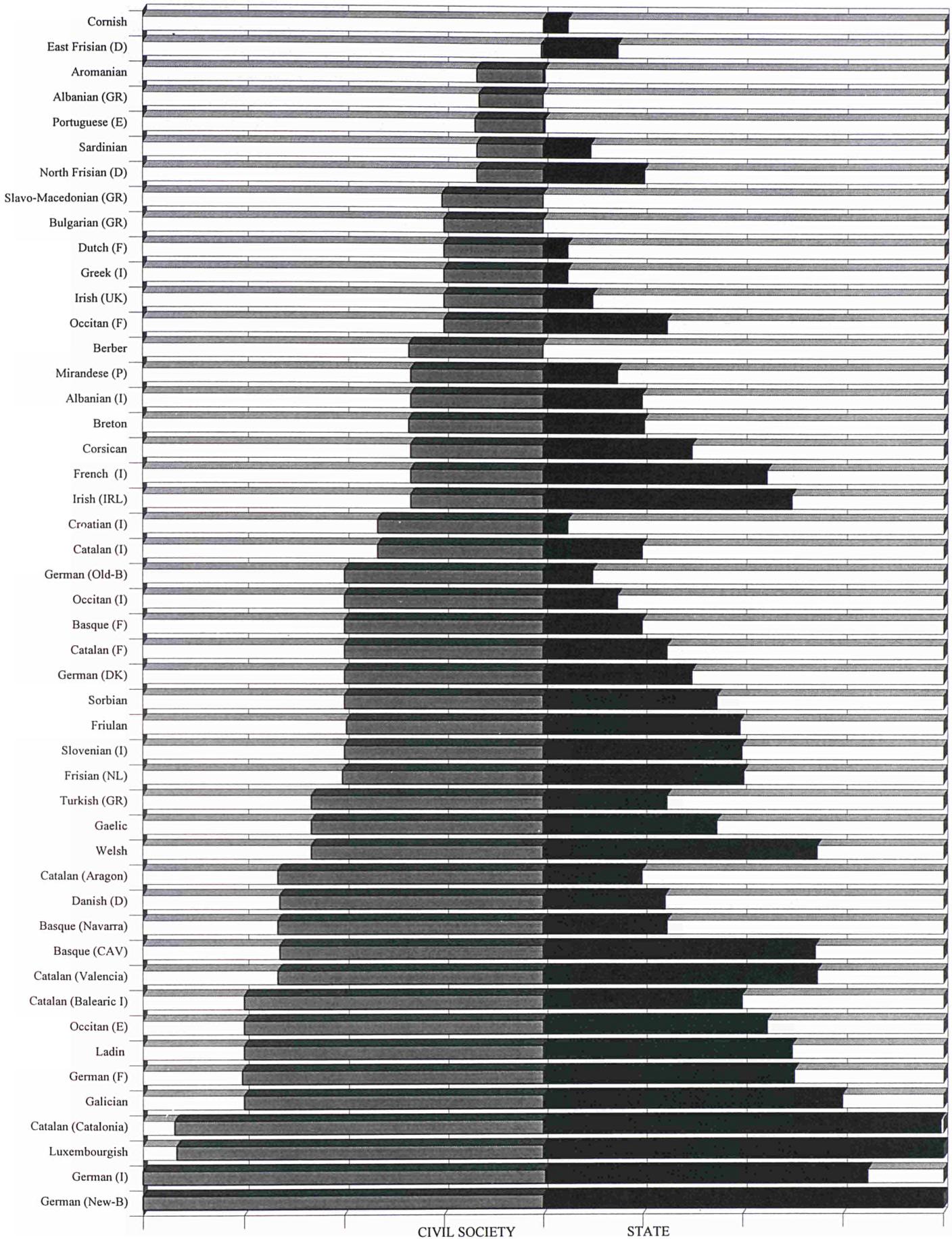
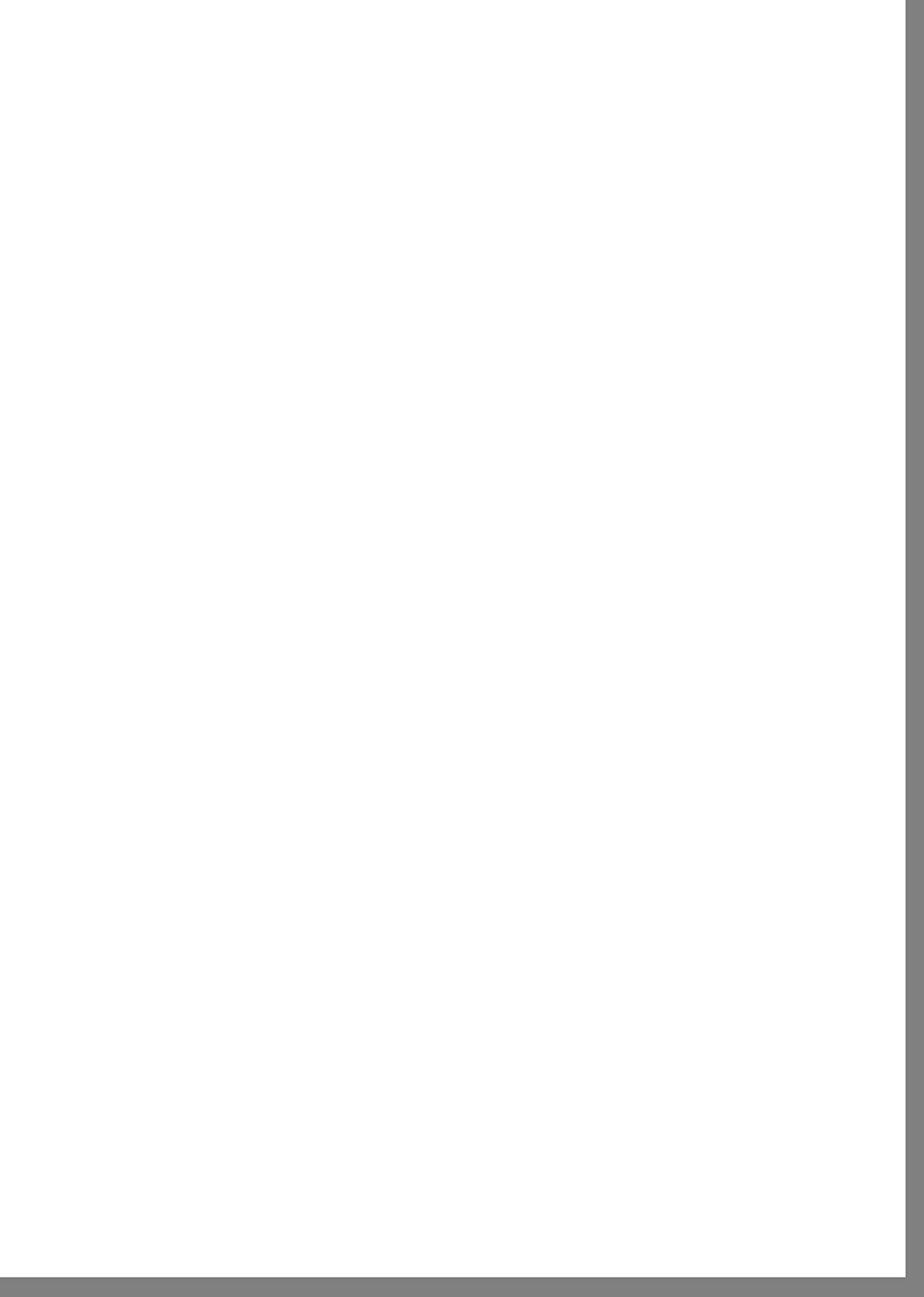


Fig 5: BAR GRAPH OF RANKED DIVIDED BY STATE / CIVIL SOCIETY DISTINCTION



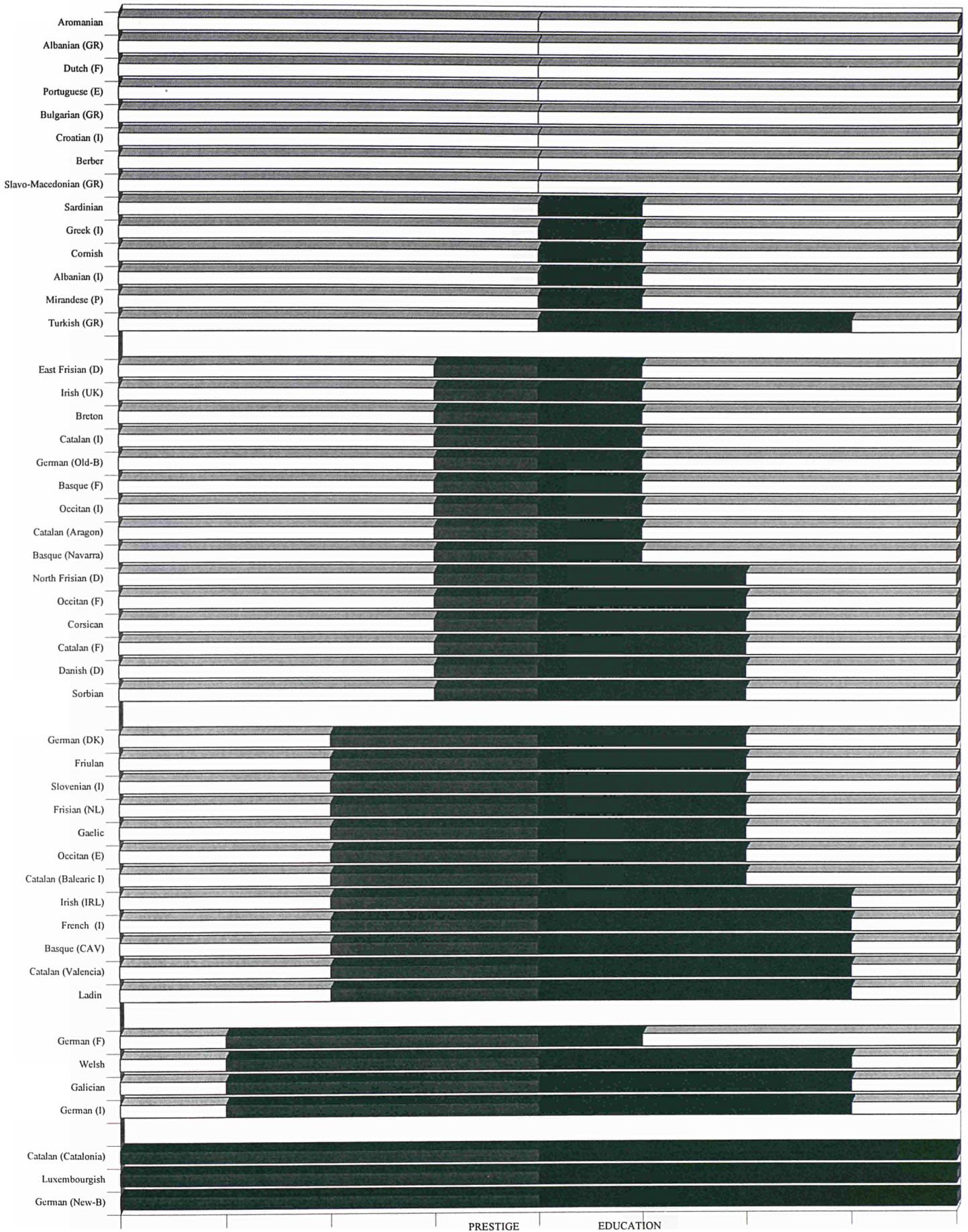
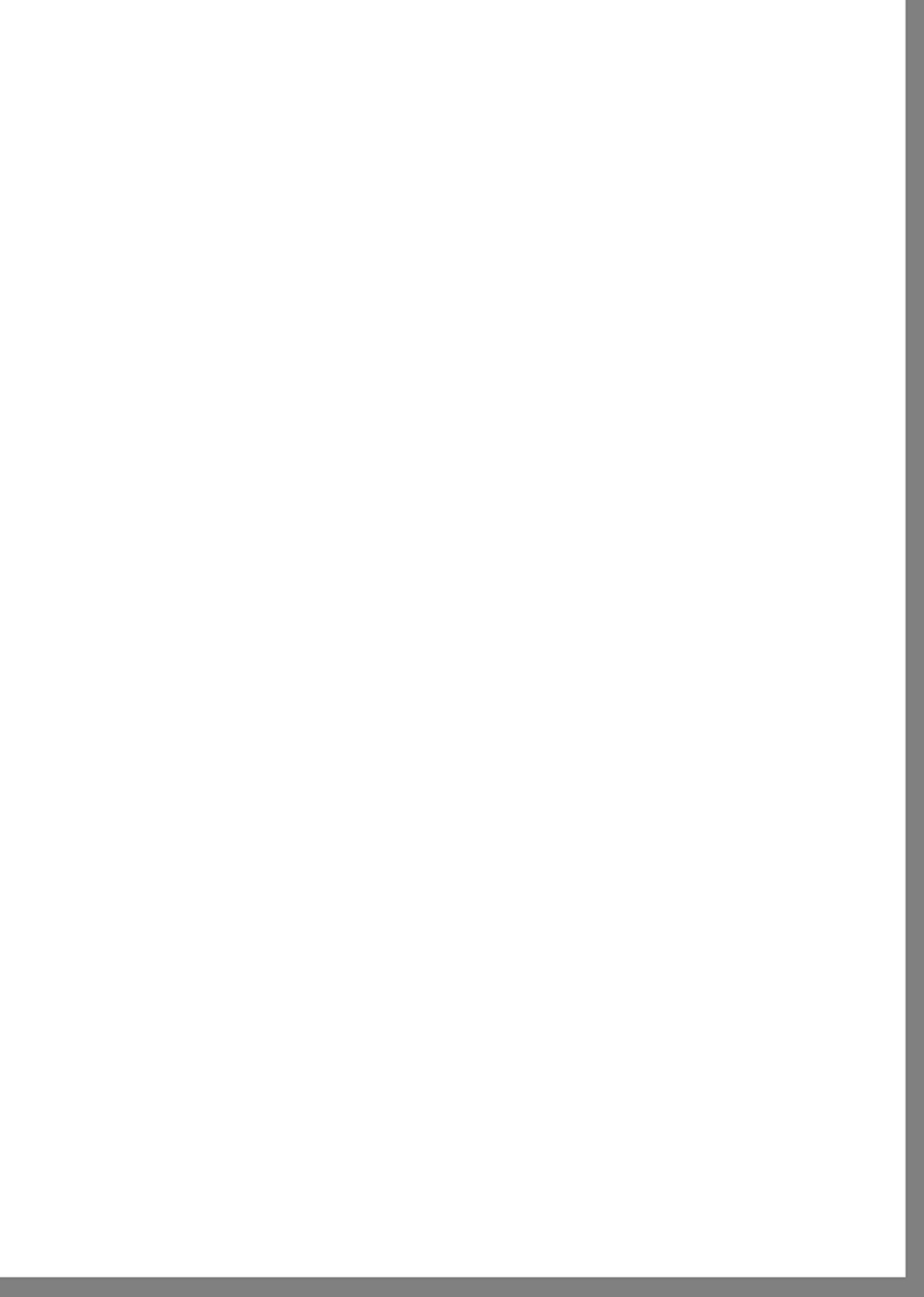


Fig. 6: BAR GRAPH OF RANKED LANGUAGE PRESTIGE AND EDUCATION SCORES



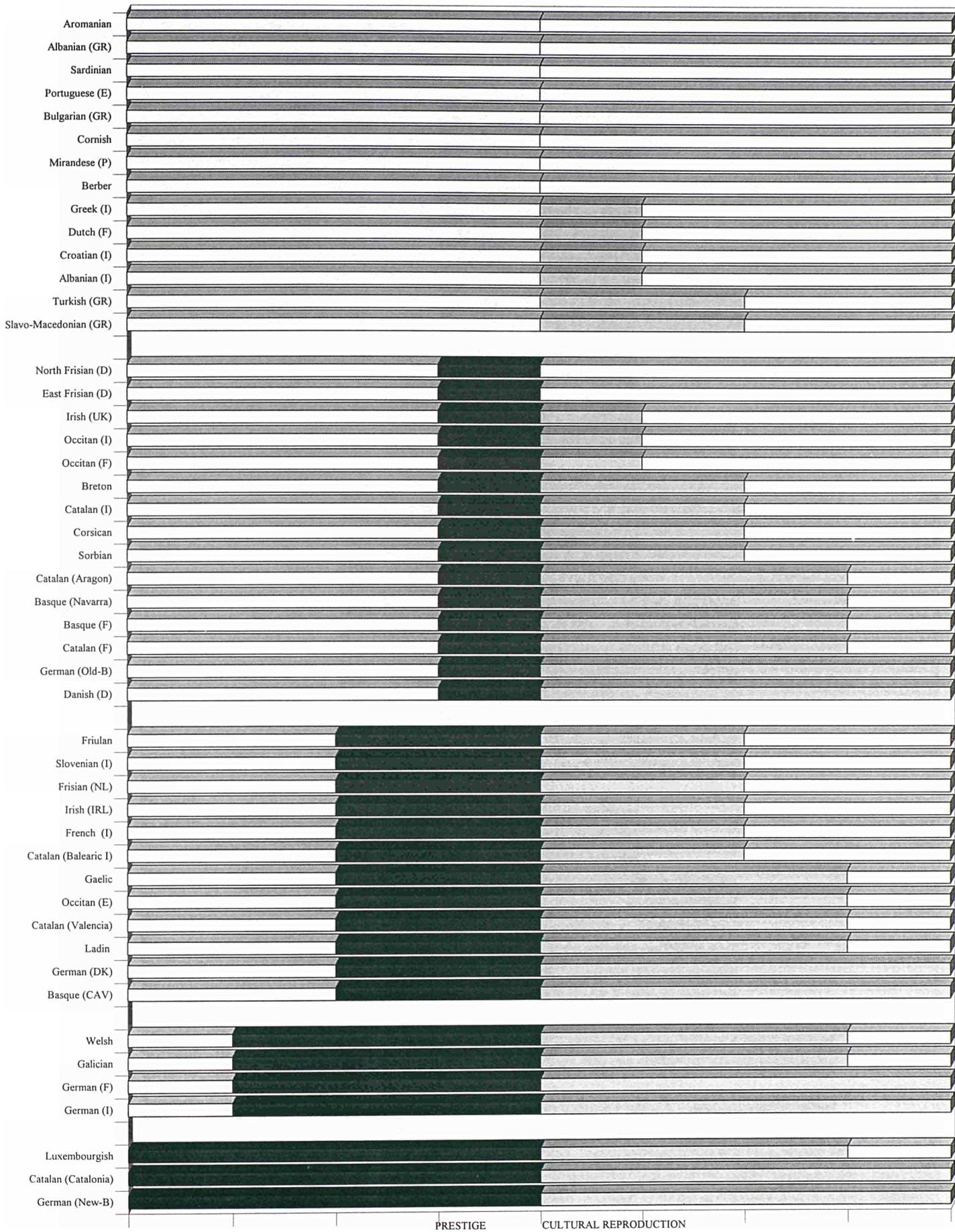
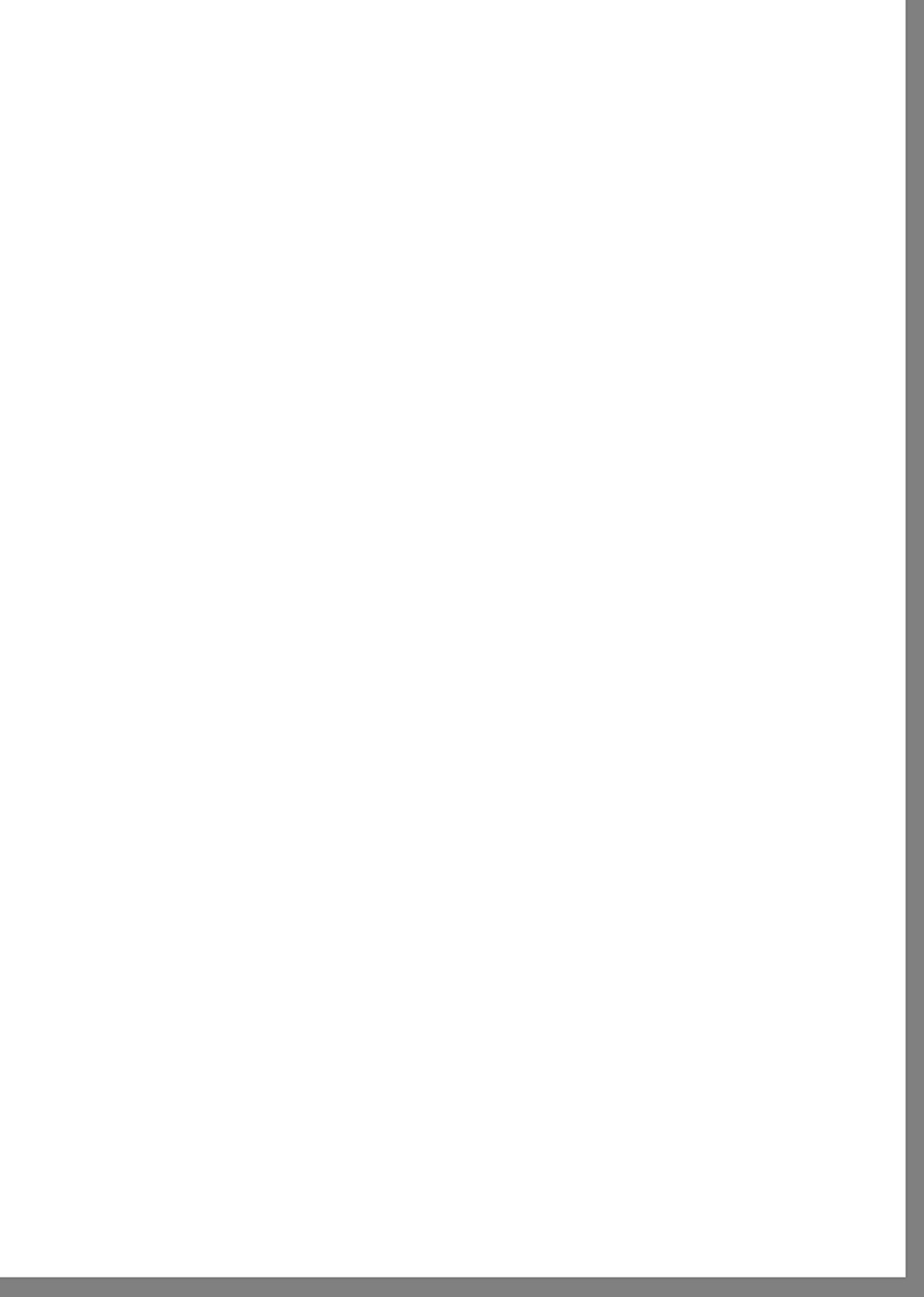


Fig. 7: BAR GRAPH OF RANKED LANGUAGE PRESTIGE AND CULTURAL REPRODUCTION SCORES



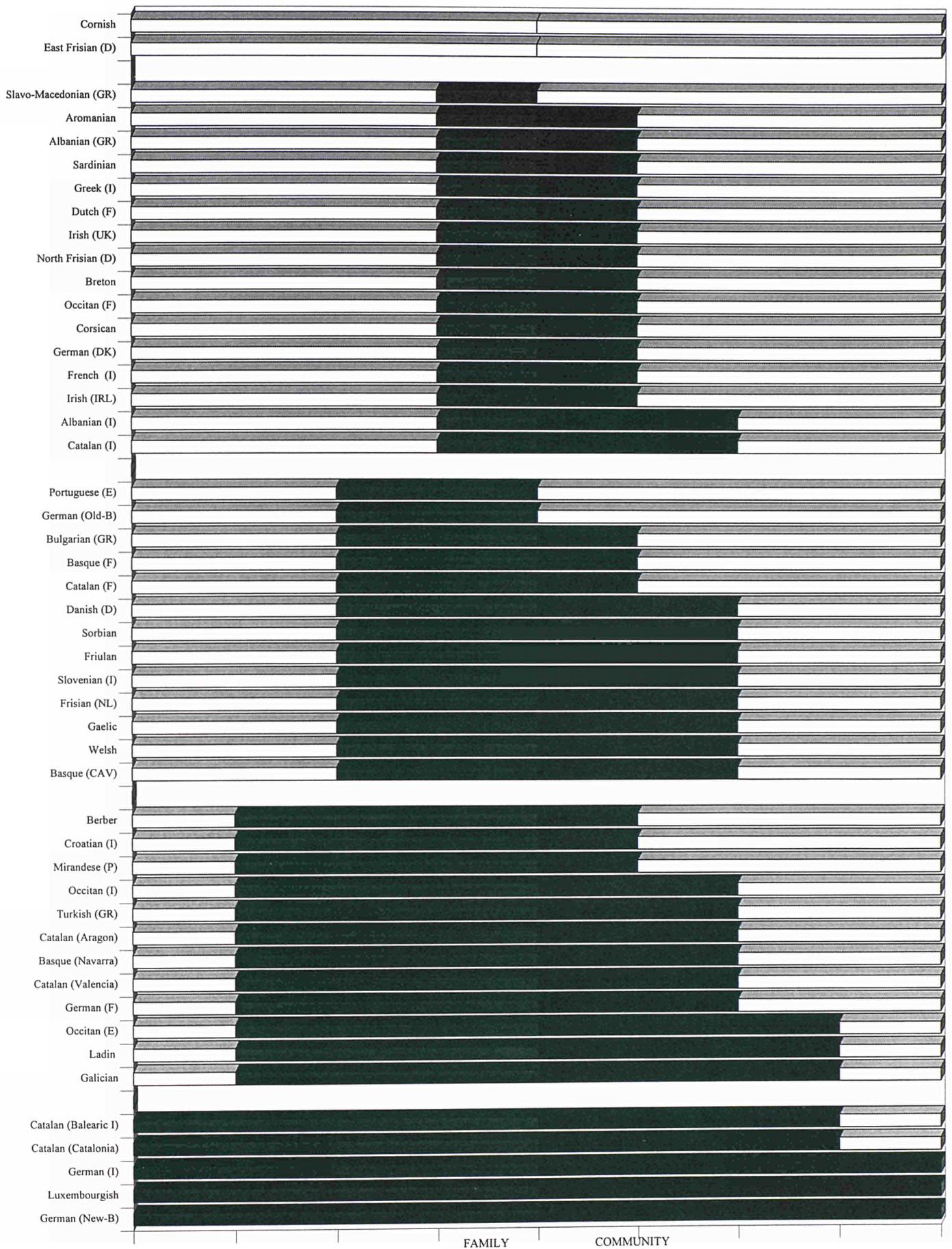
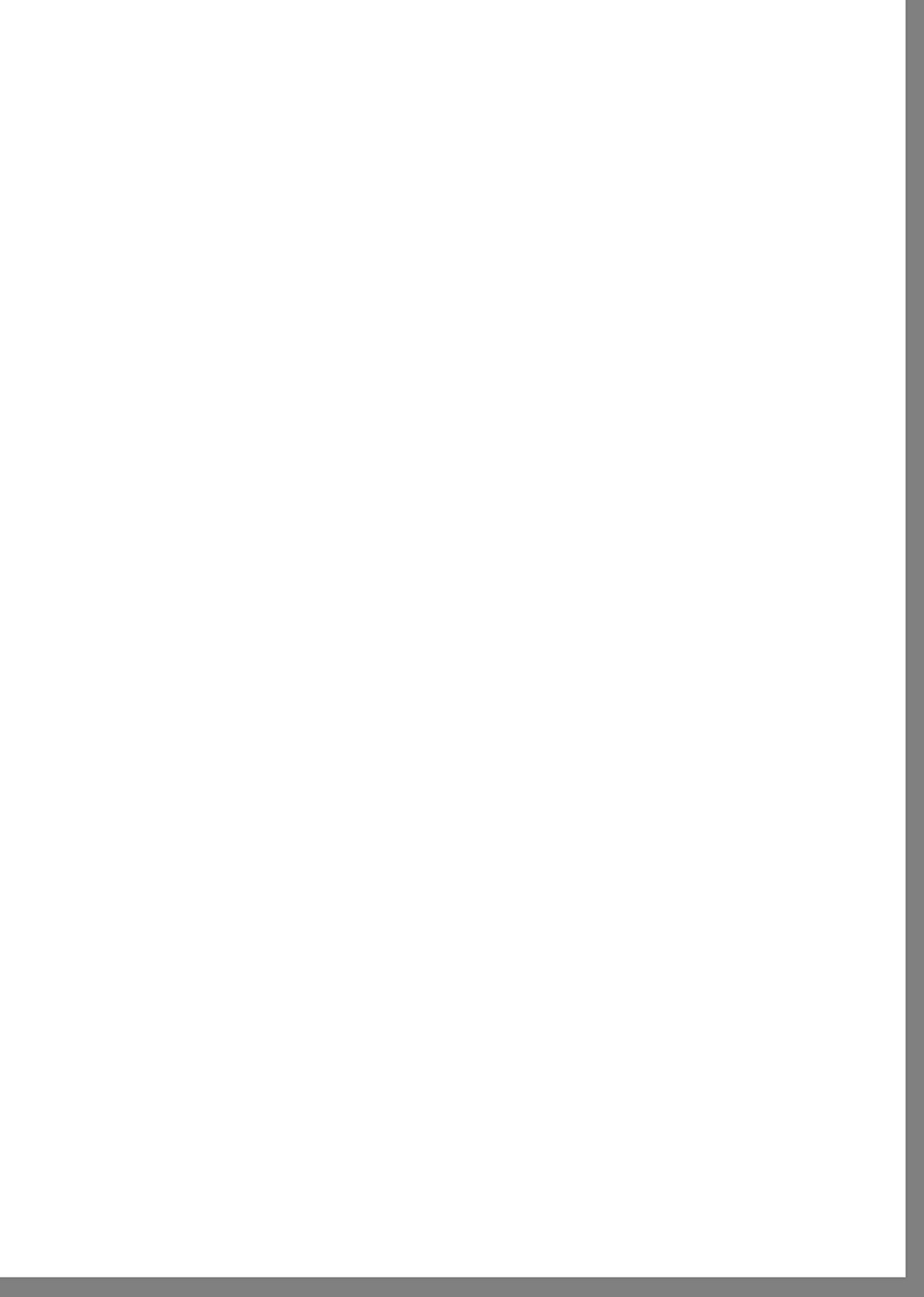


Fig. 8: BAR GRAPH OF RANKED FAMILY AND COMMUNITY SCORES



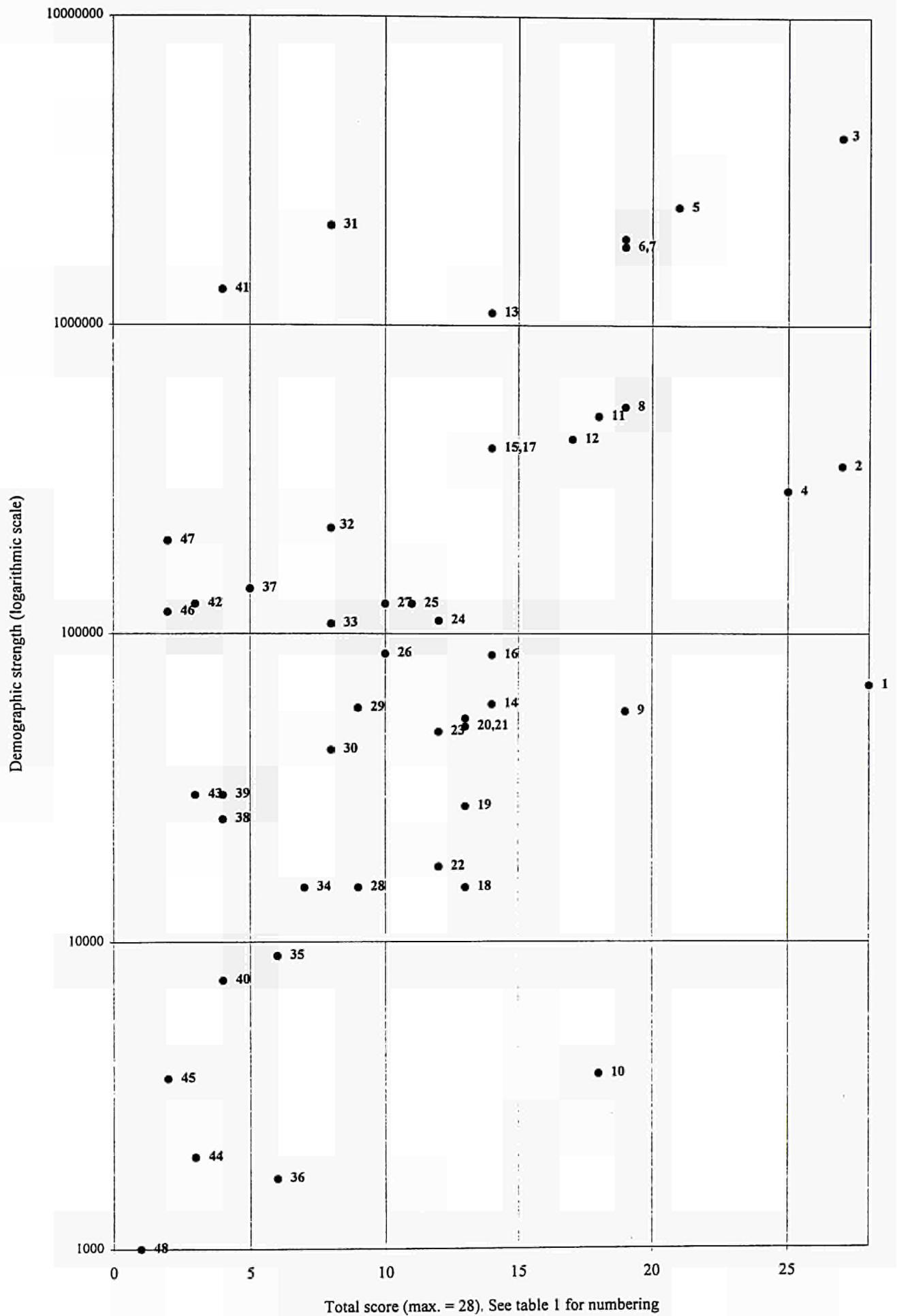
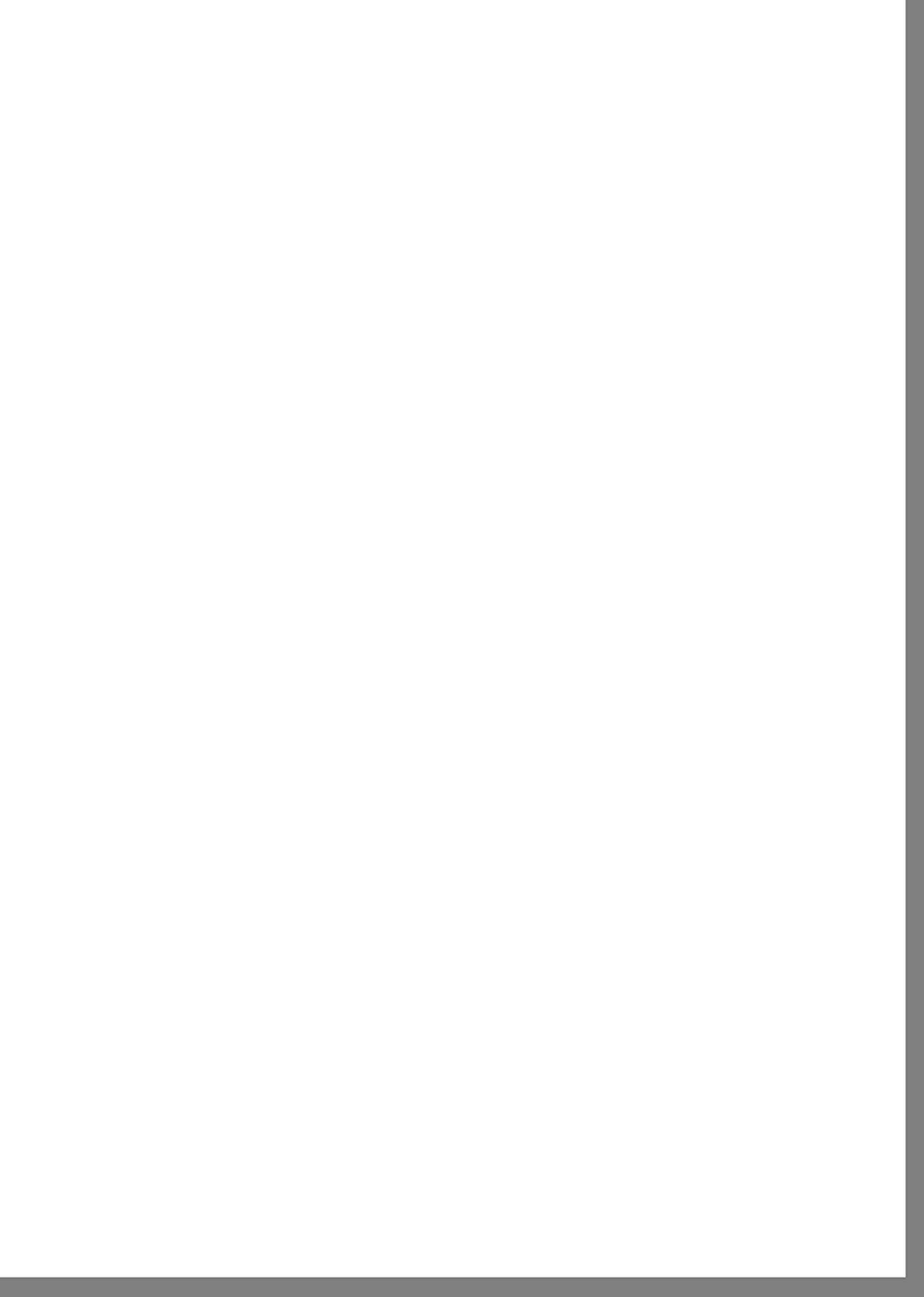


Fig. 9: GRAPH OF DEMOGRAPHIC SCALE AND TOTAL SCORE



Euromosaic – The production and reproduction of the minority language groups in the European Union

Document

Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

1996 – 92 pp. – 21.0 x 29.7 cm

ISBN 92-827-5512-6

Price (excluding VAT) in Luxembourg: ECU 14,50

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