

Migration, Multilingualism and Schooling in Southern Europe

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in Southern Europe

Edited by

Sandro Caruana, Liliana Copesescu
and Stefania Scaglione

**CAMBRIDGE
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P U B L I S H I N G

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Edited by Sandro Caruana, Liliana Copesescu and Stefania Scaglione

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MERIDIUM

Multilingualism in Europe as a Resource for Immigration
Dialogue Initiative among the Universities of the Mediterranean



Education and Culture DG

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To Margherita and Tudor,
newborn citizens of Europe

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INTRODUCTION

MIGRATION-INDUCED LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY IN SOUTHERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

SANDRO CARUANA, LILIANA COPOSESCU
AND STEFANIA SCAGLIONE

0. In this introduction the themes and the reasons for having undertaken the research on which this volume is based shall be presented. After a summary of the conditions which, for several years, have contributed to the implementation of language policies in Europe, and an analysis of the important role such policies have had in various contexts (§ 1.), in § 2 consideration is given to the lines of action promoted by the major continental institutions—and by the European Commission in particular—regarding the themes of support for plurilingualism and the legitimisation of both “endogenous” and “exogenous” linguistic diversity. Some of the critical aspects of the lines of action adopted by the European Commission, including difficulties which have still not been overcome (§3.), are discussed with specific reference to the regional sub-system of Southern Europe, characterized by a comparatively very recent tradition of immigration compared to other European countries (§ 4.). The specificity of this area and the most appropriate strategies in order to promote linguistic diversity effectively within it are the subjects of interest in the MERIDIUM project (§ 5.), from which this book originates. In the last section of this introductory chapter (§ 6.), the structure of the volume is briefly outlined.

1. For at least the last twenty years, the promotion of plurilingualism and the fostering of linguistic diversity have constituted an important priority on the agenda of the European institutions. Against the backdrop of the momentous political and economic processes which developed in

the latter part of the XX century (the break-up of the Soviet Union and the resurgence of nationalisms in regional areas within the European States, the consolidation and enlargement of the European Union, the globalization of markets and of communication circuits, the huge migratory flows towards the Continent)¹, language—understood in its dual function as a communicative resource and an indicator of cultural identity—has acquired an obvious strategic role in mapping out of the European model of citizenship and democratic participation: the solemn proclamation of non-discrimination on a linguistic basis, contained in articles 21,1 and 22 of the *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union* (2000), constitutes, from this point of view, a symbolic goal, with which the member States are called to align their linguistic policies in accordance with shared standards, aiming at promoting intercultural dialogue and eliminating discrimination. The aim, in brief, is to favour the progressive detachment from the *monolingual habitus* (Gogolin, 1994), which relegates plurilingualism to the level of an elitist phenomenon and presents linguistic diversity (“multilingualism”) as a real threat to the integrity of State communities.²

Overcoming such a concept becomes increasingly necessary in the face of demographic, political, cultural and economic conditions irreversibly marked by internationalization and mobility. The 480 million citizens of the European Union speak 23 different official languages, to which one should add—according to the estimates of the European Commission (2008a: 7)—at least 60 regional or minority languages, utilized by about 50 million speakers (10.6% of the population). This “endogenous” linguistic diversity takes on an unprecedented significance, when one considers the increased internal mobility of European citizens: in 2009, the citizens of the European Union resident in a country different from that of

¹ Cfr. Patten and Kymlicka (2003: 2 ff.).

² “Multilingualism”, in Council of Europe documentation, is defined as «the presence in a geographical area, large or small, of more than one 'variety of language' i.e. the mode of speaking of a social group whether it is formally recognised as a language or not; in such an area individuals may be monolingual, speaking only their own variety»; on the other hand, “plurilingualism” refers to «the repertoire of varieties of language which many individuals use, and is therefore the opposite of monolingualism; it includes the language variety referred to as 'mother tongue' or 'first language' and any number of other languages or varieties. Thus in some multilingual areas some individuals are monolingual and some are plurilingual» (definitions given in http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Division_EN.asp, accessed September 26, 2012). In the European Commission’s documents only “multilingualism” is used, with a broad meaning.

their citizenship constituted 2.4% of the total population (about 12 million people) and 2.8% of the work force.³ There is also, naturally, the impact of non-EU migration: in the same year, 2009, non-EU citizens resident within the borders of the European Union were almost 20 million (4% of the total population and 4.5% of the work force)⁴ and 776,000 individuals, 90% of whom were non-EU citizens, acquired the citizenship of a country of the European Union (Sartori, 2011).

For several years the overall demographic balance of the European Union, as in many of the member States, has benefitted considerably from the input of intra- and extra-European immigration: according to EUROSTAT, in 2009 the migratory balance of the population of the 27-member European Union contributed 1.8% to the overall demographic balance (2.8%), as against a natural balance of 1%. In the long term, the projections of Lanzieri (2011) estimate that in 2061 the percentage of residents with a “foreign”⁵ background, in the European Union, will vary between 26.5% and 34.6%, reaching one-third of the population in most of the Countries of Mediterranean and Northern-Central Europe (Lanzieri, 2011: 24). Such a scenario forcefully highlights the outdated nature of the traditional monolingual “territorial” model typical of the nation-State: if, at an individual level, plurilingualism constitutes, more and more, an indispensable exploitable resource for geographical and social mobility, at the level of policies, its real strategic value is represented by the optimization of multilingualism, which can guarantee democratic participation in the life of the State, social cohesion and equal opportunities for all those who—citizens or not—live and work in the European Union.

Such an approach is, after all, in line with the stand taken after the Second World War by the most important international organizations, in supporting respect for individual linguistic identity and safeguarding

³ EUROSTAT data; see:

<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/eurostat/home/>, accessed September 26, 2012

⁴ EUROSTAT data.

⁵ Following Lanzieri (2011: 6) and «according to international recommendations (UNECE, 2006; §398), persons with a foreign background are ‘...those persons whose parents were born outside the country. The persons in this group may or may not have directly experienced an international migration.’ [...] Thus, limiting the analysis to two generations, foreign-born persons whose parents were born abroad (the so-called ‘first generation’ of migrants), together with native-born persons whose parents were born abroad (the ‘second generation’), we can define a group of persons with a foreign background.»

linguistic diversity, within the framework of the principles protecting human rights and conserving humanity's intangible cultural heritage (e.g. United Nations, 1948, 1966, 1992; Council of Europe, 1992, 1995; UNESCO, 2003). Furthermore, international research and reflection have now shown clearly that the phenomena of contact between languages, both in the individual skills of the speakers, and in the widespread communicative practices in the community, constitute the norm, and not the exception, both from a historical perspective and from a synchronic global perspective; the issues related to increasing linguistic diversity in European societies are not therefore due to multilingualism *per se*, but derive, in fact, from «a certain [ideological] context in which this multilingualism is *seen* as a problem, or, rather, creates problems» (Auer and Wei, 2007: 3).

2. In line with this approach, guidance documents such as the *Action Plan 2004-2006 for the promotion of language learning and linguistic diversity* (European Commission, 2003), the *New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism* (European Commission, 2005), the publication *Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment* (European Commission, 2008c) outline a completely “ecological” approach to plurilingualism, in which institutional, economic and social bodies are simultaneously asked to implement structural and cultural conditions which will facilitate and encourage the acquisition, maintenance, use of more than one language on the part of citizens, without prejudice to their status (be they official, regional or minority languages), or their origin (“autochthonous/endogenous” or “allochthonous/exogenous”).

The impact of the actions promoted by the European institutions has been remarkable, especially in some sectors. In general terms, the gradual spread of a culture which favours language learning and use among European citizens—especially the youngest and most educated—is borne out by the results of some statistical surveys (EUROBAROMETER 2001, 2006, 2007, 2012), according to which:

- Among European citizens, there is an increase in both the perception of the inherent usefulness of learning foreign languages (in 2001, 80% of the respondents were in favour of this view; in 2005, 83%), and the ability to engage in a conversation in a European language other than their own (47% in 2001; 56% in 2005; 54% in 2012);
- the intention or desire to acquire or improve their proficiency in a foreign language was expressed by 60% of the European citizens interviewed (EUROBAROMETER, 2007: 48).

More specifically, as regards the structural measures adopted by individual national educational systems, with the aim of supporting the plurilingual growth of the young generations, the Eurydice reports (2004; 2009; EACEA-Eurydice, 2008) highlight significant progress:

- the study of a foreign language from primary school level and of at least another foreign language during the period of compulsory education are required in almost all the countries of the European Union; the CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) teaching method has been introduced, at least on an experimental basis, in many countries; and many regional or minority languages are included in the curriculum (EACEA-Eurydice, 2008);
- the vast majority of EU countries have included intercultural dialogue among the general objectives of school curricula and adopt specific measures for the integration of children whose L1 is different from the official language of their country of residence; some countries are also committed to supporting the language and culture of origin of immigrants through organized courses, either at the expense of the host country, or in accordance with bilateral agreements with countries of origin (Eurydice 2004; EACEA-Eurydice, 2009).

In terms of educational policies, the European Union and the European Commission have benefited from the continued collaboration with the Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe, which has produced important operational tools for the development of plurilingual skills among European citizens: the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, the *European Language Portfolio* (2001), reference guides *From Linguistic Diversity to Plurilingual Education. Guide for the Development of Language Education Policies in Europe* (CoE, 2007, 1 ed. Beacco and Byram, 2003), *Guide for the Development and Implementation of Curricula for Plurilingual and Intercultural Education* (Beacco *et al.*, 2010) and *Language Education Policy Profiles*⁶.

3. However, in spite of the considerations presented above, a more analytical consideration of the progress achieved so far is required, in order to understand how the exhortations of the European institutions in favour of pluri- and multilingualism have been implemented, both by the central authorities of individual States and by the citizens themselves. The

⁶ See http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Profils_en.asp (accessed September 26, 2012).

measures taken towards this goal are mainly grounded on a pragmatic and instrumental vision, which focuses on the formally certified acquisition of foreign languages with economic and professional marketability. From the above-mentioned surveys by the EUROBAROMETER (2006, 2012), for example, it can be seen that, among the languages that respondents believe should be known by young people, English registered an increase from 77% of preferences in 2005 to 79% in 2012, while preferences for the other major European languages decreased (-13% for French, -8% for German, -3% for Spanish). Moreover, minor EU languages, regional or minority languages and non-European languages generally did not improve their position (ranging from 0% to 4%)⁷.

Such a “market demand” obviously justifies or supports the choices of education authorities, which, according to the EACEA-Eurydice (2008) report, have greatly favoured English, by making it the most widely taught foreign language, at primary level, in all European countries (except Belgium and Luxembourg). On the other hand, over the years 2001-2006, the European average percentage of pupils studying a foreign language other than English in general secondary education (ISCED 2 and 3) has never exceeded around 24%, compared to an increase from 74% to 86% approximately for English (EACEA-Eurydice, 2008: 74 ff.).

In brief, the paradoxical risk that the emphasis on the economic and employment benefits of plurilingualism will favour only a few supposedly most useful languages is becoming a concrete reality. The deeply-rooted and widespread ideology, that there is a hierarchy of importance among languages could lead to the thwarting of pluralistic principles on which European language policies are based. In fact, giving exclusive prominence to such a market-oriented logic:

- would penalize the dissemination and development of other European languages, limiting their use solely to national contexts and gradually discouraging their utilization in strategic areas for development, such as scientific research and international relations;
- would abate the commitment to the preservation and intergenerational transmission of languages considered "weak" in terms of status, such as regional languages, on the one hand, and non-

⁷ The only remarkable exception to this trend is represented by Chinese, which in 2012 obtained 14% of preferences, whereas in 2005 it garnered 2%. Given the current relevance of China in the global economy, such a result seems to demonstrate the substantially instrumental vision underpinning public opinion judgments about language learning.

autochthonous languages brought in by migration, on the other. This is an indirect, but evident, violation of respect for individual linguistic identity and linguistic diversity.⁸

It is beyond the scope of this research to study in depth the problems regarding EU lesser-used languages as well as those of regional or minority languages.⁹ We will focus, instead, on critical issues faced by allochthonous languages, which tend to be greatly amplified both by their complete lack of status within the host society, and by the prejudices related to integration and towards immigration.

In fact, as Extra and Gorter (2007: 23) rightly point out:

established majority groups often make strong demands on IM [immigrant minority] groups for integration in terms of assimilation and are commonly very reluctant to promote or even accept the notion of cultural diversity as a determining characteristic of an increasingly multicultural environment.

This widespread attitude is matched by a persistent difficulty in recognizing the languages of origin of migrants in terms of public policies of individual countries, with particularly serious effects on education.

According to the EACEA-Eurydice (2009) report, the countries of the European Union still present very varied and, in many cases, objectively difficult conditions as regards the availability of courses to help migrants to maintain/strengthen their skills in their mother tongue. In recent years, the inherent "weakness" of the status of these languages within the host countries has been further aggravated by the limited resources allocated to the school systems: in times of economic hardship, the countries which have not set in motion bilateral agreements with the migrants' countries of origin subordinate the decision on whether or not to start a (migrant) mother tongue course to the demand and availability of human and material resources; also, States that had previously distinguished themselves for their commendable attention to the maintenance of the languages of origin of foreign nationals (e.g. Sweden and the Netherlands) have preferred to use the resources to enhance the teaching of the instructional language as L2, favouring an approach ismuch more based—with regard to immigrant children—on the "deficit theory" (in the instructional language) rather than on the exploitation of the richness of language skills they bring.

⁸ See, in this regard, the recommendations of the European Parliament (2009).

⁹ In the context of the vast bibliography, see, among others, de Swaan (2001), Nic Shuibhne (2002), Hogan-Brun and Wolff (2003), Phillipson (2003).

The educational choices just mentioned contribute to the perpetuation of conditions of disadvantage and exclusion for immigrant minors or children of immigrants, as shown by the data summarized in the recent Green Paper on *Migration and mobility: challenges and opportunities for EU education systems* (European Commission, 2008); moreover, they hinder the growth of a full plurilingual and intercultural awareness in the citizens of the host countries, insofar as they make “invisible” the complexity of the repertoire of a large part of society and of the school population. In its many interventions on these issues, the Council of Europe has never failed to point out that multilingualism brought in by migration can and should contribute to a rethinking of curricula towards a plurilingual and intercultural education for all, which

realises the universal right to quality education, covering: acquisition of competences, knowledge, dispositions and attitudes, diversity of learning experiences, and construction of individual and collective cultural identities. Its aim is to make teaching more effective, and increase the contribution it makes, both to school success for the most vulnerable learners, and to social cohesion (Beacco *et al.*, 2010: 7)

To this end, an exemplary synthesis of the conceptual key-lines on which the European educational systems should converge is offered by Gogolin (2002: 19 ff.):

- 1) *Reform of traditional canons of language education* according to the criteria:
 - 1a. language potential and needs among the given population of a region
 - 1b. integration of all languages existing on a territory into the canon of officially accepted and taught—i.e. legitimate—school languages;
- 2) *Language as the medium of instruction*: abandonment of the principle of monolingual organization of school systems;
- 3) *Education and learning under the conditions of plurilingualism*:
 - 3a. Recognition and acceptance of the fact that multilingualism is a general condition for all (language) education in European, i.e. linguistically plural, societies;
 - 3b. Introduction of “heteroglossic literacy” as a general aim of general education.

4. With regard to the above-mentioned issues, the situation of the countries of Southern Europe is particularly interesting, because of the distinctive features of this area of the Continent compared to the rest of the

European Union. In fact, in terms of matters related to the integration of immigrants, Southern Europe is today facing very particular conditions: unlike the States of North-Western Europe, countries in this area have only recently become an immigration destination. On the contrary, until the 1970s, these countries often experienced significant mass migration to other European States or to other continents.

According to estimates by the United Nations Population Division (UNDP), over the last two decades, the percentage of the immigrant population in the Southern European Countries has risen from 2.9% to 9.5%, compared to the current 10.8% in Northern European Countries and the 12.4% of Western European Countries; however, the average growth rate of immigration over the last twenty years has been significantly higher in Southern Europe than in the two European regions mentioned above.

This rapid transition to the condition of immigration-receptor countries has necessitated, with unprecedented urgency, a number of adjustments, particularly in the area of educational policy. In many states in the South of Europe, such policies are often characterized by limitations related, on the one hand, to inadequate teacher training as regards plurilingual and intercultural education and, on the other hand, to the lack of awareness, on the part of school authorities and society as a whole, of the extent and value of immigrant children's language skills in their respective languages of origin. The overall picture is further complicated by the significantly different composition, from country to country, of migration, which may diverge to different degrees in terms of nationality and/or language use. The socio-demographic fabric of the host society, which provides varied conditions for the integration of migrants, may also vary considerably from one area to another.

5. On the basis of the above considerations, seven universities in six countries (Italy, Malta, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia and Spain)¹⁰ have collaborated in the MERIDIUM Project (*Multilingualism in Europe as a Resource for Immigration—Dialogue Initiative Among the Universities of the Mediterranean*), a network project that aims to provide active support for the promotion of the European policy of pluri-/multilingualism in Southern European countries. In this project particular attention has been given to the development of strategies geared to increase awareness of the

¹⁰ The institutions which are participating in this project are the University for Foreigners of Perugia (responsible for coordination), the University of Malta, the Universidade Nova of Lisbon, Transylvania University of Brasov, Babeş-Bolyai University—Cluj-Napoca, the Università del Litorale—Capodistria, the University of Salamanca.

institutions and society towards exogenous linguistic diversity, promote its value and assess the efficacy of measures being taken.

The participation of two Romanian universities is a key aspect of the MERIDIUM network: in fact, it permits, within the network, a direct exchange of information and experience between a country which in recent years has experienced a period of high emigration (IOM, 2008) and countries—above all, Italy and Spain—to which migration flows are directed and from which, in many cases, immigrants are returning home after a longer or shorter stay. The partnership between these universities constitutes an extremely significant instance of the usefulness of creating opportunities for collaboration which can support the maintenance of L1 in the migration setting, while, at the same time, favouring the preservation and the further acquisition of skills in L2 after the return to the country of origin.

In its first three years of activity (2009-2011), the project has had two fundamental aims:

- to analyze, through research in the field, the sociolinguistic contexts and the school culture in areas, in the partner countries, with a high level of migration (inbound and outbound);
- to plan initiatives to promote the dissemination of a plurilingual and intercultural awareness among the institutional parties and the larger society, starting from the specific context of primary education (pupils, teachers, school authorities, families).

6. This book provides a synthesis of the scientific results obtained from the MERIDIUM project, not only through the research and the activities conducted by groups of the network, but also thanks to the reflections arising from the MERIDIUM International Conference "Multilingualism and Migration Flows in Mediterranean Europe" (University for Foreigners of Perugia, 23-25 November 2011).

The first part of the book contains the contributions of European scholars who, while not directly participating in the MERIDIUM Project, provided accounts of important scientific and institutional experiences during the MERIDIUM International Conference. These interventions deal mainly with the problematic implications and the opportunities related to linguistic diversity in the current European context.

In the opening chapter, the contribution of Cornelia Ilie tackles the controversial issue of freedom of expression in a multilingual and multicultural society. It deals specifically with the limits and principles of responsibility that must be identified, so that one can freely express opinions, also and especially when these are in conflict with the views of

others. If freedom of speech, like respect for diversity, is an essential value of European democracy, reflecting on the ways in which to combine these two poles in public discourse emerges with particular urgency in a European scenario increasingly exposed to the risk that there will be distinct public spheres separating migrants and citizens.

The role of dominant languages in present-day multilingual societies is discussed by Román Álvarez Rodríguez, who highlights the origins and prospects of the complex interplay between language, identity and power. The existence of a dialectical relationship not only between dominant languages and those which have become minority languages, but also between dominant languages with different status (e. g. English and Spanish) is an inescapable aspect of global communication. This, rather than creating a conflict, could represent an opportunity for cultural progress and openness to others.

In addressing the specific issue of plurilingualism resulting from immigration, the contribution of Joana Duarte draws attention to the need for deeper reflection on the systemic features of the school contexts in which immigrant pupils are placed: in the face of the extensive scientific evidence attesting the difficulties encountered by these students in achieving educational goals, there have been few studies aiming at establishing how much the observed educational disparities are affected by the organizational and aptitude characteristics of the host schools, where, to a great extent, there is still the widespread monolingual habitus which tends to fuel, with regard to immigrant pupils, the "deficit theory".

The other three contributions in the first part of the book are concerned with national contexts directly involved in the MERIDIUM Project.

Within a legal framework such as the Slovenian one, that legitimizes and protects national minorities (Italian and Hungarian) and scattered minorities (Roma), Ana Kralj discusses the foreclosures against new minorities, often from other States of the former Yugoslavia. The author highlights the rifts in the social fabric which originate from this situation and which have repercussions on both the macro-level of the relationships between ethno-linguistic groups, and the micro-level of daily individual interactions.

The contribution of Marina Chini raises, with regard to the Italian context, several issues related to the study of linguistic diversity induced, in recent decades, by migration flows entering the Peninsula: to date, research on linguistic repertoires, customs and linguistic attitudes of immigrants in Italy are still at an early stage and there are few systematic surveys able to provide information comparable with the data already acquired in other European and non-European contexts. Chini addresses

the need to plan targeted interventions in order to promote both a better language integration of immigrants, and real possibilities for them to maintain their languages of origin.

Concrete examples of educational activities for the promotion of positive attitudes towards plurilingualism and the development of intercultural skills are discussed by Antoinette Camilleri Grima with regard to the Maltese context: even though bilingualism is present, education in Maltese schools could be further enhanced through the adoption of diversified methodologies, directed at increasing Maltese pupils' motivation to study languages, but, above all, to ensure the integration of students whose L1 is different from the instructional language, through increased attention to the affective and cognitive dimensions in relationship with linguistic diversity.

The second part of the book focuses entirely on presentations resulting from the MERIDIUM Project and on illustrating some of the most significant results obtained from the research carried out in each one of the countries of the network.

Chapters 7 and 8 illustrate the stages of the project and the methodology used for the identification and analysis of case studies; a brief comparative outline of the samples of informants involved in the research in the respective countries being studied is also included.

The final six chapters of this volume, written by the different units of the network, deal with issues of particular significance in the respective national contexts. In fact, as has already been noted, even though all the countries in the network are linked by recent migration dynamics, each has distinctive characteristics, both as regards the organization of the educational systems, and in terms of the patterns of the migratory flows. While bearing in mind the importance of tracing a basic comparative framework, it is only through a context-specific analysis that it will be possible to discuss, in detail, what could be the most suitable instruments and methods of intervention within each individual context.

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PART I

**LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY
IN THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION
AND CONTEXT-RELATED ISSUES
IN SOUTHERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES**

CHAPTER ONE

WHICH FREEDOM?
THE CHALLENGES OF KEY WORD
CONCEPTUALISATIONS
IN A CROSS-LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

CORNELIA ILIE

*If liberty means anything, it means the right
to tell people what they don't want to hear.*
(George Orwell)

*To lose freedom is awful; to lose the idea of
freedom is even worse.*
(George Lakoff)

1.0. Introduction

Historically, freedom and diversity in Europe have been mutually reinforcing, since people whose ideas were not tolerated in one state were able to move to another. Since 1945, freedom has been enshrined as a “European” value—not only in the European Union but also in the Council of Europe, whose 47 members have endorsed the European Convention on Human Rights, thereby accepting the stipulations of the European Court of Human Rights. Over time the notion of freedom has repeatedly been proclaimed as a virtue at the core of European democracy.

Yet nowadays we are witnessing a growing inconsistency between the lofty ideals of freedom-loving nations and the freedom-restricting practices reinforced in several countries due to the fear shared by many Europeans who feel threatened by the large migrations of recent decades. How can freedom be reconciled with diversity in Europe?

Following the recent influx of migrants and refugees from all over the world, Europe has become increasingly multilingual and multicultural. While multilingualism has always been a distinguishing feature of

European societies, many people in Europe have traditionally had less direct contact with individuals from different cultural backgrounds and who speak other languages than their own. Nowadays, however, we are actually witnessing a new reality in which we encounter and interact with individuals belonging to a new category of Europeans, the so-called “hyphenated Europeans” (e.g. Turkish-Germans, North African-French women or Asian Brits). They contribute to the growing number of sub-cultures and languages underpinning modern European nation-states.

When we interact in cross-cultural contexts, we are co-constructing and challenging culture-related meanings in ways which can lead to understanding, but sometimes to misunderstanding, both within and across national borders. In institutions and the media, cultural and linguistic differences are often manipulated for ideological and political purposes by means of stereotypical formulas, false dichotomies or rhetorical dissociation. For a long time the notions of migration and migrants’ rights have been associated with the concept of freedom—economic, political, cultural, religious, personal freedom. But how are these rights ensured and reinforced in various European societies? By stipulating coercive legislation or by encouraging and facilitating an open and constructive dialogue between individuals and civil society groups?

1.1. Language, Cognition and Key Words

It is through language that we are able to convey, challenge and negotiate meanings, as well as form concepts, in order to make sense of and structure the world around us. Words that are central to a culture represent the key to understanding how a society takes on new meanings and how these changes reflect values of society. Worth noting in this respect, is Raymond Williams’s (1976) pioneering contribution with regard to the interpretation of cultural structures that provide meanings for members of a society by weaving together various aspects of life experience. He examined the historical changes in the meaning of 109 key words, in order to bring out the significance of the facts of these changes. He defined keywords in two ways: as significant, binding words in certain activities, and as significant, indicative words in certain forms of thought. Evans-Pritchard (1982), an anthropologist who focused on the interpretation of history and cultural meaning, is considered the father of symbolic and interpretive anthropology. He considered that the best approach to investigating social structure was to frame it as a series of flexible, logical, cognitive “maps” giving form and meaning to social behaviour. In linguistics, a cross-cultural analysis of the meanings and

connotations of related key words, i.e. the British notion of *consensus* and the Swedish *samförstånd* (= *konsensus*) in parliamentary debates (Ilie, 2007), reveals both institutionally based similarities and differences rooted in particular cultural traditions and historically shaped political conventions.

1.1.1. How Can Freedom be Defined?

Many studies of the concept of “freedom” have been carried out by philosophers and anthropologists, and recently by linguists representing different schools of thought. Most of them would agree about the shared generic sense of concepts known as “freedom” and “liberty” in English, “liberté” in French, and “Freiheit” in German, for example. What is lacking in philosophical literature, however, is the cross-linguistic perspective and the contextualised analysis of the actual usages of these concepts.

As was pointed out by etymologists, the Latin concept of “libertas” denotes primarily the status of a “liber”, i.e. a person who is not a slave, and it involves the negation of the limitations imposed by slavery. In other words, *libertas* was a privilege and not a right. In ancient Greek and Roman societies some people were granted many liberties, others had very few, and many had none at all. The Roman republic was one in which only a handful of people (senators, magistrates) had the full privileges of free speech, a minority (citizens) had the right to vote on what their superiors had decided, and many people (slaves) had no say at all. The idea reflected in the Latin concept of *libertas* appears to be close to what Isaiah Berlin (1969) calls the notion of “positive freedom”, i.e. the wish of the individual to be his/her own master, and what Taylor (1982) refers to as exercising control over one’s life.

The words *freedom* and *liberty* are often used interchangeably although they do not necessarily mean the same thing. *Freedom* is generally defined in philosophical literature as the quality or state of being free, or the absence of necessity, coercion, or constraint in making a choice or executing an action. The term may also refer to the state of liberation from slavery or the power of another person or organisation or entity. Freedom is also defined as the state of being outspoken or speaking one’s mind. As for *liberty*, the most common definition is that it is a state of being free to do as one pleases. A more basic definition of *liberty* regards that state of being able to make a choice, which presupposes being unrestricted, physically or mentally. A definition mostly used in the context of social, political, or economic situations would encompass being free from arbitrary or tyrannical control. This meaning is derived from the

emergence in the 18th century of the English notion of *liberty* or the French notion of *liberté* as the opposite of slavery and oppression, and the rise of democracy. If the word *freedom* focused, primarily, on the rights of an individual to be “left alone” by other people, the word *liberty* became gradually specialised in “public rights”, that is, in the rights of social groups, guaranteed by suitable political structures. A significant distinction is made by Wierzbicka (1997) between two expressions: *freedom of speech* and *liberty of the tongue*. The former is assumed to refer to the fact that other people cannot stop us from saying what we want to say. By contrast, the latter is assumed to refer to the fact that one says what one wants to say without taking other people’s reactions into account. The current use of the word *liberty* has to do with everybody’s inalienable right to do what they think is right and good. The underlying premise is that we are all granted free will by nature, and that no one can take that away from anyone else. However, the basic philosophical, as well as socio-political, issue arises about how we define and identify the “right” and the “good” (Ross 1930).

A major difference between the concept of *freedom* and *libertas* relates to a rather negative orientation of freedom, which can be interpreted in two ways: first, it points to NOT TO DO things that one does not want to do; second, to being able TO DO things that one wants to do WITHOUT INTERFERENCE from other people. This negative view, framed as freedom FROM, has been attributed to classical English philosophers, such as Locke, Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill. The formulation “freedom FROM X” is felicitous if X refers to situations when other people do something to us, thus preventing us from doing what we want to do, e.g. freedom from harassment, from oppression, from tyranny, from coercion, from persecution. The semantics of *freedom* corresponds to the ideal of “non-imposition”, or Berlin’s notion of “non-interference”, which is one of the major cultural themes in the Anglo-Saxon world. According to this ideal, freedom and being free are a matter of what we can do, of what it is open to us to do, whether or not we do anything to exercise these options. In other words, freedom consists in our being able to act, or not to act, depending on what we choose to do.

The concept of freedom of expression displays a dynamic complexity which can be instantiated in two main ways:

- (i) **Freedom from X** (e.g. from being offended, insulted, slandered, attacked)
- (ii) **Freedom to X** (e.g. to challenge, criticise, accuse, blame, slander)

In both cases, freedom needs to be exercised with:

- **responsibility** (assuming responsibility for what one says)
and
- **accountability** (being held accountable for what one says)

We often tend to assume that we all know what the word “freedom” or “liberty” means and we take it for granted that the meaning is the same in all languages. However, as Wierzbicka (1997) has convincingly shown, “freedom” is a concept which has different meanings in different languages according to specific cognitive patterns and socio-cultural values. By means of semantic primitives, she has devised a particular metalanguage that is used to define and distinguish various shades of meaning connected with the concept:

[freedom] – English key word

- (a) someone X can think something like this:
 - (b) if I want to do something I can do it
 - (c) no one else can say to me: “you can’t do it because I don’t want this”
 - (d) if I don’t want to do something I don’t have to do it
 - (e) no one else can say to me: “you have to do it because I want this”
 - (f) this is good for X
 - (g) it is bad if someone cannot think this
- (Wierzbicka, 1997: 130)

Components (b) and (c) refer to the range of options which are open to us, whereas components (d) and (e) focus on the benefits of non-interference from other people. According to Wierzbicka, freedom from X can be rhetorically invoked in situations when some condition prevents us from doing what we want to do and what we have the right to do, as in the case of freedom from hunger or freedom from poverty, as well as freedom from persecution, harassment, oppression, coercion or external control.

Expressions of this kind are used to make strong political statements, e.g. “Everyone has the right to do what they want to do and not be prevented from it by X”, where X refers to situations when other people prevent us from doing what we think we are entitled to do. This is why “freedom from illness” is not semantically felicitous because it would imply that illness, too, is a social evil, imposed on some people by other people’s actions or neglect. Through recurrent use, the modern concept of freedom has developed in opposition to the notions of “interference” and “imposition”.

While the word *freedom* tends to focus, above all, on the right of the individual to be “left alone” by other people, the word *liberty* has gradually become associated with civil and political rights that protect individuals from institutional infringement and guarantee respect for

personal privacy and integrity. This particular meaning, which applies collectively to all individuals, is represented by Wierzbicka as follows:

[liberty] – English key word

(a) everyone can think something like this

(b) if I want to do something because I think it is good I can do it

(c) no one can say: “this person can’t do it because I don’t want this”

(d) everyone thinks: this is good

(Wierzbicka, 1997: 134)

Components (b) and (c) refer to control which is actually exercised by someone who is, roughly speaking, his/her own master, and not a person under someone else’s control. Component (d) is supposed to account for the positive connotations of the word, which are assumed to apply to “everyone”. Whereas most of the distinctions made by Wierzbicka between the semantic denotations and connotations of the two concepts – *freedom* and *liberty* – are supported by actual context-specific usage, her schematic representations do raise important questions. The most problematic is the fact that the meaning of each of the two concepts is envisaged exclusively from the perspective of the individual whose (freedom or liberty) rights are being reinforced, but without being related to the perspective of the interacting agents who participate or are involved in the interaction (interlocutors, audience, and so on). The interpersonal dynamics of the social dialogue, through which freedom- and liberty rights are exerted, has been neglected. This failure results in unidimensional, rather than multidimensional, considerations and conclusions regarding the scope and focus of actual usages of the two concepts. Freedom, like liberty, can only be understood, defined and analysed in relation to the perceptions and interpretations of the agents directly or indirectly involved in contextually situated actions and transactions. Where do we draw the line between freedom of expression, on the one hand, and acknowledgement of other viewpoints, on the other? It is important to realize that freedom is not without limits and that liberty carries with it duties and responsibilities (see 1.2.3, 1.2.4 and 1.2.5 below).

In terms of cross-cultural analysis, Wierzbicka’s analytical framework points to idiosyncratic definitions of these words that do not have exact equivalents in other languages. In spite of a core meaning of freedom which is shared by its counterparts in other languages (*libertas* in Latin, *svoboda* and *volja* in Russian, *wolnosc* in Polish), there are a number of context-sensitive semantic differences and culture-specific usages. She also points out that the Russian concept of “svoboda” may apparently correspond exactly to the English concept of freedom since it can

sometimes take the negative complement corresponding, roughly, to the English *from*-phrase. However, *svoboda* embodies a different perspective on human and cultural conceptualisation. A central semantic aspect of *svoboda* refers to “ease” or “relaxation”, which is said to fit well with the image of a child unwrapped from its swaddling clothes and experiencing the pleasure of being able to move its limbs without any restrictions. According to Wierzbicka (1997: 141), *svoboda*, unlike *libertas* or *freedom*, suggests a feeling of well-being, caused by the perceived absence of external pressure or constraints. The Latin concept focuses on not having a master (not being a slave), whereas the Russian one focuses on not sensing any external constraints. The corresponding English concept focuses on options, and on the absence of interference from other people. It is linked with individual rights, with private space, with being “left alone”, with “privacy” and personal independence.

1.2. Freedom of Expression

*I may disapprove of what you say but I will
fight to death for your right to say it.*
(Voltaire)

Voltaire believed strongly in freedom of expression and defended the right to engage in debate and controversy over opposite standpoints. His philosophical views on the individual’s right to freedom of expression were enshrined in the French Constitution after his death. The right to freedom of expression emerged from the struggle against religious sensitivity, intolerance and tyranny of religion in Medieval Europe. In other words, the emphasis on the right of the individual was historically and politically motivated.

Formal censorship used to be common practice in most states. Autocrats frequently imprisoned critics, shut down the presses, forced authors into exile, or censored written and artistic works. The struggle against licensing requirements in Great Britain in the 17th century, the American Bill of Rights, and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man proclaimed standards of freedom in a way that inspired new realms of independent expression and thought, especially in Europe in the 19th and early 20th centuries, but also in other parts of the world.

The full importance of freedom of expression could perhaps be appreciated only with the rise of totalitarian regimes, such as Adolf Hitler’s Germany and Joseph Stalin’s Soviet Union, among others. In such regimes, the state not only exerted full control over expression, it also used the media to direct citizens’ thoughts and opinions through propaganda,

indoctrination, denunciation, and social conformity. After the defeat of Nazi Germany, freedom of expression joined the realm of core freedoms that are now protected as universal standards (Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights).

Franklin D. Roosevelt is one of the statesmen who insisted that it is not enough to speak of freedom unless one explains what one wishes to be free from or free for. In 1941 he proclaimed four freedoms as the goals of Allied policy in the Second World War: freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear.

Freedom of expression is usually regarded as one of the most fundamental of all freedoms in that it is a basic foundation of democracy. It encompasses not only freedom of speech and media, but also freedom of thought, culture, and intellectual inquiry. Freedom of expression guarantees everyone's right to speak and write openly without state interference, including the right to criticise injustices, illegal activities, and incompetencies. It guarantees the right to inform the public and to offer opinions of any kind, to advocate change, to give the minority the opportunity to be heard, and to challenge the rise of state tyranny by the force of words.

But is complete, unlimited, unconditional, freedom possible? Is it desirable? Is there such a thing as complete freedom to say anything about anything to anybody? Freedom is normally related to constraint, which applies to both the freedom to do things and the freedom to say things. When doing or saying things, we normally engage in an implicit or explicit dialogue with our fellow human beings. Consequently, our freedom emerges through actual interaction with the other(s), who certainly will be affected in various ways by our actions and our words. In the process of exercising our freedom of expression we necessarily get engaged in a relationship with the other(s).

1.2.1. The Challenges of the Danish Cartoons

One of the most recent challenges to freedom of expression was the worldwide reaction to the initial September 2006 publication of a cartoon that mocked the Prophet Muhammad in the Danish daily newspaper *Jyllands-Posten*. The cartoons depicted the Prophet Muhammad as a terrorist with a bomb. As a result, violent demonstrations erupted across the Middle East. Public anger was aimed at Danish embassies, and Muslim leaders demanded that the prime minister of Denmark apologise for the publication of the cartoons and shut down the newspaper. Throughout the world, free speech organisations and some governments defended the right

to free expression, although a number of Western leaders criticised the Danish newspaper and called for an apology, persuaded that freedom of expression is a principle to be defended except when violent demonstrations are organised against it. In the end, the Danish paper issued an apology to defuse the international controversy, after an international boycott by Arab countries cost the Danish economy several billion dollars. The Danish Prime Minister decided not to take action against the newspaper, explaining that in free societies, free speech is too important to be interfered with by the state.

Several newspapers in the Netherlands re-published the cartoons in a sign of solidarity for free expression. Most of them received threats of violence as a result. Dutch Prime Minister Jan-Peter Balkenende stated his position, while showing he understood that some images might be provocative, “I regret the threats from the Muslim world. In our world, when someone crosses a line, we take the matter to court. There is no place here for threats and own direction. (I am) Glad there is freedom of speech here. At the same time we have to realize that our images and ideas can be provocative to others” (The Wikipedia Muhammad Cartoons Debate, 15 February, 2006).

France Soir, Germany’s *Die Welt*, *La Stampa* in Italy and *El Periodico* in Spain all carried some of the drawings.

In Italy, Reforms Minister Roberto Calderoli, a leading figure of the anti-immigrant Lega Nord (Northern League) party, said he would wear the T-shirt on which he had imprinted controversial Danish cartoons depicting Prophet Mohammad wearing a bomb-like turban, despite being asked not to do so by Italy’s then Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi.

The Italian magazine *Studi Cattolici*, close to the influential Catholic conservative Opus Dei group, published a cartoon showing the Prophet Mohammed in hell, sparking outrage among Muslim associations in Italy. According to the Italian news agency Ansa, the cartoon shows the Italian poets Dante Alighieri and Virgil on the edge of a circle of flames looking down on Mohammed, whose body is cut in half. “Isn’t that Mohammed?” Virgil is shown asking Dante. “Yes, and he’s cut in two because he has brought division to society,” replies Dante.

1.2.2. The Reactions to the Swedish Cartoons

In Sweden a controversy started with a series of drawings by Swedish artist Lars Vilks that depicted the Islamic prophet Muhammad as a roundabout dog (it showed the head of Muhammad on the body of a dog). According to Vilks, the art and culture communities in Sweden repeatedly

criticise the United States and Israel, whereas Muslim values are rarely even questioned. Several art galleries in Sweden declined to show the drawings, citing security concerns and fear of violence. The controversy gained international attention after the Örebro-based regional newspaper *Nerikes Allehanda* published one of the drawings to illustrate an editorial on self-censorship and freedom of religion. The editorial defended “Muslims’ right to freedom of religion” but also said it must be permitted to “ridicule Islam’s most foremost symbols —just like all other religions’ symbols.”

International protests started immediately afterwards. In a statement, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Islamabad said Pakistan condemned the publication in very strong terms: “Regrettably, the tendency among some Europeans to mix the freedom of expression with an outright and deliberate insult to 1.3 billion Muslims in the world is on the rise.” The Swedish Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Anna Björkander declared that the Swedish Chargé d’Affaires said he was sorry if the publication had hurt Muslim feelings. She also told the Pakistani official that freedom of the press is strongly protected in the Swedish constitution.

The editor-in-chief of *Nerikes Allehanda*, Ulf Johansson, declared that it would be “strange” if the Swedish Chargé d’Affaires had apologised over the cartoon, and would contradict the Swedish government’s previous line of not interfering with freedom of the press.

Swedish Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt met with ambassadors from 22 Muslim countries to discuss the issue. Reinfeldt said that he had “explained how Swedish society works and that we don’t have elected representatives making editorial decisions”, adding that “this is an open country, a tolerant country”.

One Muslim woman in western Sweden was arrested on charges of issuing a death threat against Vilks in an e-mail. The woman confirmed during police interrogation that she had written the e-mail and said that she did not have any regrets about it. On the 6th of September, one actual roundabout dog created by Vilks and local children was set alight as an apparent threat.

It was reported that the group Islamic State of Iraq had placed a bounty of at least \$100,000 on the head of Lars Vilks and 50,000 dollars on Ulf Johansson, editor-in-chief of *Nerikes Allehanda*. This reward would be raised to \$150,000 if he was slaughtered like a lamb, the statement said. The statement also threatened attacks on Swedish companies unless unspecified “crusaders” issued an apology.

The European Council for Fatwa and Research (ECFR) and the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE) both condemned

the death threats against Vilks and Johansson. ECFR also said it planned to issue a “counter fatwa” against the threats.

The World Association of Newspapers (WAN), which represents over 18,000 newspapers around the world, issued a statement where it condemned the death threats and expressed support for *Nerikes Allehanda*’s right to publish the drawing.

1.2.3. The EU Policy in the Cartoon Controversy

In the wake of the affair known as the “Mohammed cartoons” affair, the countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) presented a resolution entitled “Combating defamation of religions.”

The European Union is opposed to it: its members do not see the concept of defamation of religions as a valid one in an arena committed to the protection and promotion of human rights and consider that we need to protect the rights of individuals in the exercise of their freedom of religion or belief, rather than the religions as such. By focusing on the obligation to protect a religion, the notion of “defamation of religions” can be used to justify arbitrary limitations imposed on certain human rights or prohibiting the exercise of these rights, in particular the freedom of expression.

In France there is a belief that, since human rights are correlated and indivisible, the freedom of expression and the freedom of religion and belief complement each other. It is assumed that the notion of “defamation of religions” is not compatible with international human rights law, which aims to protect individuals, not doctrines of thought.

With this in mind, it is vital to distinguish between the criticism of religions and beliefs, on the one hand, and the incitement to religious hatred, on the other. Only the latter must be opposed to the extent that it constitutes incitement to discrimination in accordance with articles 19 and 20 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*.

That is why France, together with its European partners, has adopted a firm political position which is systematically defended in the international arenas in order to oppose the relativist concept of defamation of religions.

This position was formalised by the adoption of the conclusions of the EU Council on the freedom of religion and belief of the 16th November 2009: this text reflects the values of *laïcité* (secularism). It affirms, in particular, the need to provide adequate and effective guarantees of the freedom of thought, conscience and religion and underlines that the freedom of expression is intrinsically linked to it, citing in particular the right to criticise religion. It also reaffirms that the freedom of religion and

belief includes the right to adopt or to abandon a religion, as well as the right not to profess a religion.

The November 2nd 2011 issue of the French satirical weekly *Charlie Hebdo* is entitled “Charia Hebdo” (a play on the French word for sharia), and is apparently “edited” by Muhammad, who is shown to “threaten” the readers with “100 lashes if you don’t die of laughter!” in a front-page cartoon. Inside are dozens of satirical stories and cartoons depicting Muhammad, as well as cartoons featuring women wearing the burqa, the face-covering veil. The idea was to mockingly ‘celebrate’ the victory of Islamists at Tunisia’s recent election, and the introduction of the sharia law in Libya. The following day the publication’s offices in the 20th arrondissement of Paris were firebombed.

Many Muslims did indeed find the cartoons offensive, not least because they breach a convention in Islam that the Prophet should not be depicted. However, Nicolas Sarkozy, former French president who was then interior minister, expressed his view on the 2006 controversy in the following way: he preferred, he said, “an excess of caricature to an excess of censorship”.

1.2.4. How Controversial is Freedom of Expression?

Within democracies, freedom of expression remains controversial: Should there be restrictions on hate speech, on obscenities, or on publishing sensitive national security information? Examining freedom of expression in light of the history of authoritarianism and totalitarianism, past and present, helps place many of these debates in greater perspective and provides deeper understanding of the significance and scope of freedom of expression.

The formal laws constituting freedom of expression in democratic societies are only the tip of the iceberg of unwritten agreements among citizens about what they can express publicly in particular situations and contexts. These agreements differ from society to society: in the case of Denmark, the agreement to allow the publication of the Mohammed cartoons in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* has reinforced the proliferation of anti-Muslim prejudice and has served to produce conflict instead of dealing with it. The reactions to the Danish cartoon controversy reveal strong divergences about what the right to free speech is supposed to entail.

If the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* had instead published anti-Semitic cartoons, very few would have accepted the argument that the newspaper only wanted to manifest its freedom of expression. Nor would

the prime minister of Denmark have failed to distance himself from such a manifestation. Most people would have understood that not everything that is theoretically legal to say must also be said, and that freedom of expression has its limits.

As language users, we soon realise that, in order to avoid misunderstanding and conflict, we cannot always say in public what we say in private. The risk of what we say in public being misunderstood is often greater. Moreover, what we say publicly may inadvertently hurt some people or groups of people. When we say something in public, we must also have some notion about how it will be perceived and understood, especially if what we actually say is intended to hurt or wound, which in our tradition of freedom of expression has become a rightful intent in certain public spheres. Someone who has no such notion, and therefore who does not care whether s/he is understood or not, has at best misunderstood the premises of the freedom of expression. Therefore, when a major Danish daily in a country notorious for its fierce anti-Muslim public rhetoric decides to publish cartoons of the prophet Mohammed, with the stated purpose to demonstrate the Danish freedom of expression, it must either not have understood that the purpose would be perceived quite differently by Denmark's already battered Muslims – or it must have had a different purpose. To many it demonstrated not the strength of Danish freedom of expression, but rather its weakness.

1.2.5. Dimensions of the Freedom of Expression

Concrete manifestations of the freedom of expression can take different forms in terms of:

- the sphere of the interaction: Public vs. Private (we cannot always say in public what we say in private)
- the target of the interaction: Individual vs. Collective (the emphasis may be on an individual's personal characteristics or on group/ethnic stereotypes)
- the nature of the potential offence: Intentional vs. Non-intentional (the targeted person/s is/are expected or not expected to feel insulted, get hurt, etc.)

In connection with freedom of expression the following questions arise: What may a tabloid print on its posters? What may a daily newspaper write about particular religious groups, such as Muslims, and about religions, such as Islam? The answers to such questions will depend on different shared understandings and agreements retrievable in different

public arenas. In the Danish public sphere, it has long been possible to say things about Muslims and Islam that are not always possible to say in the Swedish public arena, for example. This does not necessarily mean that Denmark has more freedom of expression than Sweden, but only that public Denmark has stretched the limit for tolerating the expression of challenging opinions in the public sphere. In Denmark this may have been done at the cost of excluding its Muslim population from the process of tuning and adjusting the pragmatic rules of public discourse.

France, unlike Denmark and Sweden, has very explicit laws delimiting the freedom of expression. According to article R 625-4 of the French Penal Code, individuals who are perceived to insult others based on their race or origin are subject to fines and trial in French court. This also applies to the propagation of hatred.

Two public arenas that are kept apart in Scandinavian and other European countries are politics and the media. In Denmark freedom of expression is not submitted to state control. It is up to the free media to take the responsibility. Though frowning on those who reproduced images first circulated in Denmark's *Jyllands-Posten*, several politicians insisted that editors were within their legal rights to do so. Governments refrained from apologising to the Islamic community because they consider publication to be a matter for editors, not politicians. In countries like France, however, there is a separation between the state and the church, which is known as *la laïcité*. Hence the emphasis is placed on the neutrality of the state and the public sphere.

When citizens are unable to talk to and with each other, or see no need to do so, they will increasingly talk past and against each other, and thereby will increasingly misunderstand and mistrust each other. A major challenge to the freedom of expression is the lack of informal controls and agreements, a result of the rapid division of our societies into separate public spheres that no longer communicate with each other.

1.3. Final Remarks

As has been argued throughout this chapter, the notions of *freedom* and *liberty* are historically, socially and culturally determined, but they are increasingly used with reference to situations and events that acquire cross-cultural scope and significance. Thus moral values, norms and expectations reflected in the pragma-semantic meanings of these concepts are being submitted to scrutiny and debate across cultural and political borders.

The essence of freedom of expression is not the right to express offensive views about the beliefs of others, but rather the freedom to report or convey facts, opinions, philosophies, and worldviews with the support of valid arguments. Freedom of expression is supposed to empower citizens through knowledge, opinion, and the possibility to use their own voice. Within democracies, free expression allows citizens to challenge political leaders, journalists to uncover information for the public, and the public to require the accountability of their government. A set of basic stipulations with regard to freedom of expression have been put forward in the *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue* launched in 2008 by the Council of Europe:

The exercise of this freedom [of speech], which comes with duties and responsibilities, may be limited in certain specific conditions defined in Article 10 paragraph 2 of the European Convention on Human Rights. “Hate speech” has been an increasing concern of the European Convention on Human Rights in recent years, and in its jurisprudence the Court has drawn the boundary, case by case, beyond which the right to freedom of expression is forfeited.

Some expressions are so gratuitously offensive, defamatory or insulting as to threaten a culture of tolerance itself – indeed that may inflict not only unconscionable indignity on members of minority communities but also expose them to intimidation and threats. Inciting hatred based on intolerance is not compatible with respect for fundamental rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Convention and the Court’s jurisprudence.

The European Convention on Human Rights has however set a high bar against restrictions on free expression, indicating that even expressions that “offend, shock and disturb” should be protected. This means, for example, a certain licence to criticise another’s religion (as a system of ideas which they can choose to embrace). The Court takes into account the impact and context of the expressions made, in particular when they contribute to a pluralistic public debate on matters of general interest.

As for the media, the basic principle is the defence of freedom of expression even if there is however a recognition of the special duties and responsibilities of journalists who must be free to express their opinions – including value judgements – on matters of public concern, but who are also responsible for the collection and dissemination of objective information.

Freedom of expression is essential in enabling citizens to participate in democratic debates and decision-making processes. In order to ensure the respect for and exercise of our rights and freedoms, we need to have free access to information and ideas, and to be able to express our views freely. We are sometimes faced with some extreme forms of expression which

incite intolerance or hatred between groups, and which need to be curtailed for the protection of other human rights. Restricting the freedom of expression in such situations is always a fine balancing act. This is why we should continuously scrutinise, expose and discuss the concrete implications of instances of restriction or violation of freedom of expression.

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CHAPTER TWO

DOMINANT LANGUAGES IN A MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY¹

ROMÁN ÁLVAREZ RODRÍGUEZ

2.1. European Cultural Identity

In the 21st century, we find ourselves in a world in which the homogenizing humanist ideology that has been prevalent since the Age of Enlightenment has given way to a new space in which intellectuals are more prone to posing questions than to offering answers, where there is a more heterogeneous and open way to see and analyze things, where differing opinions would seem to be accepted more easily. If we consider Europe as a common homeland, we must assume that both World Wars were European Civil Wars, wars that took place as a consequence of different views of the world. If, with the passing of time, we now defend a common identity, it would seem logical to assume that a post-nationalist phase will open before us. However, this does not seem to be the case, but quite the opposite. Let us observe the splitting process and the political quasi-dismemberment affecting some countries, as well as the stubborn pro-independence attempts of other regions that, of course, clearly state their respective adherence and attachment to different European identities. This may lead us to wonder whether Europe continues to be a focal point that hopes to maintain a sense of universality. In this regard, the identity of the “Self”—i.e. Europe—would be defined by its opposition to the “Other”, to the others that have been historically subject to what some authors have called “metaphysical cannibalism”. However, if we choose a European post-nationalist re-definition, then we will be erasing the binary classification of the “Self” versus the “Other”, or “Us” versus “Them”. We

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would be assuming the legitimate European membership of the “immigrant subject”, of the “hybrid” citizens we are turning into full members. We would be bringing into question the old and unclear concept of “Europeanness”—if it ever existed at all—, “unity in diversity”, or Europe as a cultural term. We would, in short, be redefining a new political concept, once the old equation stating that one nation equals one language and one culture becomes outdated. The “pure” identity would then give way to a hybridization within the framework of a new European multiculturalism in which there is room for new subjects, a multilingual Europe whose organizations and institutions work in 22 languages (Romance, Germanic and Slavic languages, as well as two non-Indo-European languages) and three alphabets (Latin, Greek and Cyrillic), with a total of 462 possible language combinations for translation and interpreting. Some of the languages are within states, but others cross borders. And there are other languages as well, such as Turkish, knocking at the Union’s door.

Borders have always been changeable, mutable and unpredictable entities that have created countless conflicts throughout History. On a linguistic level, this has significant implications, which are sometimes the origin of debates that cannot be resolved, such as the French and Flemish border in Belgium, for example, which, from a political point of view, goes far beyond the simple use of one language over another by the speakers. Let me just refer to the latest election results and their potential consequences and imbalances in the political panorama of a highly fragmented country that has managed to survive for a year and a half without a government. In some cases, borders are given to us by the evolution of History: great empires and their subsequent dismantling, which have reached high levels of fragmentation (the Roman Empire, the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, etc.), accounts for many of the current political and linguistic boundaries. In other cases, such as Africa, frontiers have been traced over maps; they are artificial borders that were once established according to certain criteria that did not take into account cultural and linguistic affinities, ethnic or identity groups. These are borders created by politicians and administrators with drawing pens, rulers and set squares, the final result of violent colonizations, rushed decolonizations or illegitimate economic interests. There are also other borders that separate speakers of the same language, borders that set apart people who shared the same culture for centuries, and that divided members of the same family for political reasons. A close example would be the Iron Curtain in Eastern Europe, with Berlin as the epitome of this situation. There are borders with a similar origin, that were drawn as the

consequence of fratricidal wars, and that are still in force in the world today: at one end of Asia, for instance, both Koreas are separated by an impassable wall of concrete, steel and minefields that represent a completely unbreakable barrier, although inhabitants from both sides speak the same language.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the European powers controlled a high percentage of the surface of the earth. And, although in the second half of that same century there were different—and more or less traumatic—decolonization processes (which could be euphemistically called “power transfers”) that altered maps and borders, the mark of dominant languages remained, especially in those places in which the language imposed by the colonizers was used for communication after the structures of power were altered. Thus, we have built a world in which dominant languages coexist with minoritized languages, a world in which, from different languages and different cultures, we regard those who do not share those same codes as us with suspicion, and we forget that, since the Enlightenment, plurality has been regarded as an asset instead of a burden. However, it is also true—and even paradoxical—that the age of Enlightenment was the origin of the great colonizing empires that subjugated thousands of peoples and took advantage of their economies and resources.

After World War II there were some forced displacements of entire populations: Poles, Ukrainians, Germans, Czechoslovaks, Serbs, Bosnians, etc. Some of those migrations are the root of subsequent ethnic conflicts that are still alive today. The stereotypical images finally put the Other back into fashion, they turned it into a commodity, they turned multiculturalism into a banality, they propagated simplistic ideas of exoticism, of “strangeness”, but, ultimately, what they did was maintain a political, social, military and economic control over minoritized cultures. After decolonization, crowds of immigrants from decolonized countries went to the old metropolis, in the belief that they had some hypothetical rights as previous subjects. However, they found that colonial humiliation was now paired with a new kind of humiliation: the land that, much to its regret, received them was far from being the Promised Land.

The term “repatriated person” was coined in order to allude specifically to the selection that was carried out in order to accept expatriates: some of them showed a higher degree of “belonging” to the land that was receiving them than others, depending on how fast they could integrate into it. Basically, it was a matter of ethnic and cultural differences, rather than linguistic differences. Years later, a similar situation took place when the subjects of old colonies came back to their

respective metropolis, as a consequence of decolonization processes. In the Netherlands, for example, white citizens received a different treatment to other citizens when they came back from Surinam (former Dutch Guiana). To be perfectly honest, we must point out that there were no legal differences at the beginning. However, wide sectors of society soon voiced their reluctance. On the other hand, this problem had not been detected when, in 1949, after the independence of Indonesia, many citizens came back to the land of their ancestors, especially if they were white and had not mixed with native ethnic groups. In the United Kingdom, the double process of admission to the heart of British citizenship was determined by membership of either the old or the new Commonwealth. Therefore, the old—and white—Commonwealth included countries such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada, whereas the new one—non-white—included countries from Africa and Asia. The reception of this last group in the colonial country was much more problematic and, in some cases, simply impossible. Only some years ago, and on our doorstep, the war of the old Yugoslavia triggered a diaspora of five million refugees (data provided by the UN), which represents the biggest population movement since the end of World War II in Europe. The consequences can still be felt today.

Religious differences, on the other hand, lie beneath some of the conflicts that threaten world peace nowadays, in a world in which radical ideologies arouse a great deal of interest and in which difference and diversity represent a significant part of it. It would be absurd to deny that these and other differences have determined the historical existence of all peoples. Collective differences are likewise changeable, as well as identities and even the sense of belonging. A global culture unifies, standardizes and controls potential dissidents. Everything tends to be homogeneous, standard and repetitive as a result of the loss of originality. However, there are many other deficiencies, such as the lack of social sensitivity that does not affect our consciences—or even our appetites—when, at dinner time, the television screen shows scenes of famine in the Horn of Africa or the crowds that flee from Libya and are crammed in Lampedusa, in the hope that they can reach the European continent. What we see is misery and injustice amidst western superabundance. Even misery itself can become a commodity and a frequent topic for conversation with which, supposedly, we silence the voice of our consciences. Values become mixed up and disrupted in an endless dance. Advanced societies in the so-called First World are threatened by dangers that were not even detected before. For this reason, dominant powers are confused in view of the risks represented by the progressive and unstoppable incorporation of the Other crossing our borders or reaching

our shores aboard fragile rafts or crammed open boats. It is no wonder that alarms are raised and xenophobic feelings come to the surface when certain leaders of Islamist movements talk about the future *Reconquista* of Al-Andalus, all the way up to Poitiers, or when they state that, halfway through the 21st century, the conquest of the Netherlands will be concluded by the demographic growth of Muslims within the borders of the country itself.

2.2. Language and the Consolidation of Power

How is an identity built? In *La peur des barbares* (2008), Tzvetan Todorov states that the concept of a collective identity has become a suspicious one, because it seems to infringe individual liberties. In a plurality of cultures we must distinguish between cultural belonging and civic identity. Cultural belonging is something we feel from childhood when we internalize certain habits, codes and lifestyles. This does not mean that we have a single cultural identity, but several different ones that overlap or intertwine through life, because, all in all, every culture is changeable, agglutinative, hybrid, crossbred or half-breed, because it is the result of previous cultures and is subject to a perpetual transformation, although some of the so called “traditional” cultures have changed at a slower pace than “modern” ones. However, no identity is immutable. Culture is the image that society has of itself, according to Todorov. Nevertheless, from the point of view of our individual identity, changes that directly involve the culture we live in are received with suspicion, or even with open hostility. This is the case when, in the cultural environment in which we usually live, we suddenly perceive the continuous arrival of new neighbors, speakers of a different language that is incomprehensible to us, who probably profess a different religion, who are slowly settling in the area. The defining features of their identity—language and religion—may not be identifying features of the culture they are entering, which may generate hostile reactions by both parties and trigger an action-reaction effect, which gives way to interethnic discordance, to resentment and conflicts that are not easily resolved. Edward Said, among many others, speaks about the lack of understanding, banishment and exile, and the identity complexity. In sum, what he suffered himself as an engaged intellectual, and what he reflects in the memories that have the significant title *Out of Place*. For his part, in *La défaite de la pensée* (1987), Finkelkraut states that we cannot deny that the presence in Europe of a growing number of immigrants from the Third World poses unprecedented problems, and that people who are expelled

from their homes by misery and who are traumatized by colonial humiliation cannot harbour feelings of gratitude towards the country that takes them in, contrary to what happened with the refugees from Eastern Europe. Building an identity is not easy, least of all in this new century in which identity is far from homogeneous, but emerges from the dialogue—sometimes a bitter and forced one—between collective experiences that are very different.

How do we build an identity with language? Human beings are characterized by their ability to use language. The plurality of voices implies that there are some differences, but not superiority of one of them—the norm—over that of the Other. Reductionist and simplistic views, far from recognizing the plurality of cultures and identity, promote the clash between the Self and the Other. These reductionisms can be seen in the policies that oppose the declaration of equal rights and duties, those that bring into question the plurality of voices and cultural identities and that deny the most privileged manifestation of those languages which is literature. K. A. Appiah reminds us that the fact that a territory may be populated by twenty or thirty languages is neither good nor bad. The fact that one of them may disappear because the people who use it are being abused is the true tragedy. This reasoning can also be applied to the loss represented by the disappearance of certain species from the Earth. George Steiner, for his part, fears that we may reach a situation of monolingualism—which many have yearned for—which would represent an extremely serious danger for liberties because, in fact, it would mean falling into the clutches of Anglo-American economic dominance, which can be seen as the Esperanto of commerce. The West wants to homogenize other identities, to fix some cultural parameters and guarantee a unitary space against fragmentation.

Language is an essential instrument in the consolidation of those power structures. For this reason, cultural or political subordination continued to place certain nations or social groups in a position of dependence on the hegemonic culture, even when this culture had officially left the field clear for the autonomous development of those nations and groups. For this reason, many cultures that were dominated by colonizing powers look for their own ways of self-representation and identity through the promotion of national languages, although they do not neglect the colonizing language—mainly due to practical reasons. However, we cannot deny that power and dominance relationships have always been present between languages, and that the use of one language over another is a reflection of the asymmetries at work in the political arena. And, of course, if we talk about the political arena we might as well talk about the economic one,

because both powers usually go hand in hand. Dominant languages adhere to certain continuous, constant and homogeneous norms and standards that strengthen that feeling of superiority they feed on.

Many authors who live in a context of cultural crossbreeding rebel against language as an instrument of power. Therefore, we can see Indians who write in English, Maghrebis who write in French, Turks who write in German, Iranians who write in Dutch, Africans who write in Spanish... They all inhabit ambiguous territories and they suffer certain tensions when they write in “strong”, dominant languages. They find a potential escape route from these tensions when they try to create a language in which there can be no doubt that there is an underlying asymmetry, in which there can be no doubt that, although they may yield to a language, they do so by peppering it with “rebelliousness”, with quirks that are exclusively found in the culture of the writer. The writer, then, tries to reassert his or her personality through certain hybrid or local nuances that emphasize the element of otherness, the interferences, the mixture of acceptance and rejection of the colonizer’s language, which is the language of success on the social scale.

Language is not innocent. It crystallizes in the form of metaphors, and these metaphors carry connotative elements that are a reflection of many other things. In today’s world, the balancing elements between different languages have changed. Nowadays, many people feel, so to speak, like nomads in their own languages. Minoritized languages and dominant languages come into conflict, because they represent a reality that goes far beyond some specific linguistic uses: they represent relations of power in the broadest sense, they bring the Self face to face with the Other, and they demand a change in these relations. Let us consider an example: in the United States, where the “English only” doctrine prevailed for decades, Arabic is a minoritized language, even if there are more than 200 million Arabic speakers in the world (in 25 countries). Less than 1% of all students of foreign languages choose Arabic in the United States. However, after September 11, Americans realized that national security was being threatened, and that there were security breaches because dangers were not being detected in time due to a lack of translators and interpreters of Arabic.

With regard to languages, European citizens—if they really consider themselves European—should learn one of the majority languages and also at least one of the languages used in the smaller countries. This would counteract the lack of willingness to try to understand the Other, starting with the language. There is nothing worse than a “mute” world faced with the voices of the minorities or those that come from the periphery.

Something similar could be said of the study of those literatures that contributed to the creation of a European identity, not only the great canonical literatures of dominant languages, but also those literatures written in the minoritized languages I have just referred to. All of them—the big ones and the small ones—have contributed to the establishment of a European spirituality, and they contribute to the understanding of the Other. They let us listen to the Other, respect him and integrate everything that is located in the margins, far away from the centers of power. These literatures help us destroy, in sum, that monolithic image of the Other that we have built from stereotyped and decadent binary assumptions: good versus evil; civilized versus primitive; western white versus savage black, etc. Minoritized cultures claim their own spaces, but not only those commercial spaces that may arise because the minoritized reality has come into fashion. Cultural differences also become diluted when a common language is shared in the post-colonial world.

2.3. Spanish Versus English?

Can we defend today the principle that states that a language is important whenever the nation that speaks it is also important in the international arena? If we assume this point of view, there is no doubt that Spanish is the main vertebrating instrument of a linguistic community which has over four hundred million speakers, many of whom defend their own identity precisely through the use of a common language. Languages do not only communicate, they also contribute to the placement of countries where they belong in the global panorama. In this regard, we can rightly declare that “language is money”. Empires, conquests and their respective colonization processes, political and economic power, in sum, consolidate the preeminence of languages and they guarantee their survival. The Spanish scholar Antonio de Nebrija was perfectly aware of this reality when he defined language as the partner of Empires. The two great powers that held political control for centuries in large areas of the planet—Spain and Great Britain—defined both an economic and linguistic hegemony with their presence.

The Spanish language was considered in Spain to be so strong in the mid-20th century that the so-called “State exams” that enable students to access university education did not even include a test for other modern languages. Even during the two last years of secondary education, teachers of classical languages earned more than those who were in charge of modern languages. English, on the other hand, was at that time present in all teaching levels in the curriculums of most of the Western world. In the

last decade of that century, British leaders led an effort to position themselves in what they called “Eastern Europe emerging democracies” after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In virtually no time, prestigious institutions for linguistic and cultural diffusion, such as the British Council, dismantled or cut down many of their facilities in countries where their presence was firmly rooted and quickly moved to Eastern Europe in order to occupy the space left by the Russian influence that had been imposed on them through military force. The so-called “Euro-English” continued then its unstoppable pace through the European continent.

When assessing the relevance of a language, the following parameters can be taken into account: number of native speakers; number of countries in which the language is spoken and number of inhabitants of those countries; number of “secondary” speakers (i.e. foreign students, immigrants, etc.); economic power of the countries in which the language is used; number of areas of human activity in which the language is important; and prestige of the language in fields such as literature, social sciences and other areas of culture.

An empirical proof of the importance of a language is the number of translations made from it towards other languages. The authority, prestige and status of a dominant language materialize in the amount and variety of texts that are transferred to other languages. There are some data that are self-explanatory. Approximately one quarter of all books published in Spanish are translations, and from these translations, approximately one half come from English. This includes children’s and young adult literature, conventional literary creation, social science texts, technical and scientific texts, etc., and these numbers from Spain are similar to those of Italy, for example. On the other hand, translations into English represent one tenth of the volume of texts translated from English into Spanish.

The European Union’s policy tries to reflect Europe’s diversity, with its multiple languages, through a democratic multilingualism, because it considers that the existence of a dominating language imposed from outside would remind us of the forced adoptions carried out by subjugated populations in the old colonizing powers. However, we cannot forget that any *lingua franca* is a freely accepted communication system. The diffusion of new knowledge, both in the field of science and technology must take place, not only in our linguistic and cultural environment, but also within the global scientific community. However, the instrument of communication and diffusion that has been universally accepted was—and is—the English language.

The English language underwent a great advance when it was decreed that it could be used in the field of science and for the transmission of all kinds of knowledge by the Royal Society (1662), as well as with the introduction of new vocabulary for the new ideas and concepts that appeared in the scientific and technical areas. In this context, the “Plain English Movement” was also important because of the influence it exerted on the journals and novels of the 18th century. Let us remember, however, that, in the first third of the 17th century, the philosopher Francis Bacon wrote his philosophical work, *Novum Organum* in Latin, and that at the end of that same century, Isaac Newton also used Latin for the presentation of his findings in the field of calculus and mechanics, under the title *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (1687). Even then, those in favour of the English language were opposed to the old idea that some disciplines, such as Philosophy or scientific advances should be expressed in Latin because English was not an adequate or accurate language. It was in the Age of Enlightenment that they championed the triumph of English, and were convinced that this language was perfectly valid for the expression of any concept or thought, regardless of how abstract, deep or complex it was.

Nowadays we talk about “World English”, “Global English” and “International English”. I believe that it is worth paying close attention to a language that might serve as an example because it set a precedent of what seems to be an unstoppable and undeniable international expansion. English, as Steiner points out, is the language that a South Korean pilot uses to speak with the control tower of a Greek airport. However, it is also a language of business, and the language that many European universities consider as the most adequate for the transmission of knowledge and the recruitment of international students.

The universities themselves, as we know, promote teaching in English under the pretext of the European Convergence and its hypothetical requirements. Some Spanish universities are proud to include English in part or all of their studies. The University of Salamanca urges those responsible for the studies to do their part, and in the near future we can foresee a sufficiently representative presence of English as a vehicular language in many subjects, which will undoubtedly require adequate motivation and counseling for the teaching staff.

However, we must not forget that Spanish is the language of a large international community of more than four hundred million speakers and that it can structure the diffusion of scientific and technological knowledge with the aid and the support of the authorities who, paradoxically, seem to be the first to mistrust that ability of the Spanish language to compete with

English. According to Spain's Interministry Commission for Science and Technology (2007), "Scientific and technical knowledge, as well as their application to all the fields of life in our societies are one of the driving forces of the processes of economic growth and improvement of social welfare". So far, so good, but the treatment received by the Spanish language within the country, in the communities with a different official language may lead us to think that Spanish is an "enemy language". The Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation, in its *Guidelines for R&D&I Projects 2009*, which can be accessed through their webpage, states the following in the 2nd point of its 2nd section, which refers to the presentation of applications: "Also, if the budget exceeds the sum of € 150,000, applicants must include the scientific and technical report in English". We can interpret, therefore, that all "scientific and technical" knowledge must be reported in English, because in this case, unlike in the projects with smaller budgets in which an abstract of the proposal must be included *also* in English, the applicants must write the report in English alone.

If we start from these premises, what can we expect from the promotion of Spanish as a capable and adequate language for the international scientific community? And what about the promotion and presence of the other European languages? European languages can contribute to the diffusion of new knowledge, but they must prove that they can act as instruments in order to put their respective countries in the vanguard of knowledge and international competitiveness. The authorities must implement all necessary mechanisms and infrastructures for this purpose, and while improving the funding of research programs, they will have to support all scientific organizations that promote excellence in research, or increase the relations between the university and the productive sector, for example. The problem lies in the fact that international networks of research projects operate in English, and for this reason the participation and inclusion of groups or individuals who speak other languages presupposes the acceptance of English as a natural vehicle for science and technology. On the other hand, statistics show that the entire corpus of publications in Romance languages (used by more than one billion speakers) represents one tenth of the number of works published in English.

Therefore, there is a clear predominance of English in scientific databases, in scientific and technological discussion forums, in computer jargon, etc. In all those fields we have yielded with almost no resistance to the entry of words, expressions and acronyms that came from the English language, and we have not tried—or we have tried too feebly—to impose our linguistic equivalents, which were perfectly adequate. My view, in this

sense, is that our brothers from Latin America have been more alert and have remained stronger defenders of the language than the Spaniards themselves. On the other hand, entries in a tool as popular as *Wikipedia* are much more common, not only in English (in which the number of articles is around ten times higher), but also in languages such as German, French, Japanese, Italian or even Polish and Portuguese.

But there is no doubt that English itself has been subjected to a hybridization process that can be seen in the literature corpus of the Commonwealth. Something similar could be said about the Spanish language with regard to the entire Spanish-speaking community. And regarding the recent diffusion of the language, let us remember that, in a matter of a few years, the number of Spanish language students in Brazil has increased at least fivefold, and that these numbers have also grown considerably in many other countries, as shown by statistics and the increasing demand that is barely met by the Institutos Cervantes all over the world.

The Spanish language, through its different geographical varieties, seems to be becoming more and more international. We can, therefore, refer to a “global Spanish” which is, to some extent, an “eccentric” or multicentric variety, a kind of International Spanish in which the Pan-Hispanic linguistic standard has been promoted. This is a variety that recognizes the blunt reality that states that variation does not endanger the standard language. I believe that, in this process of internationalization, many advances are due to the efforts of the Instituto Cervantes, as well as those of the five World Conferences of the Spanish Language that have been organized so far in Zacatecas, Valladolid, Rosario, Cartagena de Indias and Valparaiso.

The projection of Spanish in the English-speaking world is clear in several cases. Let us consider two significant examples: we can assert that the introduction of Spanish in the United States is unstoppable in quantitative terms. Back in 1978, *Time* published a report on this subject, and it stated that in some counties of Miami (such as Dade, for example), Spanish threatened to replace English completely². In this country, the students of Spanish outnumber all other students of foreign languages (French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Russian, Japanese, Chinese, etc.) as a whole. However, in my opinion, too much emphasis is placed on merely quantitative factors, because the important fact is whether those millions of Spanish-speaking people in the United States will act as bilingual individuals in the future or will abandon their mother tongue. Another

² See Lorenzo (1980: 151).

interesting case is that of New Zealand where, according to official data from the year 2009, Spanish is already the second most taught foreign language in primary and secondary schools, only surpassed by French. Japanese, which had traditionally been in the second place as a foreign language, has now been pushed out. Data from the year 2009 show that there are 25,979 French students, 23,778 Spanish students and 17,647 Japanese students as well as 8,830 German students and 4,838 students of other languages. True, there are still many more centers that teach French (252) than Spanish (161), but the number of people interested in Spanish is clearly growing on a daily basis. The recent inauguration of a Center of the University of Salamanca in Auckland will mean a new boost for the promotion of Spanish in the Oceanic country, because the University of Salamanca is rightly known as “the University of Spanish”.

The Spanish language, in its struggle with English, needs the support of institutions with which it can reach larger areas of influence in the globalized world. A stronger promotion of Spanish in the networks of the society of information and knowledge, for example, would be advisable, thus creating new alternatives in cyberspace, the world of e-business, telemedicine, telework, mobile devices and electronic support (PDAs, iPhones, etc.). Also, another useful initiative would be the coordination of efforts and synergies with other countries of our same linguistic environment (Argentina, Mexico, Colombia and Chile, mainly), which are strongly committed to the development of Spanish as a foreign language, and have recently been opening up a very considerable market in this area. Similarly, it would be a good idea to promote the Spanish language in African countries, where its presence is barely noticeable, except for Equatorial Guinea, although this country is veering towards French under the apparent indifference of the Spanish authorities. There are some countries, such as Cameroon, for example, where there is a considerable demand for Spanish language. The creation of university chairs for African Studies might act as a stimulus for linguistic contacts, and it would also bring those countries closer and gain new markets for our language. Another aspect that should be taken into account is the establishment of agreements between institutions or public services and Spanish business with branches in countries that might be interested in our offer of Spanish. The business world would be the first to benefit from this, because companies would have Spanish-speaking workers in their environment, not to mention the potential fiscal benefits that might derive from it. The collaboration of diplomatic representations in these countries is essential in the early stages of these relations. In view of the facts that we have mentioned before, there should be a promotion of the translation

of Spanish books to other languages, either by means of incentives for publishing houses or other means of support, such as financial aid for conferences like “*El español, lengua de traducción*”, that takes place every two years, or for projects, such as TERMINESP, backed by the Spanish Association of Terminology, which aims to spread the scientific and technical terminology of the Spanish language. Along this same line, some events should be institutionalized, like “*2010 Año Internacional del Español*”. This would represent a great support for the Spanish language as well as for its international projection. Also, these projects could receive European funding and count on the support of Latin American governments. It is a satisfaction to see that, in the Department of Public Information of the United Nations headquarters in New York, Spanish is the second language with the highest number of requests, immediately after English.

We must admit that counteracting the influence of the English language as a centralizing force in an international reality, with the current state of communications, Internet, etc. is a very difficult task, at least in certain areas. However, History has shown that there is nothing completely foreseeable in the diachronic evolution of languages. David Crystal already reminded us, in a conference back in the year 2000, that no one would have thought, one millennium ago, that there would be almost no people who understood Latin one thousand years later.

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CHAPTER THREE

MIGRATION AND EDUCATIONAL SUCCESS THE CHALLENGE OF LANGUAGE DIVERSITY FOR EUROPEAN EDUCATION SYSTEMS

JOANA DUARTE

3.1. Introduction

Recent migration phenomena, which have taken place since the end of the Cold War, are a consequence of increasing globalisation movements and are characterised by an intensification of migration typologies (in terms of countries of origin, language, ethnicity and religion, as well as of motives, patterns and itineraries of migration, processes of integration into host communities, etc. (Vertovec, 2007). This shift in migration types launched a discussion on the adequateness of the multiculturalism paradigm, widely used in order to describe migration-induced phenomena and very much focused on the study of so-called ethnic minorities in precarious social conditions (Vertovec, 2010). According to Vertovec, new phenomena require a new paradigm—one which is more appropriate to encompass the complexity of recent migration trends. In this post-multicultural globalised era, the term super-diversity offers a strong alternative to the multiculturalism paradigm in its attempt to describe and capture the migration-induced phenomena of the last two decades (Vertovec, 2006).

The investigation of the complex phenomena of super-diversity was mostly carried out from a sociological (or sociolinguistic) and anthropological perspective (see Blommaert and Rampton, 2011 for an overview). However, less attention has been given to the repercussions of super-diversity, particularly concerning language use, on educational institutions and systems. Against this backdrop, this paper tackles recent migration trends and its consequences for educational settings across Europe. The first section provides an overview on migration trends in Europe and their consequences for language diversity, followed by some

results on migration and school outcomes. Furthermore, it focuses on explanations for certain educational gaps that particularly affect pupils with a migration background. The conclusions will sum up the main issues raised, linking them up to the European Union discourse on language diversity.

3.2. Recent Trends in European Migration

One of the most relevant traits of migration in and towards Europe, particularly when considering the age structure of the population of most countries with migratory influx, is the fact that migrants represent a relatively young population group¹. The age pyramids of the EUROSTAT data portrayed in Fig. 3-1 (next page), although not really considering the full complexity of migratory phenomena as described by Vertovec (2007)², clearly show that most foreign citizens are between 20 and 40 years old, which, on the one side, very much contrasts with the aging tendency of resident population and, on the other, counterweights the low birth rates of autochthonous citizens. Furthermore, this tendency can mostly be observed in large urban areas, where the amount of young migrants can reach 60% (Bildungsberichterstattung, 2010).

When taking into account migration background rather than only nationality data, about one-third of the European population under the age of 35 belongs to an immigrant minority group (Gogolin, 2002). In addition, if one considers the group of the first-graders in large urban areas, about every second child has a migration background (see for example the Hamburger Schulstatistiken 2011³ for the case of Hamburg).

Due to fact that most migrants are relatively young, Europe needs migration. According to the Third Demography Report of the European Commission (Messer *et al.*, 2011), not only is Europe's population growing older, but in addition life expectancy is increasing at as much as three months per year. Both of these phenomena produce shrinkage in the workforce. The report also confirmed trends about fertility, life expectancy, and migration. Fertility rates are low in Europe, contributing

¹ This fact has been confirmed by the MERIDIUM results.

² Data collected referred to population stocks of national and foreign (non-national) citizens, and to the acquisition of citizenship. They do not include migration background based on language use or place of birth of parents. See Kemper (2010) for an overview of the most common variables used to define migration background.

³ Available at:

<http://www.hamburg.de/contentblob/2976252/data/pdf-gesamtinfo-ueberblick-2010-11.pdf> (accessed September 26, 2012)

to a higher average age in the population. It is predicted that the population will begin to decline by 2030, when roughly two active people (15-65) will have to take care of one inactive person (65+). Europe will have 18 million children and adolescents less than today. As a consequence, migration and especially young migration counteracts the aging population, as European policies to increase birth rates have failed so far.

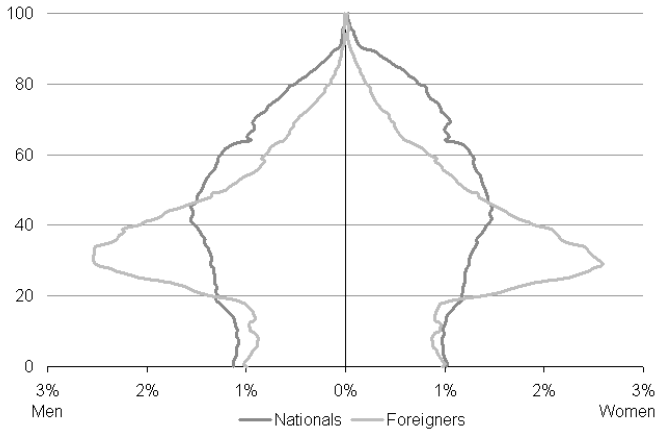


Fig. 3-1: Age structure of the national and non-national populations in the EU (Messer, Leseman, Boom, & Mayo, 2011)

Additionally, migration is becoming an increasingly complex modern phenomenon. In the 1960s migrants moved in search of work and either returned to their countries after a few years or settled permanently in the host country. These migrants came with work contracts and were recruited from a few countries. Nowadays migration channels are becoming more and more diversified and new phenomena are arising. In this respect, Martiniello speaks of the diversification of diversity (Martiniello, 2004). As a consequence, there is also a growing proliferation of legal statuses for migrants with differing consequences for their possibilities to work in the host country (see, for example, Vertovec, 2007). Within his framework of super-diversity mentioned above, he analysed diachronically migration movements towards Germany and looked closely at the changes in the top 50 nations of origin of migrants from 1960 to 2006. While in 1960 there were large recognisable groups of migrants coming from a relatively small number of different countries (Poland or Turkey, for example), in 2006 the amount of groups with an identifiable country of origin has reduced

considerably. As a consequence, in super-diverse societies, there are currently more migrants coming from a growing number of countries of origin, through an increasing number of migration channels and with very many legal statuses. Furthermore, there is a growing number of so-called transmigrants, who have either been in some other country or intend to migrate further and who organise their lives plurilocally (Fürstenau, 2004).

The most quoted example for super-diversity is the city of London, where people from more than 300 nations live together in a densely populated space. The metaphor “the world in one city” has been often used to describe this city.

3.3. Migration and Language Diversity

The use of the nationality variable to collect data on migration brings about two major obstacles for research, especially in the field of language diversity. On the one hand, data on nationality are increasingly becoming an obsolete tool to capture social heterogeneity, particularly when addressing younger children, as most European countries have either recently altered naturalization laws⁴ or have made adjustments regarding the status of citizens of the ex-colonies. On the other hand, nations are not equivalent to languages, since national territories may contain different groups speaking different languages or even dialects. Ethnologue’s (Ortega and Iberri-Shea, 2005, or the interactive web version⁵) categorisation of world languages, shows that in Turkey, for example, 34 different languages are spoken, in India 438 and in Papua New Guinea even 830. Thus, neither nationality nor migration background data offer reliable information on language diversity, and this emerges only if data on language use are collected (Gogolin, 2010). Consequently, it can happen that a Turkish migrant in Germany (a) does not have the Turkish but rather the German nationality; (b) speaks Turkish and another language spoken in Turkey, for example Kurdish; or (c) speaks one, two or more languages spoken in Turkey but not necessarily Turkish.

In short, much is known on nationality-driven data but little of it can be used to draw conclusions on migration-induced language diversity. The particular case of large urban areas, where most migrants are concentrated, thus poses a special case of interest for research on language diversity.

⁴ The observed tendency is towards *jus soli* over *jus sanguinis* in the attribution of citizenship. Furthermore, many migrants are allowed double citizenship, especially within the EU.

⁵ Ethnologue (<http://www.ethnologue.com>) is a website in which information on languages per region can be found.

3.3.1. Language Diversity in Urban Areas

A great deal of research on language diversity has been conducted in regions of the world with either a high concentration of different languages from different language families, as is the case in Papua New Guinea mentioned above, or isolated languages of indigenous people with little contact with the outer world, as is the case of some tribes in the Amazonian region. However, less systematic studies have been held to investigate migration-induced language diversity in densely populated areas. As a result, although complex cultural and linguistic constellations may be housed in one multi-storey building, not much is known about language practices amongst its inhabitants. In order to understand many of the phenomena surrounding language diversity today, it is necessary to look at some historical processes.

Although linguistic and cultural plurality has always been a key feature in European history, as in most other regions of the world (Graf Estes, Evans and Else-Quest, 2007), the processes leading to the formation of European nation-states in the 18th and 19th centuries, brought about a new ideological triad which has since then harshly affected attitudes towards migration-induced language diversity: nations became associated with one national language and one homogeneous people proficient in that language (Gogolin, 2002). Hence, although diversity had always been a trait in Europe, attaining cultural and linguistic homogeneity became the primary objective for most nation-states (Hobsbawm, 1991). As a consequence, national languages acquired the status of privileged languages, whereas other languages, especially minority languages, were seen as devalued languages, which were forced to operate in the periphery of what Bourdieu has termed the linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1992).

Accordingly, nation-state building processes have a large influence on how language diversity is perceived in Europe today. On the one hand, the state is a political and geopolitical entity; on the other, the nation is a cultural and/or ethnic entity. So, the term “nation-state” implies that the two geographically overlap, thus distinguishing the nation-state from the other types of state organisation that historically preceded it. This notion caused a conscious choice of national languages, mostly deriving from the most prestigious dialects at the time, as well as the emergence of privileged languages on the one hand and devalued languages on the other.

Europe’s historical burden is, therefore, at the root of what Gogolin (1994) has called the “monolingual Habitus”, drawing on Bourdieu’s notion of Habitus as a set of socially learnt dispositions, skills and ways of acting that are often taken for granted, and which are acquired through everyday activities and experiences (Bourdieu, 1991). The concept of

“monolingual Habitus” describes the fact that the core of the nationalistic self-understanding of the school system of a nation-state leads to the non-recognition and non-promotion of the pupils’ multilingualism and cultural plurality, as in the case, for example, of family socialisation. Multilingualism is thus perceived as a threat to the “imagined” unity of a nation and the co-existence of many languages as a risk factor for the maintenance of this fictive homogeneity.

To sum up, if one is to imagine a hierarchical ladder of Europe’s languages, one would have the national languages occupying the highest position, then foreign languages taught at school, followed by autochthonous minority languages (some of which may have a long tradition in some of the countries, as is the case of Danish in the border regions of northern Germany) and, at the lowest position, immigrant or minority languages. Furthermore, and although multilingualism is officially accepted and celebrated at a European level, what actually is celebrated are the languages of European nations, not the languages of non-European peoples living in Europe.

3.4. Migration and School Outcomes—An Overview

In international large scale school performance studies, such as PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) for the 15-year-olds or PIRLS (Progress in Reading Literacy Study) for the 10-year-olds, pupils with a migration background achieve systematically lower results in both language and content-matter subjects than their monolingual peers (see Bos *et al.*, 2008; Klieme *et al.*, 2010; Bos *et al.*, 2007). These studies successfully drew public attention to the performance gap between pupils with and without a migration background. In addition, they also showed great variety across countries regarding educational disadvantages of migrant pupils. While in some countries (mostly traditional immigration countries), immigrants outperform, or show a comparative performance to, monolingual pupils, in the majority of European countries they tend to underperform (Schnepf, 2007).

In fact, such data are mostly collected cross-sectionally, but if one attempts to gather diachronic information on the situation of migrant pupils throughout educational systems, additional and cumulative aspects of inequalities become evident. In what follows, a brief overview of these will be provided (see Baumert, Stanat and Watermann, 2006; Diefenbach, 2010 for a complete survey).

During the pre-school system, enrolment of migrant pupils happens, in average, at a later age and at a lower ratio when compared to the situation of their monolingual peers. During primary school, they attain lower

results in international monitoring studies, such as PIRLS (Bos *et al.*, 2007), and experience school retention more often (Auernheimer, 2006). During secondary school, migrant pupils are often found in school forms/classes which are academically less demanding and of shorter duration. Furthermore, they stay at school on average for a shorter period of time. In addition, they are over-represented in schools for special education and under-represented in school forms/classes leading to higher academic degrees. They are also often placed in lower grades than age-appropriate.

When considering the end of compulsory education and the transfer of these migrants to the labour market or to further studies, one can see that around 20% drop out of school without having attained any certificate, although this varies strongly throughout Europe and also within the different groups (OECD, 2010b). Once having successfully entered the labour market, migrants have reduced chances of access to and completion of technical education.

Generally speaking, it is a fact that, in most systems, migrant pupils suffer from educational inequality. At a societal level, these educational disparities lead to processes of social exclusion, which are a sign of inappropriate use of existing resources, therefore leading in the long term to economic losses. For example the EU commissioned study ELAN (Effects on the European Economy of Shortages of Foreign Language Skills in Enterprise) has proved that small and medium-sized companies in the European Union lose contracts worth several millions each year due to language and culture barriers. The study clearly shows that investment in foreign language skills has a significant positive impact on the competitiveness and commercial success of a company (Pickering, 2006). Other studies provide evidence that enriched human capital has the potential to improve substantially the long-run economic well-being of the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries (OECD, 2010a).

3.4.1. Explanations for Educational Disadvantages

Research has identified several factors contributing to the low school performance of migrant pupils in European countries, as opposed to their performance for example in Australia or Canada, as demonstrated in the PISA data. In the early research on intercultural education, contextual factors stemming from the social or cultural background of the migrants themselves were held responsible for the educational failure of their children. Examples of these are studies on linguistic and religious differences or on aspiration and motivation and school performance.

However, no empirical evidence has been found to support the hypothesis that migrants' own characteristics and dispositions are to blame for their own failure or success. So, as Diefenbach puts it:

It has not been empirically verified that the disadvantages of children and youth from migrant families can be satisfactorily explained by the assumption that their cultural or religious predispositions do not match the expectations of the schools or by the comparatively poor socio-economic situation of their families (Diefenbach, 2007: 153)

In fact, as far as aspirations and motivation are concerned, research has proved that migrant families in fact have high aspirations and are highly motivated to invest in the educational career of their children. Furthermore, and when taking studies on educational aspirations and motivation into account, both migrant families and pupils have been found to be highly motivated in attaining school success and in investing in educational careers (Stanat, 2003).

Other studies have tried to describe legal and political measures leading to better or worse school results. For example, Canada is a multilingual nation by definition and has other immigration laws and acculturation strategies, therefore results are different from those in typical monolingual countries (OECD, 2003).

Studies based on Bourdieu's theory of class distinction have attempted to explain the reproduction of educational disadvantages at a sociological level. Bourdieu theorises that class divisions are set by a combination of varying degrees of social, economic, and cultural capital. Society assigns symbolic goods – especially those considered as the attributes of excellence – a major role in the process of class distinction. Attributes associated with excellence are thus moulded by the interests of the dominating class (Bourdieu, 1991). Bourdieu emphasizes the dominance of cultural capital early on by assuming that differences in cultural capital are also at the borders of class stratification. This would accordingly mean that across time societies reproduce inequalities and those occupying lower positions within a society will pass on their position to their children.

Another set of factors identified as a possible cause for educational inequalities is related to several systemic aspects of teaching and learning. The fact that an educational system has a monolingual self-understanding, although its population is largely multilingual, acts as one of the subtle mechanisms leading to educational failure (Gogolin, 1994). Migrant languages are thus often seen as an impediment to the learning of the language of the host society and not as valuable instruments in the acquisition of all other languages. It has also been suggested that

institutional discrimination mechanisms within educational systems, as, for example, early tracking of pupils, affect migrants more often than their monolingual peers (Gomolla and Radtke, 2002). Furthermore, research has shown that the linguistic register used at and required in school is often inaccessible for second language learners and is not explicitly taught, leading to educational disparities (Gogolin and Lange, 2010). This aspect will be further explored in the following section.

3.4.1.1. The Issue of Language and School Success in Multilingual Contexts

The concept of academic language intends to describe the register used in formal communicative settings in educational contexts or in comparable situations in public communication, both in oral and written forms (Gogolin and Lange, 2010). In educational settings it takes up a rather central role, as it is used in learning tasks, textbooks and other teaching materials, as well as in assessments and exams. So, this register has a double function within educational institutions: on the one side, it is the object of learning and, on the other, the medium for learning.

School academic language can be defined according to Halliday's depiction of written language (Halliday, 1989): it is characterized by a high lexical density; it is not situation- or context-specific and functions strongly with symbolic, generalizing and abstract linguistic expressions. Unlike academic language, everyday communication is dominated by associative, concrete and illustrative elements, which are highly context-embedded. Using Halliday's systemic functional theory of language (Halliday, 1994) Schleppegrell (2004) addressed the concrete use of academic language in educational contexts, such as different exercises, text books and essays both from primary and secondary school, while contrasting it to language features used in everyday interpersonal communication. He then characterised the academic language used in schools at a lexical, morpho-syntactic and textual level. At the lexical level, common academic language features are the use of precise, technical words which might be discipline-related, of lexical and grammatical approaches to condense information, as well as the use of explicit and specific references to time and space which serve to establish a frame of reference shared by the speaker and the audience. As a consequence, academic language utterances contain more content words than everyday interactive discourse and are thus formed by information-dense sentences. At the morpho-syntactic level, academic language makes use of elaborate forms of tense and aspect to intensify the frame of reference, as well as of persuasive, declarative or argumentative mood of the verb predicate, and

the use of adverbs and auxiliaries to represent the speaker's attitude. Furthermore, academic language is marked by a more repeated use of coordinate, relative and subordinate clauses, mostly combined to express complex meanings in a relatively condensed manner. As a result, sentence connectors are often applied to articulate logical relations, such as temporal and logical conditionality, causality, contrast, or comparison. Lastly, at the textual level, academic language was found to be more monological than dialogical in nature, thus obliging the interlocutors to construct long pieces of discourse.

Leseman *et al.* (Leseman, 2007) based their considerations on the same theoretical construction and relied on Schleppegrell's results to investigate the influence of home literacy practices for the emergence and development of academic language in early childhood of Dutch-speaking children. Their study confirmed the importance of home literacy practices with young children for the development of academic language and, consequently, for school success. The effects of such practices were found to be stronger than the socioeconomic status of the families and to compensate for low working memory capacity. Furthermore, their construct of academic language appeared to be rather homogenous, "with all different aspects being moderately to strongly intercorrelated" (Leseman, 2007: 351).

The Council of Europe has recently suggested the term "language of schooling", with the overall aim of promoting "effective skills in the language(s) of instruction which are essential for successful learning across the whole curriculum"⁶. The term was first used to describe the subject-specific technical language which may cause problems to second language learners and has recently acquired a similar meaning to the term "academic language" as used by Schleppegrell (2004) and Leseman (2007), as well as "Bildungssprache" as defined by Gogolin (Gogolin, 2009; see also Gogolin and Lange, 2010). In the policy paper of the Strasbourg language policy division (Thürmann, Vollmer and Pieper, 2010), the term "language of schooling" is described as the "varieties of academic language that constitute the fabric of the different curriculum subjects" (2010: 30). The rationale behind the creation of the concept is that "all teachers must be language teachers in the sense that they are sensitive to the language of their subject(s) and help their learners to master it" (*ibidem*). Thus, the concept of academic language from a school perspective seems to be gaining more and more visibility also in the discourse at a European level.

⁶ For more information, see http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Schoollang_en.asp (accessed September 26, 2012).

The notion that academic language and school achievement are related is well accepted in the English-speaking research community (Cummins, 2000; Gibbons, 2006; Thomas and Collier, 1997) and is increasingly becoming the centre of attention in the German speaking context (Dehn, 2011; Duarte, 2011; Gantefort and Roth, 2010; Gogolin and Lange, 2010). An adequate access to this register is thus a contribution to educational equality and social cohesion at large. In Bourdieu's sense (1991), it would contribute to reduce the mechanisms of reproduction of inequality.

3.5. Conclusions

Due to historical reasons, monolingualism is still considered the normal case in most European countries (Gogolin, 1994). Migration-induced multilingualism is thus perceived as a threat to the unity of many European nations. Migration movements have changed radically over the past 50 years. In fact, as mentioned above, the recent forms of migration have even been defined by using the term "super-diversity" (Vertovec, 2006). Within this framework, the additional languages of migrants are mostly devalued and seen as an obstacle to learning the host community's language, which in turn leads to educational and professional disadvantages for migrant pupils.

In the so-called Lisbon strategy, involving an action and development plan for the economy of the EU between 2000 and 2010, representatives of the Member States proposed to turn Europe into the most competitive economy in the world, with more and better jobs as well as greater social cohesion. They have clearly failed!

Furthermore, research found a positive correlation between educational attainment and economic growth. Thus, educational inequalities and failures cause long-term financial costs of incalculable value. Educational institutions are the only societal instances, which can compensate for existing discrepancies in a growingly heterogeneous population, as they attribute cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991) in the form of certificates. Thus, an educational policy focused on the support of academic language proficiency should be considered to be a contribution towards equality.

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CHAPTER FOUR

“TO BE ACCEPTED FOR WHO WE ARE”: THE SITUATION OF UNRECOGNIZED NATIONAL MINORITIES IN SLOVENIA

ANA KRALJ

4.1 Introduction

I have always had a problem with this differentiation between Slovenians and Non-Slovenians. Non-Slovenians are not Englishmen or Hungarians; they are always 'the ones from the South'.
(Montenegrin representative)

The Republic of Slovenia is a multiethnic community that was never ethnically and culturally homogenous. The number of ethnic minorities, their extent and real economical and political power varied through different historical periods with respect to changes of state borders and the sovereignty over this area (Komac, 2005). After Slovenia's independence there are members of several non-Slovenian ethnic communities living within the boundaries of the state. These communities can roughly be divided into two groups:

- historical or territorial national minorities (or the autochthonous¹ national communities as defined by the Constitution) including the Italian, the Hungarian and the Roma community;

¹ The Slovenian Constitution does not specifically define the term “autochthonous”; in the context of ethnic minorities the term is used when referring to an ethnic community, which has occupied a certain geographical area “from old”. However, due to numerous difficulties and dubious explanations (the definition of “autochthonous”, for instance, is largely arbitrary) the term is criticized by several authors. For further explanation see Klinar (1986), Kržišnik-Bukić (2003), Komac (2005). Due to its arbitrary and manipulative nature the term “autochthonous” is no

- the so-called “new” national communities, members of which belong to the nations and nationalities of the former common state of Yugoslavia. Most of them immigrated to Slovenia during the 1960s and the 1970s as economic migrants².

The assurance and protection of rights of (national and ethnic) minorities in Slovenia can be categorized into three spheres:

1. the relatively integral legislative protection of historical or autochthonous minorities (Italian and Hungarian), including constitutional provisions and about 80 laws and regulations, concerning various aspects of everyday life of minorities. Special rights are of dual nature, being collective and individual rights simultaneously. The recognition of the dual nature of minority rights and the implementation of the “positive concept of protection of minorities” is defined in the article 64 of the Constitution of Republic of Slovenia which establishes also an obligation on the state to ensure the realization of these special rights, morally and materially.
2. the article 65 of the Constitution, which establishes that the special rights of the Roma community in Slovenia are regulated by a special law³;
3. members of national communities from the former common state of Yugoslavia do not possess a collective social status in Slovenia. The Slovenian Constitution does not include particular regulations regarding the protection of their (collective) rights and their minority communities. When preserving their national identity, the “new” national communities are only supported by the articles 61 and 62 of the constitution determining the right to express their

longer used in EU’s documents in regard to national and ethnic minorities. In this sense, Slovenia is a discernible exception.

² When using the term “new” national communities we are referring to the definition of Miran Komac (2003, 2007), though it has to be noted that this terminology too is perhaps a relic of the past rather than an adequate expression of the present times. The members of nations and nationalities of the former Yugoslavia have lived in Slovenia for several generations, so the use of the term “new” national communities is disputable. As noted by Medica (2004: 98): «the current terminology is diverse, inaccurate and often degrading in everyday life ... and thus—by all means and among other things—rather manipulative because of its poor determination».

³ The law regulating the rights of the Roma community was passed through parliament as late as 2007 and only after a long-lasting and heated debate.

national appurtenance and the right to use their language and writing.

From a historical point of view the present legal and formal situation of members of other nations and nationalities of former Yugoslavia represents a clear deterioration of the possibilities of exercising their cultural and linguistic identities. Namely, the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia from 1974 provided that citizens of other republics of Yugoslavia had the same rights and obligations in Slovenia as the citizens of Slovenia, including the right to cultivate and express their culture and use their language and script. Furthermore, members of other Yugoslav nations and nationalities had the right to education and schooling in their own language.⁴ In December 1990, before the referendum on Slovenia's independence, the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia invited all citizens and voters in the republic of Slovenia to take an active part in the forthcoming referendum. At the same time, the Assembly issued the Statement of Good Intentions in which it declared that the Slovenian state would ensure "to all members of other nations the right to multifarious cultural and linguistic development"⁵.

After Slovenia's independence in 1991 and after the adoption of the new Constitution, all provisions that pertained to other nations and nationalities of the former Yugoslavia were omitted from the new legal and formal framework. Since independence and up to the present this population has been labelled in a number of different categories, all of which indicate some sort of temporality and instability of their stay in Slovenia: immigrants from the other republics of Yugoslavia, migrant workers, first/second/third generation immigrants, third country nationals etc. (Petković, 2011: 76). This development indicates that the status of this population changed from one that guaranteed relatively adequate protection of their cultural and linguistic rights to the present status where the Constitution no longer mentions members of other nations and nationalities of former Yugoslavia.

This paper discusses the situation of members of "new" national communities in Slovenia, focusing particularly on their experience regarding discrimination in the spheres of everyday life. We are arguing

⁴ Articles 6, 212 and 213 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. Source:

[http://sl.wikisource.org/wiki/Ustava_Socialisti%C4%8Dne_republike_Slovenije_\(1974\)](http://sl.wikisource.org/wiki/Ustava_Socialisti%C4%8Dne_republike_Slovenije_(1974)) (accessed September 26, 2012).

⁵ The Statement of Good Intentions, paragraph 2. Source: http://www.bivsi-predsednik.si/1992-2002/izjava_o_dobrih.htm (accessed September 26, 2012).

that discrimination, encountered by members of the “new” national communities in Slovenia is often rooted in the lack of systemic regulation of their status as a minority. To gain maximum insight into the sort, the extent, the circumstances and the consequences of the social, civil and political discrimination based on national or ethnic appurtenance we have decided to perform semi-structured interviews with members of minority associations, who are more active in representing the interests of minority communities and appear in the media.

4.2 Discrimination in Everyday Life

When speaking about discrimination or unequal treatment, which occurs to members of national/ethnic communities in everyday life, our informants emphasized the distinction between the overt and covert discrimination. The discrimination they are facing with in everyday life is often rooted deep within the institutional level.

They say that there are two sorts of discrimination, hard and soft discrimination. Hard discrimination is present in legislation, in laws and other legal regulations, while soft discrimination is something we meet in everyday life. The literature says, and I would agree, that soft discrimination is more common than hard discrimination ... which is, nevertheless, present as well. Hard discrimination is present in a sense that our national communities are not acknowledged as national minorities in the Slovenian Constitution. This is the first level of discrimination we are facing. We are not present in the Constitution, though, in a way, we should be, as we were among the constitutive nations of the former Yugoslavia and the present-day Slovenia. In the first place the absence from the Constitution. Then this continues in legislation.
(Serbian representative)

Another problem that comes to the fore is the use of mother tongue in public, which is often the reason why members of ethnic/national communities are regarded with disapproval, contempt or subjected to outright rejection. This happens despite the fact that the Article 61 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia states that «Everyone has the right to freely express affiliation with his nation or national community, to foster and give expression to his culture and to use his language and script»⁶.

⁶ Source: Official Gazzete of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 33/1991, <http://www.uradni-list.si/1/objava.jsp?urlid=199133&stevilka=1409> (accessed September 26, 2012).

There are remarks in the sense 'How dare you [speak in your mother tongue; author's note], this is Slovenia!' Most of us use our mother tongue when we speak on the telephone. ... But a certain discomfort is always present. If you speak in English, then everything is fine. This is the problem of small nations, which are very homogenous.

(Bosnian representative)

People we interviewed drew our attention to the indirect or direct pressures exerted upon the members of national/ethnic communities because of the use of their mother tongue on their work post, which can lead to different forms of self-censorship:

As far as public use of our mother tongue is concerned, of course, it can represent a problem. For instance, when I am at work and my phone rings and I know that a Serb is calling me, I will always carefully observe who is around to hear me speak. There is nothing spontaneous about answering the call. On one occasion it happened that I left the office and spoke on the phone in Serbian in the corridor, when a co-worker approached me and told me to be careful, when I speak, as someone could hear me.

(Serbian representative)

When we call someone on the telephone, the first thing we ask, is 'Možeš da pričaš?', 'Can you speak?' and this does not mean 'Do you have time to talk?', but 'Can you speak in Serbian?'

(Serbian representative)

According to our informants, experiences with different sorts of discrimination in everyday life vary among different generations of members of ethnic/national communities, living in Slovenia. The perception of discriminatory practices varies between the members of the first, second and third generation. The first generation has faced specific problems, mostly deficient knowledge of Slovenian language. As Petković (2011: 75) explains:

This phenomenon is quite understandable, given that these people came to Slovenia as workers during the socialist era when Slovenia was still part of Yugoslavia. Their labour was included in Slovenian industry, but the system did not provide mechanisms for their complete inclusion in Slovenian society.

The next generations of young people, born and educated in Slovenia, usually do not have this problem; however, they are facing other difficulties. All the people we spoke to point out that the second and the third generation are in a very stressful situation of the identity crisis, which is best described with a question «Who am I?».

Then we have the second generation, which is hurt, which does not receive enough of our attention and is torn apart between different worlds, without the possibility to draw knowledge and strength from the cultural identity of their ancestors. On the other hand they are stigmatized and cannot fit inside the wider younger generation. The young have to struggle to be accepted for who they are but without any scorn.

(Serbian representative)

The younger generation is in some severe distress. They live in this conflict. Let us say that they speak Slovenian at home and then a question arises 'Who am I?' and it is easiest just to say 'I guess I am Slovenian.' On the other hand the environment does not perceive these kids as Slovenians, but rather as a sort of a foreign body in the national corpus. They will always remain immigrants. Sadly, it is the surname that defines the attitude of the environment towards an individual.

(Macedonian representative)

To gain further insight into the blurred boundaries of ethnic identities we created a focus group with seven youngsters, whose parents immigrated to Slovenia in search for work in the late 1970s and 1980s.

I proudly declare myself Albanian! People tell me I was born and educated here in Slovenia, but no! No way, I am Albanian and proud to be one! I am living here, I know one additional culture, I speak one additional language, but I could never declare myself Slovenian. ... but I would never want to live in Kosovo, either. Recently, I was there for two weeks and I started to miss Slovenia, I started to miss my way of life. Maybe I am partly Slovenian, after all. I am Albanian but part of me is Slovenian, too. Maybe not just a small part. You see, only now that we are talking about this, I am starting to realise I am partly Slovenian, too.

(Albanian youngster)

It's difficult to decide... What does it mean to be Slovenian – culture, traditions, language, religion? I like Bosnian culture; it feels so close to me, we even have a prayer rug at home. I would say I am somewhere in between. I am not a real Slovenian, but I am not a real Bosniac, either. In a way, I am Slovenian, I have Slovenian citizenship, I like Slovenia... But to declare myself Slovenian, this is a tough one! You simply cannot – the culture is different.

(Bosnian youngster)

Hmm, this is a difficult question. I would put it this way: 'Macedonia is my mother, Slovenia is my step mother. Macedonia could not provide me for a living, Slovenia can. Otherwise, I feel Macedonian, living in Slovenia. But I could never go back, living in Macedonia. Only for a vacation, but living there, no, no way.

(Macedonian youngster)

The emotional distress of the second and the third generation, trying to be recognized as equal in the wider society, is also apparent in the process of quiet assimilation or self-assimilation, which is well illustrated by the alteration of personal first names and/or surnames⁷.

In my experience, the alteration of surnames, I think, is rather common in the second or the third generation. Then this voluntary assimilation takes place, when a person wants to have an easier life and says to oneself: 'Why did my parents give me this first name or this surname?' And of course if there is an opportunity, these kids write č instead of ć and thereby participate in a sort of soft assimilation. The second and the third generation can have this aversion towards the members of the nations they originate from. ... I think this is a consequence of this soft assimilation, of the desire to be closer to the majority population and then this represents a burden. A child with such a surname gets a feeling of inferiority, is labelled for life with this mark. In the first generation we are aware of this from the first moment - we know, where we came from, but the third generation... they are in a very difficult situation, it is hard for them to identify themselves as they have lived here since they were born. They could be Slovenian, but are not and so they ask themselves: 'Why am I not Slovenian?' This represents an enormous emotional pressure for young generations.

(Serbian representative)

Sometimes I felt like... in the primary school, even though half of my schoolmates came from the other republics of Yugoslavia, I had a feeling that I am surrounded by Slovenians, that I am the only Bosnian child. I was ashamed; I didn't want to say my mother's name, because it sounded so different. I had a feeling of inferiority.

(Bosnian youngster)

This pressure is huge. The son of my friend is 25 and could not get a job anywhere. So he gave up his father's surname and took the one from his mother. There are some examples ... for instance, Rasim becomes Rastko.

(Bosnian representative)

⁷ The results of the research project Perceptions of Slovenian Integration Policies (PSIP, 2003) indicate that more than a third of the sample population has found themselves in a situation, where they considered it best not to reveal their ethnicity. At the same time, over 5% of the sample population answered that they had changed their name and/or surname to a more Slovenian sounding form to avoid discrimination of the majority population; and over 15% of the population answered that they occasionally think about doing so. They usually mentioned one of the following three reasons: marriage, adaptation to life in Slovenian society and providing a better perspective to their children (Medvešek and Komac, 2005: 203).

I know some people that changed their surnames in order to have better possibilities, to achieve more in society. Many people told me to at least change my surname, to change the 'ć' into 'č' but I don't want to. I am who I am, I want to show other people that my surname is not important. I am not inferior because my surname ends with 'ć'.

(Croatian youngster)

In the absence of minority status and efforts towards achieving an integral model of minority protection for the communities of the peoples of the former Yugoslavia, Slovenia implements partial measures in the field of cultural and education policies that could be considered to be a contribution to the preservation of culture and language among these communities (Petković, 2001: 79-80).

In the sphere of education, the question of (additional) classes of mother tongue and culture is of particular interest. The right to use their own language in upbringing and education is assured exclusively for members of the Italian and the Hungarian national minority, while members of other ethnic communities can only rely on eventual bilateral agreements and international conventions⁸ and above all, on the self-organization and self-funding of such additional classes. The representative of the Albanian national community emphasised the following problems:

Additional classes of Albanian language for instance. The government approves, of course, providing that the assembled group of children is large enough... But we cannot pay the teacher! We do have a teacher, but look, she also has a family to support. The Ministry of Education, they paid 150 Euros to our teacher ... That does not even cover travelling expenses. So teachers feel uninspired, they are not motivated and find no satisfaction in teaching.

(Albanian representative)

Similar problems were pointed out by the representative of the Croatian community:

The Slovenian authorities considered our suggestion and sent a list of particular schools to the Ministry of Education, which were instructed to host our teachers on a certain day of the week. The Slovenian state only

⁸ According to the 8th article of the Elementary School Act (Official Gazette, no. 12/96, 33/97 in 59/01) and on the basis of international treaties and bilateral agreements, children, belonging to the Albanian, Croatian or Macedonian community, who are included in the Slovene elementary school programmes, have the opportunity to follow additional lessons of their mother tongue and culture organized for them.

provides the place in some primary schools... and our teacher travels from Maribor through Ljubljana to Piran. The teacher's salary, books, teaching materials and travel expenses are financed by the Republic of Croatia. ... We say: adopt some new laws and include the Croatian language among other optional subjects in schools ... and we will see to it, that Croatian children will register for them, but Slovenian children will also be able to register and this is something completely different.
(Croatian representative).

However, even within the Croatian community, there are certain reservations regarding the organization of an additional subject in selected schools.

Some schools have been instructed to offer us room for the organization of classes. ... in a way, to us, this resembles ghettoization. If you appoint the school and then let us, the national community, organize additional classes, then only our children will come. We would like to have Slovenian children or anyone else who would like to, would be able to join too. And then what happens—parents are afraid that their children will be labelled, marked, and that is why instead of one hundred, twenty kids turn up and results are modest.
(Croatian representative)

Other national communities, whose countries have no bilateral agreements with Slovenia, usually find themselves being dismissed as there is no legal basis to support the organization of additional classes in their language.

Five or six years ago we demanded the organization of additional classes of our mother tongue in primary schools and when we visited the Basic Education Directorate ... well, there the conversation ran on and on and this was the result: there is no legal basis... We would agree, for instance, to a Serbian or a Croatian teacher being appointed in Koper or in Jesenice. And lessons should be open to all, ultimately, why shouldn't other children join the classes if they want to?
(Bosnian representative)

4.3 Conclusion

The basic problem of the members of the nations and nationalities of the former Yugoslavia living in Slovenia is – as previously mentioned – that they are not acknowledged by the Slovenian Constitution as a legal group entity, as a minority, so they have no legal background to support the cultural and lingual expression of their national particularities. That is why in 2003 at the Round Table of the European Commission against

Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) the representatives of Albanians, Bosniacs, Montenegrins, Croats, Macedonians and Serbs in Slovenia, organized within The Association of Unions of Cultural Societies of the Constitutive Nations and Nationalities of the Former Yugoslavia in Slovenia, have presented a public appeal to the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia to “initiate and perform the procedure and change the Constitution of Slovenia so as to include us, the Albanians, Bosniacs, Montenegrins and Serbs living in Slovenia and to declare our status as national communities/national minorities living in the Republic of Slovenia”.⁹

During the continuation of the public appeal it was pointed out that members of nations from the former Yugoslavia represent a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of Slovenia, that they have lived in Slovenia for a long time, that they are concentrated in larger cities, industrial and mining centres, that they are loyal citizens, that they want to preserve their national identity and that they do not want to be assimilated.¹⁰ The public appeal did not receive any response in the National Assembly; none of its suggestions were implemented or even taken into consideration.

Though it seems that the establishment of integrated model of minority protection for these populations is a challenge too great for any government of Slovenia so far to tackle, some steps forward were being made in the beginning of 2011, when the National Assembly adopted the “Declaration of the Republic of Slovenia on the policies toward new national communities”.¹¹ Even though the Declaration can be seen as a very abstract legal document with little specific provisions or practical value it still represents a formal framework for negotiations, as it calls upon the government to establish a special advisory body that would serve as a platform for dialogue between representatives of new national communities and the government. Last but not least, further efforts should be made in changing the stereotypically negative attitude of a part of the majority society towards these communities by emphasizing the significance of transculturalism and multilingualism in order to develop an open, pluralistic society and social solidarity.

⁹ The public appeal was presented at the round table organised by Council of Europe - European Commission against Racism and Intolerance. Ljubljana, October 14th, 2003, page 1.

¹⁰ Public appeal of Albanians, Bosniacs, Montenegrins, Croats, Macedonians and Serbs, living in Slovenia, page 2, points 4 - 8.

¹¹ Official Gazette, no. 7/2011:

<http://www.uradni-list.si/1/objava.jsp?stevilka=210&urlid=20117>
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CHAPTER FIVE

FOSTERING PLURILINGUALISM AND INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE: AFFECTIVE AND COGNITIVE DIMENSIONS

ANTOINETTE CAMILLERI GRIMA

5.1. Introduction

The benefits of linguistic and cultural diversity are multiple and multi-faceted (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002; Starkey, 2002; Gogolin, 2002; Pavlenko, 2005; Edwards, 2010). In almost every recent book that deals with multilingualism and cultural diversity lies an emphasis on the extent of cultural diversity in many regions around the world, and the need to tackle this issue with urgency and with a positive outlook (Pattanayak, 2003; Ouane, 2003; Miller *et al.*, 2009; Hélot and Ó Laoire, 2011). Indeed, important international organisations such as UNESCO (e.g. Ouane, 2003), the Council of Europe (e.g. Raasch, 2002; Ó Riagáin, 2002), the European Centre for Modern Languages (e.g. McPake and Tinsley, 2007), as well as the European Union (e.g. Europublic, 2009) have delegated experts to produce studies, and thereafter made recommendations for the implementation of a variety of policies, projects and actions aimed at fostering plurilingualism and intercultural competence (e.g. Beacco and Byram, 2003; Camilleri Grima, 2007; Newby, 2007).

Among the advantages commonly publicised in recent years to encourage the learning of additional languages, and the maintenance and revitalisation of languages spoken by minority communities, are: economic incentives (Grin, 2002), cognitive benefits (Europublic, 2009; Clyne, 2011), better social prospects and enhanced communication (Raasch, 2002), and also a delay in the slow-down of mental functioning (Bialystok, 2010). Individuals are thus encouraged to sustain and enhance their plurilingualism, and societies are stimulated to support language and cultural diversity.

This paper is anchored in an educational milieu, and aims to contribute to the endeavour of supporting and promoting diversity through pedagogical activities. It will describe three projects: (i) one conducted with primary school children (story sacks); (ii) another one that took place in a secondary school for boys (storyline); (iii) and finally a project which was part of teacher education (image theatre). I participated in all three projects: I was a parent of two children in the primary school at the time of the project; I was a course supervisor of the newly qualified teacher who embarked on the storyline project at secondary level; and I co-organised the in-service teacher training course. In what follows, I will describe the context and the general aims of the three projects. Following that, while focusing on the activities themselves, I will draw on the theoretical underpinning in order to illustrate that there are both cognitive and affective dimensions involved, and that it is efficacious for pedagogists to keep both aspects in focus.

5.2. The Context of the Projects

All three projects described in this paper took place in Malta where the context is one of nation-wide bilingualism, involving Maltese and English, and where the community is, by and large, mono-ethnically Maltese, with less than 3% of the population being non-Maltese (National Statistics Office, 2005). As a result, the awareness of linguistic and cultural differences is limited mainly to a view of otherness experienced locally thanks to a flourishing tourist industry, and by virtue of travel abroad. Although the phenomenon of illegal immigration has been hotly debated in recent years, there has been limited contact, and even more limiting approaches and perceptions, between the (unwelcome) foreigners and the local population. Overall, one cannot say that children from different cultural backgrounds are particularly visible in schools, although there seems to be increasing diversity in a small number of schools, depending on the location of the school. I will now describe the context within which each project took place.

The primary school where the “story sack project” took place is a village school in a rural area. It caters for about three-hundred pupils aged three to eleven, and according to the Head of School, at the time of the project, there was only one foreign pupil in the school whose parents came from Lithuania. The rest of the pupils were all Maltese and the parents of the majority of them had also grown up in the same village. The objectives of the story sacks in primary school were elementary, in the sense that the children were introduced to language diversity through books and films

and not through direct, first-hand contact with diversity. In fact, this 'mono' reality was the main issue that we wanted to tackle: we felt it was becoming urgent to expose the village children to linguistic and cultural diversity in a positive and encouraging way before they became hostages to prejudices about foreignness, an approach that was not totally unknown in the environment and on the media. Furthermore, an added value of this project was the involvement of parents such that awareness was raised among a wider audience including teachers and parents.

In the secondary school for boys there was a different reality¹. The "storyline project" was conducted during October 2011 with Form 2 and Form 3 students, aged 12 to 14. Among the fifty or so students that took part, one-third originated from other countries: Bulgaria, Italy, France, Germany, Spain, the UK, Ukraine, Tunisia, the USA, Australia and China. This particular school is located in the harbour area and hosts lower academic ability students, namely those who failed the entrance examination to the higher ability lyceums at age 11². One newly qualified teacher who was working in this school, and whom I had tutored during the previous year, approached me because she was worried about the kind of relationship that was developing between the Maltese boys on one hand, and the foreign boys on the other. She had witnessed one critical incident and was willing to do something about it. During break time the boys normally play football. The Maltese boys are rather rough and for them it is common practice to push and pull each other, and they even tear each others' clothes, without worrying about it. However, when they pushed one of the foreign boys, and roughly pulled his clothes, he was gravely offended. It became clear that cultural differences were at play, and that no one had been, up to that point, aware of the dangers of a lack of intercultural competence among the boys. The project reported here was a first step in an attempt to consciously deal with plurality within the school. An added value was that while the Maltese and foreign boys were normally separated for the Maltese lesson, during this project they worked together in a collaborative manner during the time allotted for Maltese, and worked with the teacher of Maltese.

The "teacher education project" was based on the belief that in order for teachers to be able to act as effective educators of diversity in school they needed to have an educational experience themselves. Normally, intercultural competence is included as part of foreign language learning

¹ State secondary schools in Malta are not co-educational, i.e. they cater for boys and girls separately.

² As from 2011 this selective system has been abolished for students entering secondary school for the first time.

with a view to being able to travel for work or for pleasure, and to understand and integrate in the target culture (Council of Europe, 2001). The perspective we took in the project described here was broader. First of all, intercultural competence is considered here to be an essential element of mother-tongue education and not simply as part of the content knowledge of foreign languages³. Secondly, everyone needs to be well-prepared in advance for the occasion of facing otherness, irrespective of whether they will travel or migrate or continue inhabiting their own corner of the world.

Languages and cultures encompass both cognitive aspects as well as affective dimensions. Traditionally, apart from language learning, intercultural competence tackles three domains of knowledge, skills and attitudes: 'savoir', 'savoir-faire' and 'savoir-être' (Council of Europe, 2001; Sercu, 2002). The range of 'savoirs' can be further expanded to include learning how to learn or 'savoir-apprendre' (Zarate, 2003), skilfully amplified and illustrated in Candelier (2011). Neuner (2003) describes the paradigm shift in language teaching methodology over the past decades, and the functions and outcomes of the various methodologies. With regard to intercultural competence he focuses in some depth on the interdependence between the cognitive (e.g. selection of information, analysis of structures of a socio-cultural phenomenon), and the affective (e.g. empathy, role distance, tolerance of ambiguity) aspects. Similarly, in Camilleri Grima (2002) I specify that as a means of fostering intercultural competence there is a need for:

- a) Developing cognitive complexity in responding to new environments
- b) Motivating affective co-orientation towards fresh encounters
- c) Directing behaviour to perform various interactions with additional social groups

Each of the projects described below highlights a selection of cognitive and affective objectives, that are age-appropriate, and that are best fitted to the activity concerned. Furthermore, each project was designed with a consideration of the sociolinguistic context for which it was intended. Each project was planned for the classroom as a safe laboratory, a place to explore and dissect differences in an appropriate way, avoiding negative judgement and the related consequences. More than that, it allows plenty of opportunity for personal enrichment in terms of knowledge, and for a growing maturity as social beings.

³ For several years I have been covering a component of intercultural competence within the L1 programme in pre-service education.

5.3. Cognitive Processes

One of the fundamental principles taken into consideration in these projects is that in order to foster plurilingualism and intercultural competence, we need to give attention to the way the human mind works. The inputting of data into the mind must be carried out efficiently because this operation establishes a platform for the mind's further processing of the information, and for producing reactions later on. In fact, Abkulut (2007) emphasises that language and cognition are interdependent. Willingham (2007) explains that the human mind works like a computer: it takes in information, manipulates it, and then produces responses. The cognitive processes that are of interest to us here relate to ways in which the human mind gains access to knowledge about the world, how it processes it for instance by using attention, memory and association, and then acts on the basis of the responses created in the mind. Indeed, the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment* (Council of Europe, 2001:104) proposes that users of the Framework consider and state:

- What prior sociolcultural experience and knowledge the learner is assumed/required to have;
- What new experience and knowledge of social life in his/her community as well as in the target community the learner will need to acquire in order to meet the requirements of L2 communication;
- What awareness of the relation between home and target cultures the learner will need, so as to develop an appropriate intercultural competence.

Prior knowledge makes things easier to remember, and also guides what details the mind is likely to pick out in a complex situation (Willingham, 2007). In relation to this, the storyline project and the teacher education project start off by foregrounding the prior knowledge of the learners. The relation between familiar and new knowledge can be described as anchoring (Augoustinos *et al.*, 2006), that is, the classification and naming of new and unfamiliar objects or social stimuli by comparing them with existing stock of familiar and culturally accessible categories.

For these reasons, cognitive processes like identifying, comparing, explaining and so on, have been purposefully built into each of the pedagogical activities, with a view to training the mind toward effective anchoring of cultural and linguistic information. In Camilleri (2000) I present a list of cognitive processes, such as discovering, completing,

accepting, being creative and solving problems, as examples of the kind of mental activity that takes place during pedagogical activities that form part of language learning and culture-related exercises. Similarly, the publication by Europublic (2009) highlights cognitive functions such as divergent and convergent thinking, conceptual expansion, creativity and innovation as typical of a plurilingual mind. These are cognitive assets very much desirable in a context of cultural diversity.

The reactions of participants, which are in part dependent on the cognitive processes used for the inputting and manipulation of information, were also guided with care throughout the projects because the outcomes of the activities had been planned with specific targets in mind.

5.4. Affective Dimensions

The affective dimension in intercultural competence refers to the emotional side of the experience and the motivational readiness of the participants in an interaction. It is closely related to values, attitudes, and feelings embedded in messages of a verbal and non-verbal nature. In agreement with Neuner (2003:35) we believe that

the emotional-affective dimension with its emphasis on the development of attitudes toward the target language and socio-culture, is especially closely tied in with the all-encompassing socio-political and educational objectives

Furthermore, a lot of care was taken throughout the projects for the “emotional-affective dimension” which “...relates to... the imaginary participation in exciting events and the appeal to feelings, to soul and heart” (Neuner, 2003:35). For this reason, the motivational aspect of the projects involving the emotional-affective dimension was particularly catered for, and both the secondary school project and the teacher education project also included the imaginary participation in exciting events as part and parcel of the activity.

Indeed, this pedagogical claim has been substantiated by research in psychology. There is a positive correlation between how vivid a memory seems, and how emotional it is (Willingham, 2007), and thus emotion clearly makes things more memorable. In each of the projects the emotions are guarded: we wanted them to be there because this promotes learning, and we wanted them to be positive, because this will colour future reactions to difference. The theory of social representations (e.g. Augoustinos *et al.*, 2006) departs from the belief that the individual cannot be properly and fully understood in abstract isolation from the social, and

that this internalized social knowledge in turn guides and facilitates the processing of social information. Furthermore, representations are conceptualized as affective structures with inherent normative and evaluative dimensions. Attitudes are first and foremost evaluations, which we commonly refer to as stereotypes and prejudices. Of fundamental concern to us is that such attitudes will result in behaviour, which might not always be laudable in a multilingual and multicultural environment. The kind of activities described here, are therefore, a means for instilling a propensity in participants to avoid hasty judgements on encountering diversity.

Similarly, while departing from a more linguistic point of view, Pavlenko (2005) illustrates very vividly how emotions, languages and cultures, are intertwined. While she convinces us that an education in multilingualism and diversity is a lifelong endeavour, she also gives plenty of examples to show how the effects of both the cognitive processes and the affective aspects present when learning a language, or when dealing with a new culture at some point in someone's life, continue to be felt throughout one's life. Of particular relevance to us is her discussion of foreign language learning and anxiety, apathy and emotional vulnerability, which she illustrates and explains through examples of individuals who learned German during the Nazi era. Such emotions like anxiety are what we are trying to avoid in the future lives of our learners upon encountering diversity. Furthermore, we are concerned with developing pedagogical contexts that positively shape learners' emotional evaluations and subsequent actions.

One approach to prepare a learner for affective co-orientation is explained by Gaston (1992) as a four stage procedure that allows the teacher and the learners to methodically attain specific skills and attitudes. The four stages that lead to intercultural competence are: Recognition, Reaction, Empathy, Respect. This four-step approach is particularly evident in the secondary school project and in image theatre for teacher education. Furthermore, all the cognitive and affective objectives identified for each project are taken from the *Framework of reference for pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures*, known as the CARAP (Candelier, 2007/2011), henceforth referred to as the CARAP. Each learning objective or descriptor (as they are known in the CARAP) is preceded by the same number used in the CARAP.

5.5. Story Sacks in Early Childhood and Primary Education

The story sack project was an initiative taken by a group of parents who felt the necessity to introduce an innovative and motivational aspect into the life of the child at school; to include a window opening onto the world. The general aim of the project was to create story sacks as a means of stimulating curiosity about other languages while inculcating a sense of pleasure in intercultural competence and language learning. The objectives of the story sacks were multiple, especially as parent education was brought into the equation. However, for the purposes of this paper we will narrow down our focus to the cognitive and affective aspects specifically chosen from the CARAP (2007) for the linguistic and cultural content of the sacks. The cognitive aims were that the child would come to know:

5.1	that there are many different languages in the world
5.3	that there are different kinds of script
11.1	that cultural differences exist

The affective dimension was also considered to be very important. Following Pavlenko (2005:198) the parents believed that “language-related emotions are likely to influence individual decisions and choices in situations like ethnic conflict or immigration...”. Whether positive or negative, sensations and feelings that are aroused by languages and cultures predispose an individual to particular behaviour, and continue to dominate one all through one’s life. The project intended to catch these children early enough in order to gently prod them forward in a very positive and profitable way into the world of otherness. The specific affective aims concerned:

1.1	Attention to language and manifestations of culture
3.2.1	Curiosity about the similarities and differences between one’s own language/culture and the target language/culture
9.5	Desire to find out about other languages/cultures

The cognitive and emotional development of the child was catered for by the various elements involved in the story sack project. Katz and Chard (2000:6) explain that an appropriate education for young children should address the full scope of their growing minds as they strive to make better and fuller sense of their experiences. It encourages them to pose questions, pursue and solve puzzles, and increase their awareness of significant

phenomena around them". The story sacks tried to capture the four essential categories of learning goals as defined by Katz and Chard (2000), that is (a) Knowledge, by including an information card on the topic for each sack; (b) Skills, appropriate to the age group, mainly activated through the games, puzzles or other activities inserted in each sack; (c) Dispositions relevant to social competence, such as inquisitiveness, which was in-built in the fact that the objects came out of the sack with a great deal of expectation and surprise, and the books and other objects that lead the children to ask questions; and finally (d) Feelings, i.e. the affective states such as feeling confident and important, like the children felt when coming out of school every Tuesday with a story sack on their back.

The procedure to produce the story sacks was rather lengthy, and the whole project took a year from beginning to end. As a start, the parents asked the national education authority for assistance who, in fact, recommended a presentation by another parent from another school who had been involved in a literacy project for children. Following her presentation it was decided to create story sacks for children aged 7, such that each child of that age in the school would take a story sack home every week. A series of workshops for the parents of the 7 year old children was organised, initially to explain the project, and eventually to get everyone involved. For example, some parents helped by sewing the sacks, or by collecting games, preparing the instructions for each sack, puppets etc. Each sack was given a number and assigned a topic, and in each sack as a minimum there were: a big book; commercially available books in different languages, always including Maltese, English and another language; a game; an instruction card; a toy and/or a soft-toy; a puppet; and a DVD. A total of thirty-five sacks were prepared. The big books, which were made by the parents together with the children during some of the evenings spent in school, were either in Maltese or in English, and the stories they invented narrated some cultural behaviour or event, often described from the point of view of animals or objects. The story sacks were useful because in that way more cultural content could be covered, and children could be gently introduced to a diversity of languages and scripts.

The following diagram (Fig. 5-1) illustrates the procedure, which was kicked off with one parent from another school sharing her experiences, and continued in a cyclical fashion when two of the parents involved in the story sack project were, in turn, invited to make a presentation about it at a private school.

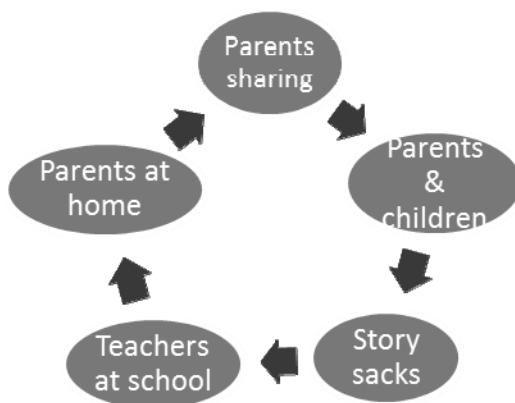


Fig. 5-1: The story sacks project

Once the sacks were ready, a couple of parents tried out the sacks with a group of pupils at the school, showing other parents how the surprise element and the contents could be dealt with by the parents and the child at home. Every week the parents took it in turns to collect, check, clean and re-distribute the sacks to the children. The teachers also got involved and used the sacks with the other classes whose parents were not involved in the project.

The reactions of some of the children who took part in the project and that were reported to us are well worth mentioning. For instance, a common question was: “What is this language?”, or trying to guess, “Is this German?”. Some children asked about learning foreign languages: “When can I start learning French?” or “Isn’t it too long to wait until I’m 10 to start learning French?!”. One of the books in the story sacks was called *Hilarious Estonia*. It is a publication of the Estonian Institute (Debelakk, 2001), and it’s a very colourful and funny representation of modern life in Estonia, narrated visually in comic-style drawings with comments in English. We could observe the children’s reactions to manifestations of culture in this book, and one of the boys couldn’t contain himself with surprise: “What? They make fun of themselves? No, I wouldn’t want Malta to be laughed at!”. Indeed, we realised that as a nation the Maltese do not normally enjoy self-derision. The different approaches taken by the different languages and literacy cultures in children’s books was fascinating in itself. The adults that were involved in

the project also found themselves embarking on a journey of discovery and self-discovery, just like the children!

5.6. Storyline at Secondary Level

As explained in sections 2 and 3 above, personal involvement through recall of past experiences and knowledge has an important role to play in intercultural competence and foreign language learning. The secondary school project intended to involve the learners personally, through a sharing of intercultural experiences, and by giving them an opportunity for creative output. One of the global cognitive competences described in the CARAP (2007:35) is the “competence in profiting from one’s own intercultural and inter-language experiences”. Therefore, this project took the view that the experience of the learners is a resource, and that the school needs to utilise this human resource with profit.

As mentioned above, there was an increasing number of non-Maltese boys attending this school. For this reason, the targets of the storyline project were more closely related to the context in which the project was taking place. For instance, it was relevant to mention the diversity of languages and cultures in one’s own environment given the range of countries of origin of the learners taking part. Besides, considering that some children came from European countries and from the Mediterranean region, while others came from as far as the USA, Australia and China, it was important to make explicit reference to lands near and far. Indeed, the CARAP specifies descriptors for these aspects. Thus, the cognitive aims of the storyline project were that the learner:

5.7	Knows that there are multilingual, plurilingual situations in one’s own environment and in other places near or far
10	Has knowledge concerning different cultures
11.4.2	Becomes familiar with the historical and geographical factors which determine aspects of different cultures

The affective objectives were also directly related to what the school wanted to achieve given the increasing diversity of languages and cultures among the students:

5.2	Receptiveness towards people with other languages
4.2.1	Acceptance of the value of all languages/cultures in the school
7.3.1	Growing confidence to ‘go to meet’ what is new and strange in language behaviour and cultural values of others

The project was elaborated in three phases as shown in Fig. 5-2. First of all it focussed on the personal experiences of the students. The activity was introduced through a brainstorming session about what they had considered to be strange while visiting other countries, and then slowly developed into a methodology that encompassed cognitive processes like remembering what had happened, describing the event, sharing how they felt, and explaining the reasons why they thought it was strange. The students were guided in their activities in order to help them identify possible geographical, historical, political or other factors that play a role in the way of life of a cultural group.

In the second phase they worked in national groups in order to collate a choice of cultural information in such a way that they could present it visually to their peers. All the boys took particular interest in this activity and talked with pride about their country of origin. Each presentation almost developed into an advertisement! The material took the form of charts which they later used in a class discussion in order to identify and compare how geographical and other factors impact on culture. The linguistic element was brought into the activity when the boys decided that each group should translate a list of words they had chosen into the various languages. In the third phase they worked in mixed groups and their task was to invent a story where everything had to be fictional: the place, the characters and the plot. The idea was to foster further cognitive flexibility through an imaginative scenario, and thus foster their readiness to engage with things that are new and strange.

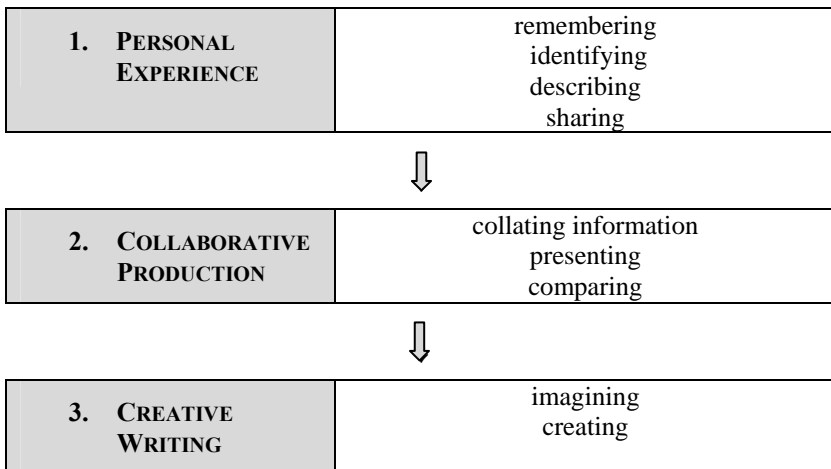


Fig. 5-2: The storyline project

During the second phase, the students of a non-Maltese cultural background were particularly keen to learn more about the local culture. Interestingly, they emphasized the fact that given the bilingual situation in Malta they found it easier to integrate with the local population. In fact, most of them expressed themselves in English throughout the activity. The cultural factor that interested the boys most was geographical distance, how it varied greatly from one country to another, and how it had an impact on private and public transport. The Maltese boys were particularly impressed by the fact that some countries are so huge that one needs to travel by air to get from one place to another, and that it can take up to seven hours to get to the beach. Some of the comments made by the Maltese boys were: “I really didn’t know that!” and “How lucky we are that we can get to the beach in minutes”. The Maltese boys expressed their satisfaction with regard to the short distances in Malta and the pleasant climate, but on the other hand, some of them said they wished there were trains and other means of transport that were lacking in Malta. From a linguistic point of view, the boys took particular interest in Bulgarian and Ukrainian, and found the Chinese language most fascinating and wanted to hear more Chinese spoken by their peers. They wanted to know more about naming practices and each national group was asked to give a list of typical boys’ names in their culture. Some discussion centred around the Arabic alphabet and the fact that in Arabic writing takes place from right to left.

In the final phase of the project the boys worked very well together in mixed national groups. Each group wrote about an imaginary country, gave it a name, fantasised about what it was like to live there, and described items like food, sport, work and pleasure activities. Above all, it was worth observing how they made an effort to describe the physical geography of the land, to include rivers, mountains, forests and sandy beaches, as well as plenty of different means of transport. They also focussed on how history and national memories, for instance, are of daily relevance because in every country there are major squares and streets named after historical events and personalities. In their creative writing, for example, one country was called “Chukvers”, its language was called “Chukvernish”, the favourite food was a “chukvers pizza with sauce, sausages, mushrooms and, of course, chukvers”, and the typical drinks were “chukspresso” and “chukshot”!

In the end, a major outcome of the storyline project was a surprise. The school decided to organise a Culture Week so that diversity could be given more space, plenty of visibility, and more importantly, in order to continue

inculcating and fostering the affective dimensions that this project had set going.

5.7. Image Theatre in Teacher Education

The education of teachers with a view to diversity cannot be underestimated. As teacher educators we were aware that up to that point our teachers had had very little formal training in intercultural competence. Therefore, we felt that before we could ask them to put theory into practice we needed to bring them together in order to act and reflect on the basis of first-hand experiences. One of the competences mentioned in the CARAP (2007: 37) refers to the “competence in applying systematic and controlled learning approaches in a context of otherness”. Without a doubt, the application of theory to practice with regard to intercultural competence and language diversity needs to be part and parcel of teacher education. In fact, Siegel (2005) reports that educating teachers about language diversity and issues of language and power was the first step in most of the successful programmes he describes, all of which were directed toward the promotion of language diversity in the classroom. Teachers are normal social actors who have accumulated a lot of cultural and linguistic knowledge over the years, but who also entertain their own prejudices and limiting perceptions. This needs to be tackled during their training, or as part of an in-service offer.

The aim of image theatre⁴, in this case, was to develop mental flexibility in dealing with ambiguity and bizarre situations. An individual’s cognitive flexibility is dependent on their ability to make sense of, and to integrate new information, into a pre-existing cognitive structure, that is, their ability to bend their way of thinking and to be receptive to new cultural patterns. This flexibility in perception and thought patterns is a key to openness and acceptance of another culture, and thus to successful cross-cultural adaptation (Camilleri Grima, 2002).

The inclusion of creativity as a cognitive objective is fundamental. Creativity is defined by the Europublic study (2009) as the ability of think of something new by conceptual expansion. This study (ibid.) also explains that creativity generally precedes innovation, and in the Europe of the future as envisaged by the European Commission, innovation will be one of the cornerstones of European success. Furthermore, from a language learning point of view, the existence of more than one language in the brain suggests that bilinguals are able to see the world through

⁴ Image theatre is the brainchild of Augusto Boal (1992).

different lenses, they have enhanced cognitive control, they are better at multitasking and focusing, and plurilingualism helps in nurturing interpersonal communication, awareness and skills. Cognitive differences in bilingual speakers when compared to monolinguals seem to be linked to differences in their brain's physical make-up (presumably resulting from the number of languages they are fluent in), as has been shown by Mohades *et al.* (2012).

The cognitive objectives of the teacher education project were that, as a result of this experience, the learner comes to:

10.1	Possess cultural references enabling one to structure the implicit and explicit knowledge about the world
13.2.1	“Decentre” oneself in relation to one’s own language/culture and to put oneself in another person’s place

The affective dimensions involved:

6.10	Becoming familiar with one’s own reactions towards linguistic/cultural differences
8	Motivation to observe, study, analyse features of linguistic/cultural diversity

Even in teacher education, not only is prior knowledge put at the forefront because “it is crucial to how you process new experiences” (Willingham, 2007), but the innovative slant in methodology ascertains that the emotions are at high alert, because “emotion does make things more memorable...emotion provides a memory boost” (Willingham, 2007: 179). Indeed, the teachers participated with a lot of enthusiasm, and they commented that the training workshops were fun. Having enjoyed the learning process, they are tuned in to more pleasurable encounters with diversity in future.

This project comprises a number of steps:

- (i) In small groups each participant is invited to narrate a personal experience that occurred in a context of otherness, and that resulted in a reaction of surprise and a feeling that something bizarre was happening. These personal anecdotes are used as a springboard for the participants to probe further into foreign languages and cultures in a way that interests them, because it has already touched them personally.

- (ii) They then compare and contrast languages and cultures. What is strikingly different inherently brings to the surface the shape of one's own language and culture. The anecdotes are used not only to describe the foreign features and the emotions they caused, but for the participants to delve deeper into the causes for such emotions, namely by trying to answer the question: Why is that event, behaviour, occurrence, tradition etc. strange? What does it help me realise about my own language/culture? How do others see me, my culture, my language, my behaviour, etc.?
- (iii) Accepting that people's reactions, one's own and those of others, are shaped by the culture they operate in.
- (iv) Decentring and being creative. In groups of 5-7 the participants choose one critical incident from those narrated by their colleagues. They prepare a sequence of five still pictures that they have to act out, as a way of reciting the anecdote. The performance is carried out in silence. At this stage the participants are expected to decentre in the sense that they take on the persona of someone else, in an unknown culture, and behave in a non-customary fashion.
- (v) Each group presents their narrative, and the class has to interpret the cultural event. A discussion then ensues about the key features of cultural (mis)understanding.

Sometimes, the enactment involves language issues, such as the different meaning of homonyms or cognates. For instance, one anecdote centred around the different meaning and use of 'mela' in Maltese and Italian. An Italian family were placing an order in a Maltese restaurant, but they were rather surprised that the waitress said she was going to offer them an apple ("mela"). In fact, when the waitress said "mela" she was simply uttering a Maltese discourse marker of no consequence, equivalent to "so" or "therefore" in English! Similarly, when a Maltese student with some knowledge of Italian was visiting Spain and wanted some butter he asked for "burro", but was met with utter bewilderment because, apparently, in Spanish he was asking for a donkey!

This project took about thirty hours and was conducted in evening sessions⁵. All the gatherings were enjoyable and increased the participants' motivation toward issues of diversity (Camilleri Grima *et al.*, 2006). Course participants appreciated the novel approach to learning which was based on active participation and involved physical activity; the respect

⁵ This project was partly financed by the European Union, and was an element of the COALA project: "Communication and language promotion in training pre-school teachers" (Comenius 2.1 Action, Training of Education School Staff).

shown to their experience and the way it was brought into the teaching-learning process; and the relevance of the content and of the methodology to classroom practice.

5.8. Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to point out four junctures that transpire from these three projects: venturing toward a wholistic approach to school development; intercultural education as part of first language instruction; educating for diversity in one's own region; and the importance of both the cognitive and affective dimensions in learning.

Whole-school development (Camilleri Grima, 2007) is an important element in innovation, for instance, when trying to introduce a specific form of continuity between home and school. The story sacks project found a place in this primary school's School Development Plan, and was accompanied by the upgrading of the school's reading room in such a way that the teachers could also contribute to the efforts of the parents. A whole-school approach seeks to accomplish the goals by involving all stakeholders through community building and by sharing responsibility. This means that school administrators, teachers, learners, parents, researchers, and experts all have a part to play. As detailed by Fleishmann (2007), the Head of School can be the main instigator of change. On the other hand, parents and grandparents can have a crucial role, as in the examples described by Young and Hélot (2007) where parents came into the school to show and tell about their different cultures, and by Huss (2007), who reports an interesting case where the grandparents were indispensable for language revitalisation at kindergarten level. Even researchers and experts can give a hand, as illustrated by Norberg (2007) who explains how applied linguists contributed to the success of bilingual education through German and Sorbian in Sorbian speaking areas in Germany. As Edwards (2010: 288) concludes, "It is impossible to understand the school by remaining within its gates". Moreover, children cannot understand diversity and interact with otherness unless the school gates open up their world to what lies outside.

As many scholars point out, intercultural competence and plurilingualism are lifelong endeavours, which means that one must start early and then needs to continue sharpening one's skills, and enhancing competences, even after leaving school. We also believe that this is so important to the extent that we wish it would become part of first language instruction. One has to be prepared, albeit, as prepared as possible, not with the actual details about the language structures and the cultural cues

of other languages than one's own, but indeed, with the mental flexibility and the affective readiness to face differences and avoid social failures. If anything, it is impossible to obtain all the information and knowledge required for cross-cultural and cross-linguistic encounters. Therefore, it is mental flexibility and emotional readiness that we must aim for. Besides, we have also noted how becoming receptive to otherness includes a deeper reflection about one's own language and culture.

We have also mentioned that an education in favour of intercultural competence and language diversity must take into account one's own environment. We have to move away from the idea that learners need to learn about cultures and other languages because they will need them in their future, for work and travel. An education that backs diversity needs to start and to continue in one's own milieu, and to cater for the related skills needed within one's own environment.

Finally, given the interdependence of the affective and cognitive dimensions it is worthwhile bringing both of them to the fore in pedagogical activities. They cannot be separated, and they are both fundamental in the development of intercultural competence and plurilingualism. Intercultural competence can be inculcated whatever the age of the participants. To enhance this there is a wide variety of methodologies that can be applied, adapted, expanded and created such that every learning event is calibrated to the needs of the learners, at the right level of development, and with the most appropriate cognitive and affective objectives in mind.

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CHAPTER SIX

SOME REMARKS ON IMMIGRATION, IMMIGRANTS' LANGUAGES AND REPERTOIRES IN ITALY, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE XXI CENTURY

MARINA CHINI

6.1. The Context of Immigration in Contemporary Italy

Like many other EU countries, in the last twenty years, Italy has received a growing number of immigrants mainly from the Mediterranean area and from Eastern Europe (Romania, Albania, Morocco, Ukraine), but also from more distant regions of Africa, Asia and Latin America. According to the last official ISTAT¹ data (January 2011) 4,570,317 immigrants live in Italy, over a population of 60 million people (7.5% of the entire population). The Caritas/Migrantes Dossier on 2011 estimates that there were about 5 million immigrants in Italy in 2010, among which 3 million came to Italy in the last 10 years. 150 years ago, when Italy was unified (1861), its population included only 88,639 immigrants (0.4% of the population). The quantitative evolution of this section of population and its origin are presented in Tab. 6-1 (next page).

The developments outlined in the table are in line with the international scenario: in the last 10 years the immigrant population in the entire world has grown conspicuously (+ 64 million immigrants), so that now there are 214 million immigrants in the world and more than 15 million refugees. In the EU, almost one inhabitant out of ten was born in a country different from the country he/she is living in now: in 2009, 32.5 million people in the EU had a foreign citizenship (6.5%) and almost 15 million were naturalized.

¹ ISTAT, the National Institute for Statistics, is the official agency that collects data for statistical analyses in Italy.

YEAR	ORIGIN (%)						TOTAL N
	Europe	Africa	Asia	America	Oceania	others	
1980	53.2	10.0	14.0	21.0	1.4	0.4	298,749
1990	33.5	30.5	18.7	16.4	0.8	0.1	781,138
2000	40.7	28.0	19.2	11.8	0.2	0.0	1,388,153
2003	47.9	23.5	16.8	11.5	0.1	0.1	2,193,999
2008	53.6	22.4	15.8	8.1	0.1	0.1	3,891,295
2011	53.4	21.6	16.8	8.1	0.1	0	4,570,317

Tab. 6-1: Immigrants with residence permit living in Italy (1980-2011)
(Source: Caritas/Migrantes based on ISTAT)

The distribution of immigrants on the national territory in Italy is unequal (see Tab. 6-2): 35% of them live in the North West, 26.3% in the North East, 25.2% in the Centre and 13.5% in the South and on the Islands. The regions in which the highest presence is registered are Lombardy (23% of the whole immigrant population in 2010), followed by Lazio, Veneto and Emilia Romagna, as shown in Tab. 6-2.

REGION	MIGRANTS WITH RESIDENCE PERMIT - BEGINNING 2010
Piedmont	377,241
Lombardy	982,225
Veneto	480,616
Friuli-Venezia Giulia	100,850
Emilia Romagna	461,321
Tuscany	338,746
Lazio	497,940
Campania	147,057
Abruzzo	75,708
Apulia	84,320
Sicily	127,310
Sardinia	33,301
ITALY	4,235,059
	22% minors

Tab. 6-2: Migrants with residence permit in some Italian regions
(Source: Dossier Caritas/Migrantes, 2010)

In some regions and towns the concentration of immigrants is quite high: migrants represent about 10-12% of the whole population in regions such as Emilia Romagna, Lombardy and Umbria, and in towns such as Brescia, Mantova, Piacenza, Reggio Emilia, Prato, which are all in the North or in the Centre of the country. In the South of Italy the concentration of immigrants, on the contrary, is very low, as it amounts to about 3%. The areas with the higher migrant concentration are potentially the most suitable for the development of linguistic communities of immigrants (see discussion in Chini, 2009a and Chini, 2011).

Other relevant socio-demographic variables have also to be considered, in a sociolinguistic perspective, in particular the young age of this population and the growing stability of the phenomenon. We can describe this in short with some figures:

- the age of more than one fifth of immigrants is less than 18 years old;
- the average age of migrants is low: 32 years (vs. 44 years of Italians);
- only 2% of immigrants are older than 65 (vs. 20% of the Italian population);
- 78.8% of them are of working age;
- almost 1 out of 10 of the whole working population of Italy is immigrant;
- there are frequent mixed marriages in Italy (in 2009, 1 out of 10);
- the number of those who are less than 18 years old is growing: almost 1 million;
- the number of second generation people is also increasing: almost 650,000;
- according to ISTAT, 600,000 immigrants have been granted Italian citizenship (66,000 in 2010).

Italian schools have a very important role in integrating the young immigrant population in Italy and in its culture. They are also crucial in developing these immigrants' competence in Italian. The amount of foreign pupils in schools in 2010-11 is as follows: 711,046 pupils with non-Italian citizenship, that is almost 8% (7.9%), which is not far from the percentage in other large European countries which are traditional destinations for migrants (for instance, Germany 8.6%). The distribution of immigrant pupils is different according to their level of schooling: 35.8% of the total number of foreign pupils attend primary schools (5/6-10 years old); 20.3% attend preschools (2/3-5 years old), 22.3% junior high schools (11-14 years old), 21.6% senior high schools (14-19 years old),

where there has been a consistent increase in the last years (14% in 2001-02, 21.6% in 2010-2011). There are a large number of nationalities which are represented in Italian schools. The native countries with the highest number of students are listed in Tab. 6-3:

NATIVE COUNTRY	N OF PUPILS (2010-2011)	TOTAL N OF IMMIGRANTS COMING FROM THESE COUNTRIES	
		I.1.2010	2011
Romania	126,452	887,763	968,576
Albania	99,205	466,684	482,627
Morocco	92,542	431,529	452,424
China	32,691	188,352	209,934
Moldova	20,580	105,600	130,948
India	20,536	105,863	121,036
Philippines	19,766	123,584	134,154
Ecuador	19,537	85,940	91,625
Tunisia	18,333	103,678	106,291
Ukraine	17,408	174,129	200,730

Tab. 6-3: First native countries of pupils with non-Italian citizenship, 2010-2011.

Total number of immigrants from the same countries (I.1.2010, 2011)
(Source: MIUR; Caritas/Migrantes, 2010)

Second generation pupils are increasing in number: they represented 42% of the foreign pupils in 2010-11, with a much higher percentage among kindergarten pupils (78.3%). Immigrant pupils are concentrated in large numbers in the same regions and towns mentioned before, especially in Milan, Rome, Turin, Brescia, Bergamo, and in the regions of Lombardy (173,051, almost one foreign pupil out of four attends a school in Lombardy = 24%), Veneto (almost 85,000 pupils), Emilia Romagna (almost 83,000), and Piedmont and Lazio (with 67-68,000 foreign pupils each). As for their origin (see Tab. 6-3), the main home countries are Romania, Albania and Morocco: 40% of the total number of foreign pupils come from these three countries. Recently, there has been a significant increase in pupils coming from Romania, Moldova and India, while pupils of whom both parents come from Morocco, Albania or Philippines, are often born in Italy or came here several years ago. On the contrary, countries of recent migration such as Ukraine are underrepresented in schools.

In this context Italian educational policy has focussed more on teaching Italian L2 and on intercultural education and dialogue, than on L1 maintenance (although some pertinent indications are provided in several laws²). In January 2010, the Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research (MIUR) established that 30% is the maximum percentage of foreign pupils in a class, in order to avoid ghettoisation, and so that schools "can organize a first phase of language learning for foreign pupils [newly arrived in Italy], before they enter the class or in parallel to their settling-in phase, in order to facilitate their integration"; furthermore schools "can organize enhancement courses where it is possible, resorting to teachers from the same school. Therefore it is convenient, in teacher training, to give special attention to methodologies and teaching measures suitable for promoting integration"³. The main principles inspiring the MIUR official policy are the following⁴:

- inclusive policy;
- promotion of the acquisition of Italian L2 and of intercultural dialogue;
- care to the uniqueness and relational character of every pupil;
- the development of multilingualism;
- parental involvement.

Some innovative national projects on Italian L2 teaching have been pursued in the Nineties (for instance the MILIA Project) and at the beginning of the new century, namely the integrated e-learning teacher training project *Italiano L2: lingua di contatto, lingua di culture* 'L2 Italian: language of contact, language of cultures', 2003-2006⁵. Together with other local refresher courses, these projects have contributed to

² The following are some Italian laws and regulations which deal with the issue: CM 301, 8.9.1989; law 40/1998; Regulations DPR 394/1999; CM 24 of the Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research MIUR, I.3. 2006, *Linee guida per l'accoglienza e l'integrazione degli alunni stranieri* ['Guidelines for welcoming and integrating foreign pupils']; the 2007 document of the Italian Ministry of Education MPI, *La via italiana per la scuola interculturale e l'integrazione degli alunni stranieri* ['The Italian way to intercultural schooling and integration of foreign pupils'].

³ See <http://www.istruzione.it/web/ministero/cs080110>, accessed September 26, 2012.

⁴ See MPI document, *La via italiana per la scuola interculturale e l'integrazione degli alunni stranieri*, October 2007.

⁵ See:

http://venus.unive.it/italdue/index.php?name=EZCMS&page_id=326&menu=100, accessed September 26, 2012.

promote greater intercultural awareness among Italian teachers. However, some extant problems have to be mentioned, among which:

- there are still few resources at financial and organizational level in order to promote multilingualism and intercultural dialogue;
- often teachers do not have enough competence at a pedagogical and linguistic level in order to deal appropriately with pupils in multicultural and multilingual classes;
- the intervention in this field is often non-systematic;
- teachers are often not qualified specifically to teach Italian L2;
- a certain underestimation of the importance of having teachers trained in Italian L2 and in intercultural and multilingual education is attested in a recent Ministerial decree (DM 249/2010) on teacher training.

Nevertheless, there are also some positive aspects which deserve mention:

- there is growing expertise and awareness among teachers;
- there is a significant involvement of the civil society and of volunteers;
- some free of charge public courses for immigrant adults have been organized, aimed at obtaining certification (for instance in Lombardy; cf. www.certificaituitaliano.it)⁶.

Having described the overall socio-demographic and institutional representation of immigration in Italy, attention will now shift to sociolinguistic contributions to this field of enquiry.

6.2. Immigration and Multilingualism in Italy: Some Research Trends

During the Eighties and the Nineties, linguistic studies on migration to Italy focussed essentially on immigrants' acquisition of Italian as a second language (Banfi, 1993, Giacalone Ramat, 2003), sometimes also with a

⁶ In recent years regions such as Lombardy have organised such courses for levels A1, A2, B1 and also B2 of the Common European Framework. Unfortunately these courses are quite short, as they range from a minimum of 20 hours to a maximum of 40. These courses aim to help immigrants to sit for the A2 level test in Italian, which, according to a recent law (art. 22 bis of the law n. 94, 15/7/2009), is necessary for them in order to obtain a long-term residence permit.

sociolinguistic perspective on pidginized learner varieties (Orletti, 1988); later studies were carried out on the possible development of Italian ethnolects in some specific communities (Vietti, 2005). Especially since the Nineties, researchers of the so-called 'Pavia Project' documented developmental regularities at morphological and syntactic level, then also at lexical and discourse level, in Italian L2 (see Giacalone Ramat, 2003, Bernini *et al.*, 2008). A close interaction with European networks on second language acquisition began and studies on Italian L2 were carried out also in a comparative perspective. Among these there are both the Vigoni-Project on the acquisition of Italian L2 by German learners and of German L2 by Italian learners, a project coordinated by Norbert Dittmar and Anna Giacalone Ramat (Dittmar and Giacalone Ramat, 1999), and the so-called *Learner varieties project*, coordinated at the Max-Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics of Nijmegen (NL), by Wolfgang Klein, Clive Perdue, and subsequently by Henriëtte Hendriks and Christine Dimroth (cf. <http://www.learner-varieties.eu/>). This project included various phases: "The structure of learner varieties" (1994-1999), "The dynamics of learner varieties" (1999-2004), and "The comparative approach to L2 acquisition" (2004-2009). It involved about 40 researchers from different European countries, working on different L2s (mainly English, German, French, Dutch, Italian) from a cognitive-functional approach. Several interesting common principles and phases (in particular the well-known *Basic Variety*, Klein and Perdue 1997) were identified for the whole range of the L2s studied⁷.

It was only during the last decade that an interest towards the entire immigrants' linguistic repertoire developed in Italy. After a seminal sociolinguistic outline of the linguistic situation of migrants in Italy (Mioni, 1998) and after the first presumptive list of migrants' native languages (Vedovelli and Villarini, 2001), a national project funded by the Italian National Research Council (CNR-Agenzia 2000 Project "Le lingue straniere immigrate in Italia" [lit. 'Foreign languages that immigrated to Italy']) was coordinated by Massimo Vedovelli (University for Foreigners of Siena) and involved six Italian Universities (Bergamo, Cagliari, Milano Bicocca, Pavia, Siena, Verona). It analysed the migrants' linguistic repertoires (Chini, 2004, 2009a; Guerini, 2006; Berruto, 2009) and some dynamics of language maintenance and language shift in Northern Italy contexts such as Turin, Pavia, Bergamo, Verona (Chini, 2003, 2004, 2009b, 2009c, 2011; Massariello Merzagora, 2004; Valentini, 2005,

⁷ The main results of the research are gathered in some (joint) publications, among which, Giacalone Ramat and Crocco Galêas (1995), Dimroth and Starren (2003), Hendriks (2005) and Dimroth and Lambert (2008).

2009), as well as the presence of immigrant languages in the linguistic landscape of Central Italy (Bagna *et al.*, 2004) and the possible rise of ethnolects and their internal variation in Northern Italy (Vietti, 2005, 2009; see also Chini, 2011 for a synthetic review of research done). The Pavia research Unit (coordinated by the author) investigated some sociolinguistic aspects of migration in the Province of Pavia (Lombardy) and in Turin (Piedmont). After some qualitative investigations (e.g. Chini, 2003), a quantitative research based on a questionnaire studied the linguistic repertoire, the (self-assessed) linguistic competence and language uses of 414 immigrant pupils of public schools (9-20 years) and of 171 adults in the same areas, Pavia and its province, and Turin (Chini, 2004). In this context, given MERIDIUM's focus on immigrants' repertoires and multilingualism, the results of this last research trend will provide the main focus of further reflection.

6.3. The Native Languages of Immigrants and the Main Immigrant Linguistic Communities

If we consider the immigrants' countries of origin according to the latest census data, a first presumptive list of their main native languages can be proposed:

- (1) 1) Romanian (21%);
- 2) Albanian (11%);
- 3) Moroccan and Tunisian Arabic, various Arabic dialects (13%);
- 4) Chinese, different Chinese varieties and dialects (5%);
- 5) Ukrainian (and Russian) (4-5%),
- 6) Tagalog/English (3%),
- 7) several varieties of Spanish (ca. 6%).

Given that the countries of origin are almost 200 and given their often multilingual repertoire, the global number of languages is much higher (even more so, if we consider also dialects and regional varieties). On the whole 120 to 140 languages could be attested on the Italian territory (see Vedovelli and Villarini, 2001: 228-229), but no official data on the immigrants' languages have been collected to date, not even during the last official census (October 2011).

The immigrants' languages are differently rooted in Italy: some of them have arrived only recently, such as Ukrainian. Others, such as Moroccan and Tunisian Arabic, have been attested in Italy for decades. For some of them we can clearly apply Vedovelli's and colleagues' label "lingue immigrate" [lit. 'immigrated languages'], i.e. languages socially

rooted and potentially able to influence the local linguistic setting (lit. *lingue "di sicuro radicamento sociale" in grado "di condizionare l'assetto idiomatico locale"*; Bagna *et al.*, 2003: 203).

We can suppose that proper linguistic communities exist in Italy (or are about to settle) for at least some of these languages, for instance in contexts where there are a certain amount of immigrants of the same origin and L1. Some criteria for identifying proper immigrant minorities have been proposed and could be applied also in this case (cf. Lüdi, 1990; Chini, 2004: 23; Chini, 2009a: 295):

- 1) a sufficiently high number of immigrants (which has to be established);
- 2) existence of a migrant community sharing the same culture and language;
- 3) quite regular and frequent interactions also in the L1 within the immigrants' community;
- 4) the migratory project should be definitive (this means, in particular: long duration of stay; high number of young immigrants attending schools; important number of naturalizations);
- 5) creation of (cultural, religious, sport, recreational, union, media) institutions specifically pertaining to the immigrant community;
- 6) clear intention to maintain the L1.

If we consider as possible locations for immigrants' minorities towns with at least, for instance, 5,000 immigrants coming from the same country, we would obtain the presumptive list of immigrants' minority communities in Italy displayed in Tab. 6-4 (next page).

Therefore there are large communities of Romanians in Rome, Turin and Milan, of Chinese in Milan, Rome and Prato, of Philippines in Milan and Rome, and so on. Almost in all Italian regions the first three groups of immigrants (by size of the community) are Romanian, Albanian and Moroccan, potentially forming also linguistic communities. For some nationalities we find high concentrations of immigrants (often working in families) in a few towns, mainly in regional capitals (e.g. migrants from the Philippines, Ecuador, Peru living in Milan and Rome), where the rise of language minority communities is probable. For others there is sometimes a more dispersed presence on the territory (e.g. people from India, Morocco, Albania, Tunisia), which could discourage the birth of language communities linked to the native language. Field research, also through ethnographic means, on single immigrants' groups in various Italian contexts is necessary in order to obtain a realistic representation of these presumptive communities.

COUNTRY	% LIVING IN THE PROVINCIAL OR REGIONAL CAPITALS	FIVE FIRST TOWNS WITH AT LEAST 5,000 IMMIGRANTS IN 2011
Romania	30.6	Rome, Turin, Milan, Padua, Verona
Albania	27.1	Rome, Turino, Genoa, Milan, Florence
Morocco	22.2	Turin, Milan
China	46.8	Milan, Rome, Prato, Turin
Ukraine	38.6	Rome, Naples, Milan
Philippines	80.1	Milan, Rome
Moldova	45.2	Rome
Poland	35.1	Rome
Peru	62.3	Milan, Rome, Turin, Florence
Ecuador	56.9	Genoa, Milan, Rome

Tab. 6-4: Main native countries of immigrants, their concentration in the regional and provincial capitals; towns with at least 5,000 immigrants coming from the same country (source: ISTAT, 2011)⁸

A look at immigrants' media in Italy can also be revealing. Immigrants' media in Italy according to Fiorentini (2005) include about 50 newspapers and magazines, printed (with a circulation of 3,000-20,000 copies each) or on the internet, on the whole resulting in a total circulation of 350,000 copies in the country; 70% of them are distributed free of charge and are thus very easily accessible to immigrants. The main languages used in these publications are the following:

- English and French in the media for Africans;
- Albanian for Albanians;
- Romanian and Italian for Romanians;
- Spanish for Latin-American immigrants;
- Portuguese for immigrants from Brazil and Portuguese-speaking African countries;
- Chinese and sometimes Italian in the media for Chinese people;
- Arabic, French, Italian for people from Arabic speaking countries;
- English and Tagalog for immigrants from the Philippines;
- Polish for Polish immigrants;

⁸ See <http://demo.istat.it/>, sub *Cittadini stranieri – Bilancio demografico*.

- Urdu, Bengali, English, Punjabi, Sinhalese for immigrants from the Indian Region;
- Russian, Ukrainian and Italian for Ukrainians [and Russians] in Italy.

A further survey carried out after the one referred to above, the 2007 survey of the Cospe organization (*Cooperazione per lo Sviluppo dei Paesi Emergenti*; see Caritas/Migrantes, 2008), reveals that there are about 150 newspapers and magazines in immigrants' languages. Two thirds of them started being published in the last 5 years: 63 magazines, 59 radio broadcasts, 24 TV programmes. All this testifies the vitality of the immigrants' communities and of their languages in Italy.

If, on the whole, the most represented immigrants' languages are those listed in (1), with differing percentages, in particular regions some peculiarities are attested. For instance in Friuli, in the North East, besides Albanian, South Slavic languages such as Serbian and Croatian are also heavily represented.

In several Italian contexts, besides the most represented immigrant languages listed earlier, there is a clear dispersion among a high number of lesser represented languages. In order to provide an approximate indication of the phenomenon, Tab. 6-5 includes a list of the most representative immigrant language communities in Italy (at the national level and in some contexts in the North and the Centre), according to some recent investigations.

RANK	ITALY (2008)	VERONA ⁹ (2000/01)	PROVINCE OF SIENA ¹⁰ (2002)	PAVIA- TURIN ¹¹ (2002)	BERGAMO ¹² (2003)
1.	Romanian	Moroccan Arabic	Albanian	Albanian	(Latin American) Spanish
2.	Albanian	Spanish	Serbian	(Latin American) Spanish	Moroccan Arabic

Tab. 6-5: The most representative immigrant language communities in Italy (national and local level) according to some recent investigations (over 3% of immigrants)

⁹ Source: Massariello (2004).

¹⁰ Source: Bagna *et al.* (2004)

¹¹ Source: Chini (2004). Data concerning minors.

¹² Source: Valentini (2009)

RANK	ITALY (2008)	VERONA (2000/01)	PROVINCE OF SIENA (2002)	PAVIA- TURIN (2002)	BERGAMO (2003)
3.	Moroccan Arabic	Albanian	Romanian	Moroccan Arabic	Albanian
4.	Chinese varieties	English	German	Romanian	Serbian
5.	Ukrainian	Serbian	English	Chinese varieties	Chinese varieties
6.	(Latin American) Spanish	Romanian	Tunisian Arabic		Romanian
7.	Tagalog- English	Sinhala	French		Tunisian Arabic
8.	Tunisian Arabic	Portuguese	Tagalog- English		French
9.	Polish	Kosovian [Albanian]	Macedonian		
10.	Macedonian	Ashanti	Polish		
11.	Egyptian Arabic	Bosnian			
12.	French	Croatian			
13.	Sinhala	Chinese (Zhejiang dialect)			
14.	Bengali	Fant			
15.	Serbian	Berber			

Tab. 6-5 (cont.): The most representative immigrant language communities in Italy (national and local level) according to some recent investigations (over 3% of immigrants)

In a 2002 research on immigrants' languages and repertoires in the Province of Pavia and in Turin (North West Italy; Chini, 2004) approximately 40 languages (Tab. 6-6 below) were attested, not to mention the local varieties and dialects spoken by 414 young immigrants both before they migrated and also once they settled in Italy. The languages listed in the following table (see Chini, 2004: 119-120) belong to several language families and groups:

LANGUAGE FAMILY	LANGUAGES	GROUP
Indoeuropean	Spanish and its varieties	Romance
	French	Romance
	Haitik	French based creole
	Romanian and its dialects	Romance
	Moldavian	Romance
	Italian	Romance
	Portuguese	Romance
	Albanian (its varieties)	Albanese
	English and its varieties	Germanic
	<i>Pidgin English</i>	English based creole
	German	Germanic
	Kurdish	Indo-iranian/iranian
	Sinhalese or Sinhala	Indo-iranian/iranian
	Urdu	Indo-iranian/iranian
	Panjabi	Indo-iranian/iranian
	Zagon (rom)	Indo-iranian/iranian
	Russian	Slavic
	Serbian	Slavic
	Bosnian	Slavic
	Croatian	Slavic
Macedonian	Slavic	
Bulgarian	Slavic	
Polish	Slavic	
Ukrainian	Slavic	
Greek	Greek	
Afroasiatic	Arabic (varieties and dialects)	Semitic
	Amharic	Semitic
	Tigrinya	Semitic
	Berber	Berber
Sino-tibetan	Mandarin Chinese	Chinese
	Chinese wú	Chinese
	Chinese dialects	Chinese

Tab. 6-6: Source languages of young immigrants in the Province of Pavia and in Turin (Chini, 2004: 119-120)

LANGUAGE FAMILY	LANGUAGES	GROUP
Niger-Congo	Diula/Dioula/Jula	Mande
	Lingala	Atlantic-congo
	Twi (Akan)	Kwa
	Yoruba	Atlantic-congo
	Edo or Bini	Atlantic-congo
Austronesian	Pilipino or Tagalog	Polinesian Malese
Altaic	Turkish	Turkish
Quechuan	Quechua	Quechuan II
Uralic	Hungarian (and Hung. dialect)	Ugrofinnish

Tab. 6-6 (cont.): Source languages of young immigrants in the Province of Pavia and in Turin (Chini, 2004: 119-120)

Approximately the same languages have been found in a group of 171 adults' in the Province of Pavia and in Turin (Andorno, 2004: 241). They are mainly Indo-European and Afro-Asiatic languages, but some Niger-Congo and Sino-tibetan languages of different groups were also attested. Besides (more or less) standard languages, our subjects sometimes mention regional or sovra-regional varieties of Arabic, Chinese, Portuguese, Spanish, along with several dialects (of Albanian, Chinese, Romanian, Spanish). One out of 6 subjects (16%) was already plurilingual when he/she arrived in Italy, speaking, for instance, a certain language (such as Kurdish, Moldavian, Tigrinya, Berber, Yoruba) in the family, or only with the parents and the grand-parents, and another one outside the family (such as Arabic, Ukrainian, Amharic, English). Mixed language choices have also been attested, mainly with parents and siblings (see Tab. 6-7).

COUNTRY	WITH PARENTS	WITH SIBLINGS	WITH GRAND-PARENTS	WITH FRIENDS
Syria	Kurdish/ Syrian Arabic	Kurdish/ Syrian Arabic	Kurdish/ Syrian Arabic	(Syrian) Arabic
Romania	Zagon	Zagon	Zagon	Romanian
Ukraine	Moldavian F/ Moldavian + Russian M	-	Moldavian/ Russian	Ukrainian
Ethiopia	Amharic/ Tigrinya	Amharic/ Tigrinya	Amharic/ Tigrinya	Amharic
Nigeria 1	Bini F/Edo M	-	Edo	English/ pidgin
Ukraine	Moldavian F/ Moldavian + Russian M	-	Moldavian / Russian	Ukrainian
Nigeria 2	English	Yoruba/ English	Yoruba	English
Ghana	English /Twi	English /Twi	Twi	English /Twi
Angola	Portoguese	Portoguese	Lingala	Portoguese
Congo 1	French	-	Lingala	French
Congo 2	French /Lingala	Lingala	Lingala/ French	French/ Lingala
Pakistan	Urdu/Panjabi	Urdu/Panjabi	Panjabi	Urdu
Morocco 1	Tunisian Arabic F/ Moroccan Arabic M	Moroccan Arabic.	Tunisian Arabic/ Moroccan Arabic	Moroccan Arabic
Morocco 2	Moroccan Arabic + Berber	Moroccan Arabic	Moroccan Arabic + Berber	Moroccan Arabic

Tab. 6-7: Language choices (before migration) in young immigrants with bilingual background (Chini, 2004)

For many immigrant pupils, TV and school have also been an important source for other linguistic experiences and for multilingualism, also before migration: 34% of them have had their first contact with English and 18% with French in this way. About one out of ten (11%) says

that his/her contact to Italian began already in the home country, often through TV or school (this is true mainly for Albanian and Romanian pupils). It is highly probable that today pre-migration contact with the L2 and also with international languages is more plausible, as this contact is far more accessible than it was 10 years ago, especially through the internet. In order to provide an indication of the linguistic choices of young immigrants in the migration context, in Tab. 6-8 data pertaining to a group of immigrant pupils (in the Province of Pavia and in Turin; Chini, 2004) and to a similar group in Verona (cf. Massariello Merzagora 2004; IT = Italian; L1 = first language, language of origin) are provided.

INTERLOCUTOR	LANGUAGES USED BY IMMIGRANT CHILDREN (%) IN VERONA (N 267), PAVIA (N 309), TURIN (N 105)								
	L1			IT			L1+IT		
	VR	PV	TO	VR	PV	TO	VR	PV	TO
father	59.6	48.5	53.3	10.9	14.6	12.4	14.2	26.2	27.6
mother	58.4	47.9	46.7	9.4	10.4	19.0	20.2	35.6	27.6
siblings	25.5	28.2	31.4	28.1	19.7	24.8	18.4	35.0	22.9
grand-parents	79.4	80.9	80.9	2.2	2.2	2.2	1.1	8.5	8.5
friends	4.1	-	-	62.6	-	-	24.7	-	-
(non-It friends)	-	33.7	39.0	-	29.1	25.7	-	24.6	27.6
(It. friends)	-	1.0	-	-	91.9	97.1	-	1.9	-
neighbours	6.0	-	-	79.8	-	-	4.5	-	-

Tab. 6-8: Languages used by immigrant children with different interlocutors in Verona, in the Province of Pavia and in Turin: main possibilities (Massariello Merzagora, 2004 for Verona; Chini, 2004: 157, 184-185 for the Province of Pavia and Turin)

The language choices differ according to the interlocutor in all the three contexts, with an important L1 maintenance when speaking to parents (50-60%) and to grand-parents (about 80%). In Pavia and Turin the scale of L1 maintenance is the following (Chini, 2004: 307; Chini, 2011: 61):

- (2) grand-parents > father/mother > non Italian friends > brothers/sisters > school, Italian friends, transactions

According to our investigation, language choices vary also in relation to the country of origin and to other factors, such as sex (mother and daughters are more prone to use both L1 and L2 in the family than fathers

and sons; see Chini, 2006, 2009b), generation (parents are more conservative), length of stay in Italy, endogamy, parents' occupation, school attendance in the native country, social context of life, etc. (Chini, 2004: 317-331). Looking now at the language shift towards Italian, a complementary scale could be identified among immigrant children in the Province of Pavia and in Turin:

- (3) school, Italian friends > transactions > non Italian friends > family
(brothers/sisters > father > mother > grand-parents)

In the following section the configuration of the linguistic repertoires of immigrants in Italy will be presented.

6.4. The Linguistic Repertoire of Some Immigrant Groups

As already said, in frequent cases the linguistic repertoires of immigrants in Italy often include different languages: not only their native language and Italian, but also other languages (exolanguages, pidginized varieties of those, minority languages, etc.). Their linguistic repertoires before migration typically include (Chini, 2004, ch. 4; Chini, 2011: 55-56; D'Agostino, 2005: 78-87):

- 1) a *national language* and *local related varieties and dialects*, sometimes in a diglossic relationship;
- 2) a *national language*, (local related varieties) and a *minority language*;
- 3) an (international) *exolanguage* (also in pidginized varieties), sometimes one or more vehicular languages or lingua franca (ex. Wolof in Senegal), *national languages*, and *local varieties and dialects*;
- 4) *two widely spread languages*, and sometimes more local varieties (i.e. Standard Arabic together with French, besides regional varieties of Arabic, among educated people from Morocco and Tunisia).

Following Berruto (2009), one may distinguish the repertoire of languages used for intra-group communication (*repertorio endocomunitario*), in which the L1 still has an important role and Italian has a growing importance, and the repertoire for inter-group communication (*repertorio esocomunitario*). The latter often includes Italian and sometimes international languages such as English, French or Spanish, occasionally used as bridging languages. Given this situation, the everyday discourse of

immigrants can show various phenomena of language contact, such as code alternation, code switching and code mixing, the latter being sometimes due mainly to lack of competence (as in the case (4)) and sometimes to a creative indexation of a new mixed identity. The following example is reported from a Pakistani immigrant living in South Tyrol/Alto Adige, an Italian trilingual region with a German speaking majority (insertions in italics are in English, those in bold are in German):

(4) mio fratello eh *before* **arbeit** lavora Pakistan + tre/äh du/+ anno + Germania
 ++
 ‘my brother eh before work Pakistan + three/ äh two/+ year(s) + Germany’

++ *and then go/and then* **gehen** Pakistan *and* eh + una fabbrica + fabbrica
 ‘and then go/and then go Pakistan and eh + a factory + factory’

and then **arbeit älf [elf]** person
 ‘and then work eleven eleven persons’
 (Banfi, 1995: 146-147)

Language repertoires and language choices differ substantially among different immigrants’ groups, especially according to their native country. For instance, among minors, but often also among adult immigrants, from Romania and Albania, language shift to Italian within the family is more frequent than among minors and adults from Morocco (i.e. in Turin and Pavia, Chini, 2004: 319-322). In these cases the space for Italian even in the intra-group repertoire can be quite relevant.

In a recent work, Berruto (2009) proposed some models of language repertoire for immigrant communities living in Northern Italy (mainly for first generation migrants); these often include two or three levels (high H, middle M, low L). The following two examples, one for the Ghanaian community in Bergamo (see also Guerini, 2006) and one for Nigerian immigrants in Turin, illustrate this point:

(5) Language repertoire of the Ghanaian community in Bergamo and its province
 (Guerini, 2006: 65)

H	<i>GHANAIAN ENGLISH</i> ITALIAN
M	AKAN/TWI <i>Student Pidgin (?)</i> (<i>Bergamasco dialect?</i>)
L	GHANAIAN LANGUAGES AND VERNACULARS <i>GHANAIAN PIDGIN ENGLISH</i> (<i>Bergamasco dialect?</i>)

(6a) Language repertoire of the Nigerian community in Turin (Berruto, 2009: 13)

H	NIGERIAN ENGLISH	ITALIAN
M	IGBO	ITALIAN
L	LOCAL VERNACULARS	<i>NIGERIAN PIDGIN ENGLISH</i>

In the post-migration repertoire there is a reduction of the number of levels and a downgrading of the languages (from level M to L), as in the case of the Nigerians in Turin. In the migrants' intra-group post-migration repertoire, Italian can be placed at the H level, next to the H language of the original pre-migration repertoire, which is often an exolanguage (English, French), while some M languages (like Igbo for Nigerians) are downgraded to L languages (cf. 6b with 6a):

(6b) Intra-group language repertoire of Nigerian immigrants in Turin (Berruto, 2009: 15)

H	NIGERIAN ENGLISH	Italian
L	IGBO	<i>NIGERIAN PIDGIN ENGLISH</i> local vernaculars

This kind of dynamics can result in a gradual loss and in a disappearance of languages with low prestige and marginal utility in the Italian context, as in the case of local African vernacular for Ghanaian immigrants (Guerini, 2006: 243-244).

At the lower level of the immigrants' repertoire we can also find Italo-Romance dialects (such as the *Bergamasco* dialect for Ghanaians in Bergamo), but this has to be ascertained from case to case. Their presence in these repertoires depends very much on the vitality of the single dialects in the local native speakers' community and on the migrants' attitudes towards these dialects, which often are not positive, especially in the North West of Italy (Chini, 2009a: 299-301). In other areas (North East, South, little towns) it is highly probable and also (although not systematically) attested that the Italo-Romance dialects enter the migrants' (mainly extra-group) repertoires, acting as a significant means of integration, as documented for instance in Palermo by D'Agostino (2004) and in some villages near Pavia by Chini (2003; see also Chini, 2011: 59-60).

Another aspect still to be verified concerns the position of historical minority languages of Italy in the repertoire of immigrants who live in regions where these languages are normally spoken (for instance German varieties in South Tyrol/Alto Adige, Friulian in Friuli, Sardinian in Sardinia, French and Franco-Provençal in Aosta Valley; see Iannaccaro and Dell'Aquila, 2011 for such minorities).

In general, the structure of immigrants' linguistic repertoires in Italy depends on various factors (Chini, 2009a: 296):

1. number of languages in the pre-migration repertoire and its complexity;
2. status, prestige, function and resistance of the pre-migration codes in the current situation (also in terms of different types of diglossia);
3. presence, functions and penetration of Italian and of Italo-Romance dialects in the migrants' current repertoire;
4. structural distance between the codes of the current repertoire. If it is reduced, language contact phenomena and probably also mixed (ethnic) varieties are very likely to emerge (see Vietti, 2005 and 2009, for the Italian L2 varieties of Peruvian immigrant women living in Turin, possibly the first step towards a Peruvian ethnic variety of Italian).

6.5. Conclusion, with Some Comparative Remarks

The sociolinguistic study of migration in Italy is quite recent and research projects such as MERIDIUM give an important contribution to its progress. To date, we still lack a global representation of the language uses and of the linguistic competence of the various immigrants' groups in Italy and of their plurilingualism. Research has focussed mainly on identifying the principal immigrants' languages and on describing the repertoire of some communities, as well as on some dynamics of language maintenance, shift and use in several domains and in some areas of the country, mainly in the North and in the Centre (see Chini, 2004, 2009a; Massariello Merzagora, 2004; Valentini, 2009). In various immigrant contexts an initial language shift has been attested, mainly in the inter-ethnic domains (transactions, school, work), but also in intra-ethnic domains, especially among immigrants' children or sometimes in the speech between these children and their parents. There are signs that Italian has started to be accepted not only as a *they-code* among immigrants, especially among younger individuals and those living with their family and children in Italy. However, the field still requires extensive study, especially in South and North East Italy, among the first and the second generations of migrants of different origins. More precisely, the aspects to investigate further in the years to come are the following, among others:

- statistical data on native languages and on language use of immigrants in Italy (unfortunately to date these data are not registered by the national population census);
- language attitudes of immigrants (and also of native residents) with regard to the languages of their repertoires, to multilingual practices and multilingualism;
- possible emergence of new linguistic minorities and in depth analysis of their sociolinguistic situation.

Finally, in order to understand better the Italian situation of migrants, a comparison with other parallel cases could also be useful. Seemingly, the migrants' situation in Italy shares some features with other migratory contexts, but it also displays some peculiar characteristics. For instance, we can consider some results of the Nordic project NISU (Boyd and Latomaa, 1999) on immigrants in Scandinavia (people from Turkey, Vietnam, Finland and United States) and of research trends on migration to Australia (Clyne, 2003).

According to the NISU Project (Boyd and Latomaa, 1999), intra-ethnic friendship networks are very conservative in relation to L1 (here called minority language, ML) maintenance in Scandinavia; this turns out to be true also in different Italian contexts, but seemingly to a smaller extent (see Tab. 6-8). Furthermore, the use of the minority language (ML or L1) among partners from the same country seems to be very high (90-100%) in Scandinavia. This is much higher than among migrants in Italy (Pavia and Turin; see Chini, 2004; Andorno, 2004), where parents from the same country often use their L1 only among themselves (sometimes also together with other languages, excluding Italian), but much less often than their counterparts in Scandinavia (in 59-68% of the cases vs. 90-100%); in frequent circumstances immigrant parents use both their L1 and Italian (and in case also other languages) in order to talk to each other (in 23% of the cases), while a complete shift to Italian only is very low (2-4%; see Andorno, 2004: 279, table 7.30). Thus language shift to L2, in this case a secondary shift, turns out to be more frequent in Italy than in Scandinavia. The reasons for this are to be investigated through a rigorous comparison, taking into consideration various contextual, social and cultural data. As for language maintenance in Scandinavia, the NISU project has proposed the following scale of decreasing L1 maintenance:

(7) *Maintenance of minority language among immigrants' children in the Nordic area:*

father or mother of the minority language [ML] > adult of ML > brothers and sisters [younger > older] > father or mother of the majority language (Boyd and Latomaa, 1999: 309-311)

This scale is similar to the scale in (2) for Pavia and Turin, especially as it shows the greater propensity of immigrants' children to maintain the ML (or L1) with their parents than they do with their brothers and sisters (see Chini, 2004: 307; Chini, 2011: 61).

Also in many immigrants' communities in Australia, the L1 is used more often by children in order to talk to their parents (or among parents) than by children when talking to brothers and sisters (Clyne and Kipp, 1999; Clyne, 2003: 42-46). Furthermore, a high L1/ML maintenance index among parents does not necessarily imply a high L1 maintenance among children's generation in Australia; this seems also to be true for Moroccan families in Italy, given that their parents use their L1 very often, also with their children (71-77%; Chini, 2004: 171) and their children use just the L1 also very often with their parents (63% with their fathers, 68% with their mothers), but much less often with their brothers and sisters living in Italy (34%; Chini, 2009b: 119).

The factor "native country" turns out to be very significant in data about (North-West) Italy, as well as in other contexts: Chinese immigrants and often Moroccan Arabic immigrants, for instance, show high L1 maintenance in Italy, as well as in the Netherlands and in Australia (Extra and Verhoeven, 1999: 19; Clyne, 2003: 35). On the contrary, language choices among Spanish speaking immigrants seem to be less coherent in various areas of the world, most likely because of different factors that come into play.

Some explaining factors, which have been mentioned by the literature on migration, are partially confirmed by investigations on some Italian contexts (factors such as endogamy, length of schooling in Italy and in the native country, parents' profession, degree of social integration, sex, generation; see Chini, 2004: ch. 8; Chini, 2009a). Others have still to be better investigated, for instance linguistic and cultural distance, socio-cultural condition, settlement patterns in the new country, migration models and migration phase. More research is therefore necessary, for example to investigate the situation in different regions of the country as well as that within specific migrant communities. Such research would provide a more in-depth understanding of the complex phenomenon of migration in present-day Italy and to foresee possible developments in the future.

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PART II

A RESOURCE-ORIENTED PERSPECTIVE ON LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY: THE MERIDIUM PROJECT

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE MERIDIUM FOCUS
ON PRIMARY SCHOOLS:
CHILDREN AND FAMILIES CONFRONTED
WITH LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY

STEFANIA SCAGLIONE

The second part of the book focuses on the MERIDIUM project, which is introduced in this chapter. After a description of its general premises and aims (§ 7.1), a detailed account of the field research carried out in the countries represented by MERIDIUM universities (Italy, Portugal, Spain, Slovenia, Malta, Romania) is given. The research has been conceived as a “snapshot” of linguistic repertoires and language use, perceptions and attitudes within selected areas in participating countries, in order to gain preliminary indications about the extent to which plurilingualism and linguistic diversity are actually present, perceived and promoted at a local level. To this end, informants have been selected among primary school children and their families.

In §7.2 the methodological background of the research is described; in §7.3 terminological choices and categorization procedures are outlined.

Finally, §7.4 presents a general overview of collected samples (children and parents) and puts forward some preliminary observations in a comparative perspective among national sub-samples.

7.1. The MERIDIUM Project: A General Description

MERIDIUM (*Multilingualism in Europe as a Resource for Immigration—Dialogue Initiative among the Universities of the Mediterranean*) is a three-year project (2009-2011) financed by the European Commission as part of the Life-Long Learning Program (LLL), key-action 2 (Languages).

The conceptual framework that constitutes the basis of the creation of the project takes into consideration, in its fundamental aspects, the line of intervention promoted by the European Commission and by the European Council on plurilingualism and linguistic diversity during recent years (see the Introduction to the volume). This strategy includes giving value to multi- and plurilingualism as a resource for social cohesion and as a fundamental condition in the formation of a true “European citizenship”, that is a common heritage of those who have been living in Europe for generations, as well as of those who migrated to Europe.

Institutional contributions highlight strongly the existence of two distinct yet interacting levels, which ought to be pursued simultaneously:

- a. Structural promotion of individual plurilingualism for all, through the implementation of strategies and by employing instruments which concretely facilitate language learning;
- b. Cultural promotion to foster multilingualism in societies (linguistic diversity), with specific attention to the “new” non-autochthonous languages, to be implemented through adequate initiatives in order to create awareness among the public.

In recent years, much has been done as far as structural promotion is concerned, especially within individual national educational systems, even in a context which tends, inevitably, to favour a few international European languages. On the other hand, interventions aimed at reaching the second level outlined above have proven less effective, and the situation of countries in the South of Europe is particularly problematic in this respect, as conditions for the linguistic, educational and social integration of migrants still present difficulties and challenges, due to the intensity and recentness of migratory influxes in this area.

In these countries, public discourse on immigration is still largely characterized by alarmist tones that amplify the problems related to immigration, leaving little room for reflection on how integration could be better understood; there is, in public opinion, a resulting climate of mistrust which, in fact, promotes attitudes tending towards assimilation, while diversity is viewed with suspicion.¹ Against such a backdrop, the

¹ For some general considerations about the responsibilities of the public and social players in intercultural relations in Europe, cf. European Commission-EUMC (2006).

Interesting data, updated to 2005, regarding attitudes towards immigrant citizens in the countries of Southern Europe, are available in EUMC (2005). In particular, it is noted that «resistance to immigrants and asylum seekers was widely

linguistic and cultural background of migrants receives scant attention; it is therefore very difficult for educational authorities to promote, in the school systems, innovations directed at plurilingual education and the preservation of the immigrant pupils' original languages. Also because of the recent crisis in public funding, among other reasons, schools give priority to investments in teaching foreign-born pupils the language of instruction, rather than focusing on creating the necessary environment in order to help these students maintain their language/s of origin; the lack of a "systemic" balance between the need to learn the majority language and creating possibilities and conditions for these students to enhance and maintain their L1, however, makes integration particularly difficult for pupils with foreign background, possibly leading to "inadequate" academic performance and contributing, in the long term, to their educational failure (see Duarte, Ch. 3, in this volume; Queirolo Palmas and Chaloff, 2006). At the same time, "autochthonous" students, who also experience daily opportunities for contact with linguistic diversity, are not helped to acquire the cognitive and cultural tools necessary to deal with such diversity constructively, ending up perceiving it as a social obstacle and a disadvantage.

In the end, a vicious cycle emerges, whereby the *monolingual habitus* (Gogolin, 1994) is perpetuated to the detriment of the development and cohesion of the societies that nurture it.

The objective of contributing to the creation of a climate conducive to linguistic diversity among the subjects directly involved in the management and use of educational systems (school authorities, teachers, pupils, families) within the countries of Southern Europe is at the heart of the MERIDIUM experience, involving seven universities in six States:

- Università per Stranieri di Perugia, Italy (coordinator)

shared by respondents from Mediterranean countries – in particular Greece showed marked resistance to immigrants. These stances were also strongly supported by people living in east European countries. In comparison, people from Nordic countries tended to dissociate themselves from these stances.» (EUMC, 2005: 14); it is also pointed out that «In western and eastern European societies, a minority of one in five respondents avoid social interaction with migrants and minorities – ethnic distance. Support for ethnic distance was particularly strong in some Mediterranean countries and some east European countries» (EUMC, 2005: 15). The Mediterranean countries included in this study were Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece; the countries of Eastern Europe were represented by Slovenia. It is interesting to note that these countries, without exception, also occupied the top positions in relation to "resistance to diversity" (EUMC, 2005: 35).

- Università ta' Malta, Malta
- Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal
- Universitatea Transilvania din Brasov, Romania
- Universitatea Babes-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca, Romania
- Univerza na Primorskem, Slovenia
- Universidad de Salamanca, Spain

For the purposes of the Project, the participation of two universities located in Romania is particularly important, as, in recent years, this country has gone through a period of intense emigration (IOM, 2008), much of which is directed to States in Southern Europe (Italy and Spain). Not only do children of Romanian origin constitute one of the most numerous foreign groups in Italian and Spanish schools, but many of them have returned or are returning to their country of origin with their families, because of the global financial crisis which, since 2009, has progressively reduced employment opportunities in countries towards which they had migrated: this situation constitutes an extremely significant scenario as regards the need to build collaborative networks which will support the maintenance of the L1 of foreign-born nationals in the countries to which they have migrated, favouring, at the same time, the retention and further acquisition of skills in one L2 or more after they return home.

In its specific objectives, the project draws inspiration from the indications of Gogolin (2002: 19 f.) referred to in the Introduction, § 3:

1. Helping to promote, in schools, a new model of language education, aimed at optimizing the linguistic potential of the reference population, through the legitimization of all the languages in the territory in the role of “school languages”, if not real “languages of schooling”;
2. Fostering the idea that education and learning develop within the framework of widespread multilingualism, which has become a structural feature of all European societies. Promoting, therefore, the inclusion of activities in school curricula which aim at the development of metalinguistic skills and at improving the ability to interact in multilingual contexts, even with a poor command of the language of interaction.

The implementation of these objectives required the integration of two distinct levels of action:

1. Documentation and research, in relation to each of the contexts of national interest, with respect to:

- a. Background elements: the features and integration conditions of migrants; the language policies being devised and being implemented; the organization of educational systems and language courses; demographic and socio-linguistic features of the national population;
 - b. The reference population's language repertoire and use, experiences, attitudes and perceptions regarding plurilingualism and linguistic diversity.
2. Dissemination and discussion of the information which emerged within each national context with school authorities, teachers, other institutional leaders and representatives of immigrant associations, in order to plan targeted educational campaigns.
- For this purpose, two initiatives were undertaken:
- a. setting up a permanent Documentation and Research Centre on Multilingualism in Mediterranean Europe at the University for Foreigners of Perugia. The Centre aims to conduct activities and offer consultation on multilingualism and linguistic diversity to institutions and private enterprises in the partner countries. Currently the main activities of the Centre consist in the collection and publication of information and of examples of good practice through a bi-monthly newsletter.
 - b. designing:
 - o informative materials on the results of the data collected and analysed, targeting principally national and local institutions;
 - o teaching tools aimed at helping students to reflect on linguistic diversity and to develop positive attitudes towards multilingualism, languages and language acquisition.

Materials referred to in 2b. were disseminated in the partner countries of the MERIDIUM network during national seminars which were addressed to representatives from educational institutions, from local associations, from the tertiary sector, from industry and from migrant associations. Due to the interest shown especially by those involved in the educational sphere, additional activities have been carried out in some countries of the network, including the organization of in-service courses for school personnel.

In this second part of the book, starting from the present contribution, particular attention is paid to the research efforts undertaken within MERIDIUM. The primary aim of this is to make available to the scientific community some descriptions and analysis of language repertoire, use,

perceptions and attitudes from the countries participating in the Project. It should be noted, in fact, that studies in the field of the sociolinguistics of migration are still at an early stage as regards the countries of Southern Europe, and lack, to date, systematic research comparable to that conducted in North-Western European countries, not to mention contributions from the U.S. and Australia.²

7.2. MERIDIUM Sociolinguistic Research

The first phase of the MERIDIUM research involved obtaining information about the aspects that in 1a. above have been defined as “background elements”, pertaining to each country’s migrant population, national and regional legislation regarding migration, linguistic and educational policies, demo-linguistic information etc. A country report was compiled by each partner on the basis of this information³.

Through this report, areas showing a relatively high immigration rate were identified; in the case of Romania, areas with a relatively high rate of emigration/remigration were selected. Each area was further investigated for an in-depth context analysis, through which the extent of the implementation of national, regional or local linguistic and educational policies was investigated.

The second phase of the research consisted in collecting field data, aimed at describing language repertoire and use, experiences, perceptions and attitudes concerning plurilingualism and linguistic diversity of people living in localities in selected areas.

Given the aims of the project, these data were collected from pupils attending either the penultimate or the final year of primary schooling (10-11 year-old) and their families. In fact, primary school is—for all the countries of the network—the first cycle of compulsory schooling and, therefore, the first opportunity, for children and their families, to come face to face with the linguistic and educational culture of the schools, as well as their evaluation system: in this phase, to a great extent, the cognitive, aptitude and emotional preconditions of children are established. The beginning of the path of literacy also prepares the child to internalize language ideologies which permeate the community and give different degrees of legitimacy to the varieties and languages present in it:

² Among the many possible works which could be consulted, see Clyne (1991, 2003), Extra and Verhoeven (1993), García and Fishman (1997), Baker and Eversley (2000), Extra and Yağmur (2004).

³ In this regard, refer to the *Country Reports* published on the official site of the Project: <http://meridium.unistrapg.it/>.

it is therefore an extremely delicate phase, in which it is necessary to promote an approach to language education which will be, as far as possible, plural and inclusive. Moreover, it must be taken into account that, according to available official data pertaining to the school year 2009-2010 (the year in which the data collection was carried out), in many countries of the MERIDIUM network the highest rate of students of different nationalities were concentrated in primary schools (see, for example, MIUR-ISMU, 2011; IFIIE, 2011), which, therefore, emerge as ideal settings where to grasp dynamics of contact and exchange between different linguistic identities.

In this perspective, the survey sought to gather evidence to build a picture of the circuit of the relationships that contribute to shape children's linguistic repertoires, perceptions, attitudes; for this reason, in addition to handing out questionnaires to all the pupils of each class (Questionnaire A), specific questionnaires were also designed for the children's parents to fill in (Questionnaire B); there were also preliminary interviews, with school administrators and teachers responsible for the classes involved, which were followed by further meetings to discuss the results of the survey.

The sampling criteria and the data collection instruments used for field research are described in detail in Ch. 8.

7.3. Terminology

Before presenting some results from the data analysis, it is necessary to make some preliminary remarks regarding the choice of terminology adopted in categorizing our informants, mainly those who, until now, we have informally defined as "(im)migrants," people of "non-autochthonous" origin or with "foreign/ non-native backgrounds".

As Extra and Gorter (2007: 21 f.) have rightly pointed out, the nomenclature in this field, both in the scientific literature, and in institutional parlance, is still far from being homogeneous. In part, this is due to the objective need to highlight different perspectives in dealing with the same objects of discourse: the term "non-national residents" is useful to emphasize the (non-)correspondence between nationality and country of residence when discussing legal-administrative issues; on the other hand, the term "(economic) immigrants", which highlights the experience of leaving the country of origin under the pressure of economic needs, can be functional in a sociological discourse that focuses on the reasons why people choose to live outside their country of birth, making a distinction between this category of foreign nationals, and—for example—

“international students” or “asylum-seekers”. The multiplicity of the possible choices of terminology is, in fact, intrinsically linked to the situation of “super-diversity” (Vertovec, 2007) that characterizes contemporary societies, in which the sharp increase of international mobility has led to

a multiplication of significant variables that affect where, how and with whom people live. [...] Such additional variables include differential immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, divergent labour markets experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents (Vertovec, 2007: 1025).

What variables, therefore, are relevant for defining the subjects surveyed in the MERIDIUM Project? If the objective is to describe repertoires and linguistic habits, experiences, attitudes and perceptions related to plurilingualism and linguistic diversity, it is clear that adopting analytical and definitional criteria based on nationality/citizenship is useless: in fact, these instances of legal status are not necessarily indicative of an individual’s linguistic identity. On the contrary, the places and environments of the subjects’ life are significant: being born in a given country raises important preconditions for the development of language skills; living in a household whose members are or are not from the same country is similarly significant. The cases of foreign-born children who reach a given country at a (pre-)school age, as a result of international adoption, or who return to their parents’ homeland after a period of emigration, effectively demonstrate the diverse importance of the two criteria, namely citizenship *vs.* place of birth of the subject and of his/her parents: in such cases, the criterion of citizenship makes both the former and the latter group of children “invisible”, since, in the countries of the MERIDIUM network and in many others, parents’ citizenship is transmitted to children, whether adopted or natural; on the contrary, place of birth could be an indication of potentially complex linguistic experiences that characterize children from the very day when they are born.

Therefore, in categorizing our main sample of informants, constituted by children attending the penultimate or last grade of primary school, we will adopt a criterion based on the country of birth of the subject (BC), of his/her mother and of his/her father, as shown in Tab. 7-1 (see p. 131). This criterion will be applied following some of the methodological and terminological choices adopted in EUROSTAT (2011).

A first categorization put forward in EUROSTAT (2011) and concerning exclusively the BC of the person distinguishes between “foreign-born persons” and “native-born persons”:

[Foreign-born persons] This is the population most commonly described as migrants, as these persons have migrated to their current country of residence at some stage during their lives. The foreign-born population includes both persons with foreign citizenship and persons with the citizenship of their country of residence, either from birth or acquired later in life. [...]» (EUROSTAT, 2011: 6)

A second categorization takes into account also the BC of a person’s parents (“background” in EUROSTAT terminology), defining “second generation immigrants” as

the descendants of foreign-born parents, who are themselves born in their country of residence. Some of them have foreign citizenship, whereas others have the citizenship of the country of residence.” (EUROSTAT, 2011: 6)

By contrast, persons born in the country of residence from native-born parents are “persons with native background” (2011: 122). EUROSTAT (2011) also proposes a sub-categorization among these subjects, distinguishing between “persons with mixed background” and “persons with foreign background”:

The first group, with a mixed background, is defined as persons who are native born and who have one foreign-born parent and one native-born parent. The second group, with a foreign background, is defined as persons who are native born with both parents being foreign-born.» (EUROSTAT, 2011: 121)

This distinction may also prove useful in a sociolinguistic research, assuming that having both parents, or just one of them, who speak a language which is different from the official language of the country of residence can lead to quite different results in terms of the maintenance of this language by children.

		P U P I L	
		BC = RESIDENCE COUNTRY	BC ≠ RESIDENCE COUNTRY
P A R E N T S	BC = RESIDENCE COUNTRY IN BOTH CASES	Native-born children with native background (NNb)	Foreign-born children with native background (FNb)
	BC = RESIDENCE COUNTRY IN ONE CASE; BC ≠ RESIDENCE COUNTRY IN THE OTHER	Native-born children with mixed background (NMb)	Foreign-born children with mixed background (FMb)
	BC ≠ RESIDENCE COUNTRY IN BOTH CASES	Native-born children with foreign background (NFb)	Foreign-born children with foreign background (FFb)

Tab. 7-1: Categorization of MERIDIUM sample A subjects (pupils) by birth country (BC) of theirs and of their parents (“background”)

When referring to languages spoken by foreign-born informants, the term “(im)migrant (minority) languages” (Extra and Gorter, 2007; Barni and Extra, 2008) will not be used; in this respect, we totally agree with considerations expressed by the authors of the VALEUR Project report *Valuing all languages in Europe* (McPake and Tinsley, 2007: 20):

the term ‘migrant’ or ‘immigrant’ language is frequently generalised to include other circumstances too, and perhaps used as a means of eschewing responsibility for developing children’s plurilingual abilities. The word ‘migrant’ carries with it the sense that people will return to their country of origin, or move on somewhere else, and that therefore the host country bears no responsibility for ensuring children can maintain their languages. (In fact, in a situation in which children’s parents are genuinely migrants, the need for them to maintain their language of origin will be of crucial importance to them, alongside acquiring the language of the host country.) But in many cases so-called ‘migrant’ languages are the languages of settled communities, with second and third generation citizens using them for different purposes in their daily lives. For such people, the term ‘migrant’ or ‘immigrant’ is insulting and appears to question their rights as citizens. Similarly, it casts the language in a role linked only to immigrant communities, rather than including a sense of its wider usefulness and value.

Members of VALEUR project use the hypernym “additional languages” to term these languages, as well as other non-dominant languages in a

given country (regional or minority languages, non-territorial languages, sign languages): although we deem this choice opportune and applicable to our study, when a more specific term is needed for analytical purposes, we will also adopt other terms, mainly focusing on geographical distribution and socio-political status of languages:

- autochthonous languages (to be eventually differentiated into official l., national l., regional l., minority l., non-territorial l., national sign l., local dialects);
- non-autochthonous languages (to be eventually differentiated into non-national varieties of the State-official language/s, EU official l., non-EU European l., extra-European l. and their varieties and so forth)

On the one hand, such a categorization allows us to underline, in the first place, the (increasing) share of linguistic diversity due to transnational mobility, without implying value judgments on single languages. On the other hand, it gives due attention to the historical rootedness of each language and its institutional status both at a national and international level, these being important elements affecting (de)legitimizing linguistic ideologies and ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles, Bourhis, Taylor, 1977).

As to references to single languages, we have chosen to report them as originally formulated by informants in open questions asking “Which language/s?”. Since this research is aimed at obtaining self-reported data of language use as well as information regarding experiences, perceptions, attitudes about linguistic diversity (also in order to raise awareness towards it), we have deemed relevant to provide a picture of all the linguistic forms perceived by children and adults as “languages”. These include dialects and different non-national varieties of the same language, as well as “non-existent” languages, which are named by derivation from the name of the State or continent where they are supposedly spoken (e.g. “African”). When these “pseudo-glottonyms” (always cited in quotes) are included in responses to a questionnaire, it may be problematic to enumerate precisely the languages which are being referred to by informants; they give, nonetheless, significant indications about “linguistic imagination” and attitudes of informants themselves.

A second and a third type of denominations are, respectively, “proxi” items (extemporaneous derivations such as “Bangladeshan”, which reveal informants’ unfamiliarity with the correct glottonym, but also their clear perception of a relationship “State-language”), and “other” items, mainly represented by religion’s names (e.g. “Muslim”) intended to designate the supposedly corresponding language, or invented

glottonyms (“extraterrestrial”)⁴. These two types have been classified in separate categories, which show a highly variable distribution depending on the nature of related questions.

7.4. Profile of the Samples and Comparative Analyses

The overall outcome of the fieldwork phase is presented in Tab. 7-2:

SURVEY COUNTRY	N OF MUNICIPALITIES	N OF SCHOOLS	N OF COLLECTED A QUESTIONNAIRES	N OF COLLECTED B QUESTIONNAIRES
Italy	14	17	697	613
Spain	11	12	429	284
Portugal	5	6	316	316
Romania	11	15	305	292
Malta	3	3	164	164
Slovenia	2	4	156	137
TOTAL	46	57	2067	1806

Tab. 7–2: Quantitative overview of the MERIDIUM survey

The questionnaires of each type were inserted into the respective matrix (database A and database B), together with codes enabling one to trace the area/location of data collection (country, region, district, city, school, class).

7.4.1. Sample A (pupils)

The composition of the sample of children by country of birth of the informant and of his/her parents is shown in Tab. 7-3:

⁴ Some children did actually use invented glottonyms of this kind, being probably influenced by Babel, our alien comic-strip character.

SURVEY COUNTRY	NATIVE-BORN INFORMANTS		FOREIGN-BORN INFORMANTS		TOT.	MISSING DATA	GRAND TOTAL
	NNb	NMb	NFb	FFb			
IT	N 450	31	92	4	3	116	696
%	64.7	4.5	13.2	.6	.4	16.7	100.0
ES	N 293	36	8	2	6	72	417
%	70.3	8.6	1.9	.5	1.4	17.3	100.0
PT	N 194	58	14	1	2	41	310
%	62.6	18.7	4.5	.3	.6	13.2	100.0
RO	N 276	8	0	8	3	0	295
%	90.5	2.7	-	2.7	1.0	-	100.0
MT	N 104	22	8	0	6	7	147
%	70.7	15.0	5.4	-	3.7	4.3	100.0
SI	N 98	28	14	1	3	7	151
%	64.9	18.5	9.3	.7	2.0	4.6	100.0
Tot	N	1415	183	16	23	243	2016
%	70.2	9.1	6.7	.8	1.1	12.1	100.0

Key: NNb = native-born with native background; NMb = native-born with mixed background, NFb = native-born with foreign background; FNB = foreign-born with native background; FMB = foreign-born with mixed background, FFb = foreign-born with foreign background.

Tab. 7-3: MERIDIUM sample A (pupils) stratified by survey country, birth country of informants and of their parents (“background”)

As one may observe, all national sub-samples, except the Romanian one, include at least 30% of subjects whose birth country is not the one in which they live, or whose background is not entirely native, or not native at all. Moreover, all possible combinations between informant's BC and the BCs of her/his parents are represented: there are practically no empty cells, with the exception of the Romanian sub-sample, where we find no pupils with foreign background (whether native-born, or foreign-born), and in the case of Malta, where we find no subjects born abroad of Maltese parents. However, in the Romanian sub-sample, we find a percentage of foreign-born children with native-background (2.7%) which is considerably higher than that registered in other sub-samples.

Sub-samples collected in the so-called "countries of immigration" represent an example of how international mobility has led to the erosion of the imaginary boundary between "natives" and "foreigners", even in non-metropolitan contexts, such as those in which data were collected, mainly including small and medium-size localities.

The linguistic aspect of this process of erosion is evident when one compares the languages that native-born and foreign-born children use at home with their parents (Tabs. 7-4a-f, p. 136 ff.)

The notable differences in background detected among native-born children in Tab. 7-3 correspond, in all the national sub-samples, to an equally noteworthy linguistic diversity in Tabs. 7-4a-f, where the home-languages of native-born children are, in many cases, just as numerous and diverse as those of foreign-born children. These data effectively suggest the great variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds which already characterizes native-born schoolchildren, besides that which derives through the presence of foreign-born "newcomers".

The phenomenon of diversification of languages used by native children in the family environment is also to be found in the Romanian sub-sample, where, moreover, there are no informants with foreign background (see Tab. 7-3). In this case, the recorded linguistic diversity is partly due to the presence of national linguistic minorities (German, Hungarian) or non-territorial minorities (Rroma), but it also demonstrates, in a number of cases, the maintenance of languages acquired by children or by their parents during migration experiences (Italian and Spanish).

ITALY HOME-LANGUAGES OF NATIVE-BORN PUPILS		CATEGORY	ITALY HOME-LANGUAGES OF FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
Italian	452	AUTOCHT.	Italian	46
local It. dialect	107	LGS.	other It. dialect	2
other It. dialect	51		local It. dialect	1
Sardinian	2			
English	27	EU LGS.	Romanian	18
German	6		English	4
Spanish	6		French	3
French	4		Spanish	3
Romanian	2		Bulgarian	1
Bulgarian	1		German	1
Portuguese	1			
Danish	1			
Greek	1			
Polish	1			
Albanian	16	NON-EU	Albanian	17
Serbian	9	EUROPEAN	Macedonian	9
'Kosovan'	3	LGS.	Serbian	6
Macedonian	1		'Kosovan'	4
			Moldavian	3
			Croatian	1
			Russian	1
Arabic	13	EXTRA-	'Indian'	10
'Moroccan'	8	EUROPEAN	'Bangladesi'	4
'Ghanaian'	7	LGS.	Arabic	5
'Indian'	7		'Pakistani'	3
'Pakistani'	2		Bengali	3
'Tunisian'	2		Chinese	3
Chinese	2		'African'	2
'Bangladesi'	1		'Ghanaian'	2
Bengali	1		Panjabi	2
Turkish	1		Urdu	2
Urdu	1		'Guinean'	1
Yoruba	1		'Moroccan'	1
'Togolese'	1		'Senegalese'	1
Pilipino	1		'Tunisian'	1
Ukrainian	1		Bissa	1
			Hindi	1
TOTAL	563		TOTAL	121
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-4a: Self-reported languages used by pupils with mother and/or with father (home-languages) in Italy

SPAIN HOME-LANGUAGES OF NATIVE-BORN PUPILS		CATEGORY	SPAIN HOME-LANGUAGES OF FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
Spanish	280	AUTOCHT.	Spanish	41
Galego	6	LGS.	Catalan	1
Canario	2			
Bable	1			
Valencian	1			
'Argentinian'	2	VARIETIES OF	'Argentinian'	1
'Mexican'	1	THE OFFICIAL	'Chilean'	1
		LG.	'Columbian'	1
			'Ecuadorian'	1
			'Peruvian'	1
English	20	EU LGS.	Portuguese	9
French	10		Romanian	6
German	2		Polish	3
'Hollander'	1		English	2
Luxembourgish	1		Italian	1
			Lithuanian	1
			French	1
Arabic	2	EXTRA-	Chinese	3
Korean	2	EUROPEAN	Arabic	2
Pilipino	1	LGS.	Georgian	1
			Guaraní	1
			Manjaku	1
			Quechua	1
TOTAL	292		TOTAL	69
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-4b: Self-reported languages used by pupils with mother and/or with father (home-languages) in Spain

PORTUGAL HOME-LANGUAGES OF NATIVE-BORN PUPILS		CATEGORY	PORTUGAL HOME-LANGUAGES OF FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
Portuguese	259	AUTOCHT. LGS.	Portuguese	20
'Brazilian'	1	VARIETIES OF THE OFFICIAL LG.	'Brazilian'	8
English	18	EU LGS.	Brazilian	1
French	8		Portuguese	
German	3	NON-EU EUROPEAN LGS.	English	2
Spanish	2		Romanian	1
Dutch	1		Bulgarian	1
-	-		French	1
		EXTRA- EUROPEAN LGS.	Russian	4
			Ukrainian	4
Chinese	1	EXTRA- EUROPEAN LGS.	Moldavian	2
'Angolan'	1		Cape Verde Creole	10
Cape Verde Creole	1		Guinea Bissau Creole	1
			S. Tomé e Príncipe Creole	1
TOTAL	263		TOTAL	43
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-4c: Self-reported languages used by pupils with mother and/or with father (home-languages) in Portugal

ROMANIA HOME-LANGUAGES OF NATIVE-BORN PUPILS		CATEGORY	ROMANIA HOME-LANGUAGES OF FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
Romanian	273	AUTOCHT. LGS.	Romanian	8
Hungarian	7		Romani	1
German	3			
Romani	1			
Italian	19	EU LGS.	Italian	4
English	13		Spanish	1
Spanish	5			
French	4			
Greek	1			
Russian	1	NON-EU EUROPEAN LGS.	-	-
-	-		EXTRA- EUROPEAN LGS.	Turkish
TOTAL	284		TOTAL	9
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-4d: Self-reported languages used by pupils with mother and/or with father (home-languages) in Romania

MALTA HOME-LANGUAGES OF NATIVE-BORN PUPILS		CATEGORY	MALTA HOME-LANGUAGES OF FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
Maltese	137	AUTOCHT.	English	6
English	53	LGS.	Maltese	3
other Mt. dialect 'American'	1	VARIETIES OF THE OFFICIAL LG.	-	-
Italian	11	EU LGS.	Bulgarian	1
Dutch	1		Italian	1
German	1			
-	-	NON-EU EUROPEAN LGS.	Serbian	1
			Russian	1
'Moroccan'	2	EXTRA- EUROPEAN LGS.	'Egyptian'	1
			'Iranian'	1
			Thai	1
TOTAL	145		TOTAL	12
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-4e: Self-reported languages used by pupils with mother and/or with father (home-languages) in Malta

SLOVENIA HOME-LANGUAGES OF NATIVE-BORN PUPILS		CATEGORY	SLOVENIA HOME-LANGUAGES OF FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
Slovene	139	AUTOCHT.	Slovene	8
Italian	4	LGS.	Italian	2
English	1	EU LGS.	-	-
German	1			
Bosnian	6	NON-EU	Bosnian	3
Croatian	2	EUROPEAN	Serbian	2
Serbian	2	LGS.	Croatian	1
Albanian	1			
Russian	1			
TOTAL	141		TOTAL	11
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-4f: Self-reported languages used by pupils with mother and/or with father (home-languages) in Slovenia

The multilingualism which characterizes the language use of pupils within the family domain is greatly reduced in the school environment. The languages that children said they use with their classmates are summarized in Tabs. 7-5a-f, those used with teachers, in Tabs. 7-6a-f.

ITALY LANGUAGES USED WITH CLASSMATES BY NATIVE-BORN PUPILS		CATEGORY	ITALY LANGUAGES USED WITH CLASSMATES BY FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
Italian	519	AUTOCHT. LGS.	Italian	116
local It. dialect	51		other It. dialect	1
other It. dialect	9			
English	7	EU LGS.	Bulgarian	1
Spanish	3			
French	1			
Romanian	1			
Albanian	3			
Macedonian	1	NON-EU EUROPEAN LGS.	Albanian	1
Serbian	1			
'Ghanaian'	2	EXTRA- EUROPEAN LGS.	Arabic	1
'Moroccan'	2		Chinese	1
			'Indian'	1
			'Pakistani'	1
TOTAL	556		TOTAL	117
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-5a: Self-reported languages used by pupils with classmates in Italy

SPAIN LANGUAGES USED WITH CLASSMATES BY NATIVE-BORN PUPILS		CATEGORY	SPAIN LANGUAGES USED WITH CLASSMATES BY FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
Spanish	238	AUTOCHT. LGS.	Spanish	65
Galego	3			
Andaluz	1			
Bable	1			
Canario	1			
Murcian	1			
English	24	EU LGS.	English	1
French	3		Portuguese	1
Polish	1			
Ukrainian	1	NON-EU EUROP. LGS.	-	-
Arabic	1		EXTRA-	-
Chinese	1	EUROP. LGS.	-	-
TOTAL	253		TOTAL	65
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-5b: Self-reported languages used by pupils with classmates in Spain

PORTUGAL LANGUAGES USED WITH CLASSMATES BY NATIVE-BORN PUPILS		CATEGORY	PORTUGAL LANGUAGES USED WITH CLASSMATES BY FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
Portuguese	264	AUTOCHT. LGS.	Portuguese	39
'Brazilian'	3		VARIETIES OF THE OFF. LG.	'Brazilian'
English	3	EU LGS.	English	1
Romanian	1			
Spanish	1			
-	-	NON-EU EUROP. LGS.	Moldavian	1
			Ukrainian	1
Cape Verde Creole	2	EXTRA- EUROP. LGS.	Cape Verde Creole	7
TOTAL	267		TOTAL	42
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-5c: Self-reported languages used by pupils with classmates in Portugal

ROMANIA LANGUAGES USED WITH CLASSMATES BY NATIVE-BORN PUPILS		CATEGORY	ROMANIA LANGUAGES USED WITH CLASSMATES BY FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
Romanian	277	AUTOCHT. LGS.	Romanian	10
Romani	1	EU LGS.	-	-
English	11			
TOTAL	283		TOTAL	10
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-5d: Self-reported languages used by pupils with classmates in Romania

MALTA LANGUAGES USED WITH CLASSMATES BY NATIVE-BORN PUPILS		CATEGORY	MALTA LANGUAGES USED WITH CLASSMATES BY FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
Maltese	121	AUTOCHT. LGS.	Maltese	5
English	39	NON-EU EUROP. LGS.	English	3
Russian	1		-	-
TOTAL	129		TOTAL	9
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-5e: Self-reported languages used by pupils with classmates in Malta

SLOVENIA LANGUAGES USED WITH CLASSMATES BY NATIVE-BORN PUPILS		CATEGORY	SLOVENIA LANGUAGES USED WITH CLASSMATES BY FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
Slovene	136	AUTOCHT. LGS.	Slovene	9
English	1	EU LGS.	-	-
Bosnian	1	NON-EU EUROP. LGS.	-	-
TOTAL	136		TOTAL	9
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-5f: Self-reported languages used by pupils with classmates in Slovenia

As can be seen by comparing Tabs. 7-5a-f to Tabs. 7-4a-f, many of the languages that the informants claim to use with their parents are not used in the interaction with their classmates. The fact that children often use a more limited number of languages at school is certainly due to the fact that they interact with peers with diversified linguistic backgrounds and that at school the instruction language/s act/s as a sort of “lingua franca”. Nevertheless, it is equally clear that, in such a situation, many of the children’s native languages tend to disappear totally within schools and classes.

In fact, it should be noted that, despite the recommendations of the national educational authorities to support native tongues of pupils with foreign background, language courses other than those envisaged by the curricula established at a central or regional level are present in very few schools included in the MERIDIUM Project.⁵ Interaction with teachers is not conducive to exploit children’s linguistic resources: the data in Tabs. 7-6a-f show that the languages used by informants with teachers are solely, or mainly, those included as subjects to be studied in the schools’ curricula (these languages are italicized in the following tables).

ITALY LANGUAGES USED WITH TEACHERS BY NATIVE-BORN PUPILS		CATEGORY	ITALY LANGUAGES USED WITH TEACHERS BY FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
<i>Italian</i>	539	AUTOCHT.	<i>Italian</i>	103
local It. dialect	11	LGS.	local It. dialect	1
other It. dialect	3			
<i>English</i>	86	EU LGS.	<i>English</i>	14
French	1		French	1
			Romanian	1
-	-	NON-EU	Albanian	1
		EUROP. LGS.		
'Ghanaian'	3	EXTRA-	'Guinean'	1
Arabic	1	EUROPEAN	'Indian'	1
Bengali	1	LGS.	'Pakistani'	1
TOTAL	550		TOTAL	110
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-6a: Self-reported languages used by pupils with teachers in Italy

⁵ See Ch. 9-14 for details.

SPAIN LANGUAGES USED WITH TEACHERS BY NATIVE-BORN PUPILS		CATEGORY	SPAIN LANGUAGES USED WITH TEACHERS BY FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
<i>Spanish</i>	225	AUTOCHT. LGS.	<i>Spanish</i>	53
<i>Galego</i>	8			
Andaluz	1			
Canario	1			
<i>English</i>	59	EU LGS.	<i>English</i>	4
<i>French</i>	18		<i>French</i>	3
Arabic	1	EXTRA-EUROP. LGS.	-	
Punjabi	1			
TOTAL	254		TOTAL	57
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-6b: Self-reported languages used by pupils with teachers in Spain

PORTUGAL LANGUAGES USED WITH TEACHERS BY NATIVE-BORN PUPILS		CATEGORY	PORTUGAL LANGUAGES USED WITH TEACHERS BY FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
<i>Portuguese</i>	266	AUTOCHT. LGS.	<i>Portuguese</i>	39
-	-	VARIETIES OF THE OFF. LG.	'Brazilian'	2
<i>English</i>	7	EU LGS.	<i>English</i>	1
-	-	EXTRA-EUROP. LGS.	Cape Verde Creole	1
TOTAL	267		TOTAL	42
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-6c: Self-reported languages used by pupils with teachers in Portugal

ROMANIA LANGUAGES USED WITH TEACHERS BY NATIVE-BORN PUPILS		CATEGORY	ROMANIA LANGUAGES USED WITH TEACHERS BY FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
<i>Romanian</i>	263	AUTOCHT. LGS.	<i>Romanian</i>	10
<i>English</i>	107	EU LGS.	<i>English</i>	4
<i>French</i>	37			
<i>German</i>	13			
Italian	1			
Spanish	1			
TOTAL	281		TOTAL	11
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-6d: Self-reported languages used by pupils with teachers in Romania

MALTA LANGUAGES USED WITH TEACHERS BY NATIVE-BORN PUPILS		CATEGORY	MALTA LANGUAGES USED WITH TEACHERS BY FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
<i>Maltese</i>	116	AUTOCHT. LGS.	<i>English</i>	8
<i>English</i>	39		<i>Maltese</i>	5
Italian	1	EU LGS.	-	
TOTAL	124		TOTAL	10
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-6e: Self-reported languages used by pupils with teachers in Malta

SLOVENIA LANGUAGES USED WITH TEACHERS BY NATIVE-BORN PUPILS		CATEGORY	SLOVENIA LANGUAGES USED WITH TEACHERS BY FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
<i>Slovene</i>	135	AUTOCHT.	<i>Slovene</i>	8
<i>Italian</i>	10	LGS.		
<i>English</i>	10	EU LGS.	-	
German	1			
TOTAL	136		TOTAL	8
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-6f: Self-reported languages used by pupils with teachers in Slovenia

On the whole, the data reported in this section show some interesting tendencies, which merit further analyses in the light of the educational situation characterizing each country involved in the survey. These include:

- the complexity of the linguistic and cultural background of the student population;
- noteworthy changes in language choice and use according to the domain of interaction (family *vs.* school);
- scant recognition and optimization of children's home-languages at school.

A brief analysis of sample B (parents) provides further insight into the context in which the research took place and into the children's family background.

7.4.2. Sample B (parents)

The composition of the sample of adults, by country of birth of the informant, is shown in Tab. 7-7:

SURVEY COUNTRY		NATIVE-BORN INFORMANTS	FOREIGN-BORN INFORMANTS	TOT.	MISSING VALUES	GRAND TOTAL
IT	N	423	186	609	4	613
	%	69.5	30.5	100.0		
ES	N	212	70	282	2	284
	%	75.2	24.8	100.0		
PT	N	228	88	316	0	316
	%	72.2	27.8	100.0		
RO	N	285	5	290	2	292
	%	98.3	1.7	100.0		
MT	N	131	33	164	0	164
	%	79.9	20.1	100.0		
SI	N	111	25	136	1	137
	%	81.6	18.4	100.0		
TOT	N	1390	407	1797	9	1806
	%	77.4	22.6	100.0		

Tab. 7-7: MERIDIUM sample B (parents) stratified by survey country and birth country of informants

All the national sub-samples include informants born outside of the country being investigated, ranging from 18.4% of the Slovenian sub-sample to 30.5% of the Italian sub-sample; the exception, easily foreseeable on the basis of the data previously discussed, is the Romanian sub-sample, which has a negligible non-native percentage (1.4%)⁶.

The distribution of adult informants by gender shows a prevalence of female subjects in all the national sub-samples, amounting to 74.8% of the total sample. It should be noted, however, that there are more foreign-born fathers represented in the sample, than native-born fathers (34.2% *vs.* 21.8% in the total sample), possibly because of their enhanced knowledge of the language of the country of residence compared to their spouses, some of whom might have joined them at a later date, thereby reuniting the family.

The responses of the adult informants to the question "What is your native language?" (see Tabs. 7-8a-f, p. 149 ff.) provide information which leads to a meaningful comparison with the home-languages declared by the children (Tabs. 7-4a-f).

⁶ However, within the Romanian sub-sample, the percentage of native people who have lived/worked abroad for a year or more (16.3%) is considerable.

ITALY NATIVE LANGUAGES OF NATIVE-BORN PARENTS		CATEGORY	ITALY NATIVE LANGUAGES OF FOREIGN-BORN PARENTS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
Italian	396	AUTOCHT.	Italian	5
other It. dialect	11	LGS.		
local It. dialect	1			
German	1	EU LGS.	Romanian	22
			French	6
			Spanish	6
			English	5
			Bulgarian	2
			German	2
			Polish	2
			Portuguese	1
-	-	NON-EU	Albanian	31
		EUROPEAN	Serbian	12
		LGS.	Macedonian	9
			'Kosovan'	4
			Moldavian	3
			Croatian	1
-	-	EXTRA-	Arabic	22
		EUROPEAN	Punjabi	7
		LGS.	'Indian'	6
			Urdu	5
			Bengali	4
			'Pakistani'	3
			'Bangladesi'	2
			'Senegalese'	2
			Chinese	2
			'African'	1
			'Ghanaian'	1
			'Moroccan'	1
			'Tunisian'	1
			Edo	1
			Éwé	1
			Turkish	1
			Yoruba	1
TOTAL	409		TOTAL	172
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7-8a: Self-reported native languages of parents in Italy

SPAIN NATIVE LANGUAGES OF NATIVE-BORN PARENTS		CATEGORY	SPAIN NATIVE LANGUAGES OF FOREIGN-BORN PARENTS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
Spanish	198	AUTOCHT. LGS.	Spanish	39
Galego	5			
Andaluz	1			
-	-	VARIETIES OF THE OFF. LG. EU LGS.	'Columbian'	1
			'Ecuadorian'	1
			Portuguese	7
			Romanian	4
			French	1
			Italian	1
			Polish	1
-	-	EXTRA- EUROPEAN LGS.	Arabic	6
			Chinese	3
			Guarani	1
			Manjaku	1
			Pilipino	1
TOTAL	204		TOTAL	67
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7–8b: Self-reported native languages of parents in Spain

PORTUGAL NATIVE LANGUAGES OF NATIVE-BORN PARENTS		CATEGORY	PORTUGAL NATIVE LANGUAGES OF FOREIGN-BORN PARENTS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
Portuguese	217	AUTOCHT. LGS.	Portuguese	33
-	-	VARIETIES OF THE OFF. LG.	Brazilian Portuguese	12
English	3	EU LGS.	French	6
			Romanian	3
			English	3
			German	2
			Bulgarian	1
-	-	NON-EU EUROPEAN LGS.	Ukrainian	4
			Russian	2
			Moldavian	1
-	-	EXTRA- EUROPEAN LGS.	Cape Verde Creole	13
			Guinea Bissau Creole	2
			'Capeverdean'	1
			'Guinean'	1
			Chinese	1
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	220		TOTAL RESPONDENTS	85

Tab. 7–8c: Self-reported native languages of parents in Portugal

ROMANIA NATIVE LANGUAGES OF NATIVE BORN PARENTS		CATEGORY	ROMANIA NATIVE LANGUAGES OF FOREIGN BORN PARENTS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
Romanian	264	AUTOCHT. LGS.	Hungarian	1
Hungarian	8		Romanian	1
Romani	2		Romani	1
English	1	EU LGS.	-	-
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	275		TOTAL RESPONDENTS	3

Tab. 7–8d: Self-reported native languages of parents in Romania

MALTA NATIVE LANGUAGES OF NATIVE BORN PARENTS		CATEGORY	MALTA NATIVE LANGUAGES OF FOREIGN BORN PARENTS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
Maltese	108	AUTOCHT.	English	10
English	5	LGS.	Maltese	9
Italian	3	EU LGS.	Bulgarian	1
French	1		Dutch	1
			Flemish	1
-	-	NON-EU	Russian	2
		EUROP. LGS.	Serbian	2
-	-	EXTRA- EUROPEAN	Arabic	3
		LGS.	'Moroccan'	1
			Thai	1
TOTAL	117		TOTAL	31
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7–8e: Self-reported native languages of parents in Malta

SLOVENIA NATIVE LANGUAGES OF NATIVE BORN PARENTS		CATEGORY	SLOVENIA NATIVE LANGUAGES OF FOREIGN BORN PARENTS	
LANGUAGE	N		LANGUAGE	N
Slovene	107	AUTOCHT.	Slovene	5
Italian	1	LGS.	Italian	1
Bosnian	1	NON-EU	Croatian	8
Croatian	1	EUROPEAN	Bosnian	4
		LGS.	Serbian	2
			Albanian	1
			Macedonian	1
TOTAL	110		TOTAL	22
RESPONDENTS			RESPONDENTS	

Tab. 7–8f: Self-reported native languages of parents in Slovenia

In all the sub-samples—except for the Romanian one—the variety of languages that are found among native-born parents is much lower than the one reported by native-born children: over approximately a thirty-year period, therefore, population shifts due to immigration has resulted, in the zones being investigated, in increasing cultural and linguistic diversity. This is highly remarkable in some cases, especially as far as the Italian, Spanish and Portuguese sub-samples are concerned.

The parents involved in the survey are generally highly aware of the importance of acquiring “additional languages” to improve their prospects,

particularly in the Maltese and Slovenian sub-samples (see Fig.7-1). In the latter, moreover, the percentage of employed informants who report having used, in the week preceding the survey, a language different from the official language of the country of residence in order to work reaches 66.4%⁷, while in the other sub-samples lower percentages are found, ranging from 7.9%, in Italy, to 25.9% in Portugal.

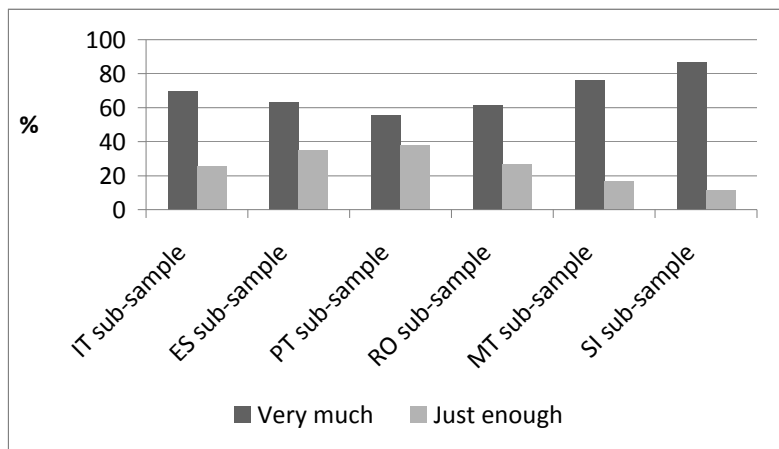


Fig. 7-1: Percentages of positive answers provided by parents to question BQ39 “According to you, how important is it to speak well at least one language, besides your native language/s?”

The adult informants were also asked which language(s) they consider most useful to get a good job and a higher income: in all the sub-samples, both among native-born and foreign-born informants, English is the language deemed to be the most suitable for these purposes, followed, at a considerable distance, by the official languages of the respective countries of residence and, in the lowest positions, in varying order, by languages of the European Union that enjoy an established prestige and widespread international diffusion (French, German, Spanish).

Other non-autochthonous languages are mentioned by a negligible number of informants in all the sub-samples. In this regard it should be noted, however, that there is an interesting difference between the responses to questions about work and the answers to the questions on income. In the former case (languages for work), the languages mentioned

⁷ As will be explained further in Ch. 14, it should be borne in mind, in this regard, that the area being surveyed is Istria, near the Italian border.

by more than one informant are only Russian (4 instances in the entire sample) and Chinese (16 occurrences in the entire sample, including 10 just in the Italian sub-sample); in the latter case (the languages to earn a higher income), Russian is indicated by 11 informants and Chinese by 42 (31 of whom are in the Italian sub-sample); the list also includes Arabic and Japanese (each referred to 5 times). For a small group of subjects, therefore, these languages are of little value for finding satisfactory employment, but seem to be associated with highly qualified and profitable activities. Obviously, the totally marginal position of Arabic in contexts such as those of Italy, Spain and Malta is worth noting.

The albeit cursory general evaluation of the data presented in this section leads to the conclusion—apart from indispensable clarifications in Ch. 9-14—that the attitude of adults involved in the MERIDIUM investigation, though generally favourable to language learning, appears influenced by a markedly hierarchical view of the value of languages, in which English has an absolute primacy, while the non-hegemonic EU languages, the non-EU European languages and the extra-European languages are virtually excluded. The datum, which fits perfectly with what emerged in the EUROBAROMETER surveys (2006, 2012), is particularly critical and deserving of in-depth study, because it was collected:

- in areas with high levels of immigration, where the services sector, but even more so many productive and commercial sectors, increasingly need staff with “additional” linguistic skills apart from the knowledge of English;
- in a country, such as Romania, where the outgoing migratory flows are directed largely to non-Anglophone States, which are relatively close geographically and, at least in the case of Italy, for some time oriented towards a policy of relocating production activities precisely in Romania.

In the chapters that follow, each MERIDIUM research unit will present a detailed analysis of the respective sub-samples, contextualizing, by providing the background of the relevant national and local contexts, the interpretation of the data discussed. In fact, as has already partly emerged from the comparative profiles, all the countries in the network have experienced recent migratory flows, but each displays distinctive characteristics, both as regards the organization of educational systems, and also in terms of migratory patterns. The basic comparative outline provided in this chapter is therefore accompanied by these context-specific analyses, in which the most relevant findings are discussed in detail.

Furthermore, the most appropriate tools and intervention methods to heighten awareness of the value of linguistic diversity in school communities and families are also discussed in some chapters.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

THE MERIDIUM PROJECT: RESEARCH PLAN AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

STEFANIA TUSINI

8.1. Sampling Criteria

It is not always necessary to select a sample to carry out research. In cases of small population or in the presence of considerable resources, the investigation can also be done with complete enumeration, i.e. involving all the cases. When the population size exceeds the possibilities of direct contact or resources are limited, it is necessary to sample, i.e. to extract a small number of cases (sample) from a larger set (population) on the basis of a set of criteria.

Before illustrating how the MERIDIUM research team has selected its sample, it is useful to call to mind some remarks about sampling.

Samples are generally distinguished between probabilistic and not probabilistic. In the first case, each member of the population has a known and non-zero probability of being chosen to be part of the sample. The non-probability sampling, on the contrary, does not provide all members of the population an equal chance of being chosen and, in fact, some groups or individuals are more likely to be selected than others.

Among probability samples, representative sampling is often identified as the most appropriate procedure to scientific practice because it is generally believed that the results obtained by the sample can be simply extended to the whole population. However, representativeness has some features and some limitations that are often not mentioned in spite of their relevance in order to put this concept in its right perspective. In fact, this term is loaded with extra-statistical meanings and values, that give it an importance that goes beyond mere technical issues: above all, the conviction that, without representativeness, one cannot reasonably be in

presence of scientific activity. This belief, also widespread within the humanities, is based on a “category mistake” (Ryle, 1938) which assigns inappropriate features to the representative sample.

A sample is considered representative if it reproduces some characteristics of the general population on a smaller scale. This means that, for instance, if the population is 60% females and 40% males, even the sample must have (more or less) this proportion. Normally, however, representative samples are stratified, i.e. built taking into account a set of variables, not just one. Therefore, in addition to gender, one may consider the distribution of other variables (such as age, educational level, marital status, and so on) and place them in the sample proportionally.

Once the frequency of selected variables is determined, and each variable has been reproduced in the sample proportionally, is it possible to claim that the sample so built is representative also of all other variables (endless minus ones considered) in the general population? Of course this is not the case.

The point is that this type of sample can reproduce some variables whose statistical distribution in the population is already known (and cannot be otherwise). For instance, one may use gender and marital status to stratify the sample only if one knows how many men and women make up the population, and how many individuals are single, widowed, married or divorced.

Unfortunately, the crucial variables for research (for MERIDIUM, for instance, attitudes towards multilingualism or towards otherness) whose statistical distribution in the population is unknown—and it can only be so, given that each survey is carried out in order to produce knowledge on a topic which is still unknown (or partially so)—cannot be used for the sample building.

The most direct consequence is that a sample so selected is not representative of the most meaningful variables for research, but of others (gender, age, marital status, and so on). However, at the end of the survey, the findings concerning attitudes towards multilingualism or toward otherness will be inferentially attributed to the population as a whole (from which the sample was extracted).

Building a representative sample, in the absence of other criteria, helps to maintain a balance in the selection of cases (based on variables with known distribution), but unfortunately it does not mean that one can establish inferences from the sample to the whole population, because representativeness is not transmitted from one variable to another (Marradi, 1989: 60; 2007: ch. 5).

Therefore it is necessary to be aware that a perfectly representative sample of variables with known distribution (such as gender, age, marital status) is not sufficient to guarantee representative results for the variables under investigation¹. This is because—to reinforce the concept with an example—two individuals may be perfectly equivalent from a statistical point of view (both male, both 40-year old, both single, and so on), but they may have opposite opinions on foreign immigration. From a statistical point of view they are substitutes: it makes no difference to put one or the other in the sample; on the contrary, from a substantive point of view the difference is much greater: interviewing one or the other shifts remarkably the outcome of the investigation.

In some studies, such as MERIDIUM, it seems much more useful to think in terms of prototypicality. This concept, coined by anthropologist Eleanor Rosch (1973, 1977, 1978), proposes an alternative perspective in order to consider individuals' categorization procedures for sampling. It subverts the idea that each member of a class has a representativeness capacity which is equal to all others (Tusini, 2006).

Following classical theory in the field, all members of a category are considered to be logically equivalent; they have the same degree of categorical membership by definition. In the Rosch proposal, by contrast, the categories are designed as continua on which prototypes are placed—i.e. exemplary members of the class—and also other individuals which deviate from that exemplarity.

To give an example, if it comes to birds, it is patent that a finch is more “bird” (it is more prototypical) than a penguin, although the latter has all the requirements to fit into the birds' category. Prototypes merely are subjects which represent better their own category than others—because they possess most of the essential characteristics, or most of the characteristics, possessed by the largest number of the members of the class—but not entirely fill it.

So, following the Rosch proposal, boundaries of the conceptual categories seem much more vague and blurred: Wittgenstein talked about “family affinity” (1953) and Waismann about “family of concepts” (1936). On the contrary, the idea behind inferential logic (which supports the representative sampling procedures) simplifies the complexity and highlights the vagueness of certain concepts: it therefore deserves to be

¹ In addition to this, the sampling plan seldom, if ever, matches exactly the empirical cases actually involved in the investigation. This is fundamentally because, not all individuals who one would like to include in the sample are willing to participate.

debated as it can be deemed to be inappropriate in some contexts of investigation.

It should therefore be clear that a representative sample cannot guarantee *per se* the “scientific” (whatever this may mean and imply) nature of research and the transferability of the findings from the sample to the entire population.

This was a necessary theoretical introduction before illustrating how the MERIDIUM research team has selected its sample.

The reference population for each MERIDIUM research team is theoretically represented by all the children attending the final year of primary school, throughout the countries involved in the project, and their parents/guardians. These are two separate populations (despite the fact that one is related to another) requiring different selection criteria.

To this aim, it is useful to employ the concepts of “social world” and “situational category” proposed by Bertaux (1998). A social world is a group built around a specific kind of activity (professional, cultural, sports, club membership, political, and so on)². Each social world is characterized by its own logic of action, relationship, change, that makes it a sociologically recognizable object.

Instead, the concept of “situational category” which identifies people who share life experiences under specific conditions, such as the chronically ill, families with adopted children, young people seeking their first job, illegal immigrants, teenage mothers, elderly people, and so on. In this case people do not carry out shared activities; they just live the same social situation that generates constraints and logic of action that become elements common to all the members.

The MERIDIUM project surveyed members of social worlds (the children attending the school) and, also, members of situational categories (the parents of the children attending the school).

While the individuals belonging to social worlds are potentially easy to find, because in many cases there are places where they assemble (in our case, the classroom), this is not the case for members of situational categories, because they are scattered throughout the population, they do not have common meeting places and therefore it is necessary to determine appropriate criteria for their recruitment. In our case, the most effective way of reaching the adult population was through their children, who were instructed to give their parents/guardians the questionnaire to be filled in.

² It is obvious that each individual can simultaneously belong to various social worlds.

Given the size of the reference population (for some partners it was very large)—all the children attending the last or penultimate class of primary schooling—and its territorial dispersion, setting oneself the objective of structuring the sample taking into account a criterion of representativeness would have involved a number of cases which would have been far too high for the resources available.

Moreover, and more importantly, we wondered whether—in the context of a sociolinguistic investigation such as MERIDIUM, in which one of the main criteria is the respondents' origin and, in particular, the languages they speak—it made sense to develop a sample based on statistically known but not necessarily meaningful variables. Consequently, it was necessary to focus on the choice of sampling points that would have particularly suitable characteristics for the research aims.

In other words: the idea of putting questions to those who—because of some of their characteristics—would be potentially able to provide answers (and not, indiscriminately, to subjects selected on a purely statistical basis), is the guiding criterion of the sampling approach used in the MERIDIUM survey, and this criterion could not fail to consider the presence of migrant subjects within these samples.

This presence has therefore been conceptualized as “migration density” and evaluated according to the number of students with non-autochthonous origins in the classroom. This concept has been applied differently by the individual research teams according to the situation present in their context and to the procedures used for collecting data by their respective national statistical offices³. This will be dealt with in greater detail later. In the meantime it seems important to emphasize that the sampling procedure adopted is loosely based on theoretical sampling proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), whereby the subjects to be included in the survey are selected according to certain characteristics assessed as important from a theoretical point of view, with particular regard to the cognitive question(s) posed by the research. This is therefore a selection that is not at all concerned with statistical representativeness, but is rather guided by the theoretical relevance of the cases in relation to the aims of the investigation. In other words, the cases are selected on the basis of their problematic-categorical centrality, for which the criteria

³ For example, according to the Italian Ministry of Education, foreign pupils (or, more recently, pupils “having non-Italian citizenship”), are those whose parents are not Italian nationals, even if born in Italy. Students with dual citizenship (one of which is Italian), stateless persons and nomads with Italian nationality are not defined as foreigners.

dictated by the theory of probability are not important, whereas those viewed from the perspective of sociological theory are.

The sample built for the MERIDIUM project does not therefore intend to generalize its results statistically to the population, but to reconstruct paths, meaning, value-positions, concepts, with the reasonable hope that the conclusions which can be drawn will also apply to other “landscapes” with similar characteristics. This exempts one from seeking a statistical projection and urges the adoption of the awareness that, in some cases, the transferability of the results of a study relates to the possibility of identifying a set of statements—which are usually very general—that, *mutatis mutandis*, can shed light on the behaviour, values, beliefs, of similar cultures and forms of life.

Any empirical research aims to make generalizations that tend to release the knowledge produced in a concrete frame of reference and make it applicable to wider areas. This aim can be pursued in various ways, including the statistical approach which is probably the least relevant for the social sciences. Morris Rosenberg (1968), in dealing with the relationship between theory and empirical basis, believes we can speak of two types of generalization (descriptive/statistical, and theoretical), to which we can add a third.

In the first case (the simplest form), we generalize an observation based on a reduced number of cases drawn from a wider population. In other words, “a descriptive generalization refers to the relationship between specific categories under consideration, generalized to the population on which the sample is based” (Rosenberg, 1968). This is the meaning prevalent among statisticians.

Another type of generalization (which we could call “ecological”) is related to the fact that the researcher can achieve similar results by checking similar hypotheses in different spatio-temporal contexts and then expanding the empirical foundation on which the same generalization is based, that is, providing a growing corroboration of the findings.

Last but not least, we can talk about a theoretical or conceptual generalization when more specific concepts are replaced with more general ones that allow one to “expand” the boundaries of the theory.

Often [in fact] our interest in generalizing is not simply to draw conclusions about the broader population ... [based on] a small number of cases, but rather to draw conclusions about the relationship between variables that are conceptually, rather than phenomenologically, defined (Jahoda, Deutsch, Cook, 1951: 87).

To develop a concept (or, rather, a constellation of concepts) encompassing a variety of situations means operating a theoretical generalization based on the data; in this case, in fact, the concrete variables are seen as mere indicators of broader concepts, which nevertheless take shape thanks to the empirical findings of the survey.

The last two types of generalization (ecological and theoretical) are those most intimately involved with the social sciences and go hand in hand: progressively more generalized concepts will prove to be applicable to ever more vast spatio-temporal areas. Even Robert K. Merton (1949), in dealing with the theme of the relationship between empirical research and generalization procedures, has highlighted their circularity and cross-fertilization.

Following this theoretical line, the sample used for the MERIDIUM survey is based on theoretical sampling; in particular, it is a purposive sampling (or based on dimensions; Silverman 2000) built by electing one or more variables as discriminating and selecting subjects that have that same characteristics. Among so selected subjects it is possible to choose cases with extreme states, or individuals who have maximally homogeneous profiles compared to the baseline, or maximally heterogeneous ones; or even select cases that cover the entire range of states.

As mentioned before, the criterion used to build the MERIDIUM sample is migration density, a concept that has led to a funnel procedure with the aim of selecting a certain number of children aged 10-11 years and their parents, and selecting them—a nullifying point—so as to ensure a fair presence of immigrant children, or children with a “foreign background”⁴.

As already stated, the starting point of the selection process involved an examination of the areas to be included in the survey: the choice was made focusing on those in which, according to official statistical sources, there were relatively high concentrations of foreign immigration (or emigration, in the case of Romania). Within these zones, the areas of data collection were defined by excluding those with settlements of predominantly mono-ethnic migrants and, where possible, avoiding big cities.

There were two reasons for this latter choice. Firstly, given the strong power of attraction of the great urban centres, in relation to immigration, they tend to be privileged objects of research on multilingualism, while cities, towns and villages of small-medium size are largely unexplored. On the other hand, large urban centres have a complex relational and spatial

⁴ Regarding this choice of terminology, see Ch. 7, §7.3.

heterogeneity (e. g. strongly ethnic neighbourhoods) such as to be identified as a separate case, with respect to contexts of more limited proportions, in which the contact with groups of the allochthonous population is generally very recent. Furthermore, we also considered that migrant settlements tend to be more widespread in urban settings than in rural ones.

Secondly, and in line with the above, the socio-cultural centrality of big cities allows educational staff and citizens to have relatively immediate access to structural and cognitive resources appropriate to increase their intercultural awareness; in the same way, immigrant residents are favoured by their own concentration in organizing cultural and linguistic support networks or associations able to interact in a systematic and consistent way with local institutions. On the contrary, in the small-medium size centres, opportunities of this type are very limited. This aspect is particularly important for the project, inasmuch as MERIDIUM aims precisely at spreading a plurilingual and intercultural awareness also through the involvement of schools and families in the research.

Naturally, given the diversity that characterizes each of the countries of the network, while maintaining the basis of these general criteria, each unit could make autonomous choices, dictated by special considerations or interests, which each group will explain in its own respective contribution (Ch. 9-14, this volume).

After a first territorial screening, it was necessary to establish an adequate concept for selecting the sampling sites, namely schools. The criterion of migration density in schools as a guiding criterion for sampling procedures was discussed among the partners during the first meeting of the MERIDIUM project and it was considered appropriate for the aims of the investigation. Apart from being suitable for identifying the individuals to be involved in the survey, this selection criterion permits (in some countries) the inclusion of irregular migrant families, thanks to the fact that, despite their legal status, children are still guaranteed school attendance. Otherwise, a discrimination which is meaningless from a scientific and ethical point of view, would have been introduced.

The decision to select “children” as the first empirical level has proved to be extremely effective, because their mediation has made it possible to reach, in a relatively easily manner, their parents/guardians (whether immigrants or not), who represent an additional target in the data collection and will be dealt with shortly.

The schools within which the survey could be conducted were identified primarily on the basis of data provided by local education authorities regarding the composition of the student population by

citizenship, being careful to select institutions for which the percentage of non-autochthonous children, however high, was not predominant.

A further step regarding the sampling stage concerned the involvement of adult informants, the parents/guardians of the children actually interviewed. Even in this case purposive sampling, which only included the parents/guardians of the children involved in the investigation, was used. In particular, the empirical sample turned out to be self-selected, since the MERIDIUM research group chose not to give guidance as to which of the two parents/guardians should fill in the questionnaire.

This choice was dictated by the following reasons:

- a. avoiding creating difficulties for the children if the parent/guardian chosen *a priori* to fill in the questionnaire was not present;
- b. allowing families with non-autochthonous origins to decide freely who would fill in the questionnaire, on the basis of linguistic skills and cultural prerogatives;
- c. avoiding turning into a constant a characteristic (the gender of the adult informant) of which, instead, it was interesting to evaluate the variability⁵.

The quantitative limitations on the number of areas and centres in which to select the schools inevitably had to take into account the financial and human resources available to each research unit for the field survey; moreover, a criterion of proportionality with respect to the size and administrative organization of each country has been adopted. A distinction was therefore made among:

1. large countries, with a primarily regionally based administrative organization, i. e. territorial units corresponding to NUTS level 2 (EUROSTAT, 2011): Italy, Spain;
2. large/medium sized countries, with a district administrative organization, that is divided on territorial units corresponding to NUTS level 3 or LAU level 1: Romania and Portugal;

⁵ In this sense, the empirical findings are encouraging: in all the countries, the questionnaires were filled in more by female respondents (mostly mothers) than by male respondents, but among those who filled in questionnaires, the native female respondents are systematically more numerous than the female respondents of non-autochthonous origin. This raises interesting questions of a sociological and socio-linguistic nature.

3. small countries, with a mainly municipally based administrative organization, i. e. divided on territorial units corresponding to the LAU level 2: Slovenia and Malta.

For each category, minimum quantitative limits, regarding the typology of the data-collection points and the number of questionnaires to be collected from the children (questionnaire A, see Tab. 8-1) were established.

SURVEY COUNTRIES (BY CATEGORY)	NUMBER OF ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS TO BE SELECTED FOR THE SURVEY			QUESTIONNAIRES 'A' TO BE COLLECTED	
	Regions (NUTS 2)	Districts (NUTS3/LAU1)	Municipalities (LAU2) per territorial unit	N per region or district	Total N per country
A. Italy, Spain	3	N. d.			450
B. Portugal, Romania	-	2	2	150	300
C. Malta, Slovenia	-	-			150

Tab. 8-1: Minimum quantitative limits established for the MERIDIUM survey

Tabs. 8-2a-f (presented in the following pages) show the locations in which data were collected, the number of schools visited and the number of questionnaires collected for each country of the network. The minimum quantitative criteria initially established (see Tab. 8-1) were generally respected, and the number of "A questionnaires" collected is well above the minimum required. The fact that the "B questionnaires" (filled in by the parents) were less numerous depends upon the different criteria of distributing the questionnaires (see *infra*, §8.2): the independent filling in of these questionnaires obviously led to a loss, which in some cases was significant (e. g. Spain).

In the comparative analyses which will be carried out, the individual national sub-samples will always be presented in decreasing order of size (IT, ES, PT, RO, MT, SLO), so as to facilitate a direct visual comparison between comparable sets.

REGIONS (NUTS 2)	MUNICIPALITIES (LAU 2)		N OF SCHOOLS	N OF COLLECTED QUESTIONNAIRES	
	NAME	N		A	B
Lombardy	- Bagnolo Mella - Montichiari - Asola - Suzzara	4	4	241	210
Veneto	- Arzignano - Lonigo - S. Biagio Callalta - Susegana	4	5	211	195
Umbria	- Castiglione del Lago - Marsciano - Umbertide	3	5	141	117
Marche	- Corridonia - Matelica - Urbana	3	3	104	91
TOTAL		14	17	697	613

Tab. 8-2a: Italy: MERIDIUM survey profile

REGIONS (NUTS 2)	MUNICIPALITIES (LAU 2)		N OF SCHOOLS	N OF COLLECTED QUESTIONNAIRES	
	NAME	N		A	B
Andalucía	- Vera - Lepe	2	2	118	76
Asturias	- Gijón - Oviedo	2	2	48	34
Castilla-León	- Miranda de Ebro - Salamanca - Segovia	3	3	70	49
Galicia	- Cangas do Morrazo	1	1	25	15
Islas Canarias	- Las Palmas de Gran Canaria - Vecindario	2	2	60	44
Murcia	- Murcia	1	2	108	66
TOTAL		11	12	429	284

Tab. 8-2b: Spain: MERIDIUM survey profile

DISTRICTS (NUTS3/ LAU 1)	MUNICIPALITIES (LAU 2)		N OF SCHOOLS	N OF COLLECTED QUESTIONNAIRES	
	NAME	N		A	B
Grande Lisboa	- Amadora - Mafra - Sintra	3	3	119	119
Península de Setúbal	- Setúbal	1	1	80	80
Algarve	- Faro	1	2	117	117
TOTAL		5	6	316	316

Tab. 8-2c: Portugal: MERIDIUM survey profile

DISTRICTS (NUTS3/ LAU 1)	MUNICIPALITIES (LAU 2)		N OF SCHOOLS	N OF COLLECTED QUESTIONNAIRES	
	NAME	N		A	B
Braşov	- Făgăraş - Buneşti - Cuciulata - Dacia - Feldioara - Hoghiz - Jibert	7	11	156	154
Bacău	- Oneşti - Lupeşti - Mănăstirea Caşin - Stefan cel Mare	4	4	149	138
TOTAL		11	15	305	292

Tab. 8-2d: Romania: MERIDIUM survey profile

MUNICIPALITIES (LAU 2)		N OF SCHOOLS	N OF COLLECTED QUESTIONNAIRES ⁶	
NAME	N		A	B
- Birżebbuġa - San Pawl il-Baħar - Sta. Venera	3	3	194	168
TOTAL	3	3	194	168

Tab. 8-2e: Malta: MERIDIUM survey profile

MUNICIPALITIES (LAU 2)		N OF SCHOOLS	N OF COLLECTED QUESTIONNAIRES	
NAME	N		A	B
- Koper - Piran	2	4	156	137
TOTAL	2	4	156	137

Tab. 8-2f: Slovenia: MERIDIUM survey profile

8.2. Tools and Method of Data Collection

For the data collection, we mainly used questionnaires because the research sought to bring out, in the first instance, quantitative elements in order to evaluate the features of interest in the populations under consideration. The data collected would enable us to present, so to speak, a “snapshot” of the current situation in the various countries.

Some may be surprised that we opted for the questionnaire as a survey tool, having adopted a sampling procedure based on a reasoned choice. However, it is not correct to assume that the sampling system imposes the use of a particular survey tool. Starting from a representative sample, one can proceed with data collection through in-depth interviews, as well as with questionnaires (self-administered, face-to-face, by telephone), both approaches being scientifically correct.

It is understandable that the practice of usually having a representative sample paired with a questionnaire survey engenders the idea that they are scientifically inseparable options, but this is not the case. It is instead a question of two terms that come to be matched with a very stringent field

⁶ The questionnaires that were considered valid for analysis by the Maltese unit, as explained in Ch. 13, are those which were filled in by both children and their parents/guardians (164 for each category).

logic, which is obviously based on many good reasons; but there is no reason why “the cards should not be shuffled”, especially if data collection by questionnaires is supported by a sample designed to select informants with characteristics appropriate to the investigation, as for the MERIDIUM project.

Furthermore, just as the type of sample chosen is not automatically linked to the type of instrument used for data collection, it also does not imply that one has to use a specific technique of data analysis. These research issues, found in every investigation, are each related to a specific query:

- a) How does one select the cases to be investigated?
- b) With which tool should the data be collected?
- c) Through which technique should these data be analyzed?

Answers to question (a) are obviously related to those to (b) and (c), but it does not imply that (b) and (c) are inexorably bound by (a). However, choosing a particular data-collection tool over another unavoidably affects the choice of the analysis technique. In other words, the fact of having adopted a sample based on a reasoned choice in the MERIDIUM project does not dictate the rules of the data analysis. It simply places the research on a different track from that of the statistical generalization; this, obviously, as has been said, does not mean putting aside the possibility of considering theoretical generalizations.

However, the use of the questionnaire for the data collection—as is the case for MERIDIUM—strictly obliges one, in the analysis phase, to follow the rules dictated by a matrix: this, besides simplifying matters, inevitably leads to quantitative considerations. Operating in this area (quantitative), the data can be processed as monovariate, bivariate (crossing two variables), or multivariate, building indices both of the summation and typological type, as well as other synthetic configurations. Data so analyzed are suitable, therefore, to be presented by graphs or tables.

Since, as mentioned above, the investigation involved two different samples of subjects (children and adults), two distinct questionnaires were prepared, each for a different sample.

From the point of view of the questions that the informants were required to answer, there is only a partial overlap between two questionnaires although they are very similar if one analyzes the conceptual dimensions, which are the object of the data collection. In other words, the cognitive objectives pursued by both questionnaires are essentially homogeneous, but their operational definitions take into

account the specific characteristics of the two populations being investigated.

The two questionnaires, both composed of closed and open-questions, were designed to collect:

- sociolinguistic data: repertoire and language use;
- identity data: self-definition, identification centres (family/local/global);
- experiences of contact with linguistic diversity: friends and/or proximity to speakers of different languages, linguistic connotation of their own world;
- perceptions of linguistic diversity in the local and global context: the quantitative and qualitative perception of diversity;
- opinions and attitudes towards linguistic diversity in an everyday-life context: the hierarchy and reputation of languages, language learning motivation;
- socio-demographic data: country of birth, age, gender, family composition, length of stay in the country; (for adults) educational level, employment status.

The children's questionnaire (Questionnaire A) consists of 48 items; the one for adults (Questionnaire B) is composed of 53 items. The questionnaires used in Romania contain additional questions, designed to collect information on the repertoires, the habits and attitudes of migrants who have returned to their country of origin⁷.

The preparation of the questionnaires resulted in structural, conceptual and linguistic problems.

In the first place, it was necessary to build data-collection tools adapted to the reference targets. For the children's questionnaire, we tried to make the formulation and structure of the questions as simple as possible; in order to make the tool more attractive, a cartoon character, Babel, was created, which featured in the questionnaire. Operational definitions, that would make the questions easy to understand, were also necessary for adults, as the questionnaires were only translated into the official languages of the countries of the data collection, of which some migrants might only have had a limited knowledge.

The decision to use questionnaires formulated only in the educational and official language(s) of the country being surveyed is obviously a critical element that can be justified only by invoking the limits imposed by the available time and financial resources. On the other hand, despite

⁷ See Appendices A and B, this volume.

the variety of non-autochthonous languages used as L1 by pupils and/or their families, none of the schools involved were able to provide competent personnel with whom to work to prepare translations. An attempt was made to overcome this drawback by adopting suitable measures in administering the questionnaire.

To ensure semantic consistency of the questionnaires, despite the linguistic diversity, researchers discussed and agreed upon basic semantic concepts involved in each question. To this end, conceptual dimensions, sets of indicators aimed at detecting dimensions, and a description of the goals to be pursued were developed. Finally, operational definitions were proposed, in order to have common indications in order to word the questions. Thanks to the procedure adopted, it can be reasonably affirmed that research teams have conducted the survey with semantically consistent questionnaires.

The draft questionnaires were submitted to a pre-test, by being given to at least 40-50 subjects per sample in each country. The analysis of the results brought to light some problems, mainly related to the formulation of the questions, which in some cases were too generic for the children's level of understanding. The final versions of both questionnaires were then corrected and approved, and are reproduced in the Appendix of this book, in an English version with the complete set of additional questions set in Romania.

The defined operational phases of the data collection, carried out in spring 2010, may be summarized as follows.

Before the questionnaires were handed out in class, in each school a preliminary meeting was held between a MERIDIUM researcher, the head teacher and the teachers of the classes involved, which aimed at: describing in detail the aims of the project, collecting information on school policies (criteria for the composition of classes, availability of courses in/of languages other than the official language, specific measures for the integration of children with a different L1 and their families, measures to promote plurilingual and intercultural education, teacher training, school-community relationships); formally acquiring the necessary permits to conduct the investigation; instructing the teachers directly involved in the process of handing out the questionnaires, agreeing upon the timing and mode of presentation of the project to the classes.

The handing out and filling in of questionnaire A took place under the guidance of a MERIDIUM researcher: each child was given a numbered questionnaire and the pupils filled in the questionnaires in class, in the presence of a teacher and, when necessary and available, of a language

mediator to assist newly-arrived pupils with limited skills in the official language. This methodological approach was necessary to ensure good data quality, bearing in mind the complexity of the issues addressed in the questionnaire and the young age of the informants. The protocol of data collection meant that some of the rules regarding the filling in of the questionnaires were respected, where the children could easily have ignored them (for example, in the questions where a single answer had to be selected) and prevented the children from consulting each other before selecting the answers. Moreover, in an even more delicate task, the researchers who oversaw the survey provided the children with semantic explanations, specifying the meaning of certain terms and clarifying the meaning of certain questions. This favoured the uniformity of the data-collection conditions in schools and between countries.

After questionnaire A had been completed, each child was also given a questionnaire B, with the same number which had been assigned to the questionnaire A which he/she had just filled in. The children were asked to deliver the questionnaire B to one parent/guardian, for self-completion, and return it to the teacher, who then arranged for the questionnaires to be sent to the university responsible for the data collection in the country.

The information in both questionnaires was collected fully respecting the anonymity and privacy of the respondents.

8.3. Data Processing

Generally, a high percentage of A and B questionnaires were completed. During the initial screening, prior to the entering of the data, some B questionnaires were excluded from the survey because, although they had been returned to the school, they had not been completed, or because they had been filled in by someone clearly different from the one indicated (for example, an elder sister rather than a parent).

With regard to consistency checks, it was decided not to make any corrections, apart from mere clerical errors. There are many reasons for this. One is the concept of consistency which, in its original meaning, refers to the idea of a relationship of equivalence between objects (numbers or geometric figures); its application in the sociological field, in particular in estimating the effectiveness of the questions in a questionnaire, should help to determine whether the respondent has provided more or less consistent answers. This possibility seems to presuppose the existence of shared (universal?) models of reasoning, on the basis of which one could identify any deviations; an intellectually daring operation, since admitting the existence of such models would

mean wiping out, with a single blow, all the concepts related to the cultural nature of human beings.

At a less general level, and more intimately concerned with the MERIDIUM research, it was felt that a pattern of responses, judged to be inconsistent by others, could be devoid of contradictions for the person who gave those answers. In other words, we consider that the respondents, given their experiences, their resources and environment, have “good reasons” (Boudon, 1995, 2003) to express certain opinions or attitudes.

After all, the objects of study of the life sciences are sentient beings, capable of choosing and simultaneously undergoing conditioning in non-controllable ways; consequently, the context in which social research takes place does not possess the characteristics of an experimental situation. In the literature, there are very numerous, well-documented instances of “distortions” which, caused by one (or more) of the field elements (interviewer, interviewee, data-collection tool and context), can lead to inaccuracies in the data (Fideli and Tusini, 1997; Tusini, 2002, 2004). Some of these are predictable, others much less so. Their manifestation does not, however, involve a judgment of inadequacy of all the empirical material, since, as is obvious, this takes into consideration each and every question.

The significance of the topic would deserve much more in-depth discussion; in any case one can reflect on the fact that the MERIDIUM questionnaires have been prepared to detect opinions and attitudes on multilingualism, rather than a mere list of language repertoires or baseline characteristics. Through this aim individual respondents (children and adults) provided not only facts (about which distortions can still occur), but assessments, self-assessments, evaluations, opinions, which, as such, have an undeniable weight of subjectivity. However, this subjectivity is precisely what we are interested in detecting: research, in fact, usually does not deal with constants but with variables.

Matrices for data entry were constructed on the basis of the two questionnaires:

- database A (pupils);
- database B (parents/guardians);
- database AB, in which the questionnaires A and B, marked with the same number, have been combined.

Each database is shared by all the partners and includes a Drupal module that allows the data to be entered in a hierarchical mode, a control panel for data export and the possibility to manage permissions.

Databases were pre-tested by all the research teams and after this phase, the data collected in each country were included in the matrices by the corresponding research unit.

The SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Science) or Excel was used for data extraction. Data analysis was performed by SPSS.

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CHAPTER NINE

BILINGUAL PUPILS AND PARENTS
IN ITALIAN SCHOOLS:
AN OPPORTUNITY
FOR THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

STEFANIA SCAGLIONE

Much has been debated, in the last twenty years, about an alleged “immigrants’ problem” in the Italian school system: media discourse on the so called “invasion” of foreign pupils, the obvious difficulties faced in the early period, the reduction in public schools’ funding, all have had an important role in convincing public opinion that pupils and families “with non-Italian citizenship” (following the circumlocution being used by the Italian Ministry of Education) just represent an additional problem for schools, teachers, schoolmates.

Although progress has been made in order to welcome these students in schools and to teach Italian as a second language to allophone pupils, as well as in developing intercultural education, the main problem, today, is represented by the substantial difficulty of the Italian educational system to dismiss the monolingual and homoglotic ideology which permeates management, curricula and attitudes at every school level.

Institutional priorities have not changed, even in the face of a remarkable gap in performance and educational success between “Italian pupils” and pupils with an immigrant background (OECD, 2010: 65 ff.; MIUR-ISMU, 2011: 40 ff.), and notwithstanding the fact that in the last few years the percentage of newly-arrived foreign-born children in the Italian school system has been gradually declining, compared to that of native-born children with foreign background. Any consideration about structural measures aimed at meeting the challenges posed by increasingly multilingual school communities is invariably evaded.

Against the background of a European policy pressing for the adoption of plurilingual education as a resource for children's cognitive development as well as for social cohesion, the methodology and the data of the MERIDIUM sociolinguistic research carried out in 17 Italian primary schools will be presented in order to focus on two fundamental issues:

- 1) To measure the extent of the multi- and plurilingualism characterizing pupils with foreign background in survey schools and classes;
- 2) To verify if, for these pupils, plurilingualism represents just an individual and family matter, or if it is also significantly present and experienced regularly within the school community.

In the first section of this paper, some general information is provided about Italian educational policies aimed at creating favorable conditions for the integration of pupils with foreign background (§ 9.1.). After a short presentation of the MERIDIUM research methodology (§9.2.), data are discussed which pertain to the use of "family tradition languages" (FTL) spoken by the informants with foreign background (§9.3.). Furthermore, sections 9.4. and 9.5. provide data concerning, respectively, pupils' proficiency in family tradition languages and ongoing extra-curricular experiences of language learning, be it FTL learning, or learning an additional language (with the exception of Italian).

In §9.6. these data will be discussed in the light of educational practices and attitudes towards linguistic diversity that have been noticed in survey schools.

Finally, in § 9.7., some conclusions will be drawn, in an attempt to provide a critical and constructive interpretation of these results. In this section I will also refer to the outcomes of seminars for in-service primary and lower-secondary school teachers, carried out by the members of the MERIDIUM research unit of the University for Foreigners of Perugia.

9.1. The National Context

According to the data published by the Italian National Statistical Institute (ISTAT), between the end of 2002 and the end of 2010, the non-national resident population in Italy has increased from a little more than one and a half million individuals to almost 4 million and 600 thousand¹;

¹ These figures refer to resident foreign citizens, and do not therefore include refugees and those who entered the country illegally, or those who have a residence in another country.

in eight years, the percentage of non-national residents in the total population grew from 2.7 to 7.5 percent.

The increase in number of non-national citizens in Italy is mainly due to the steadiness of large immigration flows, but also to the fact that in Italy in these years many children were born from foreign parents, and, by law (*ius sanguinis*)², they acquired the citizenship of their parents. According to the most recent ISTAT figures, by December 31st 2009, 572,720 (13.5%) of 4,235,059 non-national resident citizens were born in Italy.

As a result of the natural growth of the foreign resident population in Italy and of the new arrivals of foreign-born children who join their parents who would have emigrated previously, in the last years Italian schools have registered a steady growth of the co-called “pupils with non-Italian citizenship”: according to the report by MIUR-ISMU (2011: 9 ff.), the percentage of these pupils in Italian schools has grown from 2.7% in the school year 2002/03 to 7.9% in 2010/11, with an increment of 60-70 thousand individuals a year.

General conditions for school enrolment of non-national students are established in accordance with the Presidential Decree n. 394 dated August 31, 1999, art. 45, *Regulation concerning implementation rules of the consolidated act of provisions governing immigration and the condition of non-nationals*³. On the basis of these measures, non-national minors living within the national territory:

- a. have the right to attend school independently from the regularity of their stay, following modalities and conditions granted for Italian citizens; they are subject to compulsory school attendance;
- b. can be enrolled in Italian schools at any period of the school year and must be placed in the year-class corresponding to their age, unless the teaching staff decides to enrol them in a different year-class, having considered school programmes of the country of

² Law 1992-02-05, n. 91. The same law establishes that a foreign citizen born in Italy and residing uninterruptedly in the country can opt for the Italian citizenship on reaching the age of 18.

³ The above mentioned “consolidated act” (“testo unico”) is the Legislative Decree dated July 25, 1998, n. 286 *Consolidated Act of Provisions concerning immigration and the condition of non-nationals*, that brings together and coordinates various measures currently in force with the immigration law n. 40 dated March 6, 1998. The so-called “Bossi-Fini law”, dated July 30, 2002, n. 189, modifies previous regulations concerning immigration and asylum, without changing school registration procedures for foreign pupils, which are still defined by Regulation n. 394 of 1999.

- origin of the pupil, his/her educational qualifications, and having assessed the general level of his/her knowledge and abilities;
- c. must be assigned to classes taking into account that the number of foreign pupils in the class cannot exceed the number of Italian pupils;
 - d. can attend specific teaching programmes in order to learn Italian.

Furthermore, the *Regulation* considers the importance of broadening initiatives on the topic of intercultural education, as indicated in paragraph 3, art. 38 of the *Consolidated Act of Provisions concerning immigration and the condition of non-nationals* (1998):

The school community considers linguistic and cultural differences as fundamental values to build mutual respect, exchanges between cultures and tolerance; for this purpose the school community promotes and helps initiatives aimed to welcome [*scil.*: pupils with non-Italian citizenship], to protect the [their] culture and language of origin and to implement common intercultural activities.

The relevance given to intercultural education features regularly in ministerial guidelines since the beginning of the Nineties⁴ and it prompted the Italian school system to adopt initiatives promoting dialogue and interchange between cultures: by means of the administrative autonomy given to educational institutions, most schools engage linguistic and cultural mediators, in order to support the integration of foreign-born pupils and the involvement of their parents in school activities; many schools offer educational projects in their course programme, stimulating children's curiosity and open-mindedness towards different cultures; the production of text books and fiction introducing cultural pluralism and intercultural topics for children and teenagers has significantly increased and many schools set up multicultural bookshelves in their libraries.

It is necessary to clarify that the prospect of carrying out these measures depends largely on the financial means of each school, as well as on the presence of teachers and school directors who are adequately prepared or who are disposed to invest in instruction on the subject of

⁴ See Ministerial Circular Letter (MCL) of July 22, 1990, n. 205 *Compulsory education and foreign pupils. Intercultural education*; MCL of March 2nd, 1994, propagating the document *The intercultural dialogue and democratic coexistence*; MCL of March 1st, 2006, n. 24, *Guidelines to welcome and integrate foreign pupils*; the Directive *The Italian way for an intercultural school and integration of foreign pupils*, written by the National Observatory for the integration of foreign pupils (October 2007).

intercultural education: although the Ministry of Education took action on these issues over the years⁵, to date results are not homogeneous if one examines the situation in different schools in Italy.

On the other hand, there are rather few initiatives concerning the protection of the language of origin of pupils with non-Italian citizenship: while we can say that by now all the schools organize courses of Italian as a second language for allophone pupils, there are very few cases of schools offering, in collaboration with associations present in the territory, or on the basis of bilateral agreements with some countries, lessons of the languages of origin of foreign-born children or of children with foreign background. If any are held, they are mostly extra-curricular classes.

This extensive lack of commitment towards multilingualism as a result of immigration in Italy mirrors the substantial indifference of the Ministry of Education on the issue: even though the circular letters quoted previously mention the necessity to grant adequate recognition of non-Italian pupils' languages of origin, there have not been structural measures directed explicitly toward this goal, by means of in-service teachers' training and appropriate funding.

In the Italian educational system the highest percentage of pupils with non-Italian citizenship is registered in primary schools, where in the school year 2010-2011 they constituted 9% of the total students' population and 35.8% of the population of students with non-Italian citizenship enrolled in the Italian school system (MIUR-ISMU, 2011: 10 ff.).

Plurilingualism and language diversity, therefore, represent an everyday experience for primary school pupils; and it is at school that they should be taught to appreciate the value and potentiality of them. On the contrary, in the absence of adequate educational and teaching programmes, these individual and collective linguistic resources risk to remain largely external to the school community, or to be regarded even as limitations to overcome, within a school system which conserves—not only in the primary education—a traditionally monolingual approach, enhanced merely by teaching one or two European languages of wider communication⁶.

⁵ See Ministerial Circular Letter n. 155/2001, aimed at supporting staff serving in schools experiencing consistent immigration flow; incentives for projects regarding areas at risk, with consistent immigration flows and against marginalisation in schools.

⁶ English language is compulsory since the first year of the primary school (ISCED 1), whereas in the lower classes of secondary school (ISCED 2) two European languages are taught (English+French/German/Spanish). In high school (ISCED 3), only one European language is taught, except in the so-called "linguistic high

This situation seems even more incongruous, if one considers that an increasing number of bilingual children joins educational institutions every year: they are children born in Italy from foreign parents, and in the school year 2010-2011 they represented 42.1% of the entire school population of foreign origin (299,565 pupils out of 711,046, +3% compared to the previous year); in the same year, they constituted 78.3% of registered pupils with foreign citizenship in preschool and 52.9% in primary school (MIUR-ISMU, 2011: 11 ff.).

Based on these preliminary considerations, the MERIDIUM research carried out in 17 Italian primary schools by the research unit of the University for Foreigners of Perugia proposed to focus closely on language use, experience and perception, as well as linguistic attitudes of pupils and their parents in schools and social contexts characterized by an increasing linguistic and cultural diversity. This research aims to produce critical reflection which will lead to further awareness regarding plurilingualism and language diversity inside school communities and pupils' families⁷.

9.2. Selection Criteria and Profile of the Territorial Units and Schools under Study

9.2.1. Regions, Provinces and Municipalities

Recent migratory flows have not been homogeneous in Italy, as they are concentrated mainly in the North and in the Centre of the country, where socio-economic conditions are comparatively better and work opportunities are more numerous compared to the South and the islands.

For these reasons, the Italian research unit of the MERIDIUM project selected the following regions for the survey: Lombardy and Veneto in the North, Umbria and Marche in the Centre, according to the guidelines described in Ch. 8. In these regions, in the last decade the percentage of

schools”, where, besides a classical language (Latin), three foreign languages are taught.

⁷ Although this paper has been written by the coordinator of the MERIDIUM research unit of the University for Foreigners of Perugia, it must be duly noted that the following researchers have participated as active members of the group in all phases of the project: Stefania Tusini, Alejandro Marcaccio, Borbala Samu, Jessica Cancila. An important contribution was also made by Federica Venier (University of Bergamo) and by Eleonora Lucibello, who participated in the project as consultants.

non-national residents ranks among the highest at a national level (Tab. 9-1).

REGION	YEAR		
	2002	2006	2010
Lombardy	4.0%	7.6%	10.7%
Veneto	4.0%	7.3%	10.2%
Umbria	3.9%	7.3%	11.0%
Marche	3.7%	6.5%	9.3%
ITALY	2.7%	5.0%	7.5%

Tab. 9-1: Percentages of non-national residents on the total population: years 2002–2006–2010 (Source: ISTAT)

According to data from the Ministry of Education, in the school year when data collection has been carried out (2009-2010), children with non-Italian citizenship constituted 8.7% of total pupils enrolled in primary schools: the percentage reached 14.5% in Umbria, 13.5% in Lombardy, 13.3% in Veneto, 12.8% in Marche (MIUR, 2010: 20).

The selection of administrative districts and municipalities in these regions was made in compliance with the latest ministerial data available regarding numbers of non-national pupils in Italian provinces (MIUR, 2009b: 23 ff.) and in municipalities not being provincial capitals⁸, but having at least 1,000 pupils enrolled in state schools (MIUR, 2009a: 37 ff.). The outcomes of the selection are shown in Tab. 9-2:

⁸ Regional and provincial capitals were excluded on the basis of dimensional hypotheses illustrated in Ch. 8 for survey municipalities. Municipalities under study in Italy have a population between 9,000 and 25,000 inhabitants.

SURVEY REGION	BEST TERRITORIAL UNITS BY % OF PRIMARY-SCHOOL PUPILS WITH FOREIGN CITIZENSHIP			
	ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS	%	MUNICIPALITIES	%
LOMBARDY	Mantova (MN)	19.4	Asola Suzzara	18.7 17.5
	Brescia (BS)	17.0	Bagnolo Mella Montichiari	19.0 17.3
VENETO	Treviso (TV)	15.7	Susegana San Biagio di Callalta	24.8 16.7
	Vicenza (VI)	14.7	Arzignano Lonigo	17.4 16.7
UMBRIA	Perugia (PG)	15.1	Castiglione del Lago	18.3
			Umbertide Marsciano	18.2 15.7
MARCHE	Macerata (MC)	15.3	Matelica Corridonia	16.2 15.8
	Pesaro-Urbino (PU)	11.8	Urbania	17.3

Tab. 9-2: Results of the selection of administrative districts and municipalities in Lombardy, Veneto, Umbria, Marche (sources: MIUR, 2009a; MIUR, 2009b)

In municipalities under study, pupils with foreign background belong to a great number of different nationalities: in Tab. 9-3 (p. 185) one may acknowledge the socio-demographic complexity of these contexts, where many groups of different origin cluster together, following consolidated “chain migrations”, often influenced by the needs of the local economy:

MUNICIPALITY	RANKING OF THE FIVE MOST REPRESENTED NATIONALITIES BY % OF RESIDENT CITIZENS ON THE TOTAL OF NON-NATIONAL RESIDENTS				
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th
Asola (MN)	Albania 22.4	Macedonia 19.6	Romania 15.0	Morocco 11.6	India 6.7
Suzzara (MN)	India 37.9	Bangladesh 14.9	Morocco 11.7	Pakistan 7.8	Albania 7.8
Bagnolo Mella (BS)	India 16.5	Morocco 16.0	Pakistan 11.5	Senegal 8.4	Albania 7.8
Montichiari (BS)	Romania 22.7	Albania 12.8	Morocco 11.4	Macedonia 8.4	India 8.0
Susegana (TV)	Macedonia 25.7	Morocco 11.2	China 9.7	Serbia 6.9	Albania 6.7
San Biagio Callalta (TV)	Morocco 14.4	Serbia 12.9	Romania 11.0	Albania 8.4	Senegal 4.7
Arzignano (VI)	Serbia 21.2	Bangladesh 21.1	India 18.8	Albania 8.2	Ghana 6.9
Lonigo (VI)	Romania 20.8	Bangladesh 17.2	Serbia 16.2	India 11.7	Albania 9.6
Castiglione del Lago (PG)	Albania 31.0	Romania 22.6	Morocco 14.1	U.K. 7.6	Bulgaria 2.8
Umbertide (PG)	Morocco 25.2	Albania 22.4	Romania 15.6	Algeria 6.6	U.K. 4.0
Marsciano (PG)	Romania 39.4	Morocco 15.0	Albania 9.9	Poland 5.3	Ecuador 3.8
Matelica (MC)	Albania 41.9	Macedonia 28.1	Romania 8.9	Ukraine 3.1	Nigeria 2.3
Corridonia (MC)	Pakistan 32.2	Macedonia 16.6	Romania 15.1	China 11.1	Morocco 4.9
Urbania (PU)	Albania 31.9	Morocco 20.6	Moldova 11.1	Romania 8.3	Macedonia 6.2

Tab. 9-3: Ranking of the five most represented nationalities by % of resident citizens on the total of non-national residents in survey municipalities at 1st January 2010 (source: ISTAT)

9.2.2. Schools and Classes Involved in the Survey

In each municipality, primary schools were selected on the basis of lists provided by Regional School Offices (“Uffici Scolastici Regionali”) and including state schools with the largest number of pupils “with non-Italian citizenship”⁹. In each school which participated in the project (17 institutes), the school director was asked to indicate, in accordance with the teachers, one or more classes of the final year of primary schooling (fifth class in the Italian school system) to be involved in the survey.

At the time of the survey, in each school included in the project pupils with a mother tongue different from Italian were offered classes of Italian L2, generally taking place during the hours of the school timetable; in some cases, assistance of linguistic mediators was also provided for newly arrived children. Moreover, all the schools carried out projects on intercultural education, often involving the families of the pupils. Courses for the maintenance of some of the most widespread languages of origin were only being held in three schools (BS1, VII1, PG3)¹⁰; however, such initiatives lack continuity, since they are re-scheduled each year according to the financial resources. Besides, they are not held during school hours. In all the survey schools, English language constitutes the only compulsory foreign language included in the curriculum for every pupil (2/3 hours a week).

The placement of non-national pupils in classes is decided in each school taking into account the requirement to avoid an excessive concentration of such pupils in a single class; in particular, the Ministerial Circular Letter (MCL) of January 8, 2010 n. 2 states that—with effect from the school year 2010/11—the percentage of pupils with non-Italian citizenship in each class must not exceed 30%.

⁹ In Italy there are two parallel educational systems: “state schools” (free of charge) and “private schools” (fee paying). Private schools may be officially recognized by the Ministry of Education if they adopt the same system of organization of state schools; otherwise, they are not recognized and the qualifications they issue have no legal value. According to the Ministry of Education, in the school year 2009/10 only 4.2% of pupils with non-Italian citizenship were enrolled in private schools (MIUR, 2010b: 10).

¹⁰ For the sake of conciseness, a code has been assigned to each survey school, including the abbreviation of the province (e.g. VI = Vicenza) and a number which represents the municipality (e.g. VI-1 = Arzignano; VI-2 = Lonigo). If in a single municipality two different schools have been selected, another number will follow (e.g. VI-1-1 = Arzignano, Primary School “A. Fogazzaro”; VI-1-2 = Arzignano, Primary School “V. da Feltre”).

Tab. 9-4a shows the percentages of pupils with non-Italian citizenship registered in the 36 survey classes in the school year 2009/10; if one considers them in the light of the parameters put forward by the MCL 2/2010 and in effect from the following school year, one may observe that 16 classes out of 36 would have been beyond the established limit.

REGION	DISTRICT	SCHOOL CODE	% OF PUPILS WITH NON-ITALIAN CITIZENSHIP PER CLASS				
			A	B	C	D	E
Lombardy	BS	BS1	33%	16%	-	-	-
		BS2	40%	46%	37%	-	-
	MN	MN1	41%	38%	-	-	-
		MN2	24%	17%	14%	22%	-
Veneto	VI	VII1	37%	-	-	-	-
		VII2	14%	-	-	-	-
		VI2	42%	37%	32%	26%	30%
	TV	TV1	29%	22%	-	-	-
		TV2	37%	32%	-	-	-
Umbria	PG	PG11	33%	-	-	-	-
		PG12	22%	22%	-	-	-
		PG21	22%	-	-	-	-
		PG22	50%	-	-	-	-
		PG3	16%	21%	35%	-	-
Marche	MC	MC1	42%	-	-	25%	-
		MC2	-	-	-	29%	-
	PU	PU1	11%	17%	29%	-	-

Tab. 9-4a: Percentages of pupils with non-Italian citizenship enrolled in survey classes (school year 2009/10)

It must be noted, however, that the dichotomy based on citizenship poses too narrow limits to the composition of classes: many of the pupils classified as “foreigners” were in fact born in Italy from foreign-born parents and, although they do not have Italian citizenship, their situation is quite different from the one of foreign-born and newly arrived pupils, who—in most cases—do not speak Italian.

If the percentages presented in Tab. 9-4a were re-calculated omitting the citizenship criterion, and focusing on the ratio between pupils born in Italy and pupils born abroad from foreign-born parents, only 3 of the 36 classes under study would exceed the 30% limit (see Tab. 9-4b).

REGION	DISTRICT	SCHOOL CODE	% OF PUPILS BORN ABROAD FROM FOREIGN PARENTS PER CLASS				
			A	B	C	D	E
Lombardy	BS	BS1	29%	12%	-	-	-
		BS2	28%	23%	26%	-	-
	MN	MN1	9%	12%	-	-	-
		MN2	24%	9%	9%	9%	-
Veneto	VI	VI11	32%	-	-	-	-
		VI12	5%	-	-	-	-
		VI2	17%	21%	16%	13%	9%
	TV	TV1	14%	6%	-	-	-
		TV2	16%	21%	-	-	-
Umbria	PG	PG11	19%	-	-	-	-
		PG12	11%	11%	-	-	-
		PG21	22%	-	-	-	-
		PG22	31%	-	-	-	-
		PG3	5%	10%	15%	-	-
Marche	MC	MC1	37%	-	-	6%	-
		MC2	-	-	-	21%	-
	PU	PU1	5%	11%	23%	-	-

Tab. 9-4b: Percentage of pupils born abroad from foreign-born parents and enrolled in survey classes (school year 2009/10)

As illustrated above in §9.1., native-born pupils with foreign background currently represent the majority of the so-called “foreign pupils” enrolled both in pre-school and in primary school. According to the Ministry of Education, at the time of the survey (school year 2009/10) they represented 48.6% of pupils with non-Italian citizenship in primary schools; in the MERIDIUM sample, they actually represent 44.2% (208 pupils out of 697).

9.3. The Use of “Family Tradition Languages” among Pupils with Foreign Background

As shown in §7.4.1., languages which both native-born and foreign-born pupils declare to use with parents (“home-languages”) give rise to a rich multilingual and polydialectal patchwork. On a total of 697 informants, 229 (32.8%) use a language which is different from Italian with their mother and/or their father: among them, there are obviously pupils with a foreign background, but also children of mixed-nationality couples, or children of Italian parents.

In this section, focus will be made specifically on pupils with a foreign background, with the aim to ascertain the extent to which their “family tradition languages” (FTL) are actively used by them, within and outside the family circle.

With the term “family tradition language”, I am referring to all the languages different from Italian that children with foreign background may be familiar with because they are normally used by their parents in interacting with each other, with their children, with relatives. These languages may be conceived as the components of the family linguistic repertoire before migration; analyzing the self-reported language use of children against this broader background may therefore help to obtain a clearer picture of their language preferences and choices within the migration context.

For each pupil with foreign background, the respective “family tradition language/s” have been identified by means of two sets of data:

- the answers provided by the pupil, concerning her/his language use with parents, siblings, grandparents and other relatives (questions AQ36 a-d and AQ37a);
- the answers provided by the pupil’s parent, concerning her/his own language use with children, partner, parents, siblings and relatives (questions BQ52 a-d and BQ53a).

In the MERIDIUM pupils’ sample (A sample) there are 208 pupils with foreign background; their birth-countries, and the birth countries of their parents, are listed in Tab. 9-5 below:

BIRTH-COUNTRY	PUPILS	MOTHERS	FATHERS
Italy	92	-	-
Romania	20	22	21
Albania	13	32	32
Macedonia	13	15	14
India	11	17	18
Bangladesh	8	10	10
Serbia	7	14	12
Morocco	6	26	26
Pakistan	5	8	8
Kosovo	5	7	8
Ghana	3	9	10

Tab. 9-5: Birth-countries of pupils and parents with foreign background

BIRTH-COUNTRY	PUPILS	MOTHERS	FATHERS
Cina	3	5	4
Moldova	3	3	3
Ecuador	3	2	2
Tunisia	2	5	5
United Kingdom	2	3	3
'Africa'	2	2	2
Greece	2	-	-
Senegal	1	1	2
Cameroon	1	1	1
Côte d'Ivoire	1	1	1
Guinea (Conakry)	1	1	1
Venezuela	1	1	1
Croatia	1	-	1
Burkina Faso	1	-	-
Algeria	-	2	2
Togo	-	2	2
Bulgaria	-	2	1
Germany	-	2	1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	-	1	2
Brazil	-	1	2
Dominican Republic	-	1	1
Nigeria	-	1	1
Syria	-	1	1
Egypt	-	-	1
Poland	-	-	1
Switzerland	-	-	1
Turkey	-	-	1
Guinea-Bissau	-	1	-
Argentina	-	1	-
France	-	1	-
Liberia	-	1	-
Slovenia	-	1	-
not specified	1	5	6
TOTAL	208	208	208

Tab. 9-5 (cont.): Birth-countries of pupils and parents with foreign background

44.2% of the 208 pupils with foreign background were born in Italy, while—among those born abroad—78 (37.5% of the total) come from seven countries (Romania, Albania, Macedonia, India, Bangladesh, Serbia, Morocco), which prevail also among parents (65.4% of mothers and 63.9% of fathers come from these countries). The correspondence between occurrences in mothers' and fathers' data shows that in most cases pupils' parents share the same national origin.

In order to identify as accurately as possible the “family tradition languages” of pupils, language names used by these informants have been compared to those used by parents, as in our database children often make use of “pseudo-glottonyms” derived from the name of the country where the language is spoken. For example, many pupils from India call “Indian” the language that their parents refer to as *Panjabi*; all the pupils from Kosovo call “Kosovan” the language that their parents refer to as *Albanian*¹¹. In Tab. 9-6 family tradition languages that it was possible to identify are listed, as well as the “pseudo-glottonyms” (within quote marks), in cases where the language being referred to was not clear:

MAIN FTL	N OF PUPILS	OTHER FTL	N OF PUPILS
Albanian	45	-	
Arabic	32	French	3
Romanian	23	Serbo-Croatian	2
Serbo-Croatian	16	Albanian	1
Hindi	11	-	
Bengali	10	English	1
'Ghanaian'	9	English	4
Panjabi	8	Urdu	1
		Hindi	1
		English	1
Macedonian	8	-	
Urdu	8	-	
Spanish	6	-	
Chinese	5	German	1
French	5	Arabic	1
		Polish	1
English	4	-	
Moldavian	3	-	
Bulgarian	2	-	
'African'	2	-	
'Senegalese'	2	-	

Tab. 9-6: “Family tradition languages” (FTL) of pupils with foreign background

¹¹ Kosovo was an autonomous province of Serbia and Montenegro, which proclaimed itself an independent State in 2008. Albanians are the largest ethnolinguistic group (85.2% according to Leclerc, 2012), and Albanian is *de facto* the only official language, while being *de jure* co-official with Serbian. It must be noted, however, that the variety of Albanian spoken in Kosovo differs from standard Albanian in that the latter is based on the Tosk variety, while the former is a Gheg dialect (see also Toso, 2006: 49 ff.).

MAIN FTL	N OF PUPILS	OTHER FTL	N OF PUPILS
Bisa	1	French	1
Ewé	1	French	1
German	1	-	
'Guinean'	1	-	
Portuguese	1	-	
'Togolese'	1	French	1
Turkish	1	Albanian	1
Yoruba	1	English	1
[not specified]	1	-	
TOTAL	208	TOTAL	22

Tab. 9-6 (cont.): “Family tradition languages” (FTL) of pupils with foreign background

There are seven cases where pupils never declare to use their FTL, although their parents claim they use it on a regular basis when speaking to their children or to other family members. Interestingly enough, these pupils have intentionally avoided to declare their language use with the different (categories of) family interlocutors (giving no answer at all), or answered only to questions where they could report a monolingual use of Italian (e.g. with siblings). Such a behavior might therefore be implying a situation of conflict with their own “other-than-Italian” identity.

For the most part, however, pupils with foreign background involved in the research seem to actively use at least one family tradition language; actually, 22 of them declare two FTLs, which can be related to the different national origin of their parents (6 cases), or to a family linguistic repertoire including a national or minority language and an official language (normally a former-colonial one), as frequently happens in multilingual countries, as India, Pakistan or African States (16 cases).

9.3.1. The “Family Usage Index” of Family Tradition Languages

A conventional value has been assigned to the language use declared by pupils in the interaction with a single (category of) interlocutor(s) (“usage index”, UI). This value has been assigned in order to quantify the use of the family tradition language/s against the use of Italian: when an informant states that s/he uses only his/her FTL(s) when talking to a specific interlocutor, the “usage index” for that FTL(s) is 1; if—on the contrary—the informant uses only Italian, the value of the “usage index”

for his/her FTL(s) is 0. When an informant declares an alternate use of his/her FTL(s) and Italian, the “usage index” is 0.5.

Tab. 9-7a below shows the frequencies of the values pertaining to the “FTL family usage index”: these values have been obtained as the arithmetic mean of usage indexes assigned to uses declared by pupils in interactions with each (category of) interlocutor(s) within the family (UI mother, UI father, UI siblings, UI grandparents, UI relatives). In order to obtain complete comparability among the informants, only those who have provided valid answers for all the (categories of) interlocutors will be taken into account (162 subjects out of 208).

VALUES OF THE “FTL FAMILY USAGE INDEX”	PUPILS	
	N	%
ZERO (0.0)	1	0.6
LOW (0.1-0.3)	6	3.7
BALANCED (0.4-0.6)	42	26.0
HIGH (0.7-0.9)	78	48.1
FULL (1.0)	35	21.6
TOTAL	162	100.0

Tab. 9-7a: Values of the “family usage index” for the family tradition languages (FTLs) spoken by pupils with foreign background

On the whole, the family usage of the FTLs is good, as 113 informants out of 162 (69.8%) score “high” or “full” values for this index.

The fact that an informant was born in Italy or abroad affects the FTL family usage index value, although not in a dramatic way (see Tab. 9-7b); comparing pupils born abroad to pupils born in Italy, full values halve and middle values almost double.

VALUES OF THE “FTL FAMILY USAGE INDEX”	FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS		PUPILS BORN IN ITALY	
	N	% ¹²	N	%
ZERO (0.0)	0	-	1	(1.3)
LOW (0.1-0.3)	5	(5.8)	1	(1.3)
BALANCED (0.4-0.6)	16	(18.6)	26	(34.2)
HIGH (0.7-0.9)	40	(46.5)	38	(50.0)
FULL (1.0)	25	(29.1)	10	(13.2)
TOTAL	86	(100.0)	76	(100.0)

Tab. 9-7b: Values of the “family usage index” for the family tradition languages (FTLs) spoken by pupils with foreign background: birthplace-disaggregated data

9.3.2. The “Home Usage Index” of the Family Tradition Languages

In parallel with “family usage index”—which takes into account the “conservative influence” exerted on pupils’ language use by grandparents and relatives (often still living in the family’s country of origin)—the “home usage index” of the family tradition languages was calculated. Values for this index have been obtained as the arithmetic mean of usage indexes assigned to interactions with mother, father and siblings (see Tab. 9-8 below).

VALUES OF THE “FTL HOME USAGE INDEX”	FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS		PUPILS BORN IN ITALY	
	N	%	N	%
ZERO (0.0)	5	(5.8)	3	(3.9)
LOW (0.1-0.3)	7	(8.1)	17	(22.4)
BALANCED (0.4-0.6)	15	(17.4)	10	(13.2)
HIGH (0.7-0.9)	31	(36.0)	32	(42.1)
FULL (1.0)	28	(32.6)	14	(18.4)
TOTAL	86	(100.0)	76	(100.0)

Tab. 9-8: Values of the “home usage index” for the family tradition languages (FTLs) spoken by pupils with foreign background: birthplace-disaggregated data

As expected, values obtained for the home usage index are lower than those obtained for family usage index: while for the latter index only 7

¹² In tables where cases do not reach the sum of 100, percentages are listed within brackets.

pupils score zero or low values (see Tab. 9-7b), for the former their number raises to 32.

On the other hand, it must also be noted that 68.6% of foreign-born pupils (59 cases out of 86) and 60.5% of native-born pupils (46 cases out of 76) score high or full values for the home usage index of family tradition languages.

As clearly indicated in the literature¹³, siblings are the most active agents of innovation in language use at home, promoting secondary shift to Italian: in Tab. 9-9, where mean values of usage indexes of the family tradition languages are displayed for each interlocutor in the home domain (UI Mo = mother; UI Fa = father; UI Si = siblings), one observes that UI Si is always lower than UI Mo and UI Fa, both for foreign-born and for native-born pupils with foreign background.

USAGE INDEXES	FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS		PUPILS BORN IN ITALY			
	min.	max.	N	Mean UI	N	Mean UI
UI Mo	.0	1.0	86	.814	76	.755
UI Fa	.0	1.0	86	.820	76	.724
UI Si	.0	1.0	86	.526	76	.409
Home UI	.0	1.0	86	.720	76	.629

Tab. 9-9: Mean values of usage indexes of the family tradition languages for each interlocutor in the home domain: birthplace-disaggregated data

9.3.2.1. A comparison between self-reported language use of pupils and parents

The possibility to merge pupils' questionnaires with parents' questionnaires provides the opportunity to compare self-reported language use of pupils and parents in their reciprocal interaction.

The data discussed in this paragraph pertain to a subset of the 162 pupils with foreign background who have been referred to in the two preceding sections. Data concerning 124 pupils will be presented here: these are the pupils whose parents provided valid answers to the question about language use with their children (BQ52b).

In Tab. 9-10a the usage index of family tradition languages is considered in a two-way direction: "child to parent" and "parent to child":

¹³ For references, see Chini (this volume, § 6.5).

VALUES OF THE “FTL USAGE INDEX”	CHILD TO PARENT		PARENT TO CHILD	
	N	%	N	%
ZERO (0.0)	10	8.1	20	16.1
BALANCED (0.5)	38	30.6	54	43.5
FULL (1.0)	76	61.3	50	40.3
TOTAL	124	100.0	124	100.0

Tab. 9-10a: Values of the usage index (UI) for the family tradition languages (FTLs) among pupils with foreign background and their parents in reciprocal interactions

Quite surprisingly, data show that children have a more conservative attitude than their parents: the percentage of children scoring full values for the usage index of family tradition languages is more than 20 points higher than the corresponding percentage of parents. Furthermore, children scoring zero values are half the number of parents behaving the same way.

This trend does not change if we disaggregate the data on the basis of pupils' birthplace (see Tab. 9-10b) or on the basis of parents' gender (see Tab. 9-10c), although it must be observed that:

- 1) among pupils born in Italy (as well as among their parents) the exclusive use of family tradition languages decreases considerably if compared to that characterizing foreign-born pupils (and their parents), while the opposite is true for the alternate use of family tradition languages and Italian;
- 2) pupils seem to adopt the exclusive use of family tradition languages preferably when talking to father, than when talking to mother.

VALUES OF THE “FTL USAGE INDEX”	FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS (AND THEIR PARENTS)		PUPILS BORN IN ITALY (AND THEIR PARENTS)	
	CH TO P	P TO CH	CH TO P	P TO CH
ZERO (0.0)	5 (7.6%)	5 (7.6%)	5 (8.6%)	15 (25.9%)
BALANCED (0.5)	15 (22.7%)	26 (39.4%)	23 (39.7%)	28 (48.3%)
FULL (1.0)	46 (69.7%)	35 (53.0%)	30 (51.7%)	15 (25.9%)
TOTAL	66 (100.0%)	66 (100.0%)	58 (100.0%)	58 (100.0%)

Tab. 9-10b: Values of the usage index (UI) for the family tradition languages (FTLs) among pupils with foreign background and their parents in reciprocal interactions: child's birthplace-disaggregated data

VALUES OF THE “FTL USAGE INDEX”	CHILDREN AND MOTHERS		CHILDREN AND FATHERS	
	CH TO M	M TO CH	CH TO F	F TO CH
ZERO (0.0)	6 (9.8%)	9 (14.8%)	4 (6.3%)	11 (17.5%)
BALANCED (0.5)	23 (37.7%)	30 (49.2%)	15 (23.8%)	24 (38.1%)
FULL (1.0)	32 (52.5%)	22 (36.1%)	44 (69.8%)	28 (44.4%)
TOTAL	61 (100.0%)	61 (100.0%)	63 (100.0%)	63 (100.0%)

Tab. 9-10c: Values of the usage index (UI) for the family tradition languages (FTLs) among pupils with foreign background and their parents in reciprocal interactions: parent’s gender-disaggregated data

The more conservative attitude which characterizes pupils in comparison with their parents in our data does not tally with the results of a broader research carried out by Chini and colleagues on a sample of 414 young informants with foreign background recruited in the province of Pavia and in Turin (Chini, 2004: 152 f.)¹⁴.

Chini reports that the monolingual use of family tradition languages is chosen a little more frequently by parents than by children (respectively, 53% vs. 50%), with percentages which appear considerably different from those obtained from our sample (respectively, 40.3% vs. 61.3%, see Tab. 9-10a). Such a divergence looks even more perplexing, if we take into account that, in Chini’s sample, 90.8% of informants (376 subjects) are foreign-born pupils, a category which, in our sample, scores the highest percentages of full values for LTF usage index with parents (69.7%, see Tab. 9-10b).

Taken for granted that the results obtained by each of the two researches greatly differ in terms of significance, given the larger dimensions of Chini’s sample, it may be nonetheless useful to try to account for such different results, in order to point out methodological and structural factors which may have affected them:

- *Data sources and research tools:* in Chini’s research all the information about language use within the family has been elicited exclusively from children, who answered questions concerning their parents’ language use as well. On the contrary, in our case children and parents self-reported their own language use. Moreover, parents involved in the MERIDIUM research received the questionnaire through schools: this could have induced them to

¹⁴ See also Chini (this volume).

unconsciously emphasize their use of Italian with their children, underestimating at the same time the use of FTL(s).

As we shall see, indeed, many teachers have claimed that they ask parents to use Italian with their children as often as possible.

- *Structure of the sample and characteristics of informants*: as convincingly shown by Chini's study (2004: 317 ff.), as well as by the results of a transnational research reported in Yağmur and Extra (2004), language choice can be significantly affected by age, generation and family tradition language of informants. In this respects, Chini's sample and the MERIDIUM one differ considerably:
 - the age of informants in Chini's research ranges from 9 to 20 years, with a prevalence of the 13-17 age bracket (53.9%), while, in the MERIDIUM sample, only 10-11 years old pupils have been included;
 - the sample analyzed by Chini and colleagues is almost exclusively composed by "first generation immigrant children" (90.8%), or—following our terminology—foreign-born subjects with a foreign background. In the MERIDIUM sub-sample of 124 informants under study in this section, the distribution of foreign-born and native-born subjects is more balanced (53.2% vs. 46.8%);
 - in both Chini's and MERIDIUM samples, informants of Albanian, Moroccan, Romanian origin prevail, but in Chini's study hispanophone informants are also numerous, which is not the case in the MERIDIUM sample (see Tab. 9-6 above); conversely, in the MERIDIUM sample there are many informants of Serbian and Macedonian origin, as well as informants originating from the Indian sub-continent, who are scarcely represented in Chini's sample.

The above mentioned factors, and their complex interactions, may certainly account to a great extent for the different trends observed in the two studies carried out among children with foreign background in Italy; further research in this field is needed, integrating quantitative and qualitative tools. On the other hand, a greater attention should be paid also to the settlement contexts and to the conditions of integration of immigrant groups in them, as suggested by Chini herself (2004: 322 ff.). In this respect, one must take into account that informants involved in Chini's research were recruited in two quite different contexts of settlement, such as a metropolitan area (Turin) and some small-sized municipalities near

the provincial capital Pavia, all situated in North-Western Italy; conversely, MERIDIUM informants have been recruited in dimensionally similar settlement contexts (small- or medium-sized municipalities), scattered in four regions, in the North-West, North-East and Centre of the Peninsula.

9.3.3. The “Social Usage Index” of the Family Tradition Languages

In the relational circle external to the family, usage indexes of family tradition languages decrease dramatically, although pupils live in municipalities where they have good chances to meet people originating from the same country. One may refer to Table 9-11, where the distribution of the values of the “social usage index” of family tradition languages is shown. These values have been obtained as the arithmetic mean of usage indexes assigned to interactions with friends (UI Fr), neighbours (UI Ne) and classmates (UI Cm). The mean value of each of these indexes is shown in Tab. 9-12 and it may be usefully compared to the mean values displayed in Tab. 9-9, concerning the usage indexes with interlocutors in the home domain.

Informants referred to in this section represent a sub-set of the 162 pupils with foreign background under study in sections §§ 9.3.1. and 9.3.2. above: as 8 subjects among them did not answer questions about extra-familiar language uses, data concerning only 154 pupils will be discussed.

VALUES OF THE “FTL SOCIAL USAGE INDEX”	FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS		PUPILS BORN IN ITALY	
	N	%	N	%
ZERO (0.0)	55	(64.7)	44	(63.8)
LOW (0.1-0.3)	26	(30.6)	20	(29.0)
BALANCED (0.4-0.6)	1	(1.2)	4	(5.8)
HIGH (0.7-0.9)	3	(3.5)	1	(1.4)
FULL (1.0)	0	-	0	-
TOTAL	85	(100.0)	69	(100.0)

Tab. 9-11: Values of the “social usage index” for the family tradition languages (FTLs) spoken by pupils with foreign background: birthplace-disaggregated data

USAGE INDEXES	FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS		PUPILS BORN IN ITALY			
	min.	max.	N	Mean UI	N	Mean UI
UI Fr	.0	1.0	85	.171	69	.159
UI Ne	.0	1.0	85	.124	69	.101
UI Cm	.0	.5	85	.006	69	.029
Social UI	.0	.7	85	.100	69	.097

Tab. 9-12: Mean values of usage indexes of the family tradition languages for each interlocutor outside the family domain: birthplace-disaggregated data

Data show that, outside the family, the language shift to Italian is almost complete, both for foreign-born informants and for native-born ones. We may further observe that, notwithstanding the fact that schools under study are characterized by significant rates of pupils with foreign background sharing the same national origin, there seem to be very sporadic occasions in which informants choose their family tradition languages in order to interact with classmates, as just 5 informants out of 154 (and 10 out of the total amount of 208) do so.

9.4. Proficiency in the Family Tradition Languages

Pupils have been asked to name the languages they are able to read (comics) and write (a letter to a friend), in order to assess their proficiency in family tradition languages. The data hereby discussed (see Tab. 9-13) pertain to 154 of the 162 pupils with foreign background under study in previous sections, as 8 of them did not answer these questions.

READING AND WRITING IN FAMILY TRADITION LANGUAGES	FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS		PUPILS BORN IN ITALY	
	N	%	N	%
Neither reading, nor writing	16	(19.5)	32	(44.4)
Reading only	8	(9.8)	3	(4.2)
Writing only	5	(6.1)	2	(2.8)
Both reading and writing	53	(64.6)	35	(48.6)
TOTAL	82	(100.0)	72	(100.0)

Tab. 9-13: Reading and writing in family tradition languages as self-reported by pupils with foreign background: birthplace-disaggregated data

Reading and writing in the family tradition language are widespread among foreign-born pupils (64.6%), but not uncommon among native-born pupils, who self-report these skills in 48.6% of the cases.

It is quite evident, however, that these results cannot be taken for granted, as pupils have not been tested, but only asked for a very general self-evaluation. Nevertheless, there are two possible ways in order to verify their answers indirectly.

In the first place, one may compare data on reading and writing skills with data concerning prior schooling in, or current learning experiences of, those languages (see Tab. 9-14). As one may observe, there are 49 cases (24 foreign-born pupils and 25 native-born pupils) of informants who have neither been schooled in the family tradition language, nor are currently learning this language in extra-school time; in spite of this, they claim that they can read and write in this language (shadowed cells in Tab. 9-14).

READING AND WRITING IN FTLS	SCHOOLING IN THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OR ONGOING LEARNING EXPERIENCES OF FTLS					
	FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS			PUPILS BORN IN ITALY		
	NO	YES	TOT.	NO	YES	TOT.
Not able	8	8	16	24	8	32
Can write but cannot read or viceversa	6	7	13	4	1	5
Able	24	29	53	25	10	35
TOTAL	38	44	82	53	19	72

Tab. 9-14: Cross-tabulation of data concerning reading and writing in family tradition languages (FTLs) and data on previous schooling in, or ongoing learning experiences of those languages: birthplace-disaggregated data

In order to clarify if these 49 informants could have overestimated their skills regarding reading and writing, one may check their family usage indexes of family tradition languages, in the light of the hypothesis that strong conservative language uses in the family domain could have favored basic informal learning in reading and writing.

Such a test gives positive results: among the 49 subjects, 31 score high values for family usage indexes and 11 reach full values, whilst only 7 informants score low or balanced values.

9.5. Extra-school Learning Experiences of Family Tradition Languages or Other Languages Different from Italian

We will now briefly discuss some data about ongoing extra-school learning experiences of family tradition languages or other languages different from Italian.

Informants were asked if they were learning other languages, besides those at school (AQ28): Tab. 9-15 below shows the answers provided by the whole sub-sample of pupils with foreign background (208 informants):

ONGOING LEARNING EXPERIENCES OF FTLs OR OTHER LANGUAGES DIFFERENT FROM ITALIAN	FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS		PUPILS BORN IN ITALY	
	N	%	N	%
no I'm not interested	15	<i>12.9</i>	7	<i>(7.6)</i>
no but I would like to	52	<i>44.8</i>	39	<i>(42.4)</i>
yes	46	<i>39.7</i>	46	<i>(50.0)</i>
no answer	3	<i>2.6</i>	0	-
TOTAL	116	<i>100.0</i>	92	<i>(100.0)</i>

Tab. 9-15: Answers to AQ28 (“Besides the languages you are learning at school, are you learning other languages (by yourself or with the help of someone)?”): pupils with foreign background—birthplace-disaggregated data

Pupils with foreign background—mainly the native-born ones—show a remarkable interest in extra-school language learning; on the basis of this, it could be hypothesized that their families encourage them to acquire proficiency in their family tradition languages. A closer look at the data, however, leads to a different conclusion.

If we consider the languages pupils are learning, we may observe that family tradition languages are not a priority choice (see Tab. 9-16):

TARGET LANGUAGES OF ONGOING EXTRA-SCHOOL LEARNING EXPERIENCES	FOREIGN-BORN PUPILS		PUPILS BORN IN ITALY	
	N	%	N	%
No ongoing learning experiences	67	57.8	46	(50.0)
Learn TFLs only	15	12.9	19	(20.7)
Learn TFLs and other languages	2	1.7	2	(2.2)
Learn only other languages	29	25.0	25	(27.2)
Learn a not specified language	3	2.6	0	-
TOTAL	116	100.0	92	(100.0)

Tab. 9-16: Target languages of ongoing extra-school learning experiences: pupils with foreign background—birthplace-disaggregated data

These data suggest that, for pupils with foreign background, learning a language after school hours is not necessarily related to their own or parents' desire to preserve their supposed "ethnic identity". On the contrary, data concerning the languages being learned by these pupils suggest that there is a preference for a few "super-central languages" (de Swaan 2001), which vary according to the different countries of origin of the family: English and Hindi are preferred by informants originating from the Indian sub-continent; French is preferred by pupils and families coming from North-Africa; French and/or English by those coming from North-Western Africa; the four major European languages—but also Greek or Russian—are preferred by pupils and families coming from South-Eastern European States. Such choices—paraphrasing Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) definition—seem therefore to be based mainly on "enrichment-oriented" needs.

9.6. The Attitude of School Communities towards Language Repertoires, Language Use and "Enrichment-Oriented" Needs of Pupils with Foreign Background

Data discussed above allow us to conclude that multi-/plurilingualism characterizing pupils with foreign background enrolled in schools involved in our research is an authentic and widespread phenomenon, which is vital not only among foreign-born pupils, but also among pupils born in Italy from foreign parents.

However, the bi-/plurilingual identity of these pupils—which is often cultivated as a resource by their families—does not seem to express itself outside the family circle, or outside the narrow context of (intra-ethnic)

friendship relations. In particular, as shall be illustrated in the following section, it does not have any visibility or recognition in the most important place where this should happen: the school.

9.6.1. Linguistic Diversity at School: An Unexplored World

As mentioned above (§9.2.), the MERIDIUM survey has been carried out in schools and classes with high rates of pupils with foreign background (see Tab. 9-4a).

School directors have always been able to provide quantitative data concerning these pupils; in most cases, they have been able to provide detailed data concerning pupils' nationalities; however, they have claimed that they do not have any database or archive concerning languages spoken by these pupils, and teachers do not take any systematic measure in order to collect information on language biographies of pupils and their families. Only in "welcoming protocols" for newly-arrived foreign-born pupils (if ever such protocols are put into practice)¹⁵ questions about pupil's L1 are included, in order to make the task of linguistic mediators easier; on the contrary, language repertoires and language use of native-born pupils with foreign background are generally ignored.

Correspondingly, the data collection held every year by the Ministry of Education on pupils "with non-Italian citizenship" does not include the family tradition languages of these subjects among the relevant classification parameters.

Such an approach is highly contradictory when considered in the light of the alleged openness of the Italian educational system to diversity and cultural pluralism. An educational policy inspired by intercultural principles, but failing to require that teachers know, as precisely as possible, the components of pupils' and families' language repertoire, and that they help pupils to share this information with their classmates turns to be ineffective and, moreover, implicitly delegitimizing languages other than Italian. On the other hand, such an attitude also fails to help pupils with Italian background to recognize and understand the multilingual context where they spend most of their time.

When visiting the schools involved in the survey, MERIDIUM researchers had a chance to observe a diffuse situation of "invisibilization" of languages other than Italian within school communities, in spite of the multilingual welcome posters hanging on the corridors' walls.

¹⁵ This is the case, for example, of VI11 and VI12 schools; other schools were still preparing welcoming protocols at the time of the survey.

Although many teachers have claimed that, at Christmas time, pupils write greeting-cards in different languages, and their parents are asked to prepare traditional dishes or to illustrate national customs, it is safe to affirm that the use family tradition languages of pupils with foreign background is practically absent within these classes. Out of 208 pupils with foreign background who have been involved in the research, just 13 have claimed that they use their family tradition language when talking to teachers, and 10 do so with their classmates.

Forms of collaborative learning through family tradition languages have not been found in schools under study, and teachers do not encourage any activity of presentation of the “languages of the class”, even if these activities could be easily carried out by taking advantage of the reading and writing skills which many pupils with foreign background possess (see § 9.4.) and by involving foreign parents as well¹⁶.

In such a situation, the linguistic diversity characterizing school communities is perceived by most pupils with Italian background just as an individual “problem” of some of their schoolmates, who “cannot learn Italian well” because the different language they speak constitutes an obstacle for them to learn it. Their linguistic diversity is therefore seen as a hinderance towards learning the language of schooling. At best, linguistic diversity is viewed as a motive for occasional curiosity which, more often than not, teachers are not able to take as an opportunity to stimulate metalinguistic awareness and interlinguistic comparison, or to remind their pupils of the equal dignity of all languages.

9.6.1.1. A case-study

On this issue, it is useful to discuss in some detail the data collected in a school situated in Lonigo, a municipality in the Vicenza province; in this school (VI2), all of the five fifth-year classes have been surveyed, obtaining a (sub-)sample of 114 pupils (75 pupils with Italian background and 39 pupils with foreign background).

In the school year 2009-10, 596 pupils in total were enrolled in VI2, that is 58% of the children of primary-school age residing in Lonigo

¹⁶ Activities such as those presented in García *et al.* (2006), or projects such as “*Multilingual education: the use of minority languages in classrooms in primary education*” (2008–2012), coordinated by P. Van Avermaet in Belgium, are still totally extraneous to educational praxis of Italian schools.

On the other hand, school directors and teachers involved in the MERIDIUM survey did not know anything about the results achieved by projects promoted by the Council of Europe, such as EVLANG, *Janua Linguarum* (Candelier, 2004) o LEA (Bernaus *et al.*, 2007).

municipality; among them, 184 (almost 31%) had a foreign background and represented 73% of the non-national children of primary-school age residing in the municipality.

According to the data provided by the school director, South-Eastern European nationalities (mainly Romania, Serbia, Albania) prevail among pupils with foreign background, followed by the Indian sub-continent (India, Bangladesh); African States are less represented, with the exceptions of Ghana and Morocco. (see Tab. 8-17 below):

NATIONALITY	PUPILS WITH NON-ITALIAN CITIZENSHIP IN THE SCHOOL	
	N OF PUPILS	% ON THE TOTAL OF PUPILS WITH NON-ITALIAN CITIZENSHIP
Romania	37	<i>20.1</i>
Serbia	31	<i>16.8</i>
Albania	28	<i>15.2</i>
Ghana	25	<i>13.6</i>
Bangladesh	24	<i>13.0</i>
India	14	<i>7.6</i>
Morocco	12	<i>6.5</i>
Other	13	<i>7.1</i>
TOTAL	184	<i>100.0</i>

Tab. 9-17: Nationalities of pupils with non-Italian citizenship enrolled in VI2 school in the school year 2009-2010

The family tradition languages of the 39 informants with foreign background attending fifth classes in this school substantially fit the expectations deriving from the nationalities shown in Tab. 9-17 above, except for the under-representation of Albanian (see Tab. 9-18):

FTLs	N OF PUPILS
Serbo-Croatian	13
Romanian	9
'Ghanaian'	6
Bengali	4
Arabic	4
Albanian	2
English	2
'Indian'	1
Panjabi	1
'African'	1

Tab. 9-18: Family tradition languages (FTLs) of the 39 informants with foreign background attending fifth classes in the VI2 school¹⁷

Both pupils with foreign and Italian background were asked to name a maximum of 10 languages other than Italian which they considered to be the most widespread among VI2 student population ("languages of the school"); in Tab. 9-19 answers are displayed separately for pupils with Italian background and pupils with foreign background, in order to better point out possible differences in perception:

"LANGUAGES OF THE SCHOOL"	PUPILS WITH ITALIAN BACKGROUND (N OF CASES: 68 OUT OF 75) ¹⁸		PUPILS WITH FOREIGN BACKGROUND (N OF CASES: 35 OUT OF 39)	
	N OF ANSWERS	% OF CASES	N OF ANSWERS	% OF CASES
French	40	(58.8)	18	(51.4)
ROMANIAN	34	(50.0)	25	(71.4)
'SERBIAN'	30	(44.1)	24	(68.6)
English	29	(42.6)	9	(25.7)
'BANGLADESE'/BENGALI	25	(36.8)	15	(42.9)
'MOROCCAN'/ARABIC	25	(36.8)	12	(34.3)

Tab. 9-19: "Languages of the school" perceived by VI2's informants: background-disaggregated data

¹⁷ Pupils who speak two of these languages (e. g. "Ghanaian" and English) have been counted twice (e. g. once for "Ghanaian" and once for English).

¹⁸ As not all the informants in each group (Italian vs. foreign background) answered this question, the total number of pupils who have provided valid answers ("N of cases") is specified at the top of each column. Language names are those used by informants.

“LANGUAGES OF THE SCHOOL”	PUPILS WITH ITALIAN BACKGROUND (N OF CASES: 68 OUT OF 75)		PUPILS WITH FOREIGN BACKGROUND (N OF CASES: 35 OUT OF 39)	
	N OF ANSWERS	% OF CASES	N OF ANSWERS	% OF CASES
‘INDIAN’	20	(29.4)	16	(45.7)
‘GHANAIAN’	17	(25.0)	16	(45.7)
Chinese	14	(20.6)	8	(22.9)
ALBANIAN	8	(11.8)	11	(31.4)
‘African’	6	(8.8)	3	(8.6)
Other languages	8	(<5.0)	7	(<6.0)
TOTAL	256	376.5	164	468.6

Tab. 9-19 (cont.): “Languages of the school” perceived by VI2’s informants: background-disaggregated data

Notwithstanding the inexplicable presence of Chinese (no pupils from China or with Chinese background are enrolled in VI2 school) and an overrating of French and English (probably due to the large use of these two languages as “vehicular codes” in the interaction between school personnel and newly-arrived children), we may say that the expectedly most prominent components of the language repertoire of the VI2 school community (language names in small caps in Tab. 9-19; see also Tab. 9-17)¹⁹ are rather well perceived by both informants’ groups.

However, two relevant differences among them must be noted. We may observe, in the first place, that, on average, pupils with foreign background are able to name more languages than pupils with Italian background (4.7 the former, 3.5 the latter). Secondly, the percentage of pupils with foreign background mentioning the most widespread languages of origin among the school population is remarkably higher than the one of pupils with Italian background. These differences suggest that pupils with Italian background are relatively less aware than pupils with foreign background of the remarkable diffusion of languages other than Italian (and English) among the student population in the school they attend.

¹⁹ As a matter of fact, we may only guess—though with acceptable approximation—which these languages are, on the basis of nationality data provided by the school director (Tab. 9-17). The fact remains, however, that—for example—some Romanian VI2 pupils among those not involved in the survey may speak Romani, and not Romanian, as their family tradition language.

Such a different awareness is revealed, on the other hand, also by answers given by the informants to the question (AQ27) “Which languages are spoken throughout the world? Please, write the names of some of them (15 max.)” (see Tab. 9-20 below):

“WHICH LANGUAGES ARE SPOKEN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD?”	PUPILS WITH ITALIAN BACKGROUND (N OF CASES: 75 OUT OF 75)		PUPILS WITH FOREIGN BACKGROUND (N OF CASES: 38 OUT OF 39)	
	N OF ANSWERS	% OF CASES	N OF ANSWERS	% OF CASES
French	65	(86.7)	32	(84.2)
English	60	(80.0)	31	(81.6)
German	58	(77.3)	27	(71.1)
Spanish	51	(68.0)	26	(68.4)
Italian	43	(57.3)	18	(47.4)
Chinese	40	(53.3)	22	(57.9)
ARABIC/'MOROCCAN'	38	(50.7)	19	(50.0)
'SERBIAN'	25	(33.3)	21	(55.3)
Russian	24	(32.0)	9	(23.7)
Japanese	23	(30.7)	9	(23.7)
ROMANIAN	23	(30.7)	25	(65.8)
'INDIAN'	21	(28.0)	18	(47.4)
BENGALI/'BANGLADESE'	20	(26.7)	8	(21.1)
American	18	(24.0)	8	(21.1)
Greek	18	(24.0)	7	(18.4)
'African'	17	(22.7)	8	(21.1)
'GHANAIAN'	13	(17.3)	12	(31.6)
ALBANIAN	12	(16.0)	15	(39.5)
Other languages	129	(≤16.0)	47	(≤16.0)
TOTAL	698	930.7	362	952.6

Tab. 9-20: “Languages of the world” mentioned by VI2’s informants: background-disaggregated data

The data in Tab. 9-20 clearly show that the languages which have been mentioned most frequently are the same for both groups of informants; furthermore, pupils with Italian background mentioned as many languages as their schoolmates with foreign background (on average, 9 items per informant in each group). It must be pointed out, however, that the “languages of the school” (in small caps) are named by a percentage of pupils with Italian background which is generally much lower than the

corresponding percentage of the pupils with foreign background: this is the case for Romanian, ‘Serbian’, Albanian, ‘Ghanaian’ and ‘Indian’.²⁰

Such data seem to suggest that the two sub-groups of informants have enumerated world’s languages following partially different criteria: pupils with Italian background have clearly privileged renowned international languages, while pupils with foreign background have taken into account also languages that, despite not having major importance as international languages, are nonetheless widely spoken within the school context that they come in contact with daily. One must not think that this is only due to the fact that they are themselves speakers of such languages: as a comparison between Tab. 9-20 and Tab. 9-18 may demonstrate, a language such as Romanian has been named by 25 pupils with foreign background, even if it is the family tradition language of only 9 informants.

9.6.2. The Maintenance of Family Tradition Languages as an Obstacle to Integration?

During the meetings with MERIDIUM researchers, teachers have often expressed the concern that pupils who use exclusively, or very frequently, their family tradition language with their parents not only may incur greater difficulties in order to learn Italian, but could also show—through their language use—an unconscious or parent-induced refusal to integrate themselves into the local community. For these reasons, many teachers have declared that they advise foreign parents not to use their family tradition language with their children.

²⁰ The fact that Arabic is mentioned—together with Chinese—by half of the respondents, both among pupils with Italian background and among pupils with foreign background, could probably be due to the fact that these two languages are clearly perceived by children as “prototypical” extra-European languages, also thanks to their peculiar writing systems. Moreover, it must be taken into account that, at the time of the survey, Chinese and North-African immigrant communities were targets of a bitter political campaign fostered by the Northern League (“Lega Nord”), a xenophobic party participating in the national right-wing coalition government (2008-2011), and governing Veneto region (from 2010). Among other issues, Northern League politicians have repeatedly questioned the use of Chinese and Arabic languages in notices, shop signs and advertisements: as an example, see two newspaper articles issued in 2010 (accessed September 26, 2012):

http://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2010/04/24/news/negozi_cinese_e_arabo_cancellati_dalle_insegne-3578051/;

http://tg24.sky.it/tg24/cronaca/2010/11/24/via_padova_milano_natale_insegne_lingue_straniere_arabo_cinese_italiano.html.

The discussion of the psycho-affective damages on a child whose parents would follow such advice is beyond the scope of this paper, and this issue will not be dealt with here²¹, nor will scientific evidence supporting the “interdependence hypothesis” (Cummins 2000) be elaborated upon. Suffice it to say, in this respect, that most of the teachers and school directors involved in the MERIDIUM research did not possess any basic notion about bilingual development in migration contexts.

In this section, evidence concerning the alleged link between the domestic use of family tradition languages and the (lack of) willingness to integrate will be discussed.

In the first place, it must be observed that the fact that a child uses only the family tradition language when talking to parents does not entail that s/he lives in a domestic environment where the use of Italian is totally absent; in fact, the data discussed in § 9.3.1. show that, irrespective of which language is used when talking to adult relatives, most pupils with foreign background tend to use Italian with siblings: among the 162 informants for whom family usage indexes have been calculated, 111 subjects (68.5%) use Italian monolingually (61 respondents), or in alternation with the family tradition language (50 respondents), when talking to siblings.

In the second place, a regular use of family tradition languages at home does not necessarily correspond to a situation of ethnic auto-segregation: in discussing the “social usage index” of the family tradition languages (see § 9.3.3.), Italian has clearly emerged—with very few exceptions—as the sole language of interaction outside the family domain (friends and neighbours), also for pupils who have claimed to use exclusively their family tradition languages at home.

Finally, there is some direct evidence that most pupils and parents with foreign background involved in the MERIDIUM research feel well integrated into the local community, as shown by answers to the question (AQ14 – BQ17) “How much do you feel part of the town where you live?”: 79.3% of pupils (165 out of 208) and 80.6% of parents (137 out of 170)²² gave positive answers (“just enough/very much”).

In order to test more specifically the hypothesis that the degree of integration into the local community is in inverse relation with the use of family tradition languages in children/parents interactions, these data can be cross-tabulated with those concerning language use as self-reported by

²¹ See the discussion of some clinical cases in Contento (2010).

²² The total number of foreign-born parents is less than the number of children with foreign background since not all parents have filled in their questionnaire.

the 124 pupils and their parents referred to in § 9.3.2.1. The results are shown in Tabs. 9-21a e 9-21b:

PUPILS WHO:		FEEL PART OF THE TOWN WHERE THEY LIVE			
		not at all/ a little bit	just enough/ very much	do not know	Tot.
use only Italian with parents	N	3	7	0	10
	%	(30.0)	(70.0)	-	(100.0)
alternate Italian and FTL with parents	N	1	33	4	38
	%	(2.6)	(86.8)	(10.5)	(100.0)
use only FTL with parents	N	9	62	5	76
	%	(11.8)	(81.6)	(6.6)	(100.0)
TOTAL	N	13	102	9	124
	%	10.5	82.3	7.3	100.0

Tab. 9-21a: Degree of integration into the local community and use of family tradition languages (FTLs) in children/parents interactions: cross-tabulation of answers provided by pupils with foreign background

PARENTS WHO:		FEEL PART OF THE TOWN WHERE THEY LIVE			
		not at all/ a little bit	just enough/ very much	do not know	Tot.
use only Italian with pupils	N	0	19	1	20
	%	-	(95.0)	(5.0)	(100.0)
alternate Italian and FTL with pupils	N	8	41	5	54
	%	(14.8)	(75.9)	(9.3)	(100.0)
use only FTL with pupils	N	7	39	4	50
	%	(14.0)	(78.0)	(8.0)	(100.0)
TOTAL	N	15	99	10	124
	%	12.1	79.8	8.1	100.0

Tab. 9-21b: Degree of integration into the local community and use of family tradition languages (FTLs) in children/parents interactions: cross-tabulation of answers provided by foreign parents

If the hypothesis were true, the cells corresponding to informants who feel well integrated into the local community and use only FTL in pupil/parent interactions (see shadowed cells in Tabs. 9-21a and 9-21b) should be void or should collect, at least, a scant number of cases; on the contrary, in both the tables above these cells collect the great majority of cases in the row representing informants using only FTLs in pupil/parent interactions.

9.6.3. Meeting the “Enrichment-oriented” Language Needs of Pupils and Families

In the Italian schools involved in the MERIDIUM research, teachers are generally not aware of language learning activities that pupils may carry out after school hours; some of them have occasionally observed that pupils of Indian or African origin speak fluently in English, or have reported rather vaguely that some pupils with foreign background attend courses, usually run by migrants’ associations, in order to learn their “languages of origin”. On the other hand, school directors do not collect any information about language courses attended by pupils after school hours, be they of Italian or of foreign origin.

As shown by data discussed in §9.5., 44.2% of pupils with foreign background involved in the MERIDIUM survey claim to be learning a language which is different from Italian (92 informants out of 208). It must be pointed out that, among these informants, informal learning activities prevail: in most cases, additional languages are learned with the help of parents, siblings, relatives or friends, or in an autonomous way, by means of learning tools such as books, grammars, dictionaries, DVDs and CDRoms. The fact remains, however, that families of foreign origin seem to be inclined to invest substantially on additional linguistic competences for their children: 23 pupils attend structured language courses and 36 pupils are taught by their own parents.

It is worth noting that family tradition languages do not seem to represent a privileged target in this respect. Besides the data concerning pupils discussed in § 9.4. (Tab. 9-16), an interesting clue of this tendency comes from answers given by foreign-born parents to the question (BQ34), when asked if they were favourable or not to the possibility that pupils with foreign background could be taught their family tradition languages in Italian schools (see Tab. 9-22):

TEACHING OF FTLS AT SCHOOL	FOREIGN-BORN PARENTS OF:				TOTAL	
	FOREIGN-BORN CHILDREN		CHILDREN BORN IN ITALY			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Unfavourable	38	(41.3)	22	(28.2)	60	35.3
Favourable	20	(21.7)	37	(47.4)	57	33.5
Do not know	29	(31.5)	18	(23.1)	47	27.6
Do not answer	5	(5.4)	1	(1.3)	6	3.5
TOTAL	92	(100.0)	78	(100.0)	170	100.0

Tab. 9-22: Answers provided by foreign-born parents to the question BQ34 (“Do you think that children of immigrants should be given the opportunity to learn their own language/s in Italian schools?”): child’s birthplace-disaggregated data

Considering the whole sample, no unequivocal tendency emerges (see percentages in “Total” column in Tab. 9-22); however, results look quite different if one considers separately the answers provided by parents of children born abroad and those provided by parents of children born in Italy: most informants in the former group declare themselves unfavourable or uncertain, whilst almost a half of the latter group declares itself favourable.

The qualitative and quantitative limitations of the MERIDIUM research induce prudence in interpreting these data; nonetheless, it can be said that foreign-born parents involved in the survey are generally uncertain and confused about advantages and disadvantages related to the maintenance of family tradition languages by their children. Probably, they are worried that studying the family tradition language may interfere negatively on the learning of Italian, or may determine too heavy a workload, especially if the child is born abroad, and therefore is still learning the language of schooling.. This interpretation of the data seems to be corroborated by the fact that foreign-born parents of pupils born in Italy are more favourable to the teaching of family tradition languages at school.²³

Though any hypothesis needs to be further investigated by means of more suitable research tools, such as interviews, it is worth noting that the observed uncertainty can be only worsened by the above-mentioned

²³ One should also take into account that foreign parents are often aware that the language varieties they speak may be quite different from the respective standard varieties, and, therefore, they do believe that even studying the standard varieties may pose problems for their children. For a case-study, see Carpani (2010).

tendency of teachers to “invisibilize” and delegitimize family tradition languages of pupils with foreign background. In such a situation, foreign-born parents are not helped to form a well-grounded and unbiased opinion on the advantages which their children may have through the maintenance of these languages.²⁴

On the other hand, the data concerning extra-curricular learning of “additional languages” (i.e. different from Italian and family tradition languages) show that foreign families have a remarkable interest towards the possibility that their children become proficient in international languages of wider communication.

In Tab. 9-23 the additional languages that pupils with foreign background have more frequently claimed to be learning are displayed; for comparative purposes, in the same table the data pertaining to pupils with Italian background who have claimed to be learning a foreign language after school hours are also provided (118 pupils out of 451, 26.2%):

LANGUAGE	PUPILS LEARNING IT AS AN ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE:			
	WITH FOREIGN BACKGROUND (N OF CASES: 58 OUT OF 208)		WITH ITALIAN BACKGROUND (N OF CASES: 118 OUT OF 451)	
	N OF ANSWERS	% OF CASES	N OF ANSWERS	% OF CASES
French	22	(31.0)	40	33.9
Spanish	13	(18.3)	44	37.3
English	10	(14.1)	11	9.3
German	6	(8.5)	15	12.7
Other	20	(≤6.9)	33	≤3.5
TOTAL	71	(122.4)	143	121.2

Tab. 9-23: Main additional languages being learned in extra-school time by pupils with foreign background and by pupils with Italian background

²⁴ Analogous considerations may also apply to Italian parents, who should be helped by teachers to recognize multilingualism in their children’s classroom as an asset, rather than perceiving it as a hindrance. In the absence of such an explicit positive stance from the part of the school, most Italian parents will still be wary of so-called “immigrant languages”. As a matter of fact, 253 Italian parents out of 412 involved in the MERIDIUM survey (61.4%) have declared themselves as unfavourable to the teaching of family tradition languages to pupils with foreign background at school; 26.5% did not answer the question or declared themselves uncertain, while only 12.1% have expressed a favourable position.

It can be observed that French and Spanish arouse remarkable interest among both pupils' categories, as together they represent half or more of the cases in each group. These languages are perceived as important international languages, not only because they are official languages of the European Union, but also because they are official languages—or, in any case, are widely spoken as second languages—in many African or American countries.

This example can be useful to draw attention to the fact that, by means of a simple survey such as the one just mentioned, school directors could identify a small group of international languages which are of interest for pupils and families both of Italian and foreign origin: on this basis, each school could put in place experimental teaching activities or laboratories, which would meet “enrichment-oriented” language needs of all pupils, stimulating interlinguistic comparison and introducing gradually the study of a second European foreign language, which, in Italy, is compulsory from the first year of the lower secondary school (ISCED 2).

9.7. Multilingualism as a Collective Resource: Some Proposals from the MERIDIUM Project

The MERIDIUM sociolinguistic research had a mainly “explorative” and, therefore, non-generalizable character; nonetheless, the data discussed so far raise some interesting issues concerning the need of a radical rethinking of language education in the Italian educational system. The direction of such a reassessment is clearly indicated by the Council of Europe and the European Commission policy documents, where plurilingual and intercultural education is promoted.

The MERIDIUM survey in Italy has been carried out in small-medium size towns, where families of foreign origin involved in the research have been living for a few years. Data show that they have positively integrated into the social and educational local fabric; throughout the years local institutions have adopted substantial measures to support these families, notwithstanding the financial cuts in public funding.

The domestic use of family tradition languages turned out to be very vital among pupils with foreign background and their families, both in the monolingual mode, and in the bilingual mode, alternating with Italian. This does not imply, however, that these informants tend to maintain their “ethnic identity” by excluding other possible cultural influences: on the contrary, foreign-born parents declare themselves particularly satisfied with intercultural programs that their children take part in at school.

In the municipalities involved in the MERIDIUM survey, schools seems to represent the most relevant institutional agent which favors

integration between “Italian citizens” and “foreign citizens”: for example, schools offer Italian L2 classes both for children and adults, and carry out intercultural activities involving pupils’ parents on a regular basis.

Such a commitment, however, is still based on a vision which tends to exclude the use of languages which are different from Italian and English, and pays little attention to developing language awareness in pupils. This is a noteworthy weakness, in the face of a multi- and plurilingual scenario such as the one shown by the data concerning primary-school population in Italy.

There are many and understandable reasons justifying this state of affairs: as many teachers pointed out, it is difficult to introduce any change, when school programs are already overloaded; many pupils—mainly the “newly-arrived” ones—still need to be taught basic Italian; in-service teachers do not have the time and the resources to attend training courses. However, what seems to be lacking, from the part of educational authorities, as well as among school personnel, is mainly the awareness of the benefits which would derive to all pupils by adopting a plurilingual perspective on education²⁵.

From such an attitude, two main consequences arise:

- In the first place, teachers are inclined to ignore or underestimate the complexity of the linguistic repertoire of pupils with foreign background, with possible negative effects on methods adopted in order to teach these pupils and assess their learning outcomes²⁶. At a more general level, negative effects may also occur on the perceptions and attitudes that pupils with Italian background develop towards plurilingualism and linguistic diversity.
- In the second place, teachers may often—though involuntarily—worsen the linguistic insecurity of parents, inducing them to adopt a language use (“Italian only”) with their children which is unnatural

²⁵ Only very recently (November 2011), the Ministry of Education has launched the project “Languages of schooling and plurilingual and intercultural curriculum” (LSCPI—*Lingue di scolarizzazione e curricolo plurilingue e interculturale*: see <http://www.istruzione.it/web/istruzione/lscpi>, accessed September 26, 2012) on a national scale, in order to promote the implementation of integrated methods to teach the languages of schooling in primary schools, following guidelines inspired by the Council of Europe *Platform for plurilingual and intercultural education* (see: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/LangEduc/LE_PlatformIntro_en.asp, accessed September 26, 2012).

²⁶ On this issue, see Green (2000), Ghezzi and Grassi (2002), Cummins (2006), Contento (2010), Lüdi (2011).

and useless—if not counterproductive—to the end of a well-balanced identity construction of the child.

Once again, such a behavior may also be detrimental for intercultural relations and social cohesion within and outside the school-community, as it contributes to entrench the idea that languages (and, therefore, cultures) other than Italian have no recognition in the social and institutional context.

The seminars organized within the MERIDIUM project in order to disseminate the results of the sociolinguistic research provided a good occasion to discuss these problems directly with school directors and teachers. During these meetings, some major steps have been identified, as possible starting points in order to favor a gradual change of perspective.

First, teachers should gather detailed information on the linguistic repertoire of pupils and families, actively involving all the children and their parents in this task: this measure would not only allow to constitute a sort of “database” of the linguistic resources available within the school, but would also promote awareness, mutual exchange and understanding among the members of this “community of practice”. To this end, an *ad hoc* modified version of MERIDIUM questionnaires could represent a useful ready-to-use tool, very similar to the one put forward in the Council of Europe *Guide for the development and implementation of curricula for plurilingual and intercultural education* (Beacco *et al.*, 2010, Appendix II) and “intended to pave the way for realistic curriculum choices” (p. 27).

Secondly, the need to discuss explicitly issues related to language diversity and plurilingualism with all the pupils has been noted by a large number of participants in the seminars. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that, in the classes involved in the MERIDIUM research, it has been found that the use of a language which is different from Italian in the family domain characterizes not only a large number of pupils with foreign background (even born in Italy), but also pupils with Italian background, whose language repertoires often include a rich variety of regional languages and Italian dialects.

On request of some school directors, and under the auspices of the Office of Schooling of the Umbria region (Ufficio Scolastico Regionale dell’Umbria), the members of the MERIDIUM research unit of the University for Foreigners of Perugia have held a 20-hours training course for primary and lower-secondary school teachers. Assuming, as a starting point, the informative materials and the teaching tools designed by the

MERIDIUM staff²⁷, researchers and teachers have collaborated in order to plan some teaching modules concerning plurilingualism and linguistic diversity. These modules have been subsequently tested in 12 classes of 7 primary and lower-secondary schools during the school year 2011-2012. In Tab. 9-24 below a summary of themes, goals and activities planned within the three modules, tested by all the participants of the training course, is provided:

THEMES	GOALS	ACTIVITIES
Getting to know the “languages of the school” and the “languages of the local community”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To arouse pupils’ curiosity towards the language diversity characterizing their everyday-life context • To provide teachers with basic references to web resources and books concerning the languages of the world 	Interviewing school-friends; observation and documentation of the “linguistic landscape” of the town where pupils live; collection of multilingual texts
Plurilingualism in pupils’ and families’ histories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To help pupils’ reflect upon the complexity of individual and family linguistic repertoires; • To attract pupils’ attention towards the “multifunctionality” of the linguistic resources available to every speaker; • To help pupils consider (internal or international) migration as an occasion of enrichment of the individual and collective linguistic repertoire. 	Interviews with parents and relatives; “linguistic biographies” of family members; linguistic-genealogical trees; role-playing

Tab. 9-24: MERIDIUM teaching modules tested in 7 primary and lower-secondary schools (school year 2011-2012) under the supervision of the research unit of the University for Foreigners of Perugia

²⁷ See, especially, the multilingual brochure *Babel and languages*, Appendix C (this volume).

THEMES	GOALS	ACTIVITIES
How languages are learned	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To draw pupils' attention towards language learning strategies; • To stimulate reflection upon similarities and differences between different languages 	Role-playing; "comprehension team contests" (by means of videos or cartoons in all the languages of the school); translation exercises on simple sentences

Tab. 9-24 (cont.): MERIDIUM teaching modules tested in 7 primary and lower-secondary schools (school year 2011-2012) under the supervision of the research unit of the University for Foreigners of Perugia

While a detailed report of this experience is still in preparation (Scaglione and Tusini, forthcoming), it is safe to say that this initiative has been warmly welcomed both by teachers, by pupils and by their families. The extracts quoted below are drawn from the "MERIDIUM register" of a fifth grade teacher after the end of the project:

Children have spontaneously inferred that bilingualism is an asset. At this age, they are perfectly capable of understand its importance, and they feel admiration for a class-friend who can speak, read and write in two languages. They also became aware of the fact that knowing a language means much more than simply attending curricular classes of a foreign or second language. [...]

Conclusions which pupils have come to at the end of the project reveal a deep enrichment not so much on the cognitive side, as on the emotional side, especially for children who can speak two languages and who sometimes, in their school career, experience difficulties. Becoming aware of their ability to do something that others are not able to do, such as speaking two languages, has increased their self-confidence. On the other hand, this project has provided children born in Italy from foreign-born parents the occasion to better appreciate the value of the different cultures with which they are in contact.²⁸

The class where this teacher works is composed of 19 pupils: 10 of them (8 born abroad and 2 born in Italy) have foreign-born parents, representing 7 different nationalities, while 9 pupils were born in Italy

²⁸ The author of the report is Monica Ercolanoni, a teacher currently serving at Primary School "E. Pestalozzi" (Perugia). The extracts have been translated from Italian by the author of this contribution.

from Italian parents. Below, some of their remarks about the project are quoted:

Thanks to this project, I understood the meaning of “bilingual”. “Bilingual” means that a child can speak more than one language, and I am one of them, as I can speak two languages: Italian and Romanian.
(Iulian, born in Romania of Romanian parents, arrived in Italy in 2004)

This project has allowed me to discover that, in the school I attend, bilingual children are more numerous than children who speak just one language.
(Filippo, born in Italy of Italian parents)

I have found out that I love my mother-tongue. For me, my mother-tongues are two: Italian and Albanian. I have understood that knowing two languages is very useful. I enjoyed this project very much.
(Giorgia, born in Italy of Albanian parents)
Thanks to this project, I have discovered languages I did not know and I found out that all languages are valuable.
(Leonardo, born in Italy of Italian parents)

This example of collaboration between teachers and researchers represents a tentative answer to a third issue which has emerged from the discussion with educational officials: the need that—possibly under the supervision of the Ministry of Education—schools and universities interact in a more systematic way, exchanging data and testing new strategies to promote positive attitudes towards plurilingualism and linguistic diversity.

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CHAPTER TEN

MIGRATION AND MULTILINGUALISM
IN SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONTEXTS
IN SPAIN

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The participation of our team from Universidad de Salamanca in the MERIDIUM Project is rooted in a protracted concern about the different topics regarding migration and multilingualism in Europe.

As contemporary literature scholars, we are particularly interested in exploring the impact of new literary, cultural and linguistic traditions on Spanish culture: at the University of Salamanca migrant literature is currently receiving great attention, as one of the most promising research areas within the field of literary studies. Consequently, taking part in the MERIDIUM project has given us the opportunity to consider migration and linguistic integration from a broader perspective, involving both educational and social dimensions.

10.1. Migration in the Past

The Spanish perspective about immigration has changed throughout history. We mainly perceive it today as a massive phenomenon, motivated by economic reasons, as it involves individuals in search of better prospects. This is quite a recent phenomenon in Spain, despite the fact that in the last years the country has received almost five million legal and illegal immigrants, whose level of integration and participation in the

different collective projects in Spain is quite controversial, if not widely contested by many sectors.

Traditionally, Spain has been an emigration country. The migratory flows from Spain after 1492 have been mostly to America and, since the Civil War, towards the most industrialized and rich countries in West Europe: France, Germany and Switzerland. Migrants were at first political exiles; later, they travelled as labour force. In contrast, during the 16th and 17th centuries, when the Spanish presence in Italy was intense, the interchange of scholars, soldiers, courtiers between both countries was abundant.

Political emigration during the 1936-1939 Civil War involved approximately 600,000 Spaniards. As Franco's troops were approaching the north of Spain and conquering Santander, Gijon, San Sebastian or Bilbao, between August 1936 and October 1937, the first massive evacuations of civil population and soldiers took place towards France. The first move involved about 150,000 Spaniards, with a second move in February 1938 and a final one between January and April 1939. The main destinations were France and Latin America, although many headed towards the USSR, including children. Some were deported to Germany, and the rest spread to Belgium, Netherlands and Great Britain. Many of these exiled started to acknowledge that their absence would last many years; they acquired a perspective which would enable them to overcome the disasters of the Civil War. Many understood diversity as the grounds for material and intellectual wealth.

In the 1950s people moved to Europe to work, in a historical period when the Franco regime accepted a gradual political opening. Then, thousands of people from central and southern Spain moved to Germany, France or Switzerland with the intention of returning as soon as they could. They often did not succeed.

The historical immigration to Spain was usually made up by courtiers, some teachers and writers, in the years of the Spanish Empire. During the 20th century it involved writers and artists from Latin America, such as Rubén Darío, Mario Vargas Llosa or Raul Rivero. Others came from Portugal, like José Saramago, apart from the very frequent interchange of population between Spain and Portugal along the bordering areas, known as *la raya*, or "the line".

10.2. Migration Today

This historical concept of Spanish migration radically changed towards the year 2000: Spain was no longer a country from which masses

emigrated and it transformed into a country which received an intense flow of immigration. This significant increase in the number of foreigners is outstanding: in the 2007 census, 9.7% of the residents were foreigners; in 2011, this figure increased to 14.1% out of a total population of 47.1 million. Immigrants have often settled in those areas in Spain where economy is more dynamic, especially in the sectors of housing, agriculture and tourism. Therefore, they are concentrated in Madrid, Catalonia, Valencia Region, Balearic Islands and Canary Islands.¹

It should also be said that there is a relatively important number of foreign residents in areas of the Mediterranean coast and on the islands. These cannot be considered “economic” immigrants, i.e. individuals searching for better jobs and economic security as many of them are pensioners from Great Britain, Germany, Italy or Switzerland; they have a high purchasing power and seek the benign weather, good prices and effective and cheap health services.

The following are the main characteristics of the most important foreign nationals’ groups.

As far as their origin is concerned, the 2011 census shows that in Spain there are 809,409 Romanians; 766,187 Moroccans; 478,894 from Ecuador; 392,577 Britons and 372,541 Colombians. Globally speaking, the highest rate of foreign nationals - 36.2% - comes from Latin America, 34.5% from the European Union, 14.8% from North Africa; 4.4% from Sub-Saharan countries; 2.7% from the Far East; 1.7% from the Indian Sub-continent; 0.7% from North America, and 0.5% from the Philippines. Only 0.5% hail from the rest of Asia and from Oceania and only 0.02% of these foreign nationals are stateless. They are mostly men, except those who come from Latin America, where women constitute 54% of the total.

Historical and cultural factors explain the origin of most immigrants and their adaptation in Spain: Latin American is clearly the most numerous, with 1,500,785 individuals, mostly from Ecuador, Colombia, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru and Brazil. The growth of the arrivals from this area started in 1998, at a rate of increase of 61% every year compared to previous figures. This led to an increase which can be quantified at 663% from 2000 until 2010. Since then, the flow decreased due to the recent deep economic crisis affecting Spain and other European nations. (Aubarrell, 2003; Consejo Económico y Social, 2004; Tornos, 2004)

The reasons for this outstanding growth of immigration from Latin America are due to different economic contexts found in each country.

¹ See the data of the Spanish National Institute of Statistics since 1996 (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística*, www.ine.es).

The main reason which causes a movement of population abroad is the lack of economic prospects. Political repression is also cited as one of the main reasons. It is relevant to consider too that the political situation in Spain has changed in the last twenty years, the Spanish economy has grown since the mid- Nineties and there are more permissive migratory policies and regularization processes, including the opening of the borders under the slogan *papeles para todos* (“papers for all”). Above all, there is a certain openness of the Spanish population towards the Latin American population, because of the historical, cultural and religious links with them, and especially because we share the same language. Finally, there is a decisive factor which encourages these immigrants to settle in Spain: the policies of family regrouping which have been promoted by different Spanish governments. Within this context it is relatively easy for a family to settle in Spain for a period of time or even for life, if adequate employment is found (Díaz Nicolás, 2005; Trinidad García, 2002).

An outstanding phenomenon, corroborated by the findings of our research within the MERIDIUM project, is represented by the fact that Latin American immigrants integrate very easily with the Spanish population. This is one of the reasons which explain why there is a high number of Latin American immigrants who do not regularize their position. At the beginning of 2005, before the regularization process, many individuals from America who had settled in Spain did not possess the authorization to reside legally (45%). This implies that they lacked civil rights, and were at risk of exclusion and exploitation.

One must also consider that women were the majority of this group: city councils registered a growth of 223% in the presence of Latin American women in the last ten years, although the tendency is moving towards parity in the number of male and female immigrants. The most convincing explanation for the presence of women is the active participation of Latin America women in the labour markets in their countries, and also their capacity to adapt to circumstances, and their willingness to accept domestic work of any kind. Usually these women reached Spain alone, and were often employed in domestic services. Nowadays, they are often required to take care of elderly people. Women tended to reach Spain first, and brought their husbands and children after them, helping them find a job.

The high demand of workers in the last decade in sectors like agriculture or construction required mostly men: Latin Americans are more frequently employed than nationals from other countries. There have been also active policies of Spanish governments to keep friendly ties between Spain and Latin America. For example, the Universidad de

Salamanca is frequented by more than 350 Latin American students, mostly with scholarships, especially from banking institutions like Banco Santander. Nevertheless, a growing number of Latin American young people who obtained a qualification in Spain and gained employment in Spanish companies (such as the Spain Telecommunication Company *Telefónica*), have returned to their country of origin because of the economic crisis. Some of them, however, keep their jobs thanks to telecommunication and information technologies.

Occupations of Latin American immigrants vary greatly. 67% are occupied in services, 8% in agriculture and 5% in industry. Most of them are found in unskilled jobs, not necessarily because their educational level is lower than that of Spanish nationals. Their experience and training are therefore wasted. This also leads to the stereotype of an unskilled worker, who is badly paid and does not have a professional future (Martínez Buján, 2003).

A large number of immigrants come from Africa, but they obviously have different characteristics from those hailing from Latin America. First of all, they are mostly Muslims, who constitute about 3% of the Spanish population. 70% are immigrants: 50% from Morocco, 20% from other countries namely Senegal, Nigeria, Algeria, Mali, Pakistan, Mauritania, Gambia and Guinea. Most of these immigrants are men, and work in agriculture or construction; women work mostly in restaurants and in domestic services. Their work is generally seasonal and precarious. Spaniards usually mistrust them, especially in the cities, where they live in closed communities. This attitude changes in rural areas, where African origin immigrants are better integrated and are well considered.

They have steadily been bringing their families with them, but their wives are not visible socially. Single women are very few, although this has been changing recently.

Muslims are mostly from Morocco. By 2010, in Spain there were 7,661,897 Moroccans, although real figures are probably higher than official ones. Historical relations with Morocco have alternated good and bad moments, determined, among other factors, by the Spanish colonization until the 20th century and by the Spanish presence in the cities of Ceuta and Melilla, which caused tension between the two countries, creating occasional conflict with the Moroccan monarchs. Many Moroccan immigrants reach Spain at the risk of their life crossing the Mediterranean Sea to reach the coasts in Andalusia or the Atlantic to the Canary Islands. Spanish institutions and companies have accepted them despite the previously mentioned lack of trust towards these immigrants.

For many reasons, immigrant Muslim population in Spain values highly the society where they are living. Muslims in Spain can practice their religion openly, in a tolerant environment. 83% say that they think they have adapted to the life and costumes of their place of residence. 74% say that Spain welcomes the immigrants; 67% declares they feel comfortable hear. Only 10% says they deal only with people of their nationality, and 15% only with people of their religion. They mostly speak well Spanish, and an important number also Catalan (Metroscopia-Gobierno de España, 2011).

The number of immigrants originating from East Europe has grown since 1989. They mostly work illegally. Those who are 'legal' range mostly between 25 and 44 years old. Numbers are similar for males and females, and they are generally employed in the services sector. Statistically, between 1998 and 2011, citizens from east Europe, whether they belong to the EU or not, constituted 25% of the foreign population in Spain. The most numerous are Romanian nationals, 280,409; Bulgarians 136,504, Polish 75,050 and small numbers of Ukrainians and Russians. The exemption of the visa for Bulgarians and Romanians as from 2002 meant a high growth of these two communities, especially because many illegal residents could have access to resident permits (Pajares, 2002, 2007; Viruela Martínez, 2004).

The perception in Spain of Eastern Europe immigrants is usually negative or, at least partially so, even though it varies depending on the place they live and the work they fulfil. They are well appreciated in agriculture, especially in Andalusia, Murcia or in Eastern Spain, due to the fact that they are hard and reliable workers. In other areas, they are discriminated, often unfairly, as they tend to be prejudicially associated to illegality.

Finally, one must mention the growing Chinese community. In Spain there are more than 100,000 people from China. Most of them —85%— come from the south. A special characteristic of this group is that they are both employers and employees. They operate in economic activities that are mostly handled by them alone; they deal preferably with people of their own community, and do not necessarily integrate with others. Nevertheless, Chinese immigrants of second generation speak Spanish well and often deal with non-Chinese people in their environment, although they remain faithful to their traditions and their traditional careers, especially Economics and Business Administration, which allow them work in the family business. They constitute an example of adaptation to the country without losing the links with their country of

origin. They still feel Chinese, and they work and earn money to live and to help their families in China (Beltrán, 2001, 2003).

The above considerations may be considered to be valid only until 2011 as immigration towards Spain is experiencing fast and unforeseeable transformations, also conditioned by the economic crisis which may lead to a decrease of the number of immigrants in Spain. As an example, according to the INE, in 2011 589,859 individuals left Spain, whereas 450,000 immigrants entered the country. It is thought that by 2020 the population will diminish significantly: from 46,152,925 to 45,585,572 in 2021. In any case, these are only predictions as recent history seems to back Giambattista Vico's opinions about the development of history through *corsi* and *ricorsi*, and what today seems totally consolidated may fall tomorrow to be built the day after.

10.3. The MERIDIUM Research in Spain

The methodological design of the MERIDIUM research in Spain is based on data collection from 12 different Educational Centers of the Spanish cities that have been selected in 6 regions of the country.

Questionnaires were administered in 12 Spanish provinces (Madrid, Valencia, Huelva, Almería, Murcia, Gran Canaria, Pontevedra, Gijón, Oviedo, Burgos, Segovia and Salamanca), and provided the basis of a descriptive quantitative analysis. Informants are children from 9 to 11 years old, who filled in the questionnaires in their classrooms, with the help of our staff and their school tutors (Questionnaire A). Each child took another questionnaire home to be filled in by their parents (Questionnaire B).

10.3.1. Socio-demographic Profile of Informants

A total number of 713 questionnaires has been collected: 429 are those filled in by pupils, while 284 are those filled in by parents².

The pupils' sample is perfectly even from the point of view of gender: 214 informants are males and 214 are females³. Among them, 348 (81.1%) were born in Spain, while 81 (18.9%) were born abroad: 20 (4.7%) were

² As one may observe, a remarkable number of parents did not complete the questionnaire. According to school directors and teachers, this is due to the fact that parents felt that this was an intrusion in their private life or did not feel that they were duty bound to provide the information being requested.

³ In one case, the informant did not respond the question on gender.

born in Europe, 52 (12.1%) in South America, 5 (1.2%) in Asia and in the Middle- East, and 4 (0.9%) in African Countries.

Tab. 10-1 displays the distribution of pupils also in terms of their background (parents' birthplace):

CATEGORY OF PUPILS	N	%
Native-born with native background	293	70.3
Native-born with mixed background	36	8.6
Native-born with foreign background	8	1.9
Foreign-born with native background	2	0.5
Foreign-born with mixed background	6	1.4
Foreign-born with foreign background	72	17.3
Information not provided ⁴	12	2.8
TOTAL	429	100.0

Tab. 10-1: Pupils' sample: pupil's and parent's birthplace-disaggregated data

The 284 adult respondents are distributed as follows (Tab. 10-2 below) as to birthplace and gender⁵:

INFORMANT BIRTHPLACE		MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
native-born	N	55	157	212
	%	19.5	55.7	75.2
foreign-born	N	24	46	70
	%	8.5	16.3	24.8
TOTAL	N	79	203	282
	%	28.0	72.0	100.0

Tab. 10-2: Parents' sample: cross-tabulation of data concerning birthplace and gender

The age distribution is quite different among native-born and foreign-born parents (see Tab. 10-3):

⁴ 12 informants did not respond to the question concerning their parents' birthplace.

⁵ In Tab. 10-2 total respondents are 282 since 2 informants did not respond the question on birthplace

AGE BRACKET	PARENTS BY BIRTHPLACE:			
	native-born		foreign-born	
	N	%	N	% ⁶
<30	5	2.4	5	(7.1)
30-39	58	27.4	33	(47.1)
40-49	130	61.3	30	(42.9)
50 or more	14	6.6	2	(2.9)
No answer	5	2.4	0	-
TOTAL	212	100.0	70	(100.0)

Tab. 10-3: Parents' age distribution: birthplace-disaggregated data

The composition of the family unit reflects the variety of family models found in Spain; the significant numbers of respondents living with the extended family may reflect, in part, lodging arrangements brought by the current economic crisis:

FAMILY STRUCTURE	PARENTS BY BIRTHPLACE:			
	native-born		foreign-born	
	N	%	N	%
Monoparental family	23	10.8	5	(7.1)
Nuclear family	164	77.4	49	(70.0)
Extended family	25	11.8	16	(22.9)
TOTAL	212	100.0	70	(100.0)

Tab. 10-4: Family structure as self-reported by parents: birthplace-disaggregated data

The occupational situation of pupils' parents, as self-reported by adults informants, is shown in Tab. 10-5:

⁶ In tables where cases do not reach the sum of 100, percentages are listed within brackets.

OCCUPATIONAL SITUATION OF PUPILS' PARENTS	PARENTS BY BIRTHPLACE:			
	native-born		foreign-born	
	N	%	N	%
both spouses unemployed	18	8.5	8	(11.4)
one spouse working	76	35.8	32	(45.7)
both spouses working	117	55.2	30	(42.9)
Information not provided	1	0.5	0	-
TOTAL	212	100.0	70	(100.0)

Tab. 10-5: Occupational situation of adults informants and their spouses: birthplace-disaggregated data

10.3.2. Socio-linguistic Profile and Self-ascription of Informants

If we analyze language use within the different domains (within and outside the family circle), as self-reported by children, we observe that, within the whole sample, Spanish is used with all the interlocutors by 90% or more of the informants: monolingual uses largely prevail, whilst alternation with other languages is virtually absent.

Pupils' background-related differences are displayed in Tabs. 10-6a-c (family domain) and Tabs. 10-7a-c (extra-familiar domain), where a subset of informants who have provided valid answers for each category of interlocutors (232 out of 429) is analysed:

LANGUAGE USE OF PUPILS WITH NATIVE BACKGROUND	WHEN TALKING TO: (N AND %)			
	grandpar.	mother	father	siblings
only languages different from Spanish	0	2	4	7
	-	1.2	2.4	4.2
Spanish and other languages	1	4	2	8
	0.6	2.4	1.2	4.8
only (varieties of) Spanish or regional languages	164	159	159	150
	99.4	96.4	96.4	90.9
TOTAL	165	165	165	165
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Tab. 10-6a: Language use of pupils with native background within the family domain

LANGUAGE USE OF PUPILS WITH MIXED BACKGROUND	WHEN TALKING TO: (N AND %)			
	grandpar.	mother	father	siblings
only languages different from Spanish	1 (5.0)	2 (10.0)	0 -	3 (15.0)
Spanish and other languages	2 (10.0)	1 (5.0)	1 (5.0)	2 (10.0)
only (varieties of) Spanish or regional languages	17 (85.0)	17 (85.0%)	19 (95.0)	15 (75.0)
TOTAL	20 (100.0)	20 (100.0)	20 (100.0)	20 (100.0)

Tab. 10-6b: Language use of pupils with mixed background within the family domain

LANGUAGE USE OF PUPILS WITH FOREIGN BACKGROUND	WHEN TALKING TO: (N AND %)			
	grandpar.	mother	father	siblings
only languages different from Spanish	21 (50.0)	18 (42.9)	16 (38.1)	13 (31.0)
Spanish and other languages	1 (2.4)	3 (7.1)	2 (4.8)	4 (9.5)
only (varieties of) Spanish or regional languages	20 (47.6)	21 (50.0)	24 (57.1)	25 (59.5)
TOTAL	42 (100.0)	42 (100.0)	42 (100.0)	42 (100.0)

Tab. 10-6c: Language use of pupils with foreign background within the family domain

LANGUAGE USE OF PUPILS WITH NATIVE BACKGROUND	WHEN TALKING TO: (N AND %)			
	friends	neighbs.	classmats.	teachers
only languages different from Spanish	3 <i>1.8</i>	2 <i>1.2</i>	3 <i>1.8</i>	7 <i>4.2</i>
Spanish and other languages	7 <i>4.2</i>	1 <i>0.6</i>	15 <i>9.1</i>	27 <i>16.4</i>
only (varieties of) Spanish or regional languages	155 <i>93.9</i>	162 <i>98.2</i>	147 <i>89.1</i>	131 <i>79.4</i>
TOTAL	165 <i>100.0</i>	165 <i>100.0</i>	165 <i>100.0</i>	165 <i>100.0</i>

Tab. 10-7a: Language use of pupils with native background outside the family domain

LANGUAGE USE OF PUPILS WITH MIXED BACKGROUND	WHEN TALKING TO: (N AND %)			
	friends	neighbs.	classmats.	teachers
only languages different from Spanish	0 -	0 -	0 -	0 -
Spanish and other languages	2 <i>(10.0)</i>	1 <i>(5.0)</i>	1 <i>(5.0)</i>	3 <i>(15.0)</i>
only (varieties of) Spanish or regional languages	18 <i>(90.0)</i>	19 <i>(95.0)</i>	19 <i>(95.0)</i>	17 <i>(85.0)</i>
TOTAL	20 <i>(100.0)</i>	20 <i>(100.0)</i>	20 <i>(100.0)</i>	20 <i>(100.0)</i>

Tab. 10-7b: Language use of pupils with mixed background outside the family domain

LANGUAGE USE OF PUPILS WITH FOREIGN BACKGROUND	WHEN TALKING TO: (N AND %)			
	friends	neighbs.	classmats.	teachers
only languages different from Spanish	2 (4.8)	2 (4.8)	0 -	0 -
Spanish and other languages	3 (7.1)	1 (2.4)	1 (2.4)	0 -
only (varieties of) Spanish or regional languages	37 (88.1)	39 (92.9)	41 (97.6)	42 (100.0)
TOTAL	42 (100.0)	42 (100.0)	42 (100.0)	42 (100.0)

Tab. 10-7c: Language use of pupils with foreign background outside the family domain

Similar results are obtained if parents' data are taken into consideration, as shown in Tabs. 10-8a-b below, where a sub-set of 229 (out of 284) parents who have provided valid answers to relevant questions are analysed:

LANGUAGE USE OF NATIVE PARENTS	WHEN TALKING TO: (N AND %)				
	partner	children	friends	neighbs.	collgs.
only languages different from Spanish	0 -	2 1.1	0 -	0 -	2 1.1
Spanish and other languages	4 2.3	11 6.3	4 2.3	0 -	4 2.3
only (varieties of) Spanish or regional languages	171 97.7	162 92.6	171 97.7	175 100.0	169 96.6
TOTAL	175 100.0	175 100.0	175 100.0	175 100.0	175 100.0

Tab. 10-8a: Language use of native-born parents within and outside the family domain

LANGUAGE USE OF FOREIGN PARENTS	WHEN TALKING TO: (N AND %)				
	partner	children	friends	neighbs.	collgs.
only languages different from Spanish	14 (25.9)	9 (16.7)	5 (9.3)	1 (1.9)	0 -
Spanish and other languages	3 (5.6)	8 (14.8)	8 (14.8)	3 (5.6)	4 (7.4)
only (varieties of) Spanish or regional languages	37 (68.5)	37 (68.5)	41 (75.9)	50 (92.6)	50 (92.6)
TOTAL	54 (100.0)	54 (100.0)	54 (100.0)	54 (100.0)	54 (100.0)

Tab. 10-8b: Language use of foreign-born parents within and outside the family domain

Answers provided by pupils about their sense of belonging to social groups (their class, town of residence, Spain) display, on the whole, a general feeling of positive integration: percentages of positive answers are always around 85% or higher. When we disaggregate data by pupils' background, and consider the sub-set of 232 pupils whose language use has been analysed above, the following results are obtained (see Tabs. 10-9a-c below):

OPTIONS	"HOW MUCH DO YOU FEEL PART OF YOUR..?": (N AND %)		
	class	town of residence	country of residence
Very much/just enough	151 91.5	153 92.7	162 98.2
A little bit/not at all	8 4.8	7 4.2	2 1.2
Don't know/no answer	6 3.6	5 3.0	1 0.6
TOTAL	165 100.0	165 100.0	165 100.0

Tab. 10-9a: Sense of belonging of pupils with native background to their class, town of residence, country of residence

OPTIONS	“HOW MUCH DO YOU FEEL PART OF YOUR..”: (N AND %)		
	class	town of residence	country of residence
Very much/just enough	17 (85.0)	15 (75.0)	18 (90.0)
A little bit/not at all	3 (5.0)	5 (25.0)	1 (5.0)
Don't know/no answer	0 -	0 -	1 (5.0)
TOTAL	20 (100.0)	20 (100.0)	20 (100.0)

Tab. 10-9b: Sense of belonging of pupils with mixed background to their class, town of residence, country of residence

OPTIONS	“HOW MUCH DO YOU FEEL PART OF YOUR..”: (N AND %)		
	class	town of residence	country of residence
Very much/just enough	33 (78.6)	32 (76.2)	24 (57.1)
A little bit/not at all	7 (16.7)	7 (16.7)	17 (40.5)
Don't know/no answer	2 (4.8)	3 (7.1)	1 (2.4)
TOTAL	42 (100.0)	42 (100.0)	42 (100.0)

Tab. 10-9c: Sense of belonging of pupils with foreign background to their class, town of residence, country of residence

These results suggest that the sense of belonging of pupils is globally very positive, even though the allegiance to the country of residence is felt by pupils with foreign background to a remarkably lower extent than the allegiance to their school-class and to the town where they live. In this respect, it must be taken into account that, for the most part, these pupils were born abroad (36 out of 42).

Children's data may be compared to those of the adults' sub-set previously analysed, which are displayed in Tabs. 10-10a-b:

OPTIONS	“HOW MUCH DO YOU FEEL PART OF YOUR..”: (N AND %)	
	town of residence	country of residence
Very much/just enough	133 76.0	169 96.6
A little bit/not at all	34 19.4	6 3.4
Don't know/no answer	8 4.6	0 -
TOTAL	175 100.0	175 100.0

Tab. 10-10a: Sense of belonging of native-born parents to their town of residence and country of residence

OPTIONS	“HOW MUCH DO YOU FEEL PART OF YOUR..”: (N AND %)	
	town of residence	country of residence
Very much/just enough	41 (75.9)	37 (68.5)
A little bit/not at all	9 (16.7)	14 (25.9)
Don't know/no answer	4 (7.4)	3 (5.6)
TOTAL	54 (100.0)	54 (100.0)

Tab. 10-10b: Sense of belonging of foreign-born parents to their town of residence and country of residence

In terms of sense of belonging to particular groups (town of residence, country of residence) the results are similar to those found in both data (children and adults): a high identification with the family group and the country of residence. However, foreign-born respondents seem to have a high sense of belonging to the town of residence (75.9%) whereas native-born parents have a high sense of belonging to the country of residence (96.6%). In the case of children with mixed background and children with foreign background there is a higher sense of belonging to one's school-

class rather than to the country or town of residence (see Tabs. 10-9a-c and contrast with Tabs. 10-10a-b).

The linguistic situation observed within the MERIDIUM samples reveals a generalized knowledge of Spanish, which prevails in use, although it must be taken into account that what many foreign-born informants name as “Spanish” is not the standard variety, but the variety of Spanish spoken in Latin American countries. This diffuse situation of contact between varieties which are remarkably different from each other in many respects is worth investigating further, in order to study its possible impact on the local varieties of Spanish spoken by native-born speakers (mainly young people) in areas where relevant Latin American communities are settled, as well as, more specifically, on the learner varieties of Spanish characterizing immigrants who are native speakers of other languages.

The densest demographic groups of non-Spanish speakers are from Morocco, Romania, Bulgaria and China. There are therefore four major groups of immigrants who speak languages that belong to different families and/or branches (Semitic branch of Afro-Asiatic languages, Romance and Slavic branches of Indo-European languages, Chinese branch of Sino-Tibetan languages). This favours the use of Spanish in interethnic communication, in spite of the difficulties which native speakers of typologically diverse languages may experience in order to learn Spanish.

On the other hand, the linguistic heterogeneity of Spain has always allowed the use of other languages in areas where socioeconomic conditions have led to settlements of specific populations that do not speak Spanish. This happens, for instance, in the community of North-Europeans or Scandinavians in Balearic Islands, the Costa del Sol or the Canary Islands where communities have formed mainly due to tourism or retirement reasons. Furthermore, we must also take into account the dialect continuum⁷ of some monolingual areas such as Andalucía, Extremadura, Murcia and the Canary Islands (communities represented in the MERIDIUM study).

Social integration is influenced by the linguistic abilities of the immigrant population as these abilities are used in order to acquire social

⁷ This dialect continuum, namely the way a linguistic system makes itself manifest within the geographical area where it is spoken, is evident in the questionnaires filled in by children, in whose writings we find phonetic representations (i.e. they spell according to the way they perceive sounds) according to dialects of their place of birth. This, as stated above, is especially evident in some specific localities.

and cultural knowledge. Immigrants improve the possibilities of integration when they become reasonably proficient in the official language of the country of residence, with its styles and registers; this kind of knowledge enables them to participate in more complex communicative situations.

Therefore, sociolinguistic research on immigration in Spain should be further promoted, as one of the main sources of knowledge on the issue of integration of migrants, together with research on demography, sociology and economy. Within these fields, a notable amount of documents and reports about immigration in Spain has been published in recent years. On the other hand, statistics published by the National Institute of Statistics (www.ine.es), as well as web pages dedicated to migrants on the websites of different institutions of the Autonomous Communities of Spain (for instance the portal of integration and coexistence “*InmigraMadrid*”⁸ or “*Salamanca Acoge*”⁹), or the Ministry of Employment and Social Security (www.mtin.es), are a good indication of the attention paid to the issue of integration by the most prominent public institutions in Spain.

10.4. Migration and Schooling

The concept of citizenship has become important in Spain, and it has also changed over the course of time, extending its meaning beyond the remit of monolingualism or monoculturalism to “multicultural citizenship”. This suggests reconciling the political promotion of diversity and cultural autonomy with integration in an egalitarian system (similar examples of this are found in countries such as Australia, Canada, Sweden and the Netherlands). Despite the demographic increase in Spain, immigration rate is not as high as it is in countries such as Germany, the Netherlands, France or the United Kingdom, although it has grown considerably in the last two years.

Nonetheless, this growth has led to a situation where one finds many educational institutions where the percentage of foreign alumni exceeds that of the Spanish ones (examples of this are found in Lleida, the Canary Islands and Andalucia). This is fundamentally due to two reasons: firstly, obligatory schooling for immigrants, who therefore also have access to education. Secondly, the increased numbers of immigrants over the past

⁸ See the website

www.madrid.org/cs/Satellite?pagename=PortalInmigrante/Page/INMI_home&language=en, accessed September 26, 2012.

⁹ See the website <http://www.redvoluntariadosocial.org/entidades/salamanca-acoge/>, accessed September 26, 2012.

years, which has led to classrooms with children that come from an endless variety of countries and cultures.

We must try to perceive *interculturalism* beyond the *multicultural* perspective, as it establishes a positive approach and a relationship model between cultures. Moreover, by considering cultural interaction as an educational issue it becomes essential to understand that intercultural education also ought to be given space in the curriculum, as hinted in a number of contributions to the MERIDIUM Project.

Students with socio-cultural disadvantages or pertaining to ethnic minorities frequently present interpersonal conflicts related to the existence of stereotypes and negative attitudes towards them. In this context, it is essential to foster responsibility and respect in order to develop a non-discriminatory education guided towards social justice and thereby creating possibilities of self-realization. One must keep in mind that educational institutions should not only consider these issues, but also create the opportunity for pupils to have different learning experiences which also take into account one's personal background.

Spanish schools undertake actions to involve migrants adequately in the process of learning and teaching. Hence, the educational initiative "Educational Compensation" (*Educación Compensatoria*), the main objective of which is that of family involvement in schooling projects in order to:

- lessen differences concerning values and contents that school and families transmit;
- secure family support in school projects;
- reduce feelings of low self-esteem which may be the result of being born in a disadvantaged family;
- contribute to favour families' esteem towards the school.

The access to higher level of education is the key to integration and social promotion; it is well known that formation is a fundamental element in order to combat social and economic exclusion. Hence, providing education to immigrants' children must be a priority. We are concerned that in some cases immigrants leave schooling at a very early stage, not so much because of cultural prejudices but rather because they do not consider it to be a possibility of social and economic improvement.

Education, however, does not solely include the schooling context, as the social dimension of schools, as well as its effect on each and every individual, even once school-years are over, is important. It would obviously be a serious mistake if one were to concentrate solely on schools, and on lessons held during school hours, to eradicate immigration

problems. Complementary and extracurricular activities that encourage immigrant children and teenagers' to participate in leisure activities and in other non-formal environments, together with Spanish-born children, should be a priority as this can lead to better integration even in the long term. In addition, the establishment of mechanisms in order to create relationships between families and schools is also needed. In other words, intervention is needed, not only on behalf of schooling staff, but also through professional and social workers' intervention (López Sala, 2005).

School represents a microcosm of society and hence must strive to foster the existence of other languages and cultures. At the same time opportunities for the acquisition of the Spanish language should be created, thus facilitating communication and thereby enhancing the possibility of social integration of non-national students. In the schools surveyed, children start learning the language by developing their speaking skills. By using vocabulary which is often used in everyday life and based on students' interests, teaching is reinforced by means of systematic learning based on frequency of use of words and commonplace expressions, and through the employment of resources (visual, technology enhanced learning, using media, etc.). In each situation we have observed the introduction of content which matched the students' needs according to the situation which was present in the classroom. At a later stage more complex linguistic structures were taught in class. According to progress registered by students, especially in their use of vocabulary and grammar, reading and writing lessons were subsequently introduced, also on the basis of the level of competence of students and of their native tongue. The evaluation of students included both the formative aspect, that includes decision-making and redirection of processes, and the summative aspect, by means of which pupils' performance was examined.

10.5. Conclusion

The descriptive data presented here show a new landscape of Spain. Immigration in Spain has been brought about by economic or labour reasons; this has created new social complexities and a new sociolinguistic scenario for Spain in the last two decades. This type of immigration, coming from developing or underdeveloped countries, mainly seeks to improve quality of life. Of the total foreign population in the electoral register, up to the 1st January 2010, almost 80% come from Latin-American countries, Eastern countries or North-African countries.

In Spain, economic immigration has evolved in such a way that what in 1998 represented approximately 0.9% of the total population, nowadays

represents almost 9%. This noticeable growth has been increasing since 2000 at an accelerated rate.

It should be noted that this accelerated growth rate has not been homogenous throughout Spanish territory. For instance, amongst all the autonomous communities, Madrid on its own registers 21% of economic immigration on a national scale, which represents 626,249 individuals. In fact, in the Madrid region 9 out of 10 foreigners are originally from underdeveloped or developing countries. (Lucas, 2002)

This research has illustrated some aspects of multiculturalism and multilingualism in a selected number of Spanish Primary schools. Results reveal the importance of educational institutions in the process of teaching and learning of the immigrant population. The importance of creating more awareness towards diversity and of creating opportunities for further integration has also been highlighted, together with the necessity to involve both students and their parents in this process.

This could help to move away from stereotypes as cultural integration is not only enriching, but also has implications on the development of society.

We believe that the task of the educational institutions is fundamental together with the implementation of multicultural policies that could stretch beyond schooling thereby permeating society. An early exposition to cultural diversity and tolerance are also considered to be fundamental for the social and linguistic integration of the immigrant population in Spain.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

MULTILINGUALISM AND IMMIGRATION IN THE PORTUGUESE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

MARIA ISABEL TOMÁS

The profound socioeconomic changes of the second half of the 20th century led to the alteration of Portugal's traditional status as a supplier of emigrants to numerous countries in several continents. Portugal became, from the 1990s to the present, an immigration destination. The sharp ethno-cultural homogeneity and strong linguistic unity which have characterized European Portugal for centuries are no longer defining traits of the Portuguese landscape. But immigration is not the only external flow in the last few decades: emigration, emigrant return and returnees from former colonies have also played a role in the building up of super diversity in Portugal, cultural complexity and heterogeneity which is characteristic of most European countries as a consequence of the recent migrant flows (Vertovec, 2006; 2007). Linguistic and cultural diversity is a daily visible trait: in the streets, at the working place and, in particular, in schools, given the increasing immigration flows into the country.

The research conducted within the framework of the MERIDIUM project had, as two of its main goals, to investigate the level of awareness of (and the attitudes towards) the presence of other languages in the everyday-life context (school, work, neighbourhood, sociability networks) among both the local population and the migrants, children as well as their parents; to identify the level of perception of and the attitudes towards language and educational policies and their implementation at the local level. The data gathered will provide a “snapshot” of the growing linguistic diversity and its reflection on perceptions and attitudes towards the new linguistic landscape of each of the countries involved in the project. It also identifies perceptible trends which could later be explored and confirmed by further qualitative and quantitative studies, which may contribute to the definition and implementation of educational policies and integration measures at institutional levels, both locally and nationally.

In the following sections of this chapter an overview of the immigration phenomenon in Portugal during the last decade will be presented, followed by a description of the research study from which we draw our data. The main section will be dedicated to the analysis of the data obtained both from children and adult respondents. The relevant findings and the directions for further research will be discussed in the last sections.

11.1. Immigration in Portugal Today

Foreign population holding a residency permit by December 31st 2009¹ amounted to 454,191 individuals, a value which represents a 3.1 increase as compared to the 2008 figures. The increasing migratory flows into the country have been the major component in the country's population increase since 1993, compensating for the decreasing birth rate and contributing to the attenuation of the sharp ageing of the Portuguese population. Statistical estimates for 2009 point to an overall population of 10,637,700², an increase of 10,500 residents, as compared to the estimates for 2008.

According to SEF (*Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras*) estimates for 2009, the majority of immigrant citizens still come from African Countries with Portuguese as Official Language (PALOPs), representing 24% of the overall immigrant population, in spite of the sharp decrease observed in the last few years. In 2001, they represented 45.28%.

European immigrants (39.1% in 2009) exhibited a 6.3% increase compared to 2008, due to the substantial increase in the flows coming from Eastern European countries, particularly from Ukraine (11.6%), Romania (7.2%), Moldavia (4.6%) and Russia (1.4%). Two findings exemplify this trend: in 2009, Romania surpassed the United Kingdom as the most numerous group as far as EU Member States are concerned; Ukraine surpassed Cape Verde as the second most numerous nationality.

Brazil accounted for 25.6% of the foreign legal population in 2009, a 34.3% increase in relation to 2001. Brazil and PALOPs together, stand for 47% of the immigrant population.

¹ Residency permits and prorogations granted by SEF.

² The figures for the 2011 Census have not yet been published. All the statistical data referred to in this paper come from the latest available (2009) official estimates provided by INE (*Instituto Nacional de Estatística*: http://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpgid=ine_main&xpid=INE) and SEF (<http://sefstat.sef.pt>).

The vast majority of immigrants are concentrated in the age groups which are normally associated to working life: 48% in the 20-39 age group (218,060 immigrants), 31.48% in the 40-60 age group.

Data concerning immigrant sex distribution display an increase in female immigrant numbers, both due to family regrouping policies and to the increase of female immigrants in the labour market. Of the total legal foreign population in 2009, 51.6% were males, while female immigrants represented, in the same year, 48.4% of the immigrant total, compared to 56.2% (males) and 43.8% (females) in 2001.

Immigrants are concentrated predominantly in the coastal areas, particularly in the districts of Lisbon (196,798), Faro (73,277) and Setúbal (49,309), areas where a significant share of national economic activities are located. The joint immigrant population of these three districts amounts to 70.3% (319,384) of a total of 454,191 immigrants in 2009.

11.1.1. Policies and Measures Related to the Migratory Phenomenon

Portuguese national policies, and their implementation³, regarding immigration have tried to respond to the increasing social complexity and challenges posed by the migratory flows in the last few decades. The latest evaluation by the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) 2011 (which compares national policies of the EU States, Norway, Switzerland, Canada and the USA) has ranked Portugal second, following Sweden (MIPEX 2011).

In the public school system, measures such as the offer of Portuguese classes for non-native students (PLNM) continue to be implemented in some schools. A few schools have developed specific projects on Intercultural Awareness.

Support and Integrative Policies are defined at national level. Regional and local implementation and management of measures and projects are the responsibility of local and regional administrative entities (Municipalities, Parish Councils, Regional Boards of Education, Schools, etc.), often in partnership with civil society organizations (Immigrant Associations, NGOs, churches, etc.). Municipalities in territories with high concentration of migrants have taken steps to promote economic and social integration

³ For a comprehensive listing of Government bodies, policy papers and programs, key legislation, research and statistical agencies, key stakeholders, etc., consult http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/en/info_sheet.cfm?ID_CSHEET=60, accessed September 26, 2012.

of these citizens, namely through the creation of Local Centers for Immigrant Assistance and Integration (CLAII).

11.2. The MERIDIUM Survey in Portugal

The sociolinguistic survey conducted by the Portuguese MERIDIUM team was based on the data from 632 paired questionnaires (316 adults and 316 children), that were designed as common frameworks for all the six countries involved. They were administered to 5th grade students in six public primary schools, in the three areas⁴ designated for the study: districts of Lisbon, Setúbal and Faro, all of them areas of higher immigration density. The adult questionnaires were distributed to their parents. The specific urban centres chosen within those areas reflect the dynamics observed in migratory flows within the respective district. In each municipality the schools with larger contingents of foreign students were identified and contacted. Questionnaires were distributed in those schools where school boards and teachers agreed to cooperate with the researchers.

11.2.1. Characterization of the Areas Chosen

The most recent statistic data available (SEF Provisional Data 2009) confirm the choice of the relevant areas for the sociolinguistic research undertaken by Portuguese team of the MERIDIUM Project: the Districts of Lisbon, Setúbal and Faro. These three areas have the highest migratory density in the country, a concentration which mirrors the increasing population movement to the coastal areas: in 28% of Portugal's European territory there is a concentration of 75% of its population (2001).

The MERIDIUM data on immigrant employment confirm the findings of Reis *et al.* (2007) for the whole country: the patterns of geographical concentration reflect, in each of the districts and municipalities selected for the study, the dynamics of the economic vocation of each particular location.

⁴ See MERIDIUM Country Report – Portugal (eng), p. 10-14 and the Portuguese longer version of the Report, p. 73-78, available at: <http://meridium.unistrapg.it/?q=en/country-report>, accessed September 26, 2012.

11.2.1.1. Lisbon District

Lisbon is (according to the data available for 2009) the Portuguese district with the highest number of immigrant residents: 196,798 legal foreign residents, reflecting its centrality in the country's economy. The municipalities with higher migratory concentration in this district are Lisbon, Amadora, Sintra, Cascais e Loures. Primary schools in three municipalities were selected to take part in the MERIDIUM sociolinguistic survey. These municipalities are representative of the diverse contexts we find in the district: two municipalities of medium size and strong immigrant concentration—Sintra and Amadora, and a medium size municipality—Mafra—with smaller but increasing concentration.

LOCALITY	YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	FOREIGN LEGAL RESIDENTS	
			Total	% of total population
Sintra	2001	363,556	23,470	6.5
	2009	419,382	39,897	9.5
Amadora	2001	175,872	12,511	7.1
	2009	181,774	19,994	10.9
Mafra	2001	54,358	1,808	3.0
	2009	64,217	4,394	7.0

Tab. 11-1: Demographic growth in Sintra, Amadora, Mafra (2001-2009). (Source: INE and SEF)

The Municipality of Sintra integrates the Lisbon Metropolitan Area and is served by road and train networks that facilitate a fast access to Lisbon. During the last few decades the Municipality has been under a strong urbanization pressure, due to the urban expansion in the region, determined by the growth of the tertiary sector in Lisbon, the population and housing saturation of the Municipality of Amadora, located closer to Lisbon along the same transportation networks that serve Sintra. Sintra has also been acquiring a significant number of new residents, attracted by the job market in some sectors of the local economy and the favorable housing prices.

The analysis of economic activity in Sintra indicates a growing weight of the tertiary sector, responsible for 70% of the employment, in contrast with less than 30% in the secondary sector, the primary sector showing only a residual value in the economy.

Sintra has also been characterized by a strong demographic increase during the last few decades. From 1991 to 2001, the population of Sintra grew by 39.3%, contrasting with a growth of 2.3% for the Greater Lisbon Area, 4.8% for the Lisbon and Tagus Valley statistic region and 4.6% for the whole country.

Most of the demographic growth may be attributed to the migratory flows.

The largest contribution in 2001 came from the European Countries, namely from EU Member States. In 2009 Cape Verde (55.6%) is the country with the highest number of resident nationals, followed closely by Brazil (20.4%). The group which aggregates nationals from PALOP countries is, by far, the most relevant (55.6% of the total). In second place, come Eastern European citizens (14.3%).

The second municipality studied in the MERIDIUM Project is Amadora. Its location in the periphery of the nation's capital had a direct influence on its demographic, economic and social structures: during the second half of the 20th century, the progressive development of transportation infrastructures that brought it closer to Lisbon and the industrial development that took place in the 1950s and 60s led to a strong demographic increase, influenced also by the attraction of low housing prices in a municipality so close to the center of economic activity—Lisbon. Amadora had, in 2001, one of the highest population densities of the country: 7,903/Km². Lisbon had, for the same period, a density of 1,410 inhabitants/Km².

Distribution by nationality of origin of immigrants in Amadora does not show, for 2009, any substantial change: the largest group still comes from PALOP countries (61%), with a majority from Cape Verde. Cape Verde nationals, however, have been replaced as the single most numerous community by Brazilian nationals (19%). Immigrants from Eastern European countries (7%) almost doubled in comparison to 2001 figures.

The Municipality of Mafra is located on the West coast of the country and integrates the periphery of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. It has a low population density and shows a trend towards a strong population increase, partly due to the migration flows, attracted by job opportunities in a municipality where the tertiary sector has an increasing predominance. In 2002 this sector represented 68% of the enterprises and 59% of the jobs.

The dynamics of recent migratory flows led to a substantial increase in the number of immigrant residents and to a change in the ranking by nationality. Citizens from European countries represent now only 4% of the total. Brazil is the country with the greatest number of nationals

(59.1%). Three Eastern European countries: Ukraine, Moldavia and Romania, together, rank third.

In the three municipalities studied (Sintra, Amadora and Mafra) local implementation of policies and measures, defined at the national level, is the responsibility of the local administrative institutions, namely the creation of CLAI Centers. Their mission is to support immigrant citizens in regularization procedures, to disseminate information on legislation, acquisition of Portuguese nationality, access to services (health, education, employment and professional training, etc.).

Some initiatives and projects are being developed by civil society institutions: Churches, NGOs and Immigrant Associations. Several different institutions (Churches, NGOs) also offer support and social services to the immigration communities.

The following table shows the type of services available to immigrants in these localities.

LOCALITY	CLAI CENTERS	MUNICIPAL PROJECTS	CIVIL SOCIETY PROJECTS
Sintra	yes (6)	yes	yes
Amadora	yes (3)	yes	yes
Mafra	yes (1)	yes	yes

Tab. 11-2: Integration and support measures in Sintra, Amadora and Mafra

11.2.1.2. Setúbal District

The Setúbal Peninsula is part of the Lisbon and Tagus Valley Region and has a population of 845,858 inhabitants, 797,111 of them residing in the Setúbal Peninsula. The most heavily populated municipality is Seixal (INE, 2007), followed by Almada and by Setúbal, the district capital, with 122,554 inhabitants.

The long coastal area of the district plays a decisive role in the economy, mainly through the weight of tourism: the Região de Turismo da Costa Azul covers the municipalities of Setúbal, Palmela, Sesimbra and Alcácer do Sal. Port installations in Setúbal and Sines are also relevant to the economy, attracting businesses and jobs. The primary sector (agriculture, fishing and wine production) has some weight in some municipalities. The industrial sector (cement and paper manufacture) is also present.

The district population represents 8% of the national population and has experienced a 20% increase in the last two decades, the second biggest

demographic expansion among all districts. The district has also shown, since the mid-1990s, a sharp increase in the number of immigrant residents: 15,985 in 1996, 20,214 in 2000, 41,637 in 2004 and 49,309 in 2009

According to SEF's Provisional data for 2009, Brazil takes first place (28%), followed by Cape Verde (18%). If we aggregate, however, the immigrants from the PALOP countries, they become the single most representative group (37.5%). Citizens from Eastern European countries (20.2%) come third, after Brazil. China, with 1,135 immigrants in this district, has contributed increasingly to the migratory flows in the country, especially in the urban centers. The school selected for the MERIDIUM survey is located in the Municipality of Setúbal.

The municipality of Setúbal, the district capital, with a heavy concentration of social facilities and services, attracts a significant number of immigrants.

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	FOREIGN LEGAL RESIDENTS	
		Total	% of total population
2001	113,934	3,850	3.4
2009	125,293	8,322	6.6

Tab. 11-3: Demographic growth in the Municipality of Setúbal (2001-2009). (Source: INE and SEF)

The migrant population in the Setúbal Municipality exhibits a somewhat different composition from that of other municipalities in the same district, with Brazilians occupying the first place in the ranking (42.9%). Eastern European citizens come second (23%), followed by citizens from PALOP countries (18%), a less numerous presence than in the overall district where they represent 37.5% of the total foreign population.

At the local level, the Municipality has been implementing political measures defined by the central government bodies: a CLAII Center, a Municipal Office (SEI) created in 2009 to provide specific information on employment, health, education, housing and culture, in Portuguese, Russian and Creole, a Cultural Center supported by the Municipality, for the use of the diverse ethnic and migrant communities, in a low income neighbourhood, the participation of Immigrant Associations in the *Local Council for Social Action (CLASS)*—a plenary body with deliberative powers. Civil Society institutions (NGOs and Associations) often form partnerships with official organisms to develop and implement projects and initiatives.

11.2.1.3. District of Faro

Faro District coincides in its totality with the province of Algarve. Its coastline is 150 kilometers long; its average population density is 80 inhabitants/Km². However, the population is concentrated in the high density territories on the coast, (Albufeira, Faro, Lagoa, Lagos, Olhão, Portimão and Vila Real de Santo António), where most of the economic activity is located; the low density municipalities in the mountainous interior (Serra) are characterized by an ageing and disperse population. The transition zone (Barrocal) provides agricultural products.

The tertiary sector (commerce and services) is the most relevant sector of the economy, as the main activity in the region —tourism— represents, directly and indirectly 60% of the jobs and 66% of the regional GDP. According to data supplied by Turismo de Portugal, the region welcomes close to 10 million visitors every year. Passengers in the Faro Airport in 2009 amount to almost five million. Global revenues from the tourist industry surpassed 500 million € in 2009 (29.3% of the overall hotel revenues in the country).

In 2009, the resident population totaled 430,084 people, an increase of 3,939 since 2008, and of 9.8% in terms of the population figures for 2001 (395,218). The relevant factor in this increase was most probably the increase in the migratory flows to the district, which showed a 0.9% crude rate of net migration as compared to the previous year.

The analysis of SEF's provisional data for 2009 shows that the dynamics observed in migratory flows in Portugal in recent years find a parallel in Faro District: where in the past migratory flows came predominantly from African countries, especially from the former Portuguese colonies, one nowadays sees a sharp increase in the flows coming from Brazil and from Central and Eastern European countries. China has seen its share in the composition of the migratory landscape increase significantly in recent years. The integration of immigrants in the regional job market comes as an answer to the needs of the regional economy, an economy driven by tourism. The immigrant population works mainly in the sub-sectors related to the tourism industry: hotels, restaurants, commerce, services and construction. The two schools chosen for the MERIDIUM sociolinguistic survey are located in the Municipality of Faro.

The Municipality of Faro is located on the coast, in the central area of the Algarve. In 2001, over 80% of the active population in the municipality was occupied in the tertiary sector: commerce, services, tourism industry, and real estate. The primary sector (agriculture, animal production and fishing) occupied just 3% of the population. The growth in

the sub-sectors of the tourism industry attracts increasing numbers of migrants to the Faro Municipality

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	FOREIGN LEGAL RESIDENTS	
		Total	% of total population
2001	58,081	3,134	5.8
2009	58,675	7,326	11.5

Tab. 11-4: Demographic growth in the Municipality of Faro (2001-2009). (Source: INE and SEF)

Eastern European countries rank first, with Ukraine surpassing Brazil as the single most represented nationality in Faro.

Reacting to the sharp increase in immigrant numbers, local administrative authorities have pursued the implementation of measures advocated in the national legislation and the political guidelines emanating from the state organisms in charge of immigrant integration and assistance: the establishment of a CLAI Center, the institution of a Protocol, signed by SEF and the Municipality, in order to provide assistance to immigrant citizens in the local Health Centers, the establishment of a Regional Health Observatory for immigrant citizens, the opening in 2009 of a CNAI (*Centro Nacional de Apoio ao Imigrante*) extension in Faro and the publication of a Resources Guide for the inclusion of immigrant citizens and distribution of informative leaflets on immigrant access to social services. Government agencies in Faro are involved in training programs targeting adult immigrants.

11.3. Data Analysis

11.3.1. Characterization of the Sample - Children

The data collected did not reveal noteworthy differences between regions, municipalities and schools. As such, we chose to describe and discuss the sample as a whole.

11.3.1.1. Socio-demographic Characterization

272 children (86.1% of the total sample) were born in Portugal and 44 children (13.9%) were born elsewhere. Of those children not born in the survey country, 12 (3.8%) were born in Europe; 16 (5.1%) in African countries and 16 (5.1%) in South America, in line with the overall

predominance of PALOP countries and Brazil in the current migration patterns observed in the country.

If we adopt a finer categorization of the student population, based on the birth country of the child and the birthplace of his/her parents (“background”)⁵, further discriminating among lusophone and non-lusophone countries, the following results are obtained:

BACKGROUND		PUPIL'S COUNTRY OF BIRTH (N)		TOTAL (N)
		Portugal	Other country	
Native background	Both parents from PT	194	1	195
Mixed background	One parent from PT and the other from a lusophone country	31	0	33
	One parent from PT and the other from a non-lusophone country	25	2	27
Foreign background	Both parents from foreign lusophone countries	9	30	39
	One parent from a lusophone country	3	1	4
	Both parents from non-lusophone countries	2	10	12
TOTAL		264	44	308
Information not provided		8	0	8
GRAND TOTAL		272	44	316

Tab. 11-5: Pupils by background and birth country

11.3.1.2. Sociolinguistic Characterization of the Sample⁶

When we examine the children's language use within and outside the family circle (see Tabs. 11-6a-c and 11-7a-c, p. 258 ff.)⁷, the data in the

⁵ See §7.3, Tab. 7-1, this volume.

⁶ Throughout the analysis specific questions in the Children's questionnaire will be referred to as AQ followed by the number of the question (ex. AQ10). Similarly, the questions in the Adult questionnaire will be coded as BQ...

⁷ In order to obtain complete comparability among the informants, only those who have provided valid answers for all the (categories of) interlocutors in each domain

sample exhibit predictable patterns: Portuguese is the language used mostly by children with native or mixed background (Nb/Mb), in every interactional context (with parents, siblings, grand-parents, schoolmates, friends, neighbours and teachers). Foreign-born children with foreign background (FFb) interact mainly in other languages with parents, siblings and grandparents, but use Portuguese in most interactions outside the family circle.

Native-born children with foreign background (NFb), though conforming to the pattern found outside home interactions, provide intriguing results in family interactions: Portuguese use in this domain is well above the figures for FFb children and very close to the results for children with partially or totally native background. The fact that immigration flows in Portugal have always had a strong component from lusophone countries may explain these results: the inclusion (Tab. 11-5 above) in this group of children from African countries with Portuguese as Official Language (PALOP), the ambiguity (for Brazilian children) of the label "Portuguese", covering both European and Brazilian Portuguese, children of returning Portuguese emigrants who may have Portuguese as the home language.

In interactions outside the family circle, the use of Portuguese is notably higher (in all domains of interaction) for this group than the figures found for foreign-born children with foreign background. Two factors, namely, the historical colonial connection of some of the countries of origin and emigrant return, relevant both for attitude and academic achievement studies in the Portuguese context, were not taken into account in this study. Further studies in these research areas should distinguish such aspects which influence family background status, as these could have an important impact on educational aspects.

Bilingualism in family interactions (mother, siblings and grandparents) is residual for children with native or mixed background (Nb/Mb) and more relevant for children with foreign background, with a higher incidence of the use of Portuguese in the group of those born in Portugal (NFb). The bilingual mode in Portuguese data is most probably linked to the ambiguity of the label "Portuguese" for Brazilian children (covering both European and Brazilian Portuguese), for some children born in or with a PALOP (African countries with Portuguese as Official Language) family background, and for children of returning Portuguese emigrants who may have Portuguese as the home language. A finer discrimination in

(or set of domains) will be taken into account (222 subjects out of 308 for the family domain and 300 subjects for interactions outside the family circle).

the categories is therefore required if we want to thoroughly understand bilingualism in the Portuguese student population.

INTERLOCUTOR	LANGUAGE USE (N AND %)			TOTAL
	Portuguese	Port. + other lg.	Other languages	
mother	166	12	2	180
	92.2	6.7	1.1	100.0
father	168	7	5	180
	93.3	3.9	2.8	100.0
siblings	171	6	3	180
	95.0	3.3	1.7	100.0
grandparents	174	4	2	180
	96.7	2.2	1.1	100.0

Tab. 11-6a: Language use in interactions within the family domain as self-reported by children with native and mixed background (Nb/Mb)

INTERLOCUTOR	LANGUAGE USE (N AND %) ⁸			TOTAL
	Portuguese	Port. + other lg.	Other languages	
mother	9	0	1	10
	(90.0)	-	(10.0)	(100.0)
father	9	1	0	10
	(90.0)	(10.0)	-	(100.0)
siblings	9	0	1	10
	(90.0)	-	(10.0)	(100.0)
grandparents	7	2	1	10
	(70.0)	(20.0)	(10.0)	(100.0)

Tab. 11-6b: Language use in interactions within the family domain as self-reported by native-born children with foreign background (NFb)

⁸ In tables where cases do not reach the sum of 100, percentages are listed within brackets.

INTERLOCUTOR	LANGUAGE USE (N AND %)			TOTAL
	Portuguese	Port. + other lg.	Other languages	
mother	6 (18.8)	6 (18.8)	20 (62.4)	32 (100.0)
father	6 (18.8)	6 (18.8)	20 (62.4)	32 (100.0)
siblings	9 (28.1)	4 (12.5)	19 (59.4)	32 (100.0)
grandparents	5 (15.6)	0 -	27 (84.4)	32 (100.0)

Tab. 11-6c: Language use in interactions within the family domain as self-reported by foreign-born children with foreign background (FFb)

INTERLOCUTOR	LANGUAGE USE (N AND %)			TOTAL
	Portuguese	Port. + other lg.	Other languages	
classmates	242 97.6	5 2.0	1 0.4	248 100.0
friends	237 95.6	8 3.2	3 1.2	248 100.0
neighbours	247 99.6	0 -	1 0.4	248 100.0
teachers	242 97.6	6 2.4	0 -	248 100.0

Tab. 11-7a: Language use in interactions outside the family domain as self-reported by children with native and mixed background (Nb/Mb)

INTERLOCUTOR	LANGUAGE USE (N AND %)			TOTAL
	Portuguese	Port. + other lg.	Other languages	
classmates	13 (92.9)	0 -	1 (7.1)	14 (100.0)
friends	11 (78.6)	2 (14.3)	1 (7.1)	14 (100.0)
neighbours	13 (92.9)	1 (7.1)	0 -	14 (100.0)
teachers	14 (100.0)	0 -	0 -	14 (100.0)

Tab. 11-7b: Language use in interactions outside the family domain as self-reported by native-born children with foreign background (NFb)

INTERLOCUTOR	LANGUAGE USE (N AND %)			TOTAL
	Portuguese	Port. + other lg.	Other languages	
classmates	27 (71.1)	9 (23.7)	2 (5.3)	38 (100.0)
friends	21 (55.3)	10 (26.3)	7 (18.4)	38 (100.0)
neighbours	30 (78.9)	5 (13.2)	3 (7.9)	38 (100.0)
teachers	34 (89.5)	1 (2.6)	3 (7.9)	38 (100.0)

Tab. 11-7c: Language use in interactions outside the family domain as self-reported by foreign-born children with foreign background (FFb)

11.3.1.3. Self-ascription and Sense of Belonging

When asked to define themselves using five adjectives⁹, children of all groups do not show significant differences in terms of description categories and Positive/Negative connotations of traits, even if native born children with foreign background (NFb) seem to differ slightly from the other two groups, a difference probably related to cultural differences.

Ethno-linguistic and religious terms were residual for all children though slightly higher for children with foreign background: 0.5% for children with native or mixed background (Nb/Mb), 1.7% for foreign born children with foreign background (FFb) and 2.7 % for native born children with foreign background (NFb).

When questioned about their sense of belonging and allegiance with social groups, national and transnational entities (their class, friends, town of residence, Portugal, Europe), answers in the three groups indicate a strong sense of identification with the smaller circles (family and socializing groups) and a predictable divergence in the figures related to the larger entities (see Tab. 11-8).

⁹ Data related to AQ10 “Who are you? Please use five words to represent yourself”

CATEGORY OF INFORMANTS	POSITIVE SENSE OF BELONGING ¹⁰ (N AND %) TO:				
	Class	Friends	Town	Portugal	Europe
Nb/Mb (255 respondents)	222 <i>87.1</i>	233 <i>91.4</i>	236 <i>92.5</i>	245 <i>96.1</i>	234 <i>91.8</i>
NFb (14 respondents)	10 <i>(71.4)</i>	12 <i>(85.7)</i>	11 <i>(78.6)</i>	10 <i>(71.4)</i>	12 <i>(85.7)</i>
FFb (39 respondents)	28 <i>(71.8)</i>	35 <i>(89.7)</i>	28 <i>(71.8)</i>	18 <i>(46.2)</i>	20 <i>(51.3)</i>

Tab. 11-8: Positive identification with groups as self-reported by children (AQ12-AQ16)

11.3.1.4. Attitudes toward Languages and Awareness of Linguistic Diversity

Children were questioned on language attitudes towards specific languages (Portuguese, language of origin and other languages). The data show some interesting results:

- A. A majority of children in the three groups consider their L1 to be as beautiful as other languages: 168 children with native or mixed background (66.1% of the category); 25 foreign-born children with foreign background (61.0% of the category); 7 native-born children with foreign background (50.0% of the category);
- B. Having relatives or parents who speak a language other than Portuguese is seen as positive by 104 children with native or mixed background (52.0%); 23 foreign-born children with foreign background (57.5%); 8 native-born children with foreign background (57.1%).

Awareness of surrounding linguistic diversity does not seem to be the same among the groups, with children having a foreign background revealing a higher awareness of diversity in their school: while only 93 children with native or mixed background (36.5%) report that in their school there are “many” or “quite a few” pupils who speak other languages besides Portuguese (AQ20), these options have been chosen by 24 foreign born children with foreign background (58.5%) and 6 native born children with foreign background (42.9%).

¹⁰ Questionnaire alternatives “very much” and “just enough” are aggregated for AQ12 to AQ16.

A similar distribution of frequencies can be observed also when pupils are asked how often they hear people speaking a language other than Portuguese in the town where they live (AQ22): also in this case, FFb and NFb are more aware of the linguistic diversity around them (56.1% and 64.3%, respectively) than children with native or mixed background (19.6%)

Attitudes towards diversity do not show striking differences in the three groups (see Tab. 11-9 below).

CATEGORY OF INFORMANTS	OPTIONS (N AND %)					
	Amused	Curious	Annoyed	Scared	I do not notice	I don't know
Nb/Mb (255 respondents)	39 <i>15.3</i>	169 <i>66.3</i>	10 <i>3.9</i>	4 <i>1.6</i>	11 <i>4.3</i>	22 <i>8.6</i>
NFb (14 respondents)	2 <i>(14.3)</i>	11 <i>(78.6)</i>	0 -	0 -	0 -	1 <i>(7.1)</i>
FFb (41 respondents)	6 <i>(14.6)</i>	21 <i>(51.2)</i>	1 <i>(2.4)</i>	1 <i>(2.4)</i>	7 <i>(17.1)</i>	5 <i>(12.2)</i>

Tab. 11-9: Children's attitudes towards diversity (AQ33) "How do you feel when you hear someone speaking a language other than Portuguese?"

11.3.2. Characterization of the Sample - Adults

11.3.2.1. Socio-demographic Characterization of the Sample

Among the 316 adult informants, women largely prevail (253, 80.1%), a pattern that reflects gender role assignment prevalent in the ethnic groups included in the sample: women who work at home and are child caretakers.

Age distribution was as expected, concentrated for both groups in the following age brackets:

- 1) 30-39 years: 113 Portuguese-born informants out of 228 (51.6%); 43 foreign-born informants out of 88 (49.4%);
- 2) 40-49 years: 79 Portuguese-born respondents (36.1%) and 37 foreign-born informants (49.4%).

When taking the country of origin into consideration, sample distribution reflected roughly the ethnic composition of the country for these age brackets: on the total sample, 228 informants were born in Portugal (72.2 %); 24 in other European countries (7.6 %); 17 in America (5.4%); 44 in Africa (13.9%); 1 in Asia/Middle East (0.3%); 2 in Australia (0.6%). Such a distribution mirrored the more relevant migration flows (PALOP countries, Eastern Europe, Brazil).

The composition of the family unit (see Tab. 11-10 below) reflected the variety of family models found throughout the country; the noteworthy numbers of respondents living with the extended family may reflect, in part, lodging arrangements brought about by the economic crisis.

INFORMANT'S COUNTRY OF BIRTH	TYPE OF FAMILY UNIT (N AND %)		
	monoparental	nuclear	extended
Portugal (221 respondents)	26 <i>11.8</i>	169 <i>76.4</i>	26 <i>11.8</i>
Other countries (82 respondents)	13 <i>(15.9)</i>	46 <i>(56.1)</i>	23 <i>(28.0)</i>

Tab. 11-10: Composition of adult informants' family units

Schooling figures (Tabs. 11-11a and 11-11b below) showed that the majority of both native-born respondents and adults born in other countries (as well as their partners) have 9 years or more of schooling (68.8% of Portuguese-born and 70.9% of foreign-born respondents). Data for both groups show residual illiteracy rates.

INFORMANT'S COUNTRY OF BIRTH	YEARS OF SCHOOLING (N AND %)			
	No schooling	1-8 years	9-13 years	+ 13
Portugal (223 respondents)	1 <i>0.4</i>	69 <i>30.8</i>	92 <i>41.1</i>	62 <i>27.7</i>
Other countries (86 respondents)	1 <i>(1.2)</i>	24 <i>(27.9)</i>	34 <i>(39.5)</i>	27 <i>(31.4)</i>

Tab. 11-11a: Years of schooling – Adult informants

INFORMANT'S PARTNER COUNTRY OF BIRTH	YEARS OF SCHOOLING (N AND %)			
	No schooling	1-8 years	9-13 years	+ 13
Portugal (185 respondents)	1 <i>0.6</i>	82 <i>44.3</i>	74 <i>40.0</i>	28 <i>15.1</i>
Other countries (65 respondents)	0 -	22 <i>(33.8)</i>	24 <i>(36.9)</i>	19 <i>(29.3)</i>

Tab. 11-11b: Years of schooling – Adult informants’ partners

Employment rates of respondents point to high unemployment among the (mostly female) respondents (25.6% among native-born respondents and 18.6% for foreign-born individuals), and their (mostly male) partners (10.1% and 6.8% respectively).

Occupations declared by respondents were aggregated in 8 categories, based on the ISCO-88 classification (see Tab. 11-12):

- 1 - Legislators, senior officials, managers;
- 2/3 – Professionals; technicians and associate professionals;
- 4/5- Clerks; service workers, shop and market sales workers;
- 6/7/8 - Skilled agricultural and fishery workers; crafts and related trades; plant and machine operators and assemblers;
- 9- Elementary occupations;
- 0 - Armed forces and Security personnel;
- Others

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	INFORMANT'S BIRTH COUNTRY (N AND %)	
	Portugal	other countries
1	1 <i>0.6</i>	2 <i>(2.9)</i>
2/3	51 <i>30.4</i>	15 <i>(21.4)</i>
4/5	68 <i>40.4</i>	19 <i>(27.1)</i>
6/7/8	11 <i>6.6</i>	11 <i>(15.7)</i>
9	21 <i>12.5</i>	13 <i>(18.6)</i>
0	5 <i>3.0</i>	0 -
Others	11 <i>6.6</i>	10 <i>(14.3)</i>
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	168 <i>100.0</i>	70 <i>(100.0)</i>

Tab. 11-12: Occupational categories of adult informants

Portuguese-born respondents show higher rates in groups 0 (Armed Forces and Security forces), 2/3 (professionals), 4/5 (tertiary sector); those born in other countries show preponderance in groups 1 (managers), 6/7/8 (Secondary sector) and 9 (elementary occupations).

11.3.2.2. Sociolinguistic Characterization of the Sample

Portuguese is the mother tongue for 217 native-born informants (98.6% of this group), and for 33 foreign-born informants (38.4%). Portuguese is used almost exclusively by Portuguese-born respondents within the family circle (95.8% with partner; 93.7% with children), with colleagues (86.8%), friends (87.7%) and neighbours (95.4%). Figures for foreign-born respondents are significantly lower, although Portuguese is still the dominant language (with partner —58.6%; children —67.0%; co-workers —74.5%, friends —58.8% and neighbours —80%). Portuguese is the major language in all domains of language use (see Tab. 11-13 below).

INFORMANT'S COUNTRY OF BIRTH	PORTUGUESE IN LANGUAGE USE DOMAINS (N AND %)				
	At work	For reading	Speaking with friends or family	Writing	Watching a movie
Portugal (214 respondents)	190 88.8	205 95.8	213 99.5	182 85.0	162 75.7
Other (83 respondents)	75 (90.4)	70 (84.3)	79 (95.2)	66 (79.5)	55 (66.3)

Tab. 11-13: Portuguese in language use domains as self-reported by adult informants

11.3.2.3. Self-ascription and Sense of Belonging

The use of ethno-linguistic and religious terms in self-description is, in the case of adults as with children, residual. Only 0.5% of Portuguese-born respondents employed these descriptors, compared to 2.7% of foreign-born individuals. Such low figures and the focus of the actual descriptors in the religious sphere seem to confirm the very low incidence of ethnic and religious issues in the overall society although, since these issues were not the main focus of MERIDIUM, they deserve further investigation.

In terms of allegiance and sense of belonging to particular groups (family, friends, and town of residence, Portugal, Europe and country of origin) results are similar to those found in children's data: high identification with one's family group and country of origin. Respondents born in other countries seem to be divided between two allegiances: the new and the old country (see Tab. 11-14 below).

INFORMANT'S COUNTRY OF BIRTH	POSITIVE SENSE OF BELONGING ¹¹ (N AND %) TO:				
	Family	Friends	Town of residence	Portugal	Europe
Portugal (223 respondents)	220 98.7	205 91.9	193 86.5	217 97.3	182 81.6
Other (87 respondents)	84 (96.6)	73 (83.9)	65 (74.7)	49 (56.3)	43 (49.4)

Tab. 11-14: Positive identification with groups as self-reported by adult informants (BQ15-BQ19)

¹¹ Questionnaire alternatives "very much" and "just enough" are aggregated for BQ15 to BQ19.

Sociability networks differ for the two groups: 87.8% of Portuguese-born respondents assert that their friends are born in Portugal; 69.6% of them indicate that their friends speak a language other than Portuguese, while 43.7% of foreign-born individuals have friends coming from their country of origin. 78.2% of these respondents say their friends speak a language other than Portuguese.

11.3.2.4. Attitudes toward Languages and Awareness of Linguistic Diversity

Awareness of language diversity¹² is similar for both groups (98.2% and 98.8% respectively). The persistent higher awareness for linguistic diversity in the neighbourhood of residence, shown by foreign-born citizens, may be explained by a higher residential concentration of this group in areas where immigrants prevail, either for economic reasons or proximity to the community of origin.

The perception of linguistic diversity (“how many languages, besides Portuguese, are spoken in your town?” BQ28) shows slightly different results from region to region and from municipality to municipality, possibly due to variation in local and individual factors such as: local economy (relevance of tourism industry) occupation, varying characteristics of residential areas of respondents.

Overall attitudes towards linguistic diversity fall roughly within the same range, showing a positive outlook towards diversity for both groups. The majority of respondents does not agree with linguistic isolationism (BQ22: “it is better to speak with those who speak the same language”): 147 (66.5%) of those born in Portugal and 56 (64.5%) of the foreign born respondents; 149 (67.7%) Portuguese-born respondents and 56 (64.4%) born in other countries do not see linguistic diversity in neighbourhoods as a source of problems; both groups see tolerance and mutual respect as a solution (96.0% and 83.6% respectively).

Feelings towards languages other than Portuguese, heard in daily situations, are strikingly similar (see Tab. 11-15).

¹² The percentages aggregate two choices available for the question (BQ29) “Have you heard languages other than Portuguese spoken around you?”: “it happens often” and “it happens occasionally”.

INFORMANT'S COUNTRY OF BIRTH	ATTITUDES TOWARDS LANGUAGES OTHER THAN PORTUGUESE HEARD IN DAILY LIFE (N AND %)					
	amused	curious	annoyed	scared	I do not notice	I do not know
Portugal (224 respondents)	11 4.9	155 69.2	3 1.3	3 1.3	42 18.8	10 4.5
Other (85 respondents)	3 (3.5)	56 (65.9)	1 (1.2)	1 (1.2)	16 (18.8)	8 (9.4)

Tab. 11-15: Attitudes of adult informants towards languages other than Portuguese heard in daily life (BQ40)

Both groups consider their mother tongue as beautiful (54.4% vs 67.0%) and just as useful (54.3% vs 62.8%) as other languages.

Both groups rate the importance of knowing how to speak other languages very similarly; 56.7% (127) of Portuguese-born individuals and 56.3% (49) of the foreign-born rate it very positively.

11.3.2.5. Perception of the Existence of Local Measures Promoting Multilingualism

The data reveal an interesting and consistent trend in what concerns the perception of the existing measures (at the local level, by municipalities, schools etc.) targeting the promotion of multiculturalism and multi-/plurilingualism: foreign-born respondents show higher awareness rates relating to the existence of such measures in the community, in particular the promotion of other languages (as seen in the Tables 11-16 and 11-17, next page). A possible explanation is the fact that they are the target group for these measures and, as such, they are more aware of their availability in the community.

The role of schools in the promotion of bilingualism and multiculturalism was deemed to be unsatisfactory by both groups (54.3% vs 52.3%, respectively)¹³.

¹³ Percentages aggregate figures for “very little” and “not at all” for question BQ44: “In general, do you think that in Portugal schools create an interest among children towards people from different cultures and who speak other languages?”,

OCCASIONS FOR INTERCULTURAL ENCOUNTERS	INFORMANT'S BIRTH COUNTRY (N AND %)	
	Portugal	Other countries
Many times	1 <i>0.4</i>	2 <i>(2.4)</i>
Sometimes	23 <i>10.3</i>	7 <i>(8.2)</i>
A few times	26 <i>11.7</i>	21 <i>(24.7)</i>
Never	36 <i>16.1</i>	10 <i>(11.8)</i>
I don't know	137 <i>61.4</i>	45 <i>(52.9)</i>
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	223 <i>100.0</i>	85 <i>(100.0)</i>

Tab. 11-16: Perception of local measures promoting intercultural encounters (BQ42)

PROMOTION OF OTHER LANGUAGES	INFORMANT'S BIRTH COUNTRY (N AND %)	
	Portugal	Other countries
Many times	2 <i>0.9</i>	6 <i>(7.1)</i>
Sometimes	10 <i>4.5</i>	7 <i>(8.2)</i>
A few times	41 <i>18.4</i>	16 <i>(18.8)</i>
Never	28 <i>12.6</i>	9 <i>(10.6)</i>
I don't know	142 <i>63.7</i>	47 <i>(55.3)</i>
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	223 <i>100.0</i>	85 <i>(100.0)</i>

Tab. 11-17: Perception of measures by local institutions targeting promotion of other languages (BQ43)

The cross tabulation by region (district) regarding whether schools stimulate interest in multilingualism and multiculturalism shows similar results, even if the District of Setúbal exhibits a slightly less pessimistic view (see Tab. 11-18).

EVALUATION ¹⁴	REGION (N AND %)		
	Lisbon	Setúbal	Faro
Positive	32	28	34
	27.8	(37.3)	29.1
Negative	62	39	64
	53.9	(52.1)	54.7
Does not know	21	8	19
	18.3	(10.6)	16.2
TOTAL	115	75	117
RESPONDENTS	100.0	(100.0)	100.0

Tab. 11-18: (BQ44) “In general, do you think that in Portugal schools create an interest among children towards people from different cultures and who speak other languages?”: region-disaggregated data

11.4. Discussion of the Relevant Findings

The descriptive data presented above highlight a few relevant vectors in the sociolinguistic landscape of contemporary Portugal, transformed in the last two decades by intensified migratory flows into the country: an increasing social complexity and a linguistic heterogeneity that characterizes those flows. Today, people in the towns and cities of European Portugal are confronted with ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity, in a country accustomed to exporting labour to other countries and characterized by a strong linguistic and ethnic homogeneity.

An emergent multicultural and multilingual society such as this raises questions and concerns related to the effects of immigration in the country and on the lives of immigrants and nationals. The State, throughout successive governments, has tried to rise to the challenge by enacting key legislation, by creating agencies and by putting measures and guidelines to promote immigrant integration in place¹⁵. The key question is: what effects have those policies and measures had on:

- a) the attitudes of the population towards immigration-induced diversity in the areas of higher immigrant density,
- b) the perception of the existence of such policies and measures

¹⁴ “Positive” answers aggregate the alternatives “very much so” and “quite a bit”; “negative” answers aggregate the alternatives “very little” and “not at all”

¹⁵ See MERIDIUM Country Report – Portugal (eng), p. 6-9 and the Portuguese longer version of the Report, p. 34-67, available at: <http://meridium.unistrapg.it/?q=en/country-report>

c) the effective integration of immigrant groups, particularly at a linguistic level?

Here again, the data from the MERIDIUM survey may offer us a glimpse at the kind of multilingual and multicultural society Portugal is becoming and may offer insights regarding the type of immigrant integration and whether this has been successful or not. The data of this project, as far as the Portuguese sample is concerned, can be seen as a “real-time” observation of a specific moment in Portuguese history. It also provides an indication of areas which require further investigation and calls for a more pro-active implementation of measures, in particular the data concerning:

- 1) domains of language use;
- 2) self-ascription and sense of belonging;
- 3) attitude toward languages and awareness of linguistic diversity;
- 4) awareness of local measures and the role of schools in the promotion of integration.

If we look at the data for these categories, we find that in this sample:

- children with foreign background use mostly languages other than Portuguese within the family circle and Portuguese outside it; for foreign-born adults, Portuguese is the major language in all domains of language use, although within their family circle the use of Portuguese is significantly lower than its use by native-born informants;
- both children and adults in the sample show high identification with the family group and the country of origin. Foreign-born adult respondents seem to be divided between two allegiances: the country of origin and the new country. Children in the same group exhibit higher identification rates both with Portugal and their country of origin. Identification with Europe is significantly lower in the foreign-born group;
- social networks differ for the two groups: native-born respondents declare that most of their friends were born in Portugal while foreign-born individuals mostly have friends coming from their country of origin;
- overall attitudes towards linguistic diversity fall roughly within the same range, showing a positive outlook towards diversity for both groups: the majority does not agree with linguistic isolationism and does not see linguistic diversity in the neighbourhood as a source of problems. Tolerance and mutual respect are highly valued. Feelings

towards languages heard in daily life are similar: negative feelings are low in both groups and both groups consider learning languages as very important;

- both groups support immigrant language teaching in the public school system, although acceptance rate is higher for nationals.

These findings suggest that in the high contact areas, with a high concentration of immigrants, Portuguese nationals show a noteworthy degree of tolerance and solidarity towards non-nationals, and a positive view towards language diversity.

In a comparative study of educational achievement in 14 countries (Northern European, Southern European, United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand), Buchmann and Parrado (2006: 366) suggest that “national-level institutional variations in the incorporation of immigrants condition the effect of immigrant status on educational achievement.”. Buchmann and Parrado (2006: 350 ff.) propose three institutional “types”:

- 1) inclusionary immigration regimes, countries with long immigrant traditions, such as the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia;
- 2) exclusionary immigration regimes, where labour immigration is seen as temporary and where there is “slight inclination to accommodate the cultural demands of minorities” such as the Northern European countries;
- 3) a third group of countries in Southern Europe (Spain, Portugal and Greece), with a long tradition of emigration, which have made a rapid transition from sending to receiving countries and which “have a rather neutral stance toward immigrants”.

Further investigation is needed to validate the link between the strong institutional efforts towards immigrant integration that have been made in Portugal and the tolerance and relative solidarity towards immigrants suggested in the MERIDIUM study.

Furthermore, changing definitions of identity, both in native-born informants and foreign-born informants, hinted by the answers to this survey, demand further studies to investigate this identity-changing process in a complex society that is being transformed by immigration.

The efficacy of the implementation of integration measures and educational policies at a local level, in terms of awareness of the existence of those measures and of the role of schools in promoting plurilingualism and multiculturalism has also been considered in this study and requires urgent attention by the agents involved.

11.5. Suggestions for Further Research

The results of data analysis for the Portuguese sample of the sociolinguistic research conducted by the MERIDIUM project exhibit some predictable patterns and a notably unexpected, albeit positive, tendency: the strong support shown by adult respondents (in particular those born in Portugal) towards the teaching of immigrant languages in the public school system, notwithstanding the economic crisis being felt in the country and its manifestations, such as budget cuts and increasing unemployment rates. Xenophobic attitudes are not manifest, and support for plurilingual education (see Tab. 11-14 below) seems to be in line with mostly tolerant views towards linguistic diversity, as shown by respondents.

ACCEPTANCE	INFORMANT'S BIRTH COUNTRY (N and %)	
	Portugal	other country
Yes	157 70.4	58 (67.4)
No	21 9.4	14 (16.3)
Does not know	45 20.2	14 (16.3)
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	223 100.0	86 (100.0)

Tab. 11-19: Acceptance/rejection of immigrant language teaching in the public school system

When broken down by district, overall support is also high: Lisbon – 72.3%; Setúbal – 62.5%; Faro – 67.0%. Similar results are obtained when crosstabulated by school. The theoretical discussion on bilingual education and its advantages (both for student success and for integration) is still going on in countries with a large percentage of non-native speakers. In Portugal, a study conducted by ILTEC (*Instituto de Linguística Teórica e Computacional*) with the support of Gulbenkian Foundation¹⁶ resulted in a pilot project (one bilingual class) on bilingual education, in a Lisbon area school¹⁷. However, there is no guarantee that such initiatives may continue.

¹⁶ “Diversidade Linguística na Escola Portuguesa”, 2003-2007, available at <http://www.iltec.pt/divling/index.html>, accessed September 26, 2012.

¹⁷ “Bilinguismo, aprendizagem do Português L2 e sucesso educativo na escola portuguesa - 2007-2012”. For details on this Project, see Mateus (2011).

Further research on language attitudes towards the teaching of immigrant languages is necessary in order to lead to other studies, possibly on the same lines with the one mentioned above. Such research could pave the way for other projects geared to the teaching of immigrant languages in public schools, especially those with a large number of non-native speakers.

Furthermore, as the recent European economic crisis develops and deepens, with severe consequences in the Portuguese case, the decrease in immigrant flows into the country, the accelerating rate of immigrant return to their countries of origin, the significant increase in the number of Portuguese nationals who resort to emigration, are rapidly changing the demographic, cultural and linguistic landscape of Portugal. Austerity measures with cuts that reverberate throughout the economy and the society are endangering the efforts towards integration and, most likely, will affect the attitudes toward multilingualism hinted in the MERIDIUM study. Whatever the outcome of this changing scenario the MERIDIUM project will serve as a useful and revealing survey which also offers the opportunity to compare multilingualism and multiculturalism in Portugal's Primary schools to the situation present in other European contexts.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

MIGRATORY EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS MULTILINGUALISM: THE ROMANIAN CASE STUDY

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12.1. Introduction

The present paper is the final outcome of the LLP MERIDIUM (*Multilingualism in Europe as a Resource for Immigration—Dialogue Initiative among the Universities of the Mediterranean*) international project which aims at studying the nature of the correlations between the linguistic and educational policies and the improvement/diffusion of the attitudes toward multilingualism and linguistic diversity in the countries of the Mediterranean. Within the project coordinated by *Università per Stranieri di Perugia*, Romania had a unique status, being regarded as the “exporting” country of migrants, all the other partner countries being “importers” of migrants. Due to this position, we might be expected to provide data referring to the outbound migration phenomenon¹, but in this paper we have chosen to focus on how migratory experiences may influence individual repertoires and attitudes towards multilingualism/plurilingualism, making special reference to migrant workers having decided to leave their temporary place of residence and return to Romania. We have called these migrants “returnees”.

Our paper is structured as follows: Section 12.2 provides information on the Romanian national context, with reference to linguistic aspects,

¹ We have provided such data both in the Country Report and in the Context Analysis (<http://meridium.unistrapg.it/it/country-report>)

ethnic minorities, language policies, language education and migratory profile. In Section 12.3 we present our case study, starting from the criteria for the selection of the two areas in the country where the study was conducted, moving on to the research methodology and concluding with a comparative presentation of the perception and attitudes of Romanian children and adults towards linguistic diversity and multilingualism/plurilingualism. Section 12.4 focuses on the returnees, i.e. children and their parents with migratory experience in our corpus of data. Finally we draw some conclusions and mention some directions for further research (Section 12.5).

12.2. The Romanian National Context

The first section aims at presenting the demographic and linguistic characteristics of Romania, as well as those elements that are necessary for the evaluation of the migratory profile and of the migration policies in Romania.

12.2.1. Linguistic Aspects, Ethnic Minorities and Language Policies

Romanian is a European language, first and foremost due to its geographical position. Being the only Romance language in Eastern Europe, it is of special interest to foreign specialists.

According to Avram (2001), the Romanians represent the largest nation of south-eastern Europe, the total number of speakers of Romanian being estimated to around 29 million, out of which 20 million, i.e. 90% of the country's population speak it as their mother tongue. Just like some other languages spoken within the European Union, Romanian has the privilege of not being confined within a single state. It is also both the national and the official language of the Republic of Moldova, where it is spoken by about 3 million people. Romanian is also the mother tongue of approximately 1.5 million people in the countries geographically close to Romania, some of them already part of the European Union (Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, etc), some others aspiring to this status (Macedonia, Albania, Serbia, and Montenegro). It is also the language of many migrants who settled in various European countries (Austria, France, Sweden, Germany, etc.). Consequently, Romanian is not a European language at a regional level only, but also, to a certain extent, at a continental level.

Apart from the majority population speaking Romanian², 16 ethnic minorities co-exist in the country, these minorities differing in size³, geographical distribution⁴ and length of cohabitation with the majority population⁵. Irrespective of these differences, all these ethnic minorities are supported by the Romanian government in their endeavours to preserve and develop their national identity through their own cultural, religious or political organizations, with weekly or monthly periodicals published either in their mother tongue or bilingually (one of the languages being Romanian). These publications are meant to promote the cultural traditions, the literature and the history of the respective people. Moreover, children of the largest minority groups can study in their mother tongues at primary and secondary levels (Bulgarians, Serbians and Lipovan Russians), or even at tertiary level (the Hungarians, who can enrol in a number of Romanian universities that offer education programs in Hungarian). On the political arena, almost all the minority groups are represented in the Parliament or in the Senate or Chamber of Deputies. All these rights are in agreement with the international conventions and treaties⁶ that Romania has ratified, as well as with the Romanian Constitution and regulations.

12.2.2. Language Education in Romania

This section gives an overview of language education in Romania at the pre-university level of the national education system. The issue is approached from two perspectives: first, that of modern/foreign language education and second, that of minority language education⁷.

² Romanian is the single official and national language of Romania

³ The largest minority is represented by Hungarians (6.6% of the total population), whereas the smallest one is represented by the Armenians (0.1% of the entire population), according to the 2001 census.

⁴ The Hungarian minority live in Transilvania; the Czechs and Slovaks settled in the western part of the country, while the Roma population is scattered all over the country.

⁵ Some groups came to the territory of present-day Romania as early as the 10th century (the Germans) or the 12th century (the Armenians), whereas some other minorities settled in the country more recently (the Italians started coming to Romania in the 19th century).

⁶ *The Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* and *The European Charter for the Regional or Minority Languages*.

⁷ The source of the information detailed here is the web-site of the Romanian Ministry of Education, Research, Youth and Sports: www.edu.ro.

Foreign/modern language learning/teaching starts at the primary level of education with some similar activities even at the pre-school level. In Romanian primary schools, children start the study of foreign languages when they are in the 3rd grade (aged 9). Occasionally, at the request of parents, schools organise foreign language courses for children aged 7 or 8 (1st or 2nd grade). The foreign languages taught in primary schools for 2 hours a week are English, French, German, Russian, Italian and Spanish. The main objectives at this level of foreign language education focus on the development of the four language skills and on the acquisition of culture and civilisation elements specific to the respective countries.

In secondary schools (grades 5 to 8) pupils study foreign languages such as English, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Portuguese, and Spanish. They study 2 foreign languages for 2 to 3 hours a week⁸. The foreign language curriculum at this level focuses on explicit and straightforwardly evaluable results of learning. This curriculum is based on the EU Recommendation (2006/962/EC) and states that compulsory education graduates will have a “European profile” consisting of key-competences. The development of a competence to communicate in a foreign language is directly aimed at academic skills and the transferability of all other key competences belonging to the same curricular area.

In Romanian high-schools, students study English, French, German, Italian, Russian, Portuguese, and Spanish. Like at the lower secondary level, students study 2 or 3 foreign languages for 2 to 6 hours a week depending on the type of high-school and class they attend. The foreign language curriculum at this level stipulates the development of general and specific academic skills focusing on the communicative function of language and on the main elements of the process of communication. Another important focus of language learning/teaching in high-schools is that of educating the students in the spirit of European values.

Secondly, minority language education in Romania is regulated by the curriculum for mother tongue languages and literatures which refers to the teaching and learning of such minority languages as Hungarian, German, Polish, Bulgarian, Croatian, Russian, Romani⁹, Serbian, Slovak, Turkish and Ukrainian. The students belonging to minority language communities are encouraged to study their own language and literature in order for them

⁸ For L1, the curriculum stipulates 2 or 3 hours per week, depending on the school's decision, whereas for L2, the number of hours is fixed to 2 per week.

⁹ Much to our surprise, a participant in our May 2011 workshop, who is a member of the Roma community, mentions the fact that there is a growing trend in producing and teaching Romani literature among the approximate 2,000 Roma children in Braşov county (see presentation on the MERIDIUM website).

to develop and improve their competences in the area of both receptive and productive language skills. This allows them to acquire knowledge that is specific for the spiritual and cultural heritage of their ethnic group and offers a better understanding of intercultural issues within the Romanian space. One important aspect worth mentioning here is that of the teaching of Romanian to primary school children in contexts where the language of education is that of the minority ethnic group. The study of Romanian is regulated by a curriculum which emphasises the development of language skills that can help them understand the Romanian spiritual values and offers them the chance for a better life in a multicultural environment. This curriculum is based on the communicative-functional model of language teaching and is similar to the one for foreign languages.

Children live in a multicultural environment not necessarily in the social context of our country, but also in many foreign countries where their parents or relatives have recently migrated.

12.2.3. Migratory Profile

After 1990 an increase in the outgoing migration is recorded in Romania, the highest rate being reached in 2001. Three important waves of migration have been noticed: ethnic-based outbound migration between 1990 and 1995 accounts for the first wave; the second wave between 1995 and 2002 was characterised by study-related and work-related migration. Starting with the third emigration wave (2002), labour abroad becomes a mass phenomenon, the number of emigrants constantly growing until 2007. After Romania's accession to the European Union in 2007, a slight decrease in the number of legal emigrants is recorded (it might well be that especially because of the free accession to countries in the European Union the number of non-recorded work emigrants has actually increased).

Several forms of emigration have been identified: permanent legal emigration, temporary labour emigration, or emigrants returning to Romania (returnees), starting from 2008. Temporary labour emigration as well as illegal labour emigration is the most often encountered form of migration, and the countries preferred by Romanians adopting such forms of emigration, starting from 2002, are Italy and Spain. The same preference has been recorded among persons who intend to emigrate in the near future. The selection criteria indicated by these migrants include the number of acquaintances and relatives in the respective countries, the existence of direct or indirect (through other members) experience with foreign countries, the proficiency level in Italian and Spanish, or the ease in learning these languages.

Moldova is the Romanian geographical area with the highest number of labour emigrants, followed, at equal rates (insignificant differences) by the Transilvania and Muntenia regions. In terms of intentions to emigrate, the ranking changes, Banat being first, followed by Moldova and Transilvania. As for permanent legal emigration, Transilvania and Muntenia rank first, and Moldova second. In other words, Moldova is the origin of most illegal emigrants, also called “Euro-commuters”, while Transilvania and Muntenia are the origin of most permanent legal emigrants or emigrants with work contracts. Within these geographical areas, there are differences in migratory routes. Most emigrants to Italy come from Moldova; Muntenia provides most emigrants to Italy and Spain, whereas people from Transilvania choose Italy, Spain, and Germany.

With the starting of the world economic crisis the phenomenon of emigrant families returning home has been recorded. Most emigrants that left the country in the last five years come from Moldova, and the same area has the highest number of returnees from Italy, as shown by the number of children re-enrolled in Romanian schools in 2008. According to statistics on children re-registered in Romanian schools, Transilvania ranks second. Based on these data, Moldova and Transilvania regions have been selected for the investigation of school-children’ and adults’ attitudes towards multilingualism.

12.3. The Case Study

The aim of this section is to report the findings of the survey conducted in Romania concerning the degree of awareness of the presence of plurilingual repertoires and the propensity to conceive of them as a resource among elementary school pupils and their parents.

12.3.1. Selection of Country Areas for the Case Study

In order to meet the main objectives of the case study, that is the evaluation of the level of awareness of the benefits of plurilingual competencies and the extent to which these competencies are perceived as resources, the following criteria have been taken into account:

- high rate of both permanent and temporary labour migration (see Tab. 12-1 below);
- a region with an urban centre with a minimum of 100,000 inhabitants and some rural centres which are significant in terms of the migration phenomenon under examination: a large number of

families having left to work abroad and a large number of school-aged children; (See Tab. 12-2 below)

- a large number of people intending to join the labour migration groups in the following years.

COUNTY	2006	2007	2006-2007
Braşov	831	557	1388
Sibiu	768	413	1181
Cluj	557	325	882
Mureş	486	277	763
Hunedoara	308	247	555
Sălaj	80	39	119
Covasna	125	78	203
Alba	239	142	381
Bistriţa-Năsăud	176	120	296
Harghita	290	103	393

Tab. 12-1: Number of permanent work migrants in Transilvania counties (Source: National Institute for Statistics)

TOWNS IN BRAŞOV COUNTY	Population (2009)	People over 18 years of age (2009)	N of migrants (2000-2008)	N of migrants per 1000 inhabitants over 18 years of age (2000-2007)
Braşov	278003	238453	3788	15.9
Făgăraş	38050	31907	1008	31.6
Codlea	24618	19283	200	10.4
Săcele	32604	24683	113	4.6

Tab. 12-2: Number of migrants in Braşov County (Source: Braşov County Statistics Department)

On the basis of these criteria, the Braşov team has selected Transilvania (as a region), and Făgăraş (as an investigation area) because the migratory flows constitute a trend in these localities since 1990. Moreover, this region comes second in point of temporary labour migration and intended migration.

“Babeş-Bolyai” University from Cluj gathered data from Moldova, because the largest number of Romanian migrants to countries like Italy and Spain come from this region.

These minimal criteria allow a comparative approach meant to identify certain significant factors influencing the opinions, attitudes and behaviour related to plurilingual competencies of both school-aged children and

adults living in the area mentioned above. The selected region allowed for the analysis of at least the following situations:

- children whose parents (either only one or both) being labour migrants, are taken care of by relatives;
- families (with children) that have never left their place of residence;
- temporary labour migrant families having worked abroad for at least one year and returned to their place of residence.

12.3.2. Research Methodology

Taking into account both the theoretical criteria and the convenience of data collection, we have undertaken a case study, based on the administration and analysis of 300 questionnaires (150 given to school-aged children and 150 to their parents/guardians) for each of the two regions, Transilvania and Moldova. In the micro-region of Transilvania, the study was conducted in the urban place of residence Făgăraş and in a number of surrounding villages (Dacia, Jibert, Cuciulata, Hoghiz, Buneşti, Feldioara) which were selected according to the same criteria employed for the selection of the region: high rate of temporary labour migration, older migratory flows, large numbers of returnees (estimated according to the large number of children re-enrolled in schools in 2006-2009. (see Tabs. 12-3, 12-4 and 12-5 below)

RE-ENROLLED RETURNEES (2006-2009)						
	PRIMARY SCHOOL	LOWER-SECONDARY AND HIGH-SCHOOL	TOTAL	RETURNEES FROM		
				Italy	Spain	Other countries
N	107	232	339	217	54	68
%	31.3	68.7	100.0	65.0	16.0	19.0

Tab. 12-3: Returnees in Braşov schools (source: Braşov County School Inspectorate)

SCHOOL	TOTAL STUDENT POPULATION	CHILDREN BORN ABROAD	NATIVE CHILDREN WITH A DIRECT MIGRATION EXPERIENCE	NATIVE CHILDREN WITH AN INDIRECT MIGRATION EXPERIENCE	TOTAL CHILDREN WITH A MIGRATION EXPERIENCE (N AND %)
Nr.1	688	12	2	16	30 (4.4)
Nr.2	626	20	7	40	67 (10.7)
Nr.3	306	4	5	40	49 (16.0)
Nr.5	232	-	-	15	15 (6.5)
Nr.7	117	3	2	25	30 (25.6)

Tab. 12-4: Children with migration experience in primary schools in Făgăraș (source: Brașov County School Inspectorate)

SCHOOL	TOTAL STUDENT POPULATION	CHILDREN BORN ABROAD	NATIVE CHILDREN WITH A DIRECT MIGRATION EXPERIENCE	NATIVE CHILDREN WITH AN INDIRECT MIGRATION EXPERIENCE	TOTAL CHILDREN WITH A MIGRATION EXPERIENCE (N AND %)
Bunești	191	-	1	38	39 (20.4)
“Aron Pumnul” Cuciulata	175		1	71	72 (41.1)
Hoghiz	286	2	5	24	31 (10.8)
Jibert	211	4	3	10	17 (8.0)
Dacia	74	-	-	6	6 (8.1)
“Petru Rareș” Highschool Feldioara	424	-	4	100	104 (24.5)

Tab. 12-5: Primary-school children with migratory experience (source: Brașov County School Inspectorate)

In the micro-region of Moldova, the following settlements in Bacău County were selected: Onești (urban region) and Mănăstirea Cașin, Lupești, Ștefan cel Mare (rural region).

Prior to this, the drafted questionnaires had been pre-tested in “Axente Sever” School in Aiud (Alba County) and in School Nr. 12 in Brașov in order to see how the respondents (both children and adults) fare with the questions contained in them. This proved to be very useful in that it helped

us identify some problems related to the formulation of the questions, the lexical items contained in them, or to the possible multiple answers provided for them. We realized that especially in the questionnaires meant for the children, some words were too abstract for them (e.g. *colectiv* “group”—AQ12, *cetățean* “citizen”—AQ14), and thus the questions in which they occurred were left unanswered. We therefore tried to refine our research tool, making it as clear and accessible as possible for our respondents.

On feeding the answers provided by the Romanian subjects into the MERIDIUM database, we faced some problems related to the selection of the best variant(s) provided by this instrument, on the one hand, and to the translation of some Romanian terms, on the other hand. As we were growing accustomed with the template for the data analysis, our discussions revealed that we did not know exactly which option to select. For example, when children did not use the correct term for languages (they either indicated the name of the country where the language is spoken or they used a wrong suffix—*limba țigănește* instead of *limba țigănească* “gypsy language”), some of us tended to choose the correct term from the list. Neither was there unanimous agreement as to some translations. Thus, the adjective *deștept* encountered in the children’s characterization of themselves was translated by us by the synonymic series: “clever”, “smart”, or “intelligent”. This called for a meeting in which we came to an agreement with respect to both the translation of the terms employed by the subjects in the questionnaires and to the choices we were to make from the lists provided in the template.

In the following subsection we will report on our findings related to some of the dimensions that we considered relevant for indicating the attitude of the Romanian subjects towards multilingualism/plurilingualism.

12.3.3. Perception and Attitude of Romanian Children and Adults towards Linguistic Diversity and Multi-/Plurilingualism

Indicators of the dimension are the respondents’ perception of the existence of linguistic diversity around them and of languages spoken other than the official language of the country they live in.

Both the children and the adults in our study perceive a rather small linguistic diversity in the local context. Thus, only a small number of the children (11%) assert that they have many school mates/friends who speak other languages than Romanian. These mates/friends speak, in the respondents’ opinion, one or two languages, mainly English, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, and Spanish. The languages they know are

limited to those spoken in Europe, such as Italian, Spanish, French, English and German, these being the languages they would like to know when they are older. With adults, perceived nationality is rather homogenous and to a large extent indefinite: about a quarter of the overall sample could not answer the question about nationality in their neighbourhood and nearly half of them thought there are few or no non-nationals in their neighbourhood.

When it comes to language diversity at the global level, the Romanian children named between five to ten languages spoken in the world and 67% of the respondents identified mainly the Chinese writing system from among the ones given. With respect to the adults, they best recognised the Cyrillic and the Chinese writing systems (with 79% correct identifications and about 21% wrong identifications each), followed by the Arabic one (45% correct and 55% wrong answers).

The comparative analysis among countries that participated in the survey (Italy, Slovenia, Spain, Portugal and Malta) shows that Romanian children have fewer linguistic resources, but this relates to the national context. They have less personal experience of contacts with peers speaking other languages than their native language, and have fewer opportunities to hear children speaking other languages than Romanian. An explanation could be that there are very few Romanian children with parents born in other countries (5 “non-native” respondents). Comparatively, Romanian children named fewer languages which are spoken throughout the world than children from Spain or Italy.

Romania distinguishes itself from other countries in the group as being the least exposed to ethno-linguistic diversity by some indicators. The most significant difference is that the Romanian adults report less often hearing people speak other languages than Romanian and many of them have not had such an experience: about 10% of the Romanian sample report never having such an experience, while the percentage for the other countries is 0 or close to this value. Romania also scores highest for the “it happens occasionally” answers to the same question.

Perceived diversity in everyday life context is also at lowest rates with Romania. Moreover, exposure to foreign languages at a local level is lowest for Romania, as it is the Romanian sample that makes up the largest percentage of people indicating no language, other than the official language of the country, being spoken locally: nearly 50%, as compared with nearly 30% in Spain, the second largest, which is also very high when compared to percentages in the other countries in the group, where “no other language” is mentioned by only 5% of the respondents, in each case. When it comes to familiarity with different language systems, Romanian

adults score second highest on correct recognition of the Cyrillic script, with only Slovenia scoring higher.

Romanians' attitude towards linguistic diversity is measured according to respondents' inclination towards learning foreign languages, the social prestige associated with multilingualism/plurilingualism, and perception of linguistic diversity as a resource or a problem. Of the overall number of children who have friends or relatives who speak other languages than Romanian, 62% feel proud, 4% feel embarrassed, and 21% do not really care. However, most children (67%) feel curious when they hear people speaking foreign languages, and only 4% have negative feelings, like being annoyed or scared. When it comes to hearing a language they do not know, the degree of acceptance drops: 21% of the respondents associate it to some noise while 42% do not know what to answer.

Tolerance towards other languages seems to be quite high, since only 34% consider their mother tongue to be the most beautiful, 55% of the sample declare the language they have learned at home to be beautiful, but accept that there are other beautiful languages as well, and only 11% consider other languages to be more beautiful than their mother tongue.

The data show that a great majority of the children (97%) would like to be able to speak foreign languages when they are older, and they list the major European languages: English, French, German, Italian, Spanish and also languages like Hungarian or Russian.

Most of the adult respondents in our study (three-fourths of the overall sample) consider it to be a good thing to have foreign friends. They also find it positive to meet people who speak one's own language. Most of the respondents (almost 80%) believe that respect and tolerance among people would make speaking different languages unproblematic. Evaluations of native language tend to be more positive on the aesthetic (or rather emotional) criterion than on an instrumental one. There are more respondents who believe their native language is the most beautiful and not other languages (40% versus 3%) than are respondents who think their native language is very useful and not other languages (22% versus 27%). Attitude towards speaking well at least one language, besides one's own native language/s, is overwhelmingly positive: almost all of the respondents (91%) consider this to be "very much" and "just enough" important.

As compared to the other countries in the study, Romanian respondents show least openness towards ethno-linguistic diversity, as they agree mostly with the idea that it is better to meet people who speak one's own language: 65%, while percentages for the other countries are below 40%. Nevertheless, Romanian subjects give the highest value to speaking foreign languages, as they make up the highest percentage (60%) of

“proud” attitudes with relatives and/or friends who speak languages which are different from the official language of the country. They also show highest emotional affinity towards their mother tongue: almost 40% find it to be the most beautiful, while the correspondent percentage for Malta is nearly 30% and for the other countries, around 20%.

There is no significant difference among countries in terms of children’s positive attitude towards learning foreign languages, but it is noticeable that Romanian children tend to prefer private lessons as a way of learning new languages. They feel as proud if they have friends or relatives that speak other languages than the official language of their country, and as curious when they hear people speak foreign languages as children from the other countries in the group. However, there is difference in terms of evaluation of the native language, more than 30% of the Romanian children assessing their mother tongue in emotional terms, as being the most beautiful language.

The attitude towards linguistic diversity and multilingualism/plurilingualism should be understood in the socio-linguistic context of Romania and should be correlated with the Romanians’ migratory experience. Though more than 16 ethnic groups coexist with the Romanian majority, these represent less than 10% of the country’s population and are scattered over the entire territory. Consequently, ethnic Romanians are not so much confronted with speakers of other languages. A higher concentration of minority groups appears in Transilvania, which is reflected in the people’s attitudes towards linguistic diversity. These people are more indifferent to linguistic diversity due to their frequent exposure to the languages of the minorities, so their experience with a multilingual environment is not something new for them. At the same time, they also think that linguistic diversity may constitute a problem and a source of conflicts, especially when members of the ethnic minorities do not speak the official language of the country, i.e. Romanian.

On the other hand, those persons who had the experience of a much larger linguistic diversity, as are the Romanians with a migratory experience, show a more positive attitude towards this issue. This may also be due to the different contexts in the host countries they have lived in, where they noticed that linguistic diversity is even larger than in Romania and that despite this, people can still communicate in the official languages of the respective countries.

When it comes to speaking more “foreign” languages, the Romanians’ attitude becomes more favourable. As long as there is one official language, which could be used by all the inhabitants of a country to communicate among themselves without any problems, having a

diverse/rich linguistic capital is very much appreciated, those people who master a number of foreign languages being respected. This aspect is encouraged by the educational policy of Romania: as compared to children in other EU countries, Romanian children have the possibility to learn more European languages in secondary school, in high-school, and later on at university (where, depending on the program they enroll in, they can study two foreign languages).

In the following section of our paper we pay special analytical attention to the category of respondents which we called “returnees”, i.e. Romanian people having worked/lived abroad for at least one year and who returned to Romania. The reason of our selection of this particular group of respondents is that we wanted to identify whether, and to what extent, a migratory experience may influence individual repertoires and attitudes towards multilingualism. Despite the small number of returnees (32.9%, representing 96 adults, and 11.8%, representing 37 children) in our study, we have attempted to draw a profile of individuals with direct and indirect migratory experience as well.

12.4. Returnees

This section is an overview of studies on returnees in the context of the migration phenomenon, followed by a sociolinguistic profile of the returnees in our study.

12.4.1. Studies on Returnees

At present in Romania there are very few studies on returnees (adults and children). One of these studies, *Locuirea temporară în străinătate. Migrația economică a românilor: 1990-2006* [=Temporary Residence Abroad. Economic Migration of the Romanians: 1990-2006] (FSD, 2006) was conducted by the Soros Foundation and reports on the migration phenomenon until 2006. It is worth mentioning that the major reason for work migration was people’s discontent with the economic situation in their native regions. It seems that the migratory experience has affected both the mentality and the attitudes of the returnees with respect to the local community. This is due to the fact that they feel more attached to the European countries where they prospered economically. This was actually their main goal for emigrating.

Other studies on returnees are: *Comunități românești în Spania* [=Romanian Communities in Spain] (FSR, 2009), conducted by a team of specialists from the Faculty of Sociology, Bucharest University, in 2008

and funded by the Soros Foundation; the surveys *Comunitatea românească în Italia: condiții sociale, valori, așteptări* [=Romanian Community in Italy: Social Conditions, Values, Expectations] (MMT-ASG, 2007) and *Comunitatea românească în Spania: condiții sociale, valori, așteptări* [=Romanian Community in Spain: Social Conditions, Values, Expectations]¹⁰ conducted by Metro Media Transilvania and the Agency for Governmental Strategies, in 2007 and 2008 respectively; *Enquesta Nacional de Inmigrantes*, a survey conducted by the National Institute for Statistics in Spain between October 2006 and February 2007 (INE, 2009). These surveys provide some information about Romanian emigrants and a profile of those who intend to return to Romania.

Bădescu *et al.* (2009: 268-283) bring a number of new elements that can add to the profile of the returnees in 2006, based on a qualitative piece of research conducted on high-school pupils whose parents have had migratory experience. An important characteristic is that they have a larger linguistic capital (i.e. foreign languages spoken by the respondents) than respondents that had no migratory experience (this is also confirmed by our study). The study shows that in some cases returnees with high-school children have become more careful with children's schooling than they had been before the migratory experience. There are situations in which returnees have worked with people of different ethnic origins, having the same status of "immigrant" and have thus become more tolerant towards foreigners than they had been before their migratory experience. The conclusion of the study is that optimism, social confidence, political participation and tolerance are significantly higher with returnees than with people who have had no migratory experience.

Statistical data concerning the children who have returned to Romania after a migratory experience are even scarcer than those related to adults. There are two studies carried out by the Soros Foundation: *Efectele migrației: Copii rămași acasă* [=Effects of Migration: The Children Left at Home] (FSR, 2007) and *Școală și comunitate. Model de intervenție în comunitățile cu copii rămași acasă* [=School and Community. A Model of Intervening in the Communities with Children Left at Home] (FSR, 2011). Both studies partially tackle the situation of children who returned to Romania after having spent some time abroad.

¹⁰ The report of this survey, which was available on the website of the Romanian Government until October 2011 (<http://www.publicinfo.gov.ro/pagini/sondaje-de-opinie.php>), has been removed recently; for a summary, see <http://cauta-si-gaseste.blogspot.it/2011/06/agentia-pentru-strategii-guvernamentale.html>, accessed September 26, 2012.

A special category of returnees who represent a potential vulnerable group consists of school-age migrants that have been (re-)enrolled in the Romanian educational system after arriving in the country. Until 2009, over 6,000 pupils who had studied for various time spans abroad, especially in Italy and Spain, had been enrolled in Romanian schools (FSR, 2011: 21).

According to Gmelch (1980), (quoted in FSR, 2011: 22), the reintegration of returnees is very problematic especially for females and children, in the case of the latter the effects being more severe for school-age and teen-age pupils. The study carried out by the Soros Foundation in 2011 highlights the major problems the children who returned after a migratory experience are confronted with: general problems of integration in the school system, differences between the educational systems, language problems, having been discriminated against while abroad, reasons for returning to Romania, as well as the bureaucracy related to the procedure of re-enrollment in the Romanian schools.

According to the authors of the study, there are two categories of children with migratory experience: on the one hand, there are children who come in touch with the Romanian educational system for the first time in their lives, and on the other hand there are children who, prior to going abroad, had attended (at least for one year) the classes of a Romanian school. Thus, for the latter, the following problems may occur: catching up with the subjects in order to reach the level of the grade they have been assigned to or being enrolled a second time in the same grade in order to recuperate the information they had missed while abroad.

The same problems are true of the children who had no prior contact with the Romanian education system. Moreover, they may also have difficulties in using the Romanian language (they either do not know it at all or they make grammar mistakes).

A third study conducted by the Soros Foundation in 2008 *Efectele migrației: Copii rămași acasă. Riscuri și soluții* [=Effects of Migration: The Children Left at Home. Risks and Solutions] (FSR, 2008) describes what happens to the children of the Romanian emigrants in Spain with respect to their integration in the Spanish system. The Romanians living in Spain are mainly interested in the rapid integration of their children in the Spanish society, especially by learning the language. For this reason, they prefer to use Spanish when talking to their children. Consequently, the children either do not speak Romanian at all, or they acquire a variety of Romanian different from that spoken in Romania, “spiced” with many Spanish expressions and characterized by many grammatical mistakes. It follows that the migrants’ children speak Spanish better than Romanian

because on entering the Spanish educational system, they have classes with native speakers of Spanish. Romanian, as a mother tongue, is acquired from their parents, whose level of education is rather low and whose Romanian language competence leaves a lot to be desired. These children seem to adapt easily to the Spanish educational system, even if, in the beginning, they might encounter some language problems. But once they return to Romania (due to the world's economic crisis), they have major problems because of their poor competence in Romanian.

Another problem these children face is the adjustment to a new educational system, with a new syllabus, with other subjects and other means/ways of teaching. Generally speaking, schooling in Romania is perceived to be more difficult than abroad. In most western European countries the teaching methods are more attractive and practical, children do not have to do so much homework, and the teacher-student relationship is less formal. Although in Romania children get high marks more easily than abroad, the subjects to be studied are more numerous and taught at a higher level.

Children have different opinions related to the Romanian versus the foreign educational system. There are Romanian pupils who performed extremely well in foreign schools, but also pupils who could not cope in the Western educational systems. The phenomenon could be determined on the one hand by the age when the child enters the new educational system (the younger the child, the easier the adaptation), and on the other hand by his/her competence in the language in which they are taught.

Unfortunately, the integration of these children in the Romanian system depends to a large extent on the goodwill and motivation of the teachers, as there are no policies in this respect. There is, nevertheless, an advantage the returnees have. According to some teachers' statements (in the press), coming back to Romania seems to have a positive effect on children's psyche: while abroad, children may have felt "foreigners", being excluded by their class-mates. This discrimination is very much present among the children who migrated to countries where the Romanian communities are quite large (as is the case of Spain and Italy). This discrimination could be the reason why they are now returning. An analysis of some Romanian newspapers identifies the economic crisis and the lack of financial stability in the host countries as major causes of the return of the Romanian migrant families. Very few newspaper articles mention the children's inadaptability to the foreign educational systems as a return cause.

As migration is a rather recent and growing phenomenon in Romania, and re-enrollment of returnee children in Romanian schools is even less

frequent, the problem of granting immigrant children the right to study in their mother tongue in Romanian schools seems less relevant for our respondents (one third of the adult respondents did not provide an answer in connection with this issue). The attitude in favour and against creating opportunities for returnee children could be interpreted as reflecting a more general trend of giving linguistic minorities the opportunity to study in their mother tongues in Romanian schools.

The extent to which schools promote, among children, an interest in and an open attitude towards people of various cultures and speaking different languages seems to be of equally reduced relevance for our respondents: only one third of the respondents in the sample expressed an opinion in this respect. These respondents think that schools do not contribute enough to the creation of opportunities for diverse cultural and linguistic awareness.

12.4.2. Profile of Emigrants Intending to Return to their Country of Origin

Starting from some of the above-mentioned studies, Sandu (2010: 113-117) draws a profile of emigrants intending to return. The emigrants' intention of returning is a result of evaluation and indicates either failure or fulfilment of objectives assumed in the country of emigration. Their resources, experience, and feelings of identity are evaluated. The economic, human (education and knowledge of the language of the country of emigration) and sociocultural resources (the frequency of participation in religious services) play an important role in migrants' decision to return to their country of origin. Despite the fact that most of them were better off abroad, they decided to return to Romania due to their lack of competence in the language of the host country.

This is confirmed by our study where most of the subjects with migratory experience (returnees) state that they know the language of the country they lived in, only to contradict themselves later, by reporting that they cannot read, write, or speak in that language.

A second reason for returning to their country of origin is the desire to be with their families. Thus, family constitutes a major element in the propensity to return to the country of origin. According to the study *Locuirea temporară în străinătate. Migrația economică a românilor: 1990-2006* [=Temporary Residence Abroad. Economic Migration of Romanians: 1990-2006] (FSD, 2006: 69), the households with migrants or those with one family member having work experience abroad are significantly associated with the extended nuclear family. Thus, 68% of

Romanian households with migratory experience have extended families.

Our study brings further evidence in this respect, as the interviewed returnees live in Romania together with their children in an extended family. Compared to the other respondents in the sample, the returnees live in families composed of larger numbers, as they live with other members of the extended family. At present more than a half of them are unemployed.

Finally, another important factor in their intention to return is their feeling of identity. Respondents who feel to a higher degree that they belong to their town of residence decide to return to Romania but postpone the moment until they fulfill the financial objectives for which they have emigrated in the first place (Sandu, 2010: 129).

In conclusion, there seems to be a number of elements that determine the intention of emigrants to return to the country of origin and they can, indirectly, contribute to envisage a profile of returnees, on the basis of economic, human and sociocultural resources.

The following subsection draws the sociolinguistic profile of the Romanian returnees with direct and indirect migratory experience in our study, as compared to children with no migratory experience, in an attempt to bring further evidence with respect to the migration phenomenon and its effects on attitudes and perception of multilingualism/plurilingualism. We have three categories of returnees: children with direct migratory experience, children with indirect migratory experience (via their parents), and adults with direct migratory experience.

12.4.3. Children with Direct Migratory Experience in our Study

Children with direct migratory experience are those pupils who have lived with their families abroad for at least one year and have returned to Romania.

The socio-linguistic description of the sample is done in terms of family composition, the linguistic resources of the subjects, the dimensions of languages spoken at home and outside their family, perceived identity and group identification, and attitude towards linguistic diversity and learning foreign languages.

12.4.3.1. Family Composition

Children with direct migratory experience report having lived in a country other than Romania. Their main destinations were Italy, Spain and

Poland (the most common destination of Roma children). A large number of fathers of such families do not live with their children. Fathers usually work as installation operators either on car and various equipment assembly lines or as unskilled workers. Mothers, on the other hand, may work as service operators or in commerce. There are comparatively more relatives living abroad in these families, especially in Italy, Spain and Germany, than in the other families. The majority of the returnees also have relatives in Italy.

12.4.3.2. Linguistic Repertoires

Most of these children (72%) can speak the language of the country they lived in. In Romania, many continue to speak this language with their parents but some of them do not speak it with anybody at all. The majority of the children with a migratory experience feel proud to speak the language of the country they lived in. As hypothesised by the studies reviewed previously, some of these children (28%) had problems with Romanian when they re-enrolled in the Romanian schools.

When they were younger, some of these children with a migratory experience spoke a different language from the one they speak at present (German, English, Italian, Polish, Spanish or Turkish). They also have better knowledge of Italian and Spanish since they acquired these languages at home with their parents, grandparents, siblings or other relatives who also had a migratory experience.

The social network to which the returnee children belong is characterised by a larger linguistic diversity than that of children with no migratory experience. Thus, these children have a larger number of friends who speak languages other than Romanian and their parents have more acquaintances/friends who speak various foreign languages. This is confirmed by the children in our study, who reported to a great extent that they hear languages other than Romanian spoken around them.

The children with a migratory experience have a similar level of knowledge about the languages spoken throughout the world and list the same foreign languages as the children with no migratory experience. The foreign languages mentioned are either the ones they study at school (English, French and German), or the ones learned while the returnees were abroad (Spanish, Italian and Polish). Neither is there any difference in the identification of the writing systems (Cyrillic, Arabic, Chinese, and Devanagari) by returnees and children who have never been abroad. This is also obvious in the equal number of primary school children who identified the four writing systems. A possible explanation for the lack of

differences registered in the answers is the fact that none of the four writing systems is being used in the European countries the Romanians mainly chose as a destination. The Chinese writing system, on the other hand, was easily identified by both groups of children due to the fact that Chinese scripts appear on products imported from China.

12.4.3.3. Attitude Towards Linguistic Diversity

Returnee children feel more indifferent to their relatives speaking other languages than Romanian, while children with no migratory experience feel prouder of this to a larger extent. In other words, children who have a migratory experience and are used to linguistic diversity do not feel this is important. Children with no migratory experience find it interesting that people in their families speak other languages than Romanian and consider that other languages are more beautiful than their mother tongue, while returnees give more importance to their mother tongue and consider it to be the most beautiful.

12.4.3.4. Perceived Identity and Group Identification

Perceived identity has been operationalised in questions in which respondents were asked to describe themselves in five words, and to express their feeling of belonging to groups of classmates/friends, place of residence, and citizenship.

Returnees, just like all the other children in the sample, describe themselves mainly in terms of personality traits, like for instance *cinstit/ă* (honest), *harnic/ă* (hard-working), *ambitios/oasă* (ambitious), *isteț/eața* (clever). These children do not define themselves in terms with ethno-linguistic connotations, so we may conclude that their migratory experience has not had any impact on this aspect of their identity, as they characterize themselves just like the respondents who have not been abroad.

Returnees feel less integrated in their class at school as compared to children with no migratory experience, but feel more integrated in their group of friends. This could be due to the fact that their friends might have also had migratory experience and speak the same foreign language. Comparatively, returnees feel less attached to the city they live in, they identify themselves less with being Romanian and they feel they are citizens of the European Union to a larger extent. The fact that returnees lived abroad accounts for their feeling of belonging rather to the European Union than to the community they live in at present.

By comparison with the other children, returnee children perceive a smaller linguistic diversity at school, as they have fewer classmates speaking other languages. This can be correlated with their considering themselves less integrated in their class. The languages they hear around them are similar to the ones reported by all the other children in the sample: English, French, Italian, Spanish and Hungarian.

12.4.3.5. Attitude Towards Learning Foreign Languages

Returnee children show greater interest than the other children in the sample in learning other languages than the major European languages when they are older. Of the major European languages they seem to favour Italian. Other major European languages they wish to learn when they grow up are English, French, German and Spanish. Just like the other children in the sample, they wish to learn these languages to be able to travel, for the job they would like to have and because they like to learn languages. The children in this category reported more than the other children that one of their reasons for learning languages is that their parents can also speak other languages. Figure 12.1 below shows the most salient features of the respondents in this category.

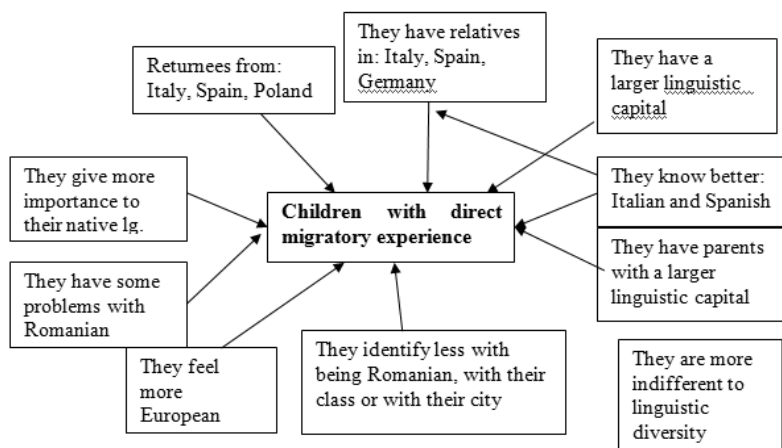


Fig. 12-1: Profile of children with direct migratory experience

12.4.4. Children with Indirect Migratory Experience (via their Parents)

Some of the interviewed children (31%) have an indirect migratory experience via their parents who worked abroad and returned, or only one of the parents returned, the other still being in a foreign country at work. These children's profile is partially similar to that of the children with a direct migratory experience. In these families there are more fathers who do not live with their children because they work. As with the returnees with direct migratory experience, the main occupations of the parents who have worked abroad are: installation operators or workers on car and various equipment assembly lines for fathers, and service operators or workers in commerce for mothers.

In the families of children with indirect migratory experience there are comparatively more relatives living outside the country than in the families of all the other children in the sample, especially in Italy, Spain and Germany. Consequently, they are more proficient in Italian, Spanish or German than the other children because they acquire these languages at home with their parents, grandparents, siblings and other relatives. They report being better at speaking and understanding these languages than at reading or writing them. The languages they wish to learn when they are older are Italian, English, French, German and Spanish. Italian is at the top of their preferences.

In terms of identity, there are no differences between these children and the rest of the sample. Both categories are identified by personality elements, but the children with indirect migratory experience do not report any aspects with an ethno-linguistic or religious connotation. They identify themselves as European citizens more than the rest of the children.

Experience with ethno-linguistic diversity is greater among these children since they mention hearing other languages to a larger extent. This is obvious when they report that their parents have friends who speak other languages than Romanian.

The indirect migratory experience, but in particular the direct one, has a great impact on the linguistic repertoire and on the attitude towards linguistic diversity, but does not have a major influence on the attitude towards foreign languages. These children have a much richer linguistic repertoire, as they know Italian and Spanish, languages that they have acquired from their parents/relatives who spent some time in the countries of Europe where these languages are spoken. Their level of competence is not necessarily a high one. Linguistic diversity (through contact with speakers of other languages from other countries or with relatives with a

migratory experience) for these children is something common, so they do not have any emotional reactions when they hear people speaking other languages. However, this does not diminish their interest in learning other foreign languages, showing a propensity for those languages spoken by their relatives who have a migratory experience. The Romanian educational context encourages this attitude, as most of the foreign languages studied in the Romanian schools overlap with those spoken by the adults who lived/worked abroad (Italian, German and French).

12.4.5. Adults with Migratory Experience

An important number of respondents in the overall sample (one third) report having worked or lived abroad. For about half of them, experience outside the country lasted for only a few months, and for a quarter of them, it lasted for more than five years. The most favoured destination countries were Italy, Germany and Spain.

Most of the respondents having had migratory experience (76%) report knowing the language spoken in the host country. Many of them (about one third of the overall sample) indicate that their partners (wife/husband) have also lived or worked abroad, the favoured destinations being again Italy, Germany and Spain.

12.4.5.1. Perceived Identity and Group Identification

Migratory experience does not make a significant difference in the way people see and describe themselves: respondents who have worked or lived abroad feel part of their families just about as much as those with no such an experience and, just as in the case of the rest of the sample, they present themselves very minimally in terms of ethno-linguistic or religious connotations. Even though the respondents' views in this respect are quite similar, there is some slightly less strong identification with friends and city/town (4% and 8% less cumulated positive answers for the two questions, respectively) for adults with migratory experience, which leads to a further hypothesis that migratory experience could lower community belonging feelings. In terms of citizenship, migratory adults also feel more Romanian than European, the reports for the two subgroups being quite close for the European identification (about 59%) and slightly lower for the Romanian identification (89% cumulated "just enough" and "very much" answers for respondents with migratory experience, as compared with 92%, which represents the corresponding percentage, for non-migrants).

Significantly less respondents who have worked or lived abroad report having most of their friends from their country of origin (82% affirmative answers, as compared with 97% affirmative answers for adults with no migratory experience); instead there is no difference with respect to the plurilingual capital of their friends or relatives, which leads to the idea that the migratory experience increases the chances of belonging to an ethnically diverse social network. Nevertheless, it should be noticed that the ethnic diversity of the social network is not necessarily perceived by the respondents as being positive.

12.4.5.2. Attitude Towards Linguistic Diversity

Attitude towards linguistic diversity seems to be linked with the experience of having worked or lived abroad. A small number of the migratory adults believe that it is better to meet people who speak one's own language (57% versus 68% for the non-migratory sub-sample) and more of them feel proud of relatives and/or friends who speak languages which are different from the official language of the country (64% versus 57%). Also, they show less emotional affinity with their native language (only 33% of them believe that their native language is the most beautiful, as compared with 42% of the non-migrants), as compared to adults with no migratory experience, and give less instrumental value to their native language, attributing more utility to other languages (20% think their native language is very useful and 35% believe that other languages are more useful, while for the non-migrants sub-sample the percentages are equal: 23% in favour of the native language and 23% in favour of other languages).

Migratory adults distinguish themselves neatly from the non-migrants in terms of personal experiences with foreign languages: 37% of the adult returnees report learning another language, other than their mother tongue/s, while only 19% of the respondents with no migratory experience do the same. Migratory experience accounts for a higher interest in learning a foreign language.

In conclusion, both children and adults with migratory experience feel proud to be able to speak the language of the country they lived in, showing thus a more positive attitude towards multilingualism than those who did not experience living abroad. As far as the linguistic capital is concerned, returnees show greater interest in speaking and learning foreign languages mostly in order to travel, to have a better job or to speak the language with relatives that also had a migratory experience.

Interestingly enough, returnees have a stronger sense of belonging to the European Union than to their own country and linguistic diversity is not something exceptional for them, but rather something normal. However, paradoxically, returnee children consider their mother tongue (Romanian) as being the most beautiful language.

Thus, we can state that both adults and children with migratory experience have a much richer linguistic repertoire. But, in the case of the adults (as shown by Sandu, 2010) this does not reach advanced levels of competence, as they can speak, but cannot read or write properly. It is true, nevertheless, that returnees are more proficient in the languages of the countries they have been to than individuals with no migratory experience, and, as the studies mentioned indicate, very many of them also have basic knowledge of other foreign languages.

Just like the children, this group of adults has a more positive attitude towards linguistic diversity due to their contact with people of different races, ethnicities, and religions encountered in the host countries.

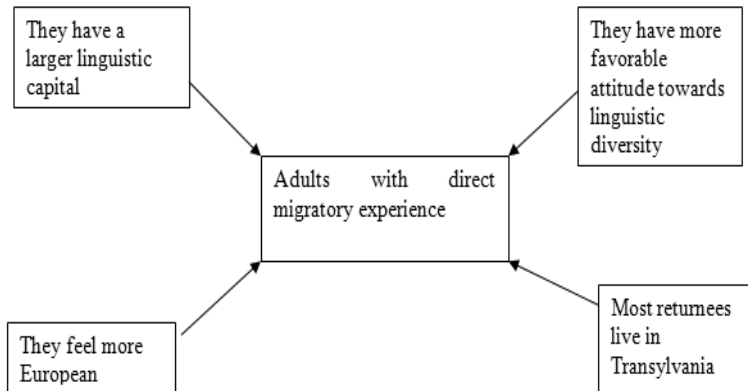


Fig. 12-2: Profile of adults with direct migratory experience

12.5. Conclusion and Directions for Further Research

Migratory experience leads to a drop in the degree to which subjects, both children and adults, feel they belong to the local community. Thus, they identify themselves less with the locality they live in and as being Romanians and define themselves more as European citizens.

There seems to be a relationship between migratory experience and the opportunity of belonging to a more ethnically diverse social network for

children and adults alike. This also seems to lead to different attitudes towards their mother tongue among children versus adults. Adults tend to be less attached to their native language, considering it as the most beautiful language to a lesser degree than non-migrant adults, while for children the results are reversed (returnees consider their mother tongue as the most beautiful to a larger degree than non-migrants). Also, adults with migratory experience feel proud to have relatives and friends who speak other languages than Romanian to a higher degree than non-migrants, whereas children returnees are rather indifferent towards this aspect.

Migratory experience also appears to be related to a higher probability that children and adults alike manifest increased interest in learning a foreign language, with most of these subjects studying, at the moment of the survey, another language (besides the language studied at school, in the case of children).

Both children and adults with migratory experience are more open towards ethno-linguistic diversity than non-migrant respondents. Adults consider to a higher degree that it is positive to have friends who originate from other countries than Romania, learn more foreign languages and consider that there are other languages as beautiful as their mother tongue. Parents' attitude towards ethno-linguistic diversity seems to influence their children's attitude, returnees being more open to learning foreign languages and towards linguistic diversity than non-migrant children.

We are well aware of the fact that due to the small number of returnees our data are not representative and we want to underline that this is just a case study. However, we do consider that our study may shed light on the general picture or profile of Romanian returnees.

Since one of the problems identified with returnee children is their re-enrollment in the Romanian educational system, we suggest that one of the further research directions be that of corroborating children's reports with teachers' identification of the actual problems these children may encounter. This could be done by interviewing the primary school teachers who have returnees in their classes. Based on the key problems identified by these interviews, measures could be taken to help the returnees integrate better in school.

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

LANGUAGE USE, PERCEPTION AND ATTITUDES AMONGST MALTESE PRIMARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

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13.1. Introduction—Language use in Malta

The Maltese Islands—area 316Km²—are located at a distance of 93km and 288km respectively from the closest points in Sicily and Libya, a position which has often been referred to as the crossroads between East and West. The population of Malta, which currently stands at 417,617¹ (National Statistics Organisation), has, unlike that of other nearby Mediterranean islands such as Lampedusa and Pantelleria, undergone rapid growth, particularly during the period of the Hospitaller Knights of the Order of St. John, when the population increased five-fold (Brincat, 2011: 148).

The geographical location of the Islands has resulted in a history characterised by a series of dominations: the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Normans, Angevins, Aragonese, Castilians and the Order of the Knights of St. John were all in Malta for periods of time of differing durations. After a brief period of French rule which followed the departure of the Knights of St. John from the Islands, Malta became part of the British Empire. British rule lasted from 1800–1964 when Malta achieved Independence. Malta became a Republic in 1974 and a member of the European Union in 2004.

¹ National Statistics Office, Malta, <http://nso.gov.mt/docs/sdds.html>, last update September 27, 2012.

Maltese, a Semitic language, owes its origins to the period of time (870-1090 A.D.) when the Arabs took over Malta. A variety of Arabic referred to as Siculo-Arabic is generally considered to be the precursor of the Maltese language of today. Various linguists have examined Maltese in terms of its linguistic stratigraphy. Most agree that Siculo-Arabic should be considered the principal stratum in the case of Maltese. Italian and English are superimposed/added to this principal stratum in the accounts of both Mifsud (1995) and Brincat (2011), who however disagree somewhat on the details, with Mifsud suggesting Italian as a superstratum and English as an adstratum, and Brincat claiming Sicilian as the superstratum in the case of Maltese, with two additional adstrata consisting of Italian and English.

In the present-day scenario, Maltese is the national language of Malta, whilst Maltese and English are recognised as co-official languages of the Islands. Malta is therefore officially bilingual. Moreover, most Maltese can be said to be bilingual in Maltese and English (sometimes trilingual with Italian), to differing degrees. Maltese is also rich in dialects² so that many Maltese, apart from being bilingual in Maltese and English, are also bidialectal in Standard Maltese and a dialect of Maltese. Maltese is the mother tongue of the vast majority of the population and is spoken all over the island. However, a number of Maltese citizens also claim either English, or Maltese and English simultaneously, as their first language. It is also important to note that Maltese is not a homogenous entity because, in spite of the size of the Islands, dialectal variation exists even in this relatively small language. Moreover, as Berruto (1998: 16) claims, in a bilingual context codeswitching and codemixing are always present, whether to a greater or to a lesser extent, and Malta is no exception to this³.

The linguistic scenario is a rich and complex one and language choices are governed by a large number of factors, non-linguistic as well as otherwise. English is the preferred choice in some domains, particularly domains where the written mode has precedence. Maltese would seem to be the preferred choice in other domains, particularly those in which the spoken mode tends to have precedence such as that involving legal

² While the so-called *djaletti* vary at the level of pronunciation (see e.g. Aquilina and Isserlin, 1981; Camilleri and Vanhove, 1994) they also vary at other levels of structure (see e.g. Borg, 1988a and 1988b; Agius, 1992). For an overview of recent work on dialects of Maltese see Borg (2011).

³ See Camilleri (1995); Caruana (2002); Sciriha (2004); Neame (2006); Sciriha and Vassallo (2006), among others.

proceedings and parliamentary debates, as well as in ecclesiastical quarters.

In the domain of the media, use of English seems to be preferred in those media which are primarily written, such as newspapers, with Maltese being the preferred choice in local radio and television which primarily involve the use of spoken language. Apart from the more traditional media, in which the presence of Maltese can be said to be very strong, one also needs to consider the internet. Although the presence of Maltese in this domain has increased, particularly in the last decade (Rosner and Joachimsen, 2011), English is still a strong competitor to Maltese insofar as the internet is concerned. This is probably not surprising given that this medium predominantly involves use of the written rather than the spoken mode. The sub-domain of computer-mediated communication such as that used in chatting is also interesting in this respect. Patterns of usage in this sub-domain can be seen to be changing rapidly, language use being characterised by a high degree of innovation. Some very interesting patterns in the chat-speak of young Maltese bilinguals are discussed in Brincat and Caruana (2011).

The field in which English can be said to really have precedence over Maltese is that of education. In this domain, Maltese and English are both obligatory subjects from the start of primary schooling. At Secondary level, students start learning one or two other languages, and may generally choose between Arabic, French, German, Italian and Spanish. Moreover, textbooks, as well as exams, for the vast majority of (non-literary) subjects are in English. This in spite of the fact that Malta has what Fabri (2010: 811) calls a “flourishing literary and cultural scene” and one in which, in the words of Adrian Grima (2008), one of Malta’s new generation of writers:

Most Maltese literature is written in Maltese. Many would not even accept the idea that a novel written in a different language by a Maltese person in Malta or elsewhere can be considered a work of Maltese literature

And yet, English becomes increasingly indispensable as one progresses through the educational system. Proficiency in both spoken, but particularly in written English, constitutes an advantage to those students who pursue their studies beyond secondary level.

13.2. Migration in Malta

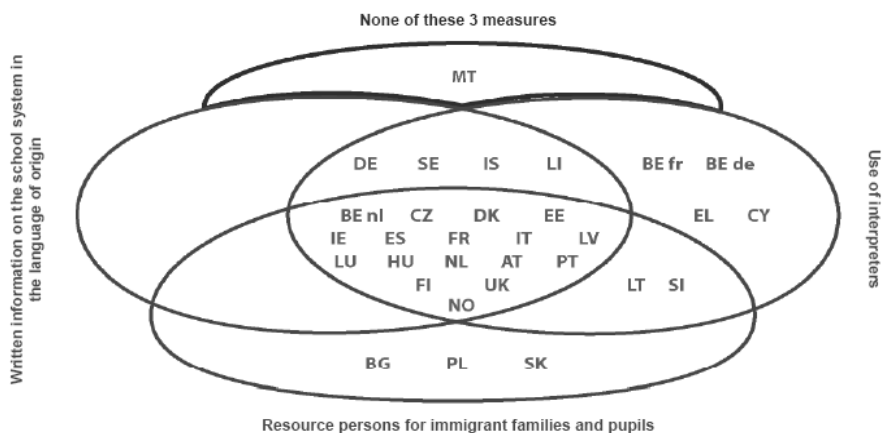
Malta has always been a meeting point at a crossroads in the centre of the Mediterranean: the presence of foreigners is widely accepted.

Furthermore, many Maltese citizens have direct experience of the social implications and difficulties faced by emigrants, as documented by Attard (1999): this is mainly due to the fact that the post-War years in Malta were characterised by massive emigration, mainly for economic reasons. Many Maltese citizens emigrated to Australia: other destinations included the US, Canada and Great Britain. This trend has practically ceased in recent years (in fact today there are also a number of returned migrants) and, with further economic development, the Maltese have become accustomed to having a number of individuals from overseas amongst them, often visiting the island for leisure or work purposes.

Recently, however, the renowned “Maltese hospitality” has been facing a severe test indeed: this is mainly due to the influx of illegal immigrants reaching the Maltese shores on a relatively regular basis. The current situation in Malta as far as foreign presence is concerned is extremely complex indeed, both from a social and from a linguistic perspective. The arrival of immigrants from North Africa to Southern Mediterranean countries is a well-known phenomenon and, given the geographical position of the Islands, these migratory movements have affected Malta greatly (see Farrugia, 2010; and Pulis, 2010). Immigration has led to considerable logistic problems and, at times, the island’s migrant centres, run by the Maltese security forces, has housed over 1,000 people.

Finally, another recent phenomenon which often goes unnoticed, even in the local media, is the arrival of young adults from Eastern European countries who are employed (legally or illegally) or exploited in various sectors of the local community—these range from workers in the building and manufacturing industries, to cleaners or waiters in restaurants and hotels, to dancers or entertainers working in local establishments and also to those involved in prostitution.

Although these migratory movements largely concern adults, who do not normally come to Malta accompanied by children, schools are not unaffected by the situation. In fact, as shall be elaborated upon further below, schools in Malta are becoming increasingly multicultural and multilingual, and headteachers, teachers and administrative staff often encounter problems in communicating with students as well as with their parents or guardians. As one may note in Fig. 13-1 below (Eurydice network, 2009) Malta is the only EU state which has not put in place any official provisions intended to enhance communication between schools and immigrant families:



Data not available: RO

Source: Eurydice.

Fig. 13-1: Measures enhancing communication between schools and immigrant families, general education (ISCED 0-3), 2007/08

The lacunae highlighted by the data provided in the figure above are confirmed in a study carried out amongst teachers and educational leaders by Francalanza and Gauci (2009). Participants in this study, which used interviews and focus groups as its main method of data collection, clearly highlight the difficulties which are sometimes encountered in order to accommodate children who are not born in Malta in local schools. Furthermore, current teacher-training programmes do not cater sufficiently for situations that may arise when one has to face students of different nationalities. These considerations are also confirmed in a study by Valentino (2011) whose research was carried out through ethnographic interviews with a college principal, a head-teacher, teachers and learning support assistants, as well as by means of classroom observations. One of the author's most significant conclusions is effectively summarised in the words of a school headteacher:

Jiena nħoss li għandu jkun hawn guidance kif għandi nimxi għax jiena stess lanqas naf. Jiena qatt ma kelli dawn it-tfal minn daqshekk pajjizi differenti.taf kemm hi ħaġa sabiħa. There is body in the school, diversity and richness. Nixtieq nġinħom iktar u jkun hawn għajjnuna iktar għax nibza' li jkun hawn min mhux qed jitkellem. (Valentino, 2011: 48)

I feel there should be guidance on how to tackle this situation as I admit that I myself do not know how to deal with it. I never had children from so many different countries in my school. ...you should see how beautiful it is. There is body in the school, diversity and richness. I would like to help them more and more support should be available as I am afraid that some of them do not speak up when they need to.

Having acknowledged the shortcomings of the Maltese educational system especially insofar as official policies and provisions regarding children of non-Maltese origin and their integration within schools, one must also state that formulating such policies is not easy, not only because of the recentness of immigration phenomena, but also because of the heterogeneity of these children's origins. In fact, in Malta there are no clear-cut ethnic groups which may warrant teaching in a minority language in schools, as is the case in the Netherlands (Dreissen, 2005) or in Germany (Gogolin, 2005). Consequently, the presence of speakers of different languages, hailing from diverse cultural milieus, poses various challenges to an educational system needing to integrate children who enter the system without Maltese, but worse still, without English. Comparing Malta to most European states, including small, multilingual states such as Luxembourg (Maurer-Hetto, 2009; Weber, 2009) is useful only to a certain extent, not only because of differences within the educational systems, but also because of the different nature and history of immigration in these contexts. Some analogies, on the other and are found when considering the situation in Cyprus:

During the past few years, an increased number of students, coming mainly from the Soviet Union and other foreign countries, have enrolled in primary education. As a consequence Cypriot education policy has been modified to include provisions that support the language and distinctive cultural features of the various ethnic groups, while also noting that these children need to learn Greek as their second language to foster a smoother transition into the Greek Cypriot society. (Spinthourakis *et al.*, 2008: 8)

In terms of actual numbers, figures show that the number of non-Maltese students in mainstream education in Malta is in fact not very high. According to National Statistics Office figures there were 2.8% such students at primary level in the academic year 2007-2008, 2% of whom attended State schools. Further to this, data collected directly from the Education Directorate for the year 2009-2010 show that there were 259 non-Maltese students in Maltese primary State schools. Figures for 2010-2011 refer to 373 non-Maltese children attending these schools, representing an increase of 94 students. Maltese infant schools (from ages

3-4) registered a shift from 46 foreign-born students in 2009-10 to 132 in 2010-11.

One further point worth making is that, contrary to common perception, the largest group of non-Maltese students hail from the UK and the second largest group from the Balkan States and Russia. Children of illegal immigrants who have been granted permits to stay for long periods of time in Malta or who have the possibility of obtaining Maltese citizenship, while possibly constituting the most challenging group insofar as both linguistic and cultural integration is concerned, in fact constitute the smallest of the three groups.

Although the number of non-Maltese students may not be very large, the demographic distribution facts are such that these students tend to cluster in two main areas, the Buġibba/St. Paul's Bay area, and the Marsaxlokk/Birżebbuġa area. Reasons for this are various but will not be dealt with here. According to Calleja, Grech and Cauchi (2010: 19) out of 555 foreign-born students in Maltese schools in the scholastic year 2008-09, 189 students (98 in Primary, 91 in Secondary), i.e. 34% of the total, were clustered in one of the nine State colleges on the Island. Consideration of these facts was useful in helping us identify the area schools from which we collected our data.

13.3. The MERIDIUM Project – Methodology

In Malta the MERIDIUM questionnaire was distributed in three primary schools. Schools were selected from the State sector both because preliminary research in these schools revealed that they suited the purpose of the MERIDIUM project of identifying schools attended not only by students born in Malta of Maltese parents, but also by students of non-Maltese parentage. The schools included in the MERIDIUM project were also chosen according to their geographical location: one was chosen from the Centre, the other two from the Northern region and from the South respectively, with the schools chosen being those having larger than usual numbers of students of non-Maltese parentage (see Section 13.2 above). Furthermore, since the sample for Maltese schools, at the planning stage of the MERIDIUM project, was set at 300 questionnaires (150 student questionnaires; 150 adult questionnaires) it was decided to limit the study to only one of the Educational Sectors in Malta, that of State schools (the other sectors comprise Church and Independent/Private schools), rather than extending it to all three sectors since this would have meant having too small a number of participants from each sector.

The sample is therefore not representative of the Maltese population. Rather, the schools were chosen specifically in order to reach the objectives of the MERIDIUM Project. Consequently, the results obtained are descriptive in nature and should be interpreted in the light of the characteristics of the chosen sample, as described below. In the presentation of results, a factor that has been taken into consideration is whether the participants' place of birth leads to different responses. In the case of children who form part of the MERIDIUM sample this is considered in unison with their parent's/parents'⁴ place of birth. For adults, place of birth of the participants' partner is also taken into consideration, where applicable. The analysis therefore takes account mainly of how the socio-demographic background of children and adults, and the possible diverse use of languages as a result of their place of birth, could shape their sociolinguistic reality, their identity, their experience of contact with ethno-linguistic diversity, their perceptions of diversity in everyday contexts and their attitudes toward language diversity. It is acknowledged that place of birth is not the sole characteristic that may influence these aspects of experience and that it may only provide limited information about an individual. Esser (2006: 13ff), for example, lists four main contexts (family and migration biography, country of origin, receiving country and ethnic group) which influence language acquisition and though one's place of birth fits within this framework, it also must be seen in the light of other factors. Finally, it must be stated that the results presented below constitute a selection of the findings from the MERIDIUM questionnaire distributed in Malta, those considered of most relevance in the context of the project as a whole.

13.4. Participants and Setting

A total of 194 questionnaires were distributed to children in Year 5 classes (attended by 10-year-olds). Participants could opt freely for a questionnaire in either one of the two official languages of Malta⁵. 163 (84%) of the children chose to answer the questionnaire in Maltese while 31 (16%) chose to complete the one in English. Every one of these questionnaires was distributed to the children's parents as parental influence is viewed as a possible predictor especially where use of

⁴ The term parent/s will be used throughout this paper. However, this refers both to participants' biological parents as well as to adoptive parents/guardians (as per questions included in the MERIDIUM questionnaire).

⁵ Malta was the only country within the MERIDIUM Project in which, due to the officially bilingual status of the nation, such a choice was offered.

languages, linguistic attitudes and issues related to identity are concerned. In all 168 parents returned the questionnaires, but four were blank.

As a result of the above, the total number of children's questionnaires which could effectively serve to obtain results for the MERIDIUM Project was 164, of which 142 (86.5%) were completed in Maltese and 22 (13.5%) in English. Out of these 164 questionnaires completed by parents, 135 (82%) were in Maltese and 29 (18%) were in English.

The total number of questionnaires therefore used for the descriptive quantitative analysis in Malta is 328 (164 children questionnaires and 164 parent questionnaires). This number represents 84.5% of the total of 388 questionnaires distributed to children in the three Maltese primary schools selected and to their parents.

13.5. Socio-demographic Data

13.5.1 Gender, Age and Background

The participants are first presented in terms of details on socio-demographic background, namely their gender, their place of birth and information regarding their personal background.

INFORMANT'S GENDER	N	%
Male	84	51.2
Female	80	48.8
TOTAL	164	100.0

Tab. 13-1: Children's gender

As shown in Tab. 13-1, 84 (51.2%) children who took part in the MERIDIUM project are male, whereas 80 (48.8%) are female. 157 (95.7%) of these participants were born in 2000 and were therefore 10 years old when the questionnaire was distributed. The remaining participants were a year older, as they were born in 1999, but they still formed part of Year 5 classes.

INFORMANT'S GENDER	N	%
Male	32	19.5
Female	132	80.5
TOTAL	164	100.0

Tab. 13-2: Adults' gender

As can be seen from Tab. 13-2 above, 32 (19.5%) of the parents who completed the questionnaire were male whereas 132 (80.5%) were female. 132 (80.5%) declared that they were married (or cohabitating with their partner), 26 (16%) said that they were separated (or not cohabitating with their partner). The remaining six adults did not answer this question. 14 (8.5%) of the parents were aged between 21-30 years; 98 (60%) between 31-40 years and 43 (26%) between 41-50 years. 9 (5.5%) parents were 51 years old or over.

As regards schooling, 21 (12.8%) of the adult participants attended school for a period of time ranging between 6-10 years, 86 (52%) for a period of time ranging between 11-13 years and 54 (33%) for 14 years or more. Three participants did not answer this question. As far as the participants' partners are concerned, 26 (16%) attended school for a period of time ranging between 6-10 years, 64 (39%) for a period of time ranging between 11-13 years and 40 (24%) for 14 years or more. This question was not completed by 34 (20.7%) participants.

13.5.2 Place of Birth

134 (81.7%) of the children included in the MERIDIUM Project were born in Malta whereas 13 (8%) were born elsewhere. 17 participants did not answer the question. Of the 13 participants who were not born in Malta, 11 indicated the country in which they were born. The countries are: Italy (2 participants), the UK (2 participants), Belgium, Bulgaria, Egypt, Germany, Russian Federation, Serbia and Thailand. Tab. 13-3 presents information regarding the children and their parents' place of birth (background):

CHILDREN'S PLACE OF BIRTH AND BACKGROUND	N	%
Born abroad - both parents foreign⁶	7	4.3
Born abroad - one parent foreign	6	3.7
Born in Malta - both parents foreign	8	4.9
Born in Malta - one parent foreign	22	13.4
Born in Malta - both parents Maltese	104	63.4
Missing data	17	10.4
TOTAL	164	100.0

Tab. 13-3: Birth status: children's birthplace and background (self-reported)

⁶ The term "foreign" here implies "not born in Malta". This term is used in the tables included in this paper for the sake of conciseness.

Of the 13 participants who said that they were born in a foreign state, 7 were born of parents who were both foreign, while 6 participants had one parent who was born in Malta. In addition to the above there were 8 other participants born in Malta both of whose parents were born abroad and another 22 participants having one parent born abroad and the other in Malta. The above indicates the complexity involved in understanding children's backgrounds in Maltese schools as a number of their familial situations are intertwined⁷. While the majority of children who answered the questionnaire were born in Malta of Maltese parents, the tally of students born abroad as well as that of those with either both parents or one parent born in a foreign state, is relatively high as it amounts to 43 students (26.2% of the total). One must also consider that 23 (14%) of the participants claim to have lived for more than six months away from Malta and 12 (7%) of the participants claim to have attended primary schooling abroad.

As far as adult participants are concerned, 131 (80%) participants were born in Malta whereas 33 (20%) were born elsewhere, namely in: the UK (7 participants), Australia (6 participants), Canada, Morocco (4 participants each), Russia, Serbia (2 participants each), USA, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Egypt, Iran, Netherlands and Thailand. 11 of the participants who were not born in Malta have been in Malta for less than 10 years, 10 of them have been in Malta between 11-20 years, 6 of them between 21 and 30 years and 6 of them for 31 years or more.

Information provided on participants' partners shows that 108 (66%) of them were born in Malta, whereas 23 (14%) were born abroad. 33 (20%) respondents did not answer this question. The 23 partners of participants who were born abroad were born in: the UK (6 participants), Italy (5 participants), Australia, Serbia (3 participants each), Bulgaria (2 participants), Canada, Egypt, Iran and Jordan. Tab. 13-4 presents the composition of the marital/partnership status of the adults in the sample.

⁷ In addition to the complexity referred to here, mainly based on the consideration that participants or their parents were born in different countries, one must add that the terminology used in this field is sometimes problematic if not outright misleading. It is hereby acknowledged that being born in a foreign state does not automatically imply that one may not feel integrated in the society in which s/he lives in; it is also acknowledged that terms such as "foreigner", "immigrant", "non-national" etc. are laden and may be interpreted incorrectly and also, in some cases, lead to prejudice. As far as the Maltese context is concerned, further considerations regarding these terminological issues may be found in Caruana and Klein (2008). For the purpose of this paper, these terms are used neutrally, and are based on considerations resulting from the participants' birthplace and/or country of origin.

This information is deemed to be central as far as the MERIDIUM sample is concerned because it gives an indication of language use in the household by taking into account both the place of birth of respondents and (where applicable) that of their partner:

MARITAL/PARTNERSHIP STATUS	N	%
Not answered / not applicable	33	<i>20.1</i>
Both partners born in Malta	95	<i>57.9</i>
Both partners NOT born in Malta	11	<i>6.7</i>
One partner born in Malta, the other abroad	25	<i>15.2</i>
TOTAL	164	<i>100.0</i>

Tab. 13-4: Marital/partnership status of adult informants

The category labelled as “not answered/not applicable” in Tab. 13-4 includes those participants who are separated or divorced from their partner (28 participants out of the 33 who form part of this category). 25 participants included in this category were born in Malta whereas 8 were not (3 in Morocco, 3 in USA, 1 in Holland, 1 in Canada).

13.6. Sociolinguistic Data

13.6.1 Children

The children participating in the study were asked about their language use when they communicate with relatives, peers, neighbours and teachers. Tab. 13-5 below shows results relating to language use at home, whereas those on language use in other social domains are presented in Tab. 13-6. The tally of raw scores in these tables is higher than the number of participants (n=164). This is due to the fact that in a number of cases participants made more than one choice:

INTERLOCUTOR	CHILDREN'S LANGUAGE USE AT HOME (N AND %)				
	Maltese	English	Other	No answer	Total
Mother	136 <i>63.0</i>	55 <i>25.5</i>	20 <i>9.0</i>	5 <i>2.5</i>	216 <i>100.0</i>
Father	127 <i>67.0</i>	35 <i>18.5</i>	15 <i>8.0</i>	12 <i>6.5</i>	189 <i>100.0</i>
Siblings	121 <i>64.0</i>	32 <i>17.0</i>	11 <i>6.0</i>	26 <i>13.0</i>	190 <i>100.0</i>
Grandparents	125 <i>66.0</i>	28 <i>15.0</i>	14 <i>7.5</i>	21 <i>11.5</i>	188 <i>100.0</i>

Tab. 13-5: Children's language use at home

As shown in Tab. 13-5 Maltese is the language used most frequently with close relatives, though English plays an important role in this context too⁸. These results are similar to others reported in recent studies including Sciriha and Vassallo (2006) and Peska (2009). None of the seven students who were born abroad of foreign parents use Maltese with any of their relatives. Two of them use English with their mother, their brothers/sisters and their grandparents while three of them use English with their father. In other cases languages of the participants' country of origin are mentioned and these included two varieties of Arabic, namely 'Egyptian' and 'Moroccan'. Maltese features as a language used to communicate with relatives in the case of participants' who were born abroad of whom only one parent was foreign. Two of these participants use Maltese with their mother (but not with their father), three of them use the language with their brothers/sisters and four of them with their grandparents. English also features among these participants' language use whereas other languages used pertain to the participants' birthplace and include Russian, Thai and Italian. As expected, Maltese on its own, as well as Maltese together with English, feature very prominently in the language use of participants born in Malta. This is a reflection of the country's bilingual situation but can also provide some noteworthy insights as children who are not born in Malta, besides having to gain familiarity with the language/s used locally, must also learn to adjust to the fact that their peers use more than one language and that, as a consequence of this, as explained in the introduction of this paper, code-switching and mixing may be rather natural for them⁹. In fact, when participants' birth status is taken into

⁸ For further information on English in Malta see Bonnici (2009).

⁹ For further examples of code-switching in Malta one may refer to Camilleri (1995) and Brincat (2011: 417-456).

consideration some differences do emerge: participants born abroad and participants born in Malta with both parents who are foreign normally only use one language at home whereas participants born in Malta use two languages with family members more often.

Results relating to language use outside the home are shown in the next table (Tab. 13-6):

INTERLOCUTOR	CHILDREN'S LANGUAGE USE OUTSIDE THE HOME (N AND %)				
	Maltese	English	Other	No answer	Total
Relatives	115 (60.5)	30 (16.0)	13 (7.0)	32 (16.5)	190 100.0
Classmates	129 (64.5)	44 (22.0)	1 (0.5)	26 (13.0)	200 100.0
Friends	124 (63.0)	40 (20.0)	4 (2.0)	29 (15.0)	197 100.0
Neighbours	117 (64.0)	25 (14.0)	5 (3.0)	35 (19.0)	182 100.0
Teachers	123 (61.0)	47 (23.0)	1 (0.5)	31 (15.5)	202 100.0

Tab. 13-6: Children's language use outside the home

The results shown in Tab. 13-6 generally confirm the trend already illustrated with reference to participants' use of language at home: participants born in Malta, who have at least one Maltese parent too, use more than one language quite regularly as they alternate between Maltese and English. It must also be noted that the tendency to use more than one language increases among all participants when they speak to their teachers: this is a reflection of the Maltese schooling system as English plays a very important role in this domain even though Maltese is used frequently especially for informal communication¹⁰.

Overall these data reveal that most Maltese participants use Maltese to communicate both at home and elsewhere but also that a number of them use English alongside Maltese quite often. This is a situation which is reflected in the local schooling system, where both languages are used often. Since English plays an important role in the educational system in Malta, students whose L1 is Maltese and who communicate almost exclusively in this language may find themselves at a disadvantage in schools¹¹. On the other hand, some students born abroad have to face a

¹⁰ See Caruana (2011).

¹¹ See Brincat (2007).

rather arduous situation as at home they may speak a language which is not used in Maltese schools: at school they therefore must switch to English to communicate with peers and teachers. English therefore takes on the role of a lingua franca and though it may be useful in class and in order to keep in touch with one's studies it does not necessarily help children integrate fully with their Maltese peers who are inclined to use Maltese rather than English especially in informal settings (including break time and in various sorts of friendly student-student or student-teacher interaction).

In addition to the above children were also asked in which languages other than Maltese and English, they can utter a simple sentence ("I want a sandwich"), and which other languages, beside Maltese and English, they could understand, read and write. Results to these questions, reported in Tab. 13-7, show that Italian plays an important role in Malta's sociolinguistic scene¹². However, one must also take account of the fact that the results presented here are from self-reported data (and therefore require further investigation) and that many of the participants who compiled the questionnaire had just undergone a language awareness programme at their school which happened to include some lessons in basic Italian.

LANGUAGE FUNCTION	CHILDREN'S COMPETENCE IN OTHER LANGUAGES, BESIDE MALTESE AND ENGLISH (N AND %) ¹³			
	Italian	Other	No answer	Total
Utter a simple sentence	24 (39.0)	12 (20.0)	25 (41.0)	61 (100.0)
Read	65 42.5	31 20.0	57 37.5	153 100.0
Write	58 38.0	26 17.0	67 45.0	151 100.0
Understand	75 44.0	35 20.5	60 35.5	170 100.0

Tab. 13-7: Children's competence in other languages, beside Maltese and English

¹² A number of participants answered 'English' or 'Maltese'. These do not form part of the tally included in Tab. 13-7, which includes only languages other than Maltese and English.

¹³ In tables where total cases do not reach the sum of 100, percentages are listed within brackets.

In Tab. 13-7 the ‘other’ category mainly includes languages indicated by participants who were either non-nationals or whose parents (or at least one of them) was born abroad. In fact answers were very much in line with the nationality of the participants or of their parents: languages mentioned included Serbian, Russian, Arabic and German. Other varieties, namely ‘Iranian’, ‘Egyptian’ and ‘Belgian’ were also mentioned by participants born in these countries, or whose parents are of these nationalities.

13.6.2 Adults

Of the 164 adults who took part in MERIDIUM, 117 (71.3%) participants state that Maltese is their mother tongue whereas 15 (9.1%) participants indicate English as their L1. In other cases participants’ mother tongue was reported to be one of the following: Arabic, Italian (3 participants each), Russian, Serbian (2 participants each), ‘Moroccan’, Bulgarian, Dutch, Flemish¹⁴, French, Thai (one participant each). 16 participants did not answer this question.

When asked about their knowledge of different languages it is interesting to note that, participants born in Malta still self-report a relatively high level of competence in Italian. In fact 35% of the participants claim that they are conversant in this language. This result is undoubtedly due to the age of the respondents: a number of them were probably exposed regularly to Italian via television when they were young¹⁵. Furthermore, on analysing the results, it is evident that competence in this language is much higher among those participants who were born in Malta and much less so in participants who were not (excluding, of course, those who were born in Italy). A number of participants who were not born in Malta, besides mentioning their own mother tongue/s, also claimed to be conversant in languages which are quite widespread in specific contexts (e.g. participants born in Eastern European countries included Russian among the languages they know).

Participants were asked about their language use at home and outside. Tab. 13-8 below presents results relating to language use at home. The table gives raw scores, and therefore total tallies are higher than the number of participants (164). This is due to the fact that in a number of

¹⁴ ‘Dutch’ and ‘Flemish’ were the languages indicated by two adult participants, respectively born in the Netherlands and in Belgium. The nomenclature used by the participants is retained in the report of their responses in this section.

¹⁵ The historical role and status of Italian has been described by Cassola (1998) and by Brincat (2003 and 2011). The acquisition of Italian via television in Malta is also extensively documented in Brincat (1998) and in Caruana (2003 and 2006).

cases participants indicated that they use more than one language in the different circumstances:

INTERLOCUTOR	ADULTS' LANGUAGE USE WITHIN THE FAMILY DOMAIN (N AND %)				
	Maltese	English	Other	No answer	Total
Partner / spouse	108 <i>75.5</i>	16 <i>11.0</i>	12 <i>8.0</i>	7 <i>5.5</i>	143 <i>100.0</i>
Children	138 <i>64.0</i>	54 <i>25.0</i>	12 <i>5.5</i>	12 <i>5.5</i>	216 <i>100.0</i>
Siblings	125 <i>68.0</i>	16 <i>9.0</i>	18 <i>10.0</i>	24 <i>13.0</i>	183 <i>100.0</i>
Parents	120 <i>70.0</i>	16 <i>9.0</i>	10 <i>6.0</i>	25 <i>15.0</i>	171 <i>100.0</i>
Grandparents	90 <i>52.5</i>	7 <i>4.0</i>	15 <i>9.0</i>	59 <i>34.5</i>	171 <i>100.0</i>

Tab. 13-8: Adults' language use within the family domain

From the results reported in the table above, one may note that participants use English more frequently with their children than they do with other members of their families. Though the majority of participants born in Malta speak to their children in Maltese, about 25% of them also use English. However, there is also the tendency to use English among participants not born in Malta, one reason for this being that 18 out of the 33 participants forming this group were born in English-speaking countries (the UK, Australia, Canada and the US). In this group there are also five participants who use say that they use both Maltese and English when speaking to their children. These are participants who have been in Malta for over twenty years.

When considering participants also in the light of their partner's birthplace, only four participants in the group 'one partner born in Malta, the other abroad' state that they speak a language other than Maltese and English to their children (Arabic and Italian, with the latter mentioned three times). In the case of the category 'both partners not born in Malta' (composed of 11 participants) foreign languages (including Arabic, Serbian, Bulgarian and Russian) are mentioned by five participants. The remaining six participants state that they speak English to their children.

Tab. 13-9 gives results on participants' language use outside the home. Even in this case, since raw scores are provided, tallies are higher than the number of participants (164).

INTERLOCUTOR	ADULTS' LANGUAGE USE OUTSIDE THE FAMILY DOMAIN (N AND %)				
	Maltese	English	Other	No answer	Total
Relatives	129	36	10	20	195
	<i>66.0</i>	<i>18.5</i>	<i>5.0</i>	<i>10.5</i>	<i>100.0</i>
Workmates	98	35	2	35	170
	<i>57.0</i>	<i>21.0</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>21.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>
Friends	128	44	13	22	207
	<i>62.0</i>	<i>21.0</i>	<i>6.0</i>	<i>11.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>
Neighbours	129	36	5	23	193
	<i>67.0</i>	<i>18.5</i>	<i>2.5</i>	<i>12.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Tab. 13-9: Adults' language use outside the family domain

Results indicate that English also plays an important role in the contexts listed in Tab. 13-9. This is especially so for the 33 participants not born in Malta (18 of whom are born in English speaking countries): 13 of the participants forming part of this group use English to speak to relatives (four use Maltese; three use Arabic, and one each Dutch, French and Russian); 15 use English in the workplace (six use Maltese and one uses Dutch); 24 use English with friends (six use Maltese, two use Arabic, Serbian and one each Dutch, French and Russian); 22 use English with neighbours (six use Maltese, two use Arabic and one uses Serbian). Participants were also asked about their use of official and foreign languages. Tab. 13-10 below reports results relating to the use of Maltese and English, while Tab. 13-11 describes the use of foreign language/s:

LANGUAGE FUNCTION	ADULTS' USE OF THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE TO...			
	Yes	No	No answer	Total
Work	94	36	34	164
	<i>57.3</i>	<i>22.0</i>	<i>20.7</i>	<i>100.0</i>
Read	132	16	16	164
	<i>80.5</i>	<i>9.8</i>	<i>9.8</i>	<i>100.0</i>
Discuss with friends/relatives	127	14	23	164
	<i>77.4</i>	<i>8.5</i>	<i>14.0</i>	<i>100.0</i>
Write	102	40	22	164
	<i>62.2</i>	<i>24.4</i>	<i>13.4</i>	<i>100.0</i>
Watch films	141	8	15	164
	<i>86.0</i>	<i>4.9</i>	<i>9.1</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Tab. 13-10: Adults' use of the official languages to...

LANGUAGE FUNCTION	ADULTS' USE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE/S TO...			
	(N AND %)			
	Yes	No	No answer	Total
Work	33	92	39	164
	20.1	56.1	23.8	100.0
Read	50	81	33	164
	30.5	49.4	20.1	100.0
Discuss with friends/relatives	49	81	34	164
	29.9	49.4	20.7	100.0
Write	40	87	37	164
	24.4	53.0	22.6	100.0
Watch films	89	51	24	164
	54.3	31.1	14.6	100.0

Tab. 13-11: Adults' use of foreign language/s to...

In the case of the results reported in the two tables above, the differences registered are compounded by the fact that those who responded "no" also include a number of individuals who responded in this way either because they are unemployed or because they are housewives. The percentages relating to the use of Maltese and English are highest for the activities of reading and watching films, very much in line with considerations included in Brincat (2011: 418). Foreign languages are also used often (54.3%, as reported in Table 13-11) in order to watch films, undoubtedly because of the easy access to the Italian media, particularly television, in Malta (see Caruana 2003 and 2006 as well as Borg *et al.* 2009).

These variables do not vary much when measured against marital/partnership status except in the case of the response to the question regarding the use of foreign languages in discussions with friends or relatives, as illustrated in Tab. 13-12: from these data one can observe that, as one might expect, a wider use of foreign languages (i.e. languages other than Maltese/English) is reported in the groups in which participants' and/or their partners were not born in Malta.

MARITAL/PARTNERSHIP STATUS	“DURING THE LAST WEEK DID YOU USE A LANGUAGE, OTHER THAN MALTESE AND/OR ENGLISH, TO DISCUSS WITH FRIENDS/RELATIVES?” (N AND %)		
	No	Yes	Total
Not answered / not applicable	12 (50.0)	12 (50.0)	24 (100.0)
Both partners born in Malta	55 (73.3)	20 (26.7)	75 (100.0)
Both partners NOT born in Malta	5 (50.0)	5 (50.0)	10 (100.0)
One partner born in Malta, the other abroad	9 (43.0)	12 (57.0)	21 (100.0)
TOTAL	81 62.3	49 37.7	130 100.0

Tab. 13-12: (BQ51c) “During the last week did you use a language, other than Maltese and/or English, to discuss with friends/relatives?”: marital/partnership status-disaggregated data

Overall, the picture that emerges regarding use of different languages by adult participants who participated in the MERIDIUM survey is somewhat less clear-cut than that of the children. Whereas most of the 14 children who were born abroad use only one language quite often, in the case of adults born abroad there is the tendency to use both English and their mother tongue (with the exception, of course, of participants whose first language is English itself). One must consider that 24 out of the 33 adult participants have been in Malta for over ten years and this will undoubtedly have contributed to “shaping” their habits of language given the local context. In this regard, Esser (2006: 23) refers to several studies which indicate that duration of stay in a country has significant effects on L2 acquisition. English and Maltese, on the other hand, are used simultaneously by around 25% of adult participants born in Malta and choosing one language rather than the other depends on the context and on the social network in which one is involved.

13.7. Identity

13.7.1 Children

When children were asked to describe themselves in five words, only two participants (one is a national with Maltese parents and another is a non-national with both parents being non-Maltese) used terms to denote

ethno-linguistic or religious identity. In most cases adjectives were used to describe their personality, a physical quality as well as some activity they enjoy. In this respect, therefore, nationality and ethnic features did not affect the way the participants in Malta described themselves.

The participants were also asked questions in order to determine the extent to which they associate their identity with the narrower and broader context they live in. They were therefore asked to what extent they feel part of their class, their group of friends, the city/town/village in which they live. They were also asked to what extent they feel Maltese or European. Results are reported in percentages in Tab. 13-13:

“HOW MUCH DO YOU FEEL ... ?”	OPTIONS (%)					
	Very much	Just enough	A little bit	Not at all	I don't know	No answer
Part of your class	60.5	26.9	6.6	3.0	2.4	0.6
Part of your group of friends	70.1	16.2	10.8	1.8	0.6	0.6
Part of your city/town/village	59.3	21.0	7.2	7.8	4.2	0.6
Maltese	62.3	16.2	15.0	4.8	1.8	0.0
European	34.7	24.0	10.2	9.0	22.2	0.0

Tab. 13-13: (AQ12-16) “How much do you feel ... ?”

Results indicate that the country of birth has an effect on the responses given: generally Maltese children whose parents are both Maltese feel more part of the contexts presented in Tab. 13-13¹⁶. Children born in Malta (even of foreign parents) generally show a higher degree of integration than children born abroad. This is especially evident in the results registered when participants were asked, “How much do you feel Maltese?” as shown in Tab. 13-14:

¹⁶ A similar consideration, albeit in a totally different context, is reported in Golan and Olshtain (2011).

INFORMANT'S BIRTH STATUS	"HOW MUCH DO YOU FEEL MALTESE?" (N AND %)					Total
	Very much	Just enough	A little bit	Not at all	I don't know	
Born abroad - both parents foreign	0 -	1 (14.3)	5 (71.4)	1 (14.3)	0 -	7 (100.0)
Born abroad - one parent foreign	0 -	3 (50.0)	1 (16.7)	2 (33.3)	0 -	7 (100.0)
Born in Malta - both parents foreign	5 (62.5)	0 -	2 (25.0)	1 (12.5)	0 -	8 (100.0)
Born in Malta - one parent foreign	9 (40.9)	9 (40.9)	2 (9.1)	0 -	2 (9.1)	22 (100.0)
Born in Malta - both parents Maltese	81 78.6	11 10.6	11 10.6	0 -	1 1.2	103 100.0
Missing data	7 (77.9)	2 (11.8)	4 (23.5)	4 (23.5)	0 -	17 (100.0)
TOTAL	102 62.2	26 15.9	25 15.2	8 4.9	3 1.8	164 100.0

Tab. 13-14: (AQ15) "How much do you feel Maltese?": children's birthplace and background-disaggregated data

In this case, as can be seen from Tab. 13-14, children born in Malta (most notably those whose parents are Maltese) feel much more "Maltese" than others born elsewhere. Although further research is clearly necessary given the small numbers in the various cells, these data nonetheless provide an indication that, at least in the case of the MERIDIUM sample, there seems to be a link between birthplace and "feeling Maltese", which is an aspect of one's identity.

Participants were also asked which country they feel that they are citizens of: 110 (67%) participants state that they feel that they are Maltese citizens. The number of participants, however, who feel that they are citizens of another country is quite high, especially when one considers that only 13 participants were not born in Malta. In fact a total of 43 (26%) participants stated that they felt that they were citizens of a foreign state. 11 (7%) participants did not answer this question. In this case the influence of participants' place of birth is evident: 11 of the 13 participants

not born in Malta state that they do not feel that they are Maltese citizens. Conversely, of the 8 participants born in Malta of both a foreign mother and father, only 2 state that they felt that they are citizens of a foreign state. Parental influence is manifest in the answer of some participants born in Malta with at least one foreign parent, as 7 out of 22 state their citizenship to be the same as that of their foreign mother/father.

13.7.2 Adults

As in the case of the children who formed part of the MERIDIUM sample, adults were also asked to what extent they associate their identity with the contexts they live in. Results are reported in percentages in Tab. 13-15:

"HOW MUCH DO YOU FEEL ... ?"	OPTIONS (%)					
	Very much	Just enough	A little bit	Not at all	I don't know	No answer
Part of your family	85.4	9.1	2.4	0.6	1.8	0.6
Part of your group of friends	38.4	32.9	14.0	4.3	9.1	1.2
Part of your city/town/village	27.4	46.3	18.9	4.3	3.0	0.0
Maltese	51.8	34.8	7.3	3.0	3.0	0.0
European	20.1	29.9	25.6	12.2	10.4	1.8

Tab. 13-15: (BQ15-19) "How much do you feel ... ?"

Though the adults' results follow a similar pattern to those provided by children, there is a considerable decrease in the numbers of those who choose the "very much" option. Whereas children feel very much part of their group of friends, this trend is not so strong in the responses provided by adults. Results indicate that marital/partnership status can yield effects on the response to the question: "How much do you feel Maltese?" as shown in the table below:

INFORMANT'S MARITAL/ PARTNERSHIP STATUS	"HOW MUCH DO YOU FEEL MALTESE?" (N AND %)					
	Very much	Just enough	A little bit	Not at all	I don't know	Total
Not answered / not applicable	17 (51.5)	8 (24.2)	4 (12.1)	3 (9.1)	1 (3.0)	33 (100.0)
Both partners born in Malta	53 (55.8)	35 (36.8)	5 (5.3)	0 -	2 (2.1)	95 (100.0)
Both partners NOT born in Malta	4 (36.4)	3 (27.3)	2 (18.2)	2 (18.2)	0 -	11 (100.0)
One partner born in Malta, the other abroad	11 (44.0)	11 (44.0)	1 (4.0)	0 -	2 (8.0)	25 (100.0)
TOTAL	85 51.8	57 34.8	12 7.3	5 3.0	5 3.0	164 100.0

Tab. 13-16: (BQ18) "How much do you feel Maltese?": marital/partnership status-disaggregated data

The data reported in Tab. 13-16 are not as clear-cut as those reported for the children's sample (Tab. 13-14). This may be due to the fact that (as reported in Section 13.5.2) a number of the participants and/or their partner have been in Malta for a considerable amount of time, despite having been born abroad. The percentage of adults whose partner is also Maltese who chose the "very much" option is higher than that registered in the other groups. It is also noteworthy that only 2 participants out of the 11 who form part of the category "both partners not born in Malta" state that they do not feel Maltese at all and another 2 state that they only feel "a little bit" Maltese. This suggests that most of the participants who are part of this small group feel that they are integrated within Maltese society. However data regarding the "not answered/not applicable" group (which include 8 participants who were born abroad) show that one should not make this claim too strongly as 7 participants who were born abroad (out of a total of 33 who form part of this group) state that they do not feel Maltese at all or that they only feel "a little bit" Maltese.

13.8. Experience of Contact with Ethno-linguistic Diversity

13.8.1 Children

Participants were asked how often they hear other languages, besides Maltese and English, being spoken. 56.7% claim that they sometimes hear people speaking languages other than English or Maltese. 32.3% say it happens often whereas 9.8% say it never happens. 37.8% of the children who form part of the MERIDIUM sample claim that they have friends who do not attend their same school who speak a language other than English or Maltese. Most of these state that they speak Italian. A very similar number (37.2%) of this participant group claims that their parents have friends who speak a language other than English or Maltese. Yet again Italian is indicated as the most widespread language, followed, somewhat surprisingly by German and then by Russian. 36% claim that they have relatives who speak a language other than English or Maltese. Again Italian is indicated to be the most widespread language, followed by 'Australian' [this may be due to the children having experience of visiting relatives who form part of Maltese communities in Australia] and then by French, Russian and Spanish.

13.8.2 Adults

More than half of the adults who formed part of the MERIDIUM sample (52.4%) state that they hear people speaking languages other than Maltese and English "occasionally". 42.7% state that this happens often and only a mere 3% say that it never happens. This result is quite heavily conditioned by one's marital / partnership status, as adult participants who form part of the "both partners not born in Malta" and the "one partner born in Malta, the other abroad" groups are more likely to hear foreign vernaculars being spoken when compared to the category "both partners born in Malta". This is probably due to the fact that since one or both partners were not born in Malta they may have relatives or friends who speak other languages, besides Maltese and/or English. In fact, the percentage of adult participants who state that they have foreign relatives or friends who speak languages other than Maltese and English amounts to 56% of the total of the sample: the language which is cited more often is overwhelmingly Italian in the case of Maltese nationals while participants born abroad mention a number of other languages including Russian, German, Serbian and French.

13.9. Perceptions about Diversity in the Everyday Life Context

13.9.1 Children

When the children who form part of the MERIDIUM sample were asked how many pupils in their school speak languages other than Maltese and English, the response was as follows: 22 (13.4%) participants stated that they believe that many children do so, 30 (18.3%) participants opted for “quite a few” whereas 56 participants (34.1%) stated that only a few children spoke languages other than Maltese and English. Only 13 (7.9%) participants chose the “no one” option. The remaining 43 participants either gave “I don’t know” as an answer, or did not provide a reply. Once again the language mentioned most frequently when students were asked to report the language/s which, according to them, their peers spoke (besides Maltese and English) was Italian, followed quite closely by French. However, in the case of the answers to this question, one also observes how students’ perception of languages probably differs quite considerably from what occurs in reality: in fact, among the participants born in Malta, 16 mentioned Arabic as a language their peers speak, another 16 mentioned Russian and another 18 mentioned Chinese. The nature of the MERIDIUM sample renders it quite unlikely that these languages are spoken to the extent suggested and it is quite probable that our participants equated languages they do not comprehend with the languages they included in their reply to this question. Arabic and Chinese, in fact are often perceived as incomprehensible and “difficult”. The frequent mention of Russian, on the other hand, could also be a reflection of the current situation in Malta which has, in recent years, experienced a considerable increase in the number of foreigners from Eastern European countries. Some differences also emerge in the response of children born abroad or whose parents are foreign, undoubtedly because of their contact with family members of foreign nationality: in fact languages such as Serbian and Bulgarian are mentioned by these participants but not by participants who were born in Malta of Maltese parents.

One of the questions which the participants responded to with most interest was the one in which they were asked to identify four languages which are not written using Latin characters, namely Cyrillic, Arabic, Chinese and Devanagari. The following table summarises the answers provided:

SCRIPT	ANSWERS (N AND %)				
	Correct	Wrong	No answer	I don't know	Total
Cyrillic	19	57	83	5	164
	<i>11.6</i>	<i>34.7</i>	<i>50.6</i>	<i>3.1</i>	<i>100.0</i>
Arabic	87	34	41	2	164
	<i>53.0</i>	<i>20.7</i>	<i>25.0</i>	<i>1.3</i>	<i>100.0</i>
Chinese	121	18	23	2	164
	<i>73.8</i>	<i>10.9</i>	<i>14.0</i>	<i>1.3</i>	<i>100.0</i>
Devanagari	1	78	79	6	164
	<i>0.6</i>	<i>47.6</i>	<i>48.1</i>	<i>3.7</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Tab. 13-17: (AQ35) “Which language is it?”

As one may notice, participants are very familiar with Chinese script, quite familiar with Arabic characters, but much less so with Cyrillic and Devanagari. Whilst the lack of familiarity with Cyrillic and Devanagari was to be expected, one could have imagined a higher degree of familiarity with Arabic script when considering the proximity of Malta with Arabic speaking countries and the fact that Maltese is a Semitic language. In the results there are only very marginal differences in the amount of correct responses provided in answers to this question by children born in Malta as compared to children born abroad: however, it must be said that informants born in Eastern European countries or in Arabic-speaking territories, or those with one or both parents born in these regions, were obviously among those who recognised Cyrillic or Arabic scripts more promptly.

13.9.2 Adults

When the adults who formed part of the MERIDIUM sample were asked, in their opinion, how many people in their neighbourhood are not Maltese nationals, the response was as follows: 36% answered “many”; 23.2% answered “quite a few”; 22% answered “a few” and 7.3% said “none”. 19 participants either did not answer this question or gave “I don’t know” as an answer. Results differed when participants were asked how many people in their neighbourhood speak languages other than Maltese and English. In this case 21.3% answered “many”; 17.7% answered “quite a few”; 37.2% answered “a few” and 9.8% said “none”. 23 participants either did not answer this question or stated “I don’t know”. The language which featured most frequently in the response to this question was Arabic, which was mentioned 34 times. In addition to this, other varieties which are related to Arabic were mentioned, namely ‘Moroccan’ (3 times),

‘Tunisian’ (twice) and ‘Libyan’ (once). Somewhat surprisingly, Russian and ‘African’ (both mentioned 17 times) were also included in the response to this question. These were followed by Italian (mentioned 16 times). The response to this question, as already hinted when referring to answers given by the children included in the sample, gives another indication of some changing aspects of the Maltese linguistic scene. In fact, it is clear that Russian is perceived as being present in Malta today as a result of recent migratory flows and that there is also a considerable perception of the presence of Arabic and African languages. Whether such perceptions do indeed correspond to the extent to which these languages are really present in Malta is an issue which merits investigation.

As in the case of the children’s sample, adults were required to name four languages which are not written using Latin characters, namely Cyrillic, Arabic, Chinese and Devanagari. The following table summarises the answers provided:

SCRIPT	ANSWERS (N AND %)				Total
	Correct	Wrong	No answer	I don’t know	
Cyrillic	65 <i>39.6</i>	49 <i>29.8</i>	45 <i>27.4</i>	5 <i>3.2</i>	164 <i>100.0</i>
Arabic	142 <i>86.6</i>	5 <i>3.0</i>	16 <i>9.7</i>	1 <i>0.7</i>	164 <i>100.0</i>
Chinese	131 <i>79.9</i>	13 <i>7.9</i>	20 <i>12.2</i>	0 <i>-</i>	164 <i>100.0</i>
Devanagari	17 <i>10.4</i>	60 <i>36.6</i>	77 <i>47.0</i>	10 <i>6.0</i>	164 <i>100.0</i>

Tab. 13-18: (BQ41) “Which language is it?”

When compared to the children’s results one notes that, in the case of adults, the amount of correct responses is considerably higher as compared to the children’s responses. Also, Arabic script surpasses Chinese as the most recognisable one. Furthermore the fact that almost 40% of the sample identified Cyrillic script correctly is a possible further indication of the presence of Eastern European languages in Malta today as a result of recent migration from the regions where these languages are spoken.

13.10. Opinions and Attitudes about Ethno-linguistic Diversity

13.10.1 Children

When participants' were asked to rate to what extent they think of their mother tongue as "beautiful", most of the results (64%) clustered in the option "it's beautiful, but there are other beautiful languages as well" which is the most neutral response of the three options provided, the other two being: "I think that the language/s that I have learnt at home is/are the most beautiful" and "I think other languages are more beautiful". In this case no noteworthy differences were noted when this response was examined against the birth status of the respondents. Participants were asked to describe their reactions when they hear languages which are unfamiliar to them:

OPTIONS	N	%
Amused (<i>niehu pjaċir</i>)	71	43.3
Curious	49	29.9
Annoyed	4	2.4
Scared	4	2.4
I don't take any notice	17	10.4
I don't know	18	11.0
Missing data	1	0.6
TOTAL	164	100.0

Tab. 13-19: (AQ33) "When I hear someone speaking a language which is different from Maltese/English in the place where I live, I feel ..."

A rather high percentage (43.3%) answered 'amused' to this question. However, in this case it must be pointed out that the term "amused" was translated into Maltese by "*niehu pjaċir*", which literally means "I enjoy it". The choice of this option can therefore possibly be explained by the fact that the Maltese translation has much more positive connotations than the English equivalent. This result should therefore be interpreted in the light of the fact that most participants completed the questionnaire in Maltese. Again, in this case no noteworthy differences were noted when this response was examined against the birth status of the respondents.

Participants were asked to indicate whether, when they are older, they would like to know how to speak other languages besides those they already know or are studying. An overwhelming number of 156 (95.1%) participants responded positively to this question. This result augurs well

in view of the fact that one of the goals of EU language policies is that of encouraging citizens to be able to communicate in two languages over and above their mother tongue (Commission of the European Communities, 2008: 5)¹⁷. The reasons given to accompany this response are as follows: 110 (67.1%) stated that they would like to learn languages in order to travel; 87 (53%) because they would like to follow TV programmes in foreign languages; 84 (51.2%) because languages could be important for their future occupation; 64 (39%) because they like studying languages; 41 (25%) because one or both of their parents know how to speak other languages and 29 (17.7%) participants because they have friends who speak other languages. The trend that emerges from the response to this question is that friends and parents have considerably less influence on the participants' desire to learn new languages when compared to travel opportunities, the influence of television (once again, in this case one must keep in mind that Italian television is quite popular in Malta) and opportunities that languages might offer for future employment. The languages mentioned most frequently are those studied in Maltese schools as foreign languages: Italian (mentioned 71 times); French (58); Spanish (47); German (31); Arabic (8). Other languages were mentioned only sporadically. Again, in this case there are no noteworthy differences when this response was examined against the birth status of the respondents.

13.10.2 Adults

Generally, positive opinions were expressed regarding having friends who are from a country which is not one's own. This is evident both in the response of participants whose partner is Maltese as well as in those of participants who are not Maltese or who are in a mixed-nationality relationship. In all categories over 80% agreed that it is positive to have foreign friends and no major differences emerge between the groups. There was also general consensus that it is not necessarily better to meet people who speak one's own languages. However, approximately one-third of the participants expressed the view that meeting people with whom one may communicate without having to surmount language barriers is an advantage. Some differences emerged between the groups when asked whether having people who speak different languages in the same neighbourhood may lead to problems:

¹⁷ See also Camilleri (2007).

INFORMANT'S MARITAL/PARTNERSHIP STATUS	OPTIONS (N AND %)				Total
	I do not agree	I agree	I don't know	Not answered	
Not answered / not applicable	15 (45.5)	9 (27.3)	9 (27.3)	0 -	33 (100.0)
Both partners born in Malta	43 (45.3)	27 (28.4)	24 (25.3)	1 (1.1)	95 (100.0)
Both partners NOT born in Malta	9 (81.8)	1 (9.1)	0 -	1 (9.1)	11 (100.0)
One partner born in Malta, the other abroad	17 (68.0)	4 (16.0)	4 (16.0)	0 -	25 (100.0)
TOTAL	84 51.2	41 25.0	37 22.6	2 1.2	164 100.0

**Tab. 13-20: (BQ23) “When there are people who speak different languages living in the same neighbourhood there may be problems”:
marital/partnership status-disaggregated data**

As indicated from the results included in the table above, 81.8% of the participants in the “both partners not born in Malta” group and 68% of the participants in the “one partner born in Malta, the other abroad” group, did not agree with the statement for which results are presented in Tab. 13-20. On the other hand this percentage was considerably lower (45.3%) in the “both partners born in Malta” group.

Differences between groups were also registered for participants’ reaction to the statement, “If there is respect and tolerance among people, speaking different languages is not a problem”:

INFORMANT'S MARITAL/PARTNERSHIP STATUS	OPTIONS (N AND %)				Total
	I do not agree	I agree	I don't know	Not answered	
Not answered / not applicable	8 (24.2)	21 (63.6)	3 (9.1)	1 (3.0)	33 (100.0)
Both partners born in Malta	5 (5.3)	69 (72.6)	19 (20)	2 (2.1)	95 (100.0)
Both partners NOT born in Malta	0 -	10 (90.9)	0 -	1 (9.1)	11 (100.0)
One partner born in Malta, the other abroad	3 (12.0)	20 (80.0)	2 (8.0)	0 -	25 (100.0)
TOTAL	16 9.8	120 73.2	24 14.6	4 2.4	164 100.0

Tab. 13-21: (BQ24) “If there is respect and tolerance among people, speaking different languages is not a problem”: marital/partnership status-disaggregated data

Though the results outlined in the table above indicate that there is an overwhelming majority of participants who agreed with the above-mentioned statement, the percentages are highest in the case of the “both partners not born in Malta” group (90.9%) followed by the “one partner born in Malta, the other abroad” group (80%).

13.11. Conclusion

Despite the fact that the number of foreign students in Maltese primary classrooms is not very large, this number has risen in the recent years. This situation presents a number of challenges and information gathered while collecting data in schools for the MERIDIUM Project, as well as results of recent research (e.g. Francalanza and Gauci, 2009; Calleja, Grech and Cauchi, 2010; Valentino, 2011), show that these students are still relatively “invisible” within the local schooling system, especially where policies and planning are concerned. Issues concerning these students are sometimes considered within the theoretical and practical framework of “diversity” (Bartolo, Mol Lous and Hofsäass, 2007), in which various pedagogical suggestions are put forward in order to respond to their needs. Yet, this is a broad area within the field of Education whereas, also in consideration of today’s situation in the Mediterranean area, school

integration issues related to immigrant students may require further specialisation as:

the benefits of multilingualism and multilingual education have been advocated during the last decade although multilingualism presents a phenomenon difficult to grasp in its complexity and therefore posing a number of problems to scholars working in the field. (Cenoz and Jessner, 2009: 121)

Such specialisation would certainly be useful especially where teacher education is concerned, as research carried out in Malta clearly highlights that presently schoolteachers do not feel adequately prepared to face the challenges of the multilingual and multicultural classroom.

It is clear that integrating children with a migrant background into Maltese schools is not an easy task: these children are faced with a diversified language context in which the patterns of interplay of the two languages, Maltese and English, in different domains are not easily discernible to those who have not been born in Malta or who have lived in the country for a relatively short time. Foreign students in primary schools not only have to cope with learning the context languages, but also need to gain awareness of the specific requirements of language use in the local bilingual situation. This implies that they must become familiar with the different contexts and ways in which Maltese and English are intermingled, as well as with the sociolinguistic implications of their alternate use. Knowing English is certainly an advantage, but it does not necessarily solve all possible problems as knowledge of Maltese is also an important prerequisite to fuller integration within local classrooms and school communities:

what matters is that language proficiency meets the formal and informal requirements in the *relevant* everyday areas and functional systems, such as school, training and labour market. Thus, a ‘functionally differentiated’ multilingualism – and not just any kind – is important (Maas and Mehlem, 2003: 30f.), so that partly very specific requirements are set, whose (non) fulfilment can have clear consequences for success in the relevant functional areas. To this is added an often neglected and self-evident fact: analogous to any kind of multiple inclusion in the process of immigrants’ social integration, linguistic assimilation is a *necessary* condition for any *competent* bilingualism or multilingualism (Esser, 2006: 15, italics as in the original).

The analysis of the data collected from children attending Maltese primary schools and their parents indicates that students who were not born in Malta (or whose parents were born abroad) originate from a

number of different countries and possess heterogenous social and personal backgrounds. Some aspects highlighted in this research, such as their lack of knowledge of the Maltese language and the fact that they feel less “Maltese” than their fellow students, sometimes cause difficulties when they are placed in local schools. Furthermore, their problems may be compounded because, as stated repeatedly in the course of this report on the analysis of the MERIDIUM data, the number of these children is still relatively small. Due to practical constraints it is therefore often very difficult for local schools to implement programmes through which they could help these children maintain their mother tongue by teaching it to them during school hours, as may occur in schools in other European countries attended by groups of students with similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds. On the other hand, however, there is quite a clear indication that English is used widely even when adults born abroad speak to their children, even in cases where these do not originate from English-speaking countries. This is spurred both by the importance of English within the local educational system and by the status of the language as an international *lingua franca*.

Compared to the past, where Malta’s linguistic situation was almost exclusively characterised by the use of context languages (Maltese, English and, in some cases, Italian), today many adults and children have regular experience of contact with linguistic diversity. It is worth highlighting the presence of Eastern European languages, especially Russian and Serbian, in Malta today as a result of recent migratory flows. In the past these languages were totally absent from the Maltese linguistic scene. Although there is reasonably regular contact with other languages and positive attitudes are registered towards multilingualism (Caruana and Lasagabaster, in press), there is a rather poor recognition of Arabic script among children who formed part of the MERIDIUM sample, despite the fact that Maltese is a Semitic language.

The data collected in the context of MERIDIUM provide further insight into Malta’s present day sociolinguistic and socio-cultural situation. Dissemination of results has been met favourably both in local schools and in the wider community. During the discussions held as part of the dissemination it emerged clearly that educators view schools and classrooms as places which offer opportunities to students with different backgrounds to reflect on linguistic and cultural diversity. The presence of foreign students is considered to be enriching, despite the challenges it creates. Although the body of research in the field has increased recently, head-teachers, teachers and school staff still lament the fact of the limited availability of practical resources necessary to address problems which

arise, for example, when dealing with newcomers who start attending school in the course of, rather than at the beginning, of the year, or with students who have difficulty understanding both Maltese and English. A question which features regularly is whether didactic tools are readily available for the needs of today's multicultural classrooms. Such queries clearly spell out the urgency of devising educational policies and teaching materials which address these needs and take into consideration practical experiences in different settings (as outlined in Kenner and Hickey, 2008) and an "adjusted" curriculum (Olshtain and Nissim-Amitai, 2004). Although this is a situation which Malta is still coming to terms with, the sooner measures are put in place to deal with its consequences the better, especially in view of the likelihood that there will continue to be an increase in the number of students with foreign backgrounds in Maltese schools in the future.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

LINGUISTIC PLURALITY
IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES:
SLOVENIAN ISTRIA BETWEEN A POLICY
OF COEXISTENCE AND THE ISSUE
OF IMMIGRATION

LUCIJA ČOK AND MAJA ZADEL

14.1. Introduction

As human beings, we live between the subjective world and social reality, which is a reflection of our adaptation to it. Within this reality, an individual uses linguistic means of communication, actions and behaviours and exchanges, opinions and judgments with others to unconsciously create his or her idea of the objective world. No two languages can truly and fully express the same objective reality. Through this interpretation (Sapir, 1972:57), we can think of language as the symbolic basis of the culture of an individual environment where the language is being used. An individual is also and above all a constituent part of a group, a society, a nation. Due to the cultural intertwinement and linguistic diversity of the modern world society and its age-long tradition to preserve itself in this way, its functioning cannot be imagined without the ethnic awareness of individuals and groups. This also means that there are differences and similarities that are intertwined within society. Therefore, only through understanding, are various national communities able to comprehend the specifics of other communities and mutually interact without prejudice.

The democratic management of cultural diversity in Europe, which is rooted in the history of the old continent and further emphasized by globalization, sets out postulates with the objective to enable the existence of a European reality involving the active participation of all nations and societies. These postulates are: the respect for diversity (linguistic, cultural,

ethnic, etc.), creating bases for the coexistence of diversity, the respect for the rights of individuals and social groups, eliminating all forms of discrimination and promoting social inclusion and equal opportunities for every individual. The Council of Europe's White Paper¹ on Intercultural Dialogue offers an intercultural approach in the development of a multilingual and multicultural Europe based on the dignity of the individual (subject to our common humanity and common destiny). In order to achieve a European identity, the latter should be based on our shared core values, the respect for our common heritage and cultural diversity and the respect for the dignity of each individual. Intercultural dialogue plays an important role here, as it can be used to prevent ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural differences.

Slovenia has been and still remains an area of contact between nations and languages. From Roman, Byzantine, Venetian, Napoleonic or Austro-Hungarian dominance to this day, the territory of Slovenian Istria has preserved and accepted linguistic and cultural diversity throughout changing political and social currents. During the first, monarchic, and even more so, during the second, Federal Yugoslavia, what was at that time the former Republic of Slovenia, has created conditions for the tolerant coexistence of the autochthonous minorities (Italian and Hungarian) on democratic legal provisions. In Slovenia as an independent country, the relationship between the majority and the minorities has been strengthened even further. In the Slovenian legal system, the prohibition of discrimination is a constitutional category, since Article 14 of the Constitution states that in Slovenia everyone shall be guaranteed equal human rights and fundamental freedoms. Any incitement to national, racial, religious or other discrimination and to kindle national, racial, religious or other hatred and intolerance is unconstitutional (Article 63 of the Constitution). Nevertheless, the new Slovenian legislation devoted less attention to immigrants, mostly citizens of the former Yugoslav republics, some of whom have lost their status of citizens and were then marked as the "Erased" (*Izbrisani*) overnight, namely people who have lost their civil rights after the Federation had dissolved.

The subject of our studies and research is focused on a narrower spectrum of the regulation of immigrants' rights, i.e. the integration of children of immigrants in the Slovenian educational system. The treatment

¹ The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, "Living together as equals in dignity", CM (2008) 30 final version, 2 May 2008, 118th Session of the Committee of Ministers (Strasbourg, 7 May 2008), available at http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/whitepaper_interculturaldialogue_2_EN.asp, accessed September 26, 2012.

and formation of a culturally and linguistically diverse community is a particularly sensitive task for the democratic cultural and educational policies of an individual country. The integration of children into the school system is directly related to their indirect integration into the wider social environment. Within the school population, much like within society as a whole, there is a lack of a legal basis which would allow for a more effective planning of the integration processes of children of immigrants into the Slovenian educational system. Some results of the analysis of the current situation conducted by government offices² point to an underdeveloped integration strategy for children of immigrants into the educational system, professionals lacking the knowledge and skills necessary to ensure effective and permanent cooperation with parents, poor knowledge of key elements of their language and culture necessary to avoid potential misunderstandings or to facilitate communication with parents and encourage them to participate and, lastly, teachers lacking the knowledge and skills needed to promote the intercultural communication between Slovenian and immigrant parents.

The unfinished strategy of including immigrants' children in schooling based on universal human and democratic principles, the lack of appropriate expert knowledge and know-how of professionals for quality cooperation with their parents, overly modest knowledge of key elements of the language and culture of immigrants (which could avoid possible misunderstandings and establish channels of contacts with parents, thus encouraging them to cooperate), overly modest knowledge and skills of teachers necessary to stimulate intercultural communication between parents of Slovenian children and parents of immigrants: these are only some findings of situation analyses³ carried out by governmental offices.

What further aggravates the situation, on the other hand, is the children of immigrants' lack of knowledge of the Slovene language and the underestimation of the importance of preserving their mother tongue. Furthermore, they sometimes regard their cultures and their languages as inferior in comparison with the Slovenian language and culture. As a result of such shortcomings, there is a lack of integration of children of immigrants and their parents into the school environment and the wider

² Strategija vključevanja otrok, učencev in dijakov migrantov v sistem vzgoje in izobraževanja v Republiki Sloveniji. Poročilo komisije za pripravo koncepta vključevanja učencev migrantov v sistem vzgoje in izobraževanja (Strategy of inclusion of migrant children, pupils and students into the education system in the Republic of Slovenia. Report of the Commission for the preparation of the concept of integration of migrant pupils into the educational system), MES - May 2007.

³ *Ibidem*.

Slovenian environment. In recent years, the results of analyses mentioned above have prompted the government and those in charge of school policies to formulate measures necessary to remedy the situation.

Within the monograph entitled: *Slovenska Istra med politiko sožitja in priseljeništvom* (The Slovenian Istria between a Policy of Coexistence and the Immigration Issue), edited by Annales Publishing House of the Science and Research Centre (SRC), the researchers Lucija Čok and Maja Zadel collected some of data obtained from MERIDIUM project and presented them to the Slovenian public. A much more extensive database than that, which was used in the comparative analysis of seven universities in six countries included in the project, offered the opportunity for some additional analyses, particularly in terms of the involvement of Slovenian Istria in the issue of immigration.

14.2. Slovenia: Country Context

Slovenia has always been an area of contact among people where the language was frequently regarded as the only means of connection between the inhabitants, thereby a major aspect of Slovene identity. Slovenia is a small European nation which was under the rule of foreigners for several eras and which, consequently had to fight for the recognition of its rights. During the Napoleonic era, the Slovene national spirit was consolidated with the establishment of the Illyrian provinces and the capital of Ljubljana. However, only four years later, with the Vienna Congress, the whole territory was once again annexed to Austria. In 1918, following the defeat of the Austrian Empire, Slovenia became a part of the Reign of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes proclaimed in Belgrade by Alexander Karadjordjević.

After WWII, when Slovenia became part of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, Slovene communist leaders were faithful interpreters of the socialist reforms including the promotion of the self-management, the brotherhood and the unity of the southern Slavic peoples. In the eighties of the last century, after the death of Tito, the will for pluralism and opening towards the West became stronger and stronger until it finally resulted in the secession of Slovenia from the rest of the former Yugoslavia. At the plebiscite that took place on the Christmas Day of 1990, 90% of the Slovene population voted in favour of the independence, which led to the proclamation of sovereignty on June 26, 1991.

In March 2003, 89.6% of Slovenes voted in favour of the State's entrance into the European Union. Relationships between the Republic of

Slovenia and the rest of Europe are considered to be fundamental in order to move forward by the majority of the Slovenes, although Europe is not perceived as some sort of “promised land”.

Today, Slovenia remains one of the smallest members of the European Union with a fully autonomous economic development, in spite of its territorial dimensions and the current economic crisis. With accession to European Union, the Republic of Slovenia witnessed alterations in almost every area of society: legislation was reformed, the financial market was liberalized, and foreign investments were facilitated by means of a stable currency guarantee. In the space of a few years, more than 500 kilometres of superhighways were opened, extending on the whole national territory (20,256 square kilometres). In the first quarter of 2011, there were 73% of households, and 69% of people from age of 10 to 74 years who had access to the Internet (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia⁴).

Many Slovenes still live across the borders of the Slovene Republic. Slovenia is therefore especially active in regulating the status of the minorities and very sensitive when it comes to their protection. According to the Population, Households and Housing Census 2002, the Slovene part of the population amounted to 1,631,363, whereas the Hungarian and Italian national minorities amounted to 6,243 and 2,258 inhabitants respectively. Other ethnic communities, who did not have this status—officially recognized rights (only groups with more than 1,000 declared Slovene citizens were taken into account), were: 38,964 Serbs, 35,642 Croats, 21,542 Bosnians, 6,186 Albanians, 3,972 Macedonians, etc. In the Census, there was also the possibility to choose the category “Yugoslavian”, which was mostly selected by the second generation of ethnically mixed marriages, immigrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina and possibly also by military cadre from other republics. (Kržišnik Bukić, 2010: 509–510)

A special group of non-Slovene inhabitants is composed of 3,246 Romanis. Due to their social disjunction, a different way of life and tradition, they need special assistance whenever there is the need and their will to be incorporated into mainstream living and working conditions.

Special rights, designed for Italian and Hungarian national minorities (autochthonous minorities) are of dual nature, being collective and individual rights simultaneously. The recognition of dual nature of minority rights and the implementation of the “positive concept of protection of minorities” is defined in the Article 64 of the Constitution of

⁴ See: http://www.stat.si/eng/novica_prikazi.aspx?id=4240, accessed September 26, 2012. For the website of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, see: <http://www.stat.si/eng/index.asp>.

the Republic of Slovenia⁵ which establishes also the obligation of the State to ensure the realization of these special rights, morally and materially.

The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia also guarantees expression of ethnic affiliation to the inhabitants of non-Slovene ethnic origin. According to the Article 61 of the Constitution, they may establish their ethnic organizations and associations, use their language and script, express and develop their specific ethnic culture and, for their activities, receive funds from the republic budget on the basis of the public tender of the Ministry for culture.

The non-Slovene inhabitants can be classified into the following groups:

- the “classical” (territorial) minorities: Italian and Hungarian minorities, living in the border areas; and a small number of autochthonous ethnic groups: Jews and German speaking ethnic group;
- Roma;
- the newly-formed ethnic communities (comprising mostly members of the nations of the former Yugoslavia: Croats, Muslims, Macedonians, Montenegrins), which emerged as a result of contemporary processes of economic immigration and accepted the citizenship of Slovenia.

Migration in the 20th century is mostly related to former states of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), from where intensive migratory movements were registered. These units are now Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, FRY Macedonia, Slovenia and Serbia. Slovenia, as the most economically developed federal unit of the SFRY, was also a prominent immigration area. Even though the immigrants’ main reason for immigration was the

aspiration to employment in the economically most developed Yugoslav Republic, the Slovenian economy itself has always expressed a great interest for the inflow of labour force from other Yugoslav republics (Kržišnik Bukić, 2010: 518).

⁵Article 64 of the Constitution of Slovenia (*Ustava Republike Slovenije*). Special Rights of the Autochthonous Italian and Hungarian Ethnic Communities in Slovenia. See: http://www.uradni-list.si/_pdf/1991/Ur/u1991033.pdf, accessed September 26, 2012.

MUNICIPALITY	IMMIGRANTS TO SLOVENIA BY YEAR OF FIRST IMMIGRATION (N AND %)									
	1952 or earlier		1953-1960	1961-1970	1971-1980	1981-1991	1992-1996	1997-2001		Total
Izola	N	188	500	601	921	584	213	246	3,253	
	%	5.78	15.37	18.48	28.31	17.95	6.55	7.56	100.0	
Koper	N	641	1287	2166	2359	1731	582	580	9,346	
	%	6.86	13.77	23.18	25.24	18.52	6.23	6.21	100.0	
Piran	N	282	631	598	874	618	335	255	3,593	
	%	7.85	17.56	16.64	24.33	17.20	9.32	7.10	100.0	
SLOVENIA	N	14930	12877	26121	53653	35594	13540	12890	169,605	
	%	8.80	7.59	15.40	31.63	20.99	7.98	7.60	100.0	

Tab. 14-1: Immigrants to Slovenia by the year of first immigration (municipalities) (Source: Statistical Office of the RS, 2002 Population, Households and Housings Census)

MUNICIPALITY	IMMIGRANTS TO SLOVENIA BY COUNTRY OF FIRST RESIDENCE (N AND %)						
	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Croatia	Macedonia	Yugoslavia	EU	Other	Total
Izola	N	1114	1322	157	400	204	56
	%	34.25	40.64	4.83	12.30	6.27	1.72
Koper	N	3250	3827	293	1156	647	173
	%	34.77	40.95	3.14	12.37	6.92	1.85
Piran	N	908	1671	129	472	314	99
	%	25.27	46.51	3.59	13.14	8.74	2.76
SLOVENIA	N	69279	48609	6593	26951	13287	4886
	%	40.85	28.66	3.89	15.89	7.83	2.88

Tab. 14-2: Immigrants to Slovenia according to the country of primary residence (municipalities) (Source: Statistical Office of the RS, 2002 Population, Households and Housings Census)

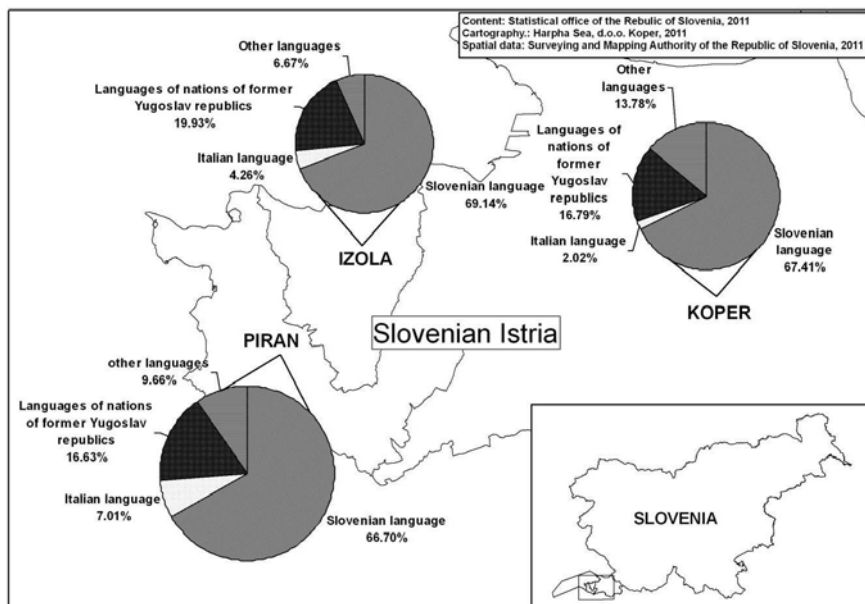


Fig. 14-1: The percentages of residents by their mother tongue (Koper, Izola, Piran) (Source: Statistical Office of the RS, 2002 Population, Households and Housings Census)

According to the data from census surveys, it can be established that immigration was most extensive in the 1970s, since almost a third (31.63 per cent) of all immigrants immigrated to Slovenia between 1971 and 1980, as referred to in Tab. 14-1 (p. 349).

The municipalities with the highest share of persons who declared themselves as Albanians, Bosniacs, Bosnians, Montenegrins, Croats, Macedonians, Muslims or Serbians (according to alphabetical order) are Izola, Jesenice and Velenje (Kržišnik Bukič, 2010: 514), although the region with the highest population share of non-Slovenian national affiliation is the Coast-Karst region, of which Slovenian Isthria is part (Vertot *et al.*, 2001: 18).

If we examine migration from the Yugoslavian territory to Slovenia considering the number of immigrants according to the mother tongue criterion, we can establish that the municipalities with more than 15 percent share of individuals who speak Albanian, Montenegrin, Bosnian, Croatian, Croatian-Serbian, Serbian or Serbo-Croatian, in the alphabetical

order, are: Izola, Jesenice, Koper, Ljubljana, Piran, Postojna and Velenje (Kržišnik Bukič, 2010: 515).

The region of Slovenian Istria is the largest area—as it is composed of three municipalities: Koper, Izola and Piran—in the Republic of Slovenia, with immigrants from the former Yugoslav republics and is consequently also interesting for research work. The officially recognised indigenous Italian minority also lives on this territory, meaning that this is a region where various languages and cultures mix.

14.3. MERIDIUM Research and Project Methodology

14.3.1 Objectives and Indicators

Among the objectives of the MERIDIUM, the most relevant for the Slovene context were:

- to investigate the level of awareness (among local population and migrants) of other languages present in the everyday life context
- to consider the linguistic diversity as a resource
- to investigate to what extent both awareness and attitudes vary between childhood and adulthood
- to investigate how the interviewees perceive the institutions and the working world attitudes towards linguistic diversity and multilingualism

The selected area for case study is characterised by immigration density from former Yugoslav countries to Mediterranean Slovenia. Research data was collected on the basis of:

- a. context analysis (identifying and analysing local linguistic policies, the presence of significant projects in the field, and the presence of ethnic and/or intercultural associations operating in the area, etc.)
- b. surveys by way of questionnaires to reveal the degree of awareness of the presence or multilingual repertoires and the propensity to conceive them as a resource.

The objective was to carry out an integrated evaluation and to determine the following:

- How do linguistic and educational policies affect (as carried out in a local circle) the perception and the attitude of the citizens (natives and immigrants) towards linguistic diversity and to multilingualism?

- How does living in a highly dense centre of immigration/emigration affect these perceptions/attitudes?
- How do these perceptions/attitudes change when considering both children and adults?
- How is multilingualism perceived within educational institutions, especially primary schools?

The following primary schools were involved in the Slovenian study:

- Osnovna šola Cirila Kosmača Piran/Scuola elementare Ciril Kosmač Pirano (Ciril Kosmač Primary School Piran)
- Osnovna šola Koper/ Scuola elementare Capodistria (Koper Primary School)
- Osnovna šola Antona Ukmarja Koper/ Scuola Elementare Anton Ukmar Capodistria (Anton Ukmar Primary School Koper)
- Osnovna šola Elvire Vatovec Prade/ Scuola elementare Elvira Vatovec Prade (Elvira Vatovec Primary School Prade)

14.3.2. The Sample

The sample included pupils and parents. A questionnaire was distributed among 156 pupils in four primary schools. The pilot class was the 5th grade of Koper Primary School, where 24 children responded to the questionnaire in April 2010. The research was implemented in two municipalities of the Slovenian Istria, namely in three schools in the Koper Municipality, and in one school in the Piran Municipality, in May and June 2010. The first questionnaire was carried out at Piran Primary School in May 2010 the second took place at the Elvira Vatovec Primary School, always in May 2010, the third at the Koper Primary School also in May 2010. The final part of the data collection was held at the Anton Ukmar Primary School in June 2010.

a) Research sample: pupils

117 pupils from the Koper Municipality were included in the research, representing 75% of the total, whereas 39 pupils were from the Piran Municipality, representing the remaining 25%. The majority of participants in the research attended the Anton Ukmar Primary School (41 pupils), followed by those attending the Ciril Kosmač Primary School (39 pupils), the Koper Primary School (38 pupils) and the Elvira Vatovec Primary School (38 pupils). Roughly, each school represented 25% of the total of the participants. All pupils were learning Italian and English and three pupils were also learning French.

b) Research sample: parents

137 parents of pupils participated in the research, 101 (74%) of which came from the Koper Municipality and 36 (26%) from the Piran Municipality. 36 are parents of children who attend the Ciril Kosmač Primary School 35 parents of children from the Anton Ukmar Primary School and from the Koper Primary School and, finally 33 parents of children attending the Elvira Vatovec Primary School.

14.4. Data Analysis

In the following analysis of the children's and parents' sample, the responses will be presented in descriptive statistics.

14.4.1. Socio-demographic and Sociolinguistic Characteristics of the Sample

a) *Pupils*

In our case, there were 66 boys (42.3%) and 90 girls (57.7%) included in the research. The age of interviewed children is almost equally distributed, since there were 75 10-year olds, representing 48.1%, and 81 11-year olds, representing 51.9%. Only one child was born in 1998, all other children (155 pupils) were born in 1999.

In the analysis, children will be stratified in groups according to their country of birth and their parents' country of birth ("background").

INFORMANT'S COUNTRY OF BIRTH		INFORMANT'S BACKGROUND			TOTAL
		native	mixed	foreign	
Native-born	N	98	28	14	140
	%	70.0	20.0	10.0	100.0
Foreign-born	N	1	3	7	11
	%	(9.1)	(27.3)	(63.6)	(100.0)
VALID TOTAL	N	99	31	21	151
	%	65.6	20.5	13.9	100.0
Information not provided					5
Grand total					156

Tab. 14-3: Pupils stratified by country of birth of informants and of their parents ("background")⁶

From these data, three groups of children are to be taken into consideration: children with partially or totally native background (Nb/Mb: children with at least one parent born in the survey country), native-born children with foreign background (NFb: children born in the country of survey to foreign-born parents) and foreign-born children with foreign background (FFb: foreign-born children to foreign-born parents).

As can be seen in Tab. 14-4, the two groups of children with foreign background are small, composed of only 14 and 7 interviewees. For this reason data will be presented in numbers of respondents.

	CHILDREN WITH PARTIALLY OR TOTALLY NATIVE BACKGROUND (Nb/Mb)	NATIVE-BORN CHILDREN WITH FOREIGN BACKGROUND (NFb)	FOREIGN-BORN CHILDREN WITH FOREIGN BACKGROUND (FFb)	TOTAL
N	130	14	7	151
%	86.1	9.3	4.6	100.0

Tab. 14-4: Pupils stratified by their country of birth and their parents' country of birth

⁶ In tables where cases do not reach the sum of 100, percentages are listed within brackets.

b) Parents

In the sample of parents, there were 36 male participants, namely fathers (26.3%), 101 women, namely mothers (73.7%). Almost one half of the parents (47.4%) included in the research were between 40 and 49 years of age, 45.3% of them were between 30 and 39 years of age, 2.9% of them were between 50 and 59 years of age.

In the analysis, parents will be stratified in two groups according to their place of birth.

	NATIVE- BORN INFORMANTS	FOREIGN- BORN INFORMANTS	VALID TOTAL	INFORMATION NOT PROVIDED	GRAND TOTAL
N	111	25	136	1	137
%	81.6	18.4	100.0	-	-

Tab. 14-5: Parents stratified by their country of birth

The majority of the interviewees were born in Slovenia, almost a fifth was born abroad, and one interviewee (0.7 per cent) did not fill in his/her birthplace.

Most of the parents (72.8% or 99 respondents) live in two-parent families, a fifth (19.1% or 26 respondents) lives in extended families and 8.1% (11 respondents) of them live in single-parent families.

Two thirds (67% or 91 respondents) of interviewees have a partner born in Slovenia, a fifth (20.6% or 28 respondents) has a partner born abroad, 15 respondents or 11% of the parents do not have a partner. According to the distribution regarding the country of interviewees' birth it can be seen that 11 interviewees born in Slovenia have a partner born abroad (9.9%) and four interviewees born abroad have a partner born in Slovenia (16%), meaning that these are potentially ethnically mixed families including Slovenians and members of other nations.

The majority of the foreign-born parents came to Slovenia more than 20 years ago (76% or 19 respondents), quite a smaller percentage of them came from 11 to 20 years ago (16% or 4 respondents), or less than 5 years ago (8% or 2 respondents). These data are in accordance with those obtained from the Population, Households and Housings Census, where it can be seen that the largest number of immigrants came to Slovenia and to Slovenian Istria prior to 1990s.

The majority (58.2% or 64 respondents) of parents, born in Slovenia, attended schooling for more than 13 years, a third (35.5% or 39 respondents) between 9 and 13 years, 6.4% or 7 respondents attended

schooling for less than 9 years. Parents, born in other countries, mostly attended schooling between 9 to 13 years (52.2% or 12 respondents), 6 respondents (26.1%) attended schooling for 8 years or less, only 5 respondents (21.7%) attended schooling for more than 13 years.

An analogous pattern is visible with interviewees' partners, as 52.7% (49 respondents) of partners of interviewees born in Slovenia attended schooling for more than 13 years, 43% (40 respondents) of them attended schooling from 9 to 13 years, 4.3% (4 respondents) of them attended schooling for 8 years or less. 11 (55%) partners of parents born abroad attended schooling from 9 to 13 years, 25% (5 respondents) of them attended schooling for more than 13 years, 20% (4 respondents) of them for less than 9 years.

Differences between parents born in Slovenia and those born abroad can also be seen from the vocational aspect. Interviewees born in Slovenia most often work in employments that are classified⁷ as professionals (40.4% or 38 respondents), technicians and other associate professionals (21.3% or 20 respondents), service workers and shop and market sales workers (10.6% or 10 respondents), clerks (9.6% or 9 respondents), legislators, senior officials and managers, and other (6.4% or 6 respondents in each category). Each of the other professions is listed in less than 5% of cases. On the other hand, foreign-born interviewees most often work as service workers and shop and market sales workers (30% or 6 respondents), craft and related trade workers (25% or 5 respondents), elementary workers (20% or 4 respondents), technicians and other associate professionals (15% or 3 respondents), professionals and clerks (5% or one respondent respectively). It seems that foreign-born parents, in comparison with interviewees born in Slovenia, to a greater extent are employed in occupations that are classified within lower brackets. Conversely, they are less frequently engaged in higher classified professions (there were no legislators, senior officials or managers in the

⁷ ISCO88 classification:

1. Legislators, senior officials, managers
2. Professionals
3. Technicians and other associate professionals
4. Clerks
5. Service workers and shop and market sales workers
6. Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
7. Craft and related trade workers
8. Plant and machine operators and assemblers
9. Elementary workers
0. Armed forces

sample, and this group only constituted 5% of professionals, which present the largest group of interviewees born in Slovenia).

Differences are smaller in the case of partners of interviewees. Partners of interviewees born in Slovenia are mostly professionals (28.4% or 23 partners), technicians and other associate professionals (12.3% or 10 partners), service workers and shop and market sales workers, persons employed in craft and related trade sector, and other non-classified occupations (11.1% or 9 partners respectively). Other occupations (plant and machine operators and assemblers, legislators, senior officials and managers, clerks, elementary workers and skilled agricultural and fishery workers) emerge in less than 10% of this group. Most of the partners of foreign-born interviewees are technicians and other associate professionals, sellers and persons employed in the service sector (21.1% or 4 partners in each category), there are less persons working as professionals and clerks (15.8% or 3 partners respectively) and approximately the same percentage working as craft and related trade workers (10.5%) or other non-classified occupations (10.5% or 2 partners respectively). There is one employed as an elementary worker. Also in this case, the higher ranking vocations are mostly performed by partners of interviewees born in Slovenia, although the percentages are more equally distributed than in the case of the interviewees themselves.

14.4.2. Experience of Contacts with Ethno-linguistic Diversity

The results indicate that learning languages, the mediation of cultures and educational processes may have an impact on the perception of linguistic diversity and multilingualism of pupils and their parents. It must be pointed out that the following analysis and discussion, in the absence of a statistically representative sample, presents data at a descriptive level.

When most children hear someone speaking a language that is different to Slovene, they are “amused” or “curious”: 107 children with native background, 12 native-born children with foreign background and 4 foreign-born children with foreign background. In both cases, we can perceive a positive attitude to foreign or unknown languages. Another example is when children state that they are “proud” to have friends or relatives who speak languages that are different than Slovene: two thirds of children with partially or totally native background (66 pupils) feel “proud”. In the answers of foreign-born children, the percentage is even higher (11 pupils born in Slovenia and 6 born abroad), which, again, confirms the positive attitude to the foreign language. When asked, which language they find most beautiful—their native language or other

languages—the majority of children answered that their native language is as beautiful as other languages: 84 children with native background, 10 native born children with foreign background and 5 foreign born children with foreign background.

This shows the openness and positive attitude of children towards foreign languages and cultures, although they are still foreign to them. This outcome could possibly be related to their everyday contacts with multilingualism and to the diverse cultural environment in which they are living, where special significance is given to education for multilingualism in schools with Slovenian and schools with Italian language of instruction⁸, as well as to the importance of bilingualism. This, consequently, may affect their attitude towards language diversity.

In the recognition and naming of various writings, in which the Latin alphabet is not used, the demographic traits of Slovenian Istria emerge. Almost half (64 pupils) of the children with partially or totally native background and the large majority of children with foreign background (12 native-born pupils and 6-foreign born pupils) recognised the Cyrillic script. This shows the specific features of the Slovenian Istria, where a large percentage of immigrants come from former Yugoslav countries, a number of them being Serbs. This means that almost half of interviewed children were in contact with the Cyrillic alphabet, although the majority of them do not speak Serbian.

The number of informants who identified correctly the Arabic script was smaller: 43 children with native background, 7 native-born children with foreign background and 3 foreign-born children with foreign background correctly identified this script. These results are not surprising, since the Arabic script is geographically and culturally more remote than the Cyrillic one. This confirms the demographic specifics of the Slovenian Istria, where we can find a high percentage of children whose parents are from former Yugoslav countries, among others also the children of Bosnian parents who are Muslim or Christian. This is why the percentage of those who recognised the Arabic alphabet is higher among children with foreign background, since this writing is present in the Islamic religion and the written tradition.

In the case of the Chinese script, the percentage of correct answers was again high: 92 children with native background, 10 native born children with foreign background and 6 foreign-born children with foreign

⁸ Due to the presence of an Italian minority, there are elementary and secondary schools where Italian and Slovene are both taught at school. Apart from members of the Italian ethnic community, these schools are attended also by Slovenes and members of immigrant ethnic communities.

background recognised this writing, thereby proving that they possess a satisfactory recognition of this language, as Chinese characters strongly differ from other writing systems present in the Asian culture.

However, in the case of the Devanagari script the percentage of correct answers of children was very low: namely only one child (with native background) of the entire sample answered correctly. This proves that the large majority of the children have not been in contact with this writing and culture, so they could not have recognised it.

These answers show that children who were included in the research carried out in Slovene primary schools possess an awareness of the concept of multilingualism and that a number of them can identify the characters used in writing non-European languages.

14.4.3. Perception of Linguistic Diversity in the Global and Local Context

Children's response indicated that they are aware that some pupils speak other languages than Slovene: 56 children with native background, 11 native-born children with foreign background and 3 foreign-born children with foreign background stated that "many" or "quite a few" children speak languages other than Slovene.

The children were also asked how often they hear people speaking other languages than Slovene. There were 33 children with partially or totally native background who stated that they hear other languages being spoken "often" and 94 "sometimes"; whereas 7 native-born children with foreign background hear other languages being spoken "often" and 6 "sometimes"; 4 foreign-born children with foreign background hear other languages being spoken "often" and 3 hear them "sometimes".

In the answers to questions on awareness of the presence of multilingualism in schools differences between the groups of informants emerge. More than one half of the children of native-born parents did not perceive the presence of fellow pupils who speak languages other than Slovene, mostly because there are not many of them or they are dispersed in various classes. On the other hand, children with foreign background noticed many more pupils who speak languages other than Slovene. However, these differences between groups of informants are not so evident when children were asked whether people who speak languages other than Slovene are present in their environment, including contexts outside school.

The affiliation to the close environment is very strong: 122 children with native background, 11 native-born children with foreign background

and 5 foreign-born children with foreign background feel “very much” and “just enough” part of the town where they live. Considering the differences between the three groups (bearing in mind that they are not very large), we can establish that children with native background identify with the place where they live to a greater extent than the children with foreign background (either born in Slovenia or not), who probably still feel affiliated to another place.

The differences between children with native background and foreign background are mostly visible with the affiliation to the wider environment, i.e. the state. There are 124 children with native background that feel Slovenian “very much” and “just enough”. On the other hand, 4 native-born children with foreign background feel Slovenian “very much” and “just enough” and 7 feel “a little bit” or “not at all”. Among the foreign-born children with foreign background, there are 2 who feel Slovene “very much” and “just enough”, 4 who feel Slovenian “a little bit” or “not at all”. The high number of children with native background who feel Slovene is typical of the relatively recent declaration of independence of Slovenia and it is also probably the reflection of civil education in schools. The fact that figures of children with foreign background (including those who are foreign-born) are not as high, always within the terms of the small sample being analysed, is also worth considering.

A detailed analysis is presented in Tab. 14-6 (p. 361), where it can be seen that children with native background are more affiliated to Slovenia than children with foreign background (either native-born or foreign-born).

The affiliation to the larger environment is more evenly distributed among the three groups than affiliation to the state, but less than the affiliation to the place of residence. Here again, children with native background feel “European” (112 children responded by stating that they feel “very much” and “just enough” European, while for children with foreign background this affiliation is not so strong; 7 native-born children and 4 foreign-born feel “very much” and “just enough” European).

It seems that all three groups of children are most affiliated to the close environment, namely to the city/town where they live; this is mostly evident in responses from children with foreign background (either native-born or foreign-born).

CATEGORY OF INFORMANTS	HOW MUCH DO YOU FEEL SLOVENIAN?					TOTAL
	VERY MUCH	JUST ENOUGH	A LITTLE BIT	NOT AT ALL	I DON'T KNOW	
Nb/Mb	100	22	7	1	0	130
%	76.9	16.9	5.4	0.8	-	100.0
NFb	2	2	2	5	3	14
%	(14.3)	(14.3)	(14.3)	(35.7)	(21.4)	(100.0)
FFb	1	1	1	3	1	7
%	(14.3)	(14.3)	(14.3)	(42.9)	(14.3)	(100.0)
TOTAL	104	26	10	9	4	153
%	68.0	17.0	6.5	5.9	2.6	100.0

Tab. 14-6: Affiliation of children to the State

CATEGORY OF INFORMANTS	HOW MUCH DO YOU FEEL SLOVENIAN?					TOTAL
	VERY MUCH	JUST ENOUGH	A LITTLE BIT	NOT AT ALL	I DON'T KNOW	
Native born	74	28	6	2	1	111
%	66.7	25.2	5.4	1.8	0.9	100.0
Foreign born	9	7	5	3	1	25
%	(36.0)	(28.0)	(20.0)	(12.0)	(4.0)	(100.0)
TOTAL	83	35	11	5	2	136
%	61.0	25.7	8.1	3.7	1.5	100.0

Tab. 14-7: Affiliation of parents to the State

Similar questions were posed to their parents in order to investigate their perception towards multilingualism in the context in which they live. Parents stated that they are in favour of socialising with individuals of different nationalities: both, native (81 respondents) and foreign-born parents (20 respondents) think that it is positive to have friends who originate from a country which is not their own. Similarly, parents do not think it is necessarily better to meet with people who speak their own language (71 native and 16 foreign-born parents). This shows that there is a degree of acceptance of diversity of languages and nationalities.

The issue of tolerance was also addressed with the majority of respondents stating that they disagree that problems may arise where there is the presence of people who speak different languages (65 native and 15 foreign-born parents). Though not in the majority, a number of respondents agreed that in some cases problems may indeed be the result of the presence of individuals who speak different languages within the same environment. However, when respect and tolerance are present, speaking different languages is not perceived to be a problem according to 101 native-born and 23 foreign-born parents.

Parents perceive the presence of people of different origins in their neighbourhood: there are 96 out of 109 native-born parents and 21 out of 25 foreign-born parents that perceive that “many” or “quite a few” individuals that are not of Slovenian nationality live in their neighbourhood.

Similarly, parents notice people who speak other languages in their environment: the majority in both groups perceives “many” and “quite a few” people who live in their neighbourhood and speak languages other than Slovene (83 native-born parents and 16 foreign-born parents).

When asked, which languages other than Slovene are spoken in their town⁹, native-born parents listed the following languages (most frequently selected): Italian (27.8%), Croatian (22.4%), Albanian (13.6%), Serbian (11.2%), Serbo-Croatian (9.5%); while foreign born parents listed the following languages: Croatian (25.0%), Italian (18.8%), Serbian (14.1%), Albanian (10.9%), and Bosnian (7.8%).

In addition to this, approximately two thirds of both groups, native-born (71 respondents) and foreign-born parents (16 respondents), “often” hear people speaking other languages than Slovene.

It is typical of the demographic composition of the area where data were collected that parents born in Slovenia, as well as parents born

⁹ This was an open question (BQ28), where informants could list a maximum of 10 languages.

abroad, perceive the presence of inhabitants that are not Slovenian in their local and work environment. The number of those who selected the language that is heard most often by parents born in Slovenia corresponds to the ethnically mixed environment of the Slovenian Istria, where the Italian minority lives together with a large number of immigrants. In fact native-born parents mention Italian as the language (other than Slovene) that they here spoken most often. On the other hand foreign-born parents mention Croatian as the language they hear most frequently.

The perception of linguistic diversity in the global context was the subject investigation in the parents' questionnaires. Approximately half of the parents feel part of the local environment: 57 native-born and 13 foreign-born parents feel "very much" and "just enough" part of the town where they live.

Interestingly, the majority of native-born (102 respondents) and also of foreign born-parents (16 respondents) feel "very much" and "just enough" Slovenian.

Respondents feel European, but to a smaller degree (especially the native-born parents) than they feel Slovenian or part of their town: 67 native-born and 15 foreign-born parents state that they feel European "very much" and "just enough".

The question of the affiliation to their country of origin was posed just to foreign-born parents: 12 parents feel "very much" and "just enough" part of their country of origin, 11 feel "a little bit" part of their country of origin and one informant that does not feel part of his/her country of origin at all.

As shown in Tab. 14-7 (p. 361), parents who are born in Slovenia have a higher degree of affiliation to Slovenia than parents born abroad.

Comparing the answers to the questions analysed above, we can observe many differences between the groups. Parents (native and foreign-born) have a much lower degree of affiliation to their town/city of residence than their children. Interestingly, foreign-born parents feel more Slovenian than children with foreign background. Similarly, children with foreign background—who feel less affiliated to the local environment than their peers with native background—on the other hand, feel mostly affiliated to their local environment, when compared to how much they feel part of Slovenia or of Europe. The difference between native and foreign-born parents can be seen in the degree of affiliation to the State, since parents born in Slovenia have comparably higher affiliation to this country than parents born abroad. On the other hand, children state that they feel a slightly higher degree of affiliation to Europe (except in the case of native-born children with foreign background, since there are 7

that feel European “very much” and “just enough”) than their parents. This difference, however, is mostly evident in the case of children with native background and native-born parents.

14.4.4. Perceptions and Experiences with Institutions

Only 37 of the children included in the sample are learning foreign languages outside school, whereas 41 parents are learning another language, other than their native language/s. Children learn languages at home or by attending foreign languages courses against payment; parents, however, learn languages through their own personal initiative. Schools offer additional classes of Slovene for pupils who are children of immigrants. In nationally mixed areas as Slovenian Istria, they attend classes of English as an obligatory first foreign language and classes of Italian as the second/minority language. It is quite understandable that children of immigrants do not attend additional classes of foreign languages, since they are already exposed to three languages besides their own mother tongue when integrating into the educational community.

The work of institutions and local authorities was considered through some questions included in the parents’ questionnaire. In their response they stated that local authorities do not promote many meetings between people of various nationalities, since only 44 native-born and 12 foreign-born parents perceive that this happens “many times” or “sometimes”. On the other hand, there is a large share of those who say that local authorities “never” (11 native-born and 4 foreign-born parents) promote such meetings or that they do not know about them (36 native-born and 7 foreign-born parents).

Local authorities are more active in providing opportunities for learning foreign language: 58 native-born parents and 14 foreign-born parents perceive that this happens “often” or “quite a lot”. There is a large share of people who are not aware of the possibilities of learning languages in the local environment (31 native born and 10 foreign born parents).

More than one half of the parents believe that schools in Slovenia stimulate the children’s curiosity to meet people of different languages and cultures; 66 native-born and 15 foreign-born parents believe that this is “very much so” and “quite a bit”. There are 31 native-born and 7 foreign-born parents who believe that schools in Slovenia stimulate the children’s curiosity regarding foreign languages and cultures “very little”. There are also 6 native-born parents who believe there is no stimulation at all, while

some parents stated that they did not know the answer to this question: 5 parents born in Slovenia and 3 parents born abroad.

14.4.5. Discussion

The data collected reveal that children generally have a positive attitude towards languages: the education of multilingualism in minority and majority communities, and functional bilingualism of the environment in which these children live, seem to have positive impact on their attitudes to language and language diversity. Slovenian Istria includes the presence of the indigenous Italian minority and a large percentage of children of immigrants from former Yugoslav countries, especially Bosnians. Consequently, almost one half of the children included in the MERIDIUM sample recognise the Cyrillic alphabet, although the majority of them do not speak Serbian. Children of Bosnian parents may also recognise the Arabic alphabet, which is present in Islam written tradition. The level of recognition of Chinese script indicates that these children are aware of linguistic diversity, a concept which may also favour a positive attitude towards multilingualism as well as stimulating the knowledge about non-European languages and cultures. Since this is an area of immigration, almost half of immigrant children also use Slovene outside school as a second language. However, answers of native-born children with foreign background also indicate that children of immigrants adapt in time to the language and culture of the context that they are living in and that, possibly, they slowly lose contact with their original environment or with their parents' country of origin.

The data on tolerance to linguistic diversity, socialising of various nationalities and recognising ethnically mixed environment confirm the impact of linguistic and cultural diversity on the conduct of individuals and the society. In these categories there were no noteworthy differences between answers given by native-born and foreign-born respondents and the answers provided do not present the separation of the social community based on their ethnic origin.

Considering the differences between children with native and foreign background and among the latter, between native-born and foreign-born informants, we can establish that children with native background identify themselves with their place of residence in a higher percentage than the children with foreign background. However, children with foreign background have the highest degree of affiliation to their town of residence, considering the three options (local, state and European environment). Children with native background have a slightly higher

degree of affiliation to Slovenia than to the town where they live or European environment, although all three affiliations are very high. It seems that being European is quite a more extended phenomenon, therefore it is less identifying than being Slovenian, and that is possibly why foreign-born children with foreign background declare affiliation to a wider environment as they feel less part of one given state than their native-born counterparts, although it must be noted that the sample size is small and this consideration definitely merits more investigation.

Children with native background recognise the language of the minority (Italian) more than the children with foreign background. However, the environment accepts immigrants and their languages as the level of respect of other languages is reportedly very high.

The school is the most active institution involved in providing education for tolerant and efficient co-habitation of languages and cultures and integrating children of immigrants into the social community. One half of the parents believe that schools in Slovenia stimulate the children's curiosity to learn about people of different languages and cultures. Even if it is stated that local authorities do not promote meetings among people of various nationalities, they occasionally offer the possibility to learn languages. However, almost one third of all interviewed parents do not know about such opportunities and not much has been done to promote these initiatives.

14.5. Conclusion

Each year, the Slovene educational system witnesses the inclusion of children of immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers and temporarily protected persons. Past experiences have revealed that these migrant children, primary school pupils and secondary school students, find it more difficult not only to participate in classes and other activities organized by schools and kindergartens, but also to integrate into the wider social environment. This often results from their lack of knowledge of Slovene (for them, Slovene is mostly a foreign/second language), lack of strategies and instruments for the inclusion of migrant children in the Slovene systems of upbringing and schooling, and inadequate inclusion of these children and their parents in the school system and the wider Slovene environment. The possible discrimination that they face in everyday life is often rooted in discrimination at institutional level. The *Strategy of the inclusion of children and pupils in the system of education in the Republic of Slovenia*, adopted by the Ministry for Education and Sport of RS in May 2007 marks a turning point in the social inclusion

history of migrant children in Slovenia and, hopefully, data collected through the MERIDIUM Project could also shed further light on a complex and dynamic phenomenon.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

CONCLUSIONS

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The MERIDIUM research focused its attention mainly on situations related to linguistic diversity, perceptions and attitudes towards languages, in 57 primary schools, chosen specifically to participate in the survey, in six Southern European countries. These issues were dealt with by considering school environments and parents' role, as well as their influence on the language/s children acquire and learn in addition to the way they perceive linguistic diversity and form language attitudes. The research was therefore based on the consideration that schooling and parental influence can have an impact not only on the formation of children's linguistic repertoire, but also on the possibility that one may benefit from a multilingual and multicultural environment. In fact, over the past years, migration patterns in Southern European countries have changed considerably and in many contexts documented by the MERIDIUM research the number of immigrants/emigrants has increased considerably. Furthermore, these individuals originate from many different countries and have varied backgrounds. This diversity is also present in schools, thereby in a context where, on the one hand one must proceed with extreme caution because of the delicacy and susceptibility involved when dealing with children and where, on the other hand, one can exploit and capitalise on children's creativity and, in many cases, also on their readiness to accept quite unquestioningly whoever may not share their origins and background.

The nature of the MERIDIUM research was mainly exploratory, with one of the goals being that of providing further insight regarding linguistic diversity in Southern Europe, especially in areas where, up till now, a relatively limited amount of research has been carried out. Wherever possible, some comparative considerations were also put forward, always taking into account the diverse sociolinguistic situations of the countries

under study and the specificity of the various primary schools which were selected to participate in the research. The very nature of the study is therefore descriptive and results are not representative of the national contexts from which they were obtained. However, the research methodology based on questionnaires has been considered to be a strong point of the research, and has been qualified as “innovative and worth to be presented to other institutions in Europe” in the Lifelong Learning Programme (LLP) Final Report Assessment sheet by the Education, Audiovisual & Culture Executive Agency (EACEA). In this regard, it must be observed that the main conceptual dimensions on which MERIDIUM questionnaires have been constructed during the first year of the project (2009) largely coincide with those that were subsequently suggested in the *Guide for the development and implementation of curricula for plurilingual and intercultural education* (Beacco *et al.* 2010, Appendix II) in order to collect data which «are intended to pave the way for realistic curriculum choices» (p. 27).

The questionnaires used in the Project enabled researchers to obtain data from a relatively large number of subjects. They were designed mainly with the intention of providing a common framework for all the six countries involved in the research. However, for Romania, a country subject to outbound migratory fluxes, specific questions targeted for returned migrants were also used. Future research, possibly also based on qualitative instruments, could provide further insight in order to complement the results obtained by the MERIDIUM research. Such forms of research—including ethnographic studies and action research—could lead to critical analyses of specific situations which the MERIDIUM survey investigated through the use of questionnaires.

As expected, even in the light of considerations included in the literature in the field, the results obtained were noticeably characterised by a high degree of diversity, thereby confirming that even in the case of the MERIDIUM Project data, the notion of super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007) is relevant. In countries like Italy, Spain and Portugal, many languages are present in the primary schools in which the MERIDIUM research took place. In Spain and Portugal, however, one does find some clustering, as immigrants hailing from Hispanophone or Lusophone contexts form relatively large groups within the schools. In Malta, Romania and Slovenia different sociolinguistic conditions (together with dissimilar historical and geographical characteristics) lead to less heterogeneous forms of language diversity when compared to findings registered in the primary schools that participated in the MERIDIUM survey in Italy, Spain and Portugal.

A further difference regards the family background of children who participated in the MERIDIUM research (see Tab. 15-1).

SURVEY COUNTRY	NATIVE-BORN INFORMANTS			FOREIGN-BORN INFORMANTS			TOT.	
	NNb	NMb	NFb	FNb	FMb	FFb		
IT	N	450	31	92	4	3	116	696
	%	64.7	4.5	13.2	.6	.4	16.7	100.0
ES	N	293	36	8	2	6	72	417
	%	70.3	8.6	1.9	.5	1.4	17.3	100.0
PT	N	194	58	14	1	2	41	310
	%	62.6	18.7	4.5	.3	.6	13.2	100.0
RO	N	276	8	0	8	3	0	295
	%	90.5	2.7	-	2.7	1.0	-	100.0
MT	N	104	22	8	0	6	7	147
	%	70.7	15.0	5.4	-	3.7	4.3	100.0
SI	N	98	28	14	1	3	7	151
	%	64.9	18.5	9.3	.7	2.0	4.6	100.0
TOT	N	1415	183	136	16	23	243	2016
	%	70.2	9.1	6.7	.8	1.1	12.1	100.0

Key: NNb = native-born with native background; NMb = native-born with mixed background, NFb = native-born with foreign background; FNb = foreign-born with native background; FMb = foreign-born with mixed background, FFb = foreign-born with foreign background.

Tab. 15-1: MERIDIUM sample A (pupils) stratified by survey country, birth country of informants and of their parents (“background”)

In Italy and in Spain, for example, respectively, both parents of 29.4% and 19.2% of the pupils involved in the research are foreign-born¹. In Portugal, children with foreign background amount to 17.8%, but another 19.5% have one foreign-born parent. The situation in Malta and in Slovenia is similar to that of Portugal (more children with mixed background than children with foreign background), but on a much smaller scale.

On the other hand, in the Italian sub-sample we have a considerable number of children with foreign background who are born in Italy (so-

¹ As explained throughout the research, one must take account of the problems related to terminology in this field. The term “foreign” is therefore used solely with reference to the place of birth of subjects, meaning that they were not born in the context in which the research was carried.

called “second generation immigrants”), while data from Spanish and Portuguese schools reveal that most children with foreign background have arrived recently to these countries. These situations, present both within and across contexts, provide an indication of the complexity of immigration conditions and clearly point to the fact that in schools (and often even in single classrooms) there are multiple issues to deal with. It is therefore legitimate to ask whether educational authorities, policy-makers, heads of schools and teachers are adequately prepared in order to deal with such super-diverse situations. Results of the MERIDIUM project clearly show that in these contexts there still is the need to create adequate policies for cultural and linguistic integration, which is to be implemented by suitably qualified staff and through appropriate teaching materials. Within the MERIDIUM project some didactic materials were also developed². These teaching tools are described as being “excellent and worth to be introduced more broadly” in the Lifelong Learning Programme (LLP) Final Report Assessment sheet by the EACEA. Prominence must therefore also be given to develop practical skills and to create more teaching tools which are relevant to individuals who have different backgrounds, culture, values and beliefs.

With the exception of Portugal and Romania, adult subjects (both native-born and foreign-born) participating in the MERIDIUM Project show a certain resistance to the proposal that home-languages of immigrant children should be taught in schools (see Tab. 15-2, next page):

The reasons behind the positive and, especially, the negative responses presented in Tab. 15-2 require further investigation, also through the use of qualitative instruments. Furthermore, it will be possible to interpret the data comparatively to a greater degree of reliability, when statistically representative samples are chosen, according to the different countries’ realities. At this point, however, we can state that these data deserve great attention, even on the grounds that the number of informants who did not answer this question, or stated that they are not able to answer it, is rather high both in the “native-born” and in the “foreign-born” categories. This may indicate that, despite awareness of language diversity as a result of migration, for many of our informants the role of schools as possible agents in order to maintain linguistic diversity is not necessarily taken into consideration.

² See Appendix C, this volume.

SURVEY COUNTRY	INFORMANTS BY BIRTHPLACE	“DO YOU THINK THAT CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANT ORIGIN SHOULD BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN THEIR OWN LANGUAGE/S IN [THIS COUNTRY’S] SCHOOLS?” (N AND %)			TOTAL
		Yes	No	Idk/NA	
IT	foreign born	59	72	48	179
		<i>33.0</i>	<i>40.2</i>	<i>26.8</i>	<i>100.0</i>
	native born	52	258	108	418
		<i>12.4</i>	<i>61.7</i>	<i>25.8</i>	<i>100.0</i>
	TOTAL	111	330	156	597
		<i>18.6</i>	<i>55.3</i>	<i>26.1</i>	<i>100.0</i>
ES	foreign born	24	26	18	68
		<i>(35.3)</i>	<i>(38.2)</i>	<i>(26.5)</i>	<i>(100.0)</i>
	native born	43	114	53	210
		<i>20.5</i>	<i>54.3</i>	<i>25.2</i>	<i>100.0</i>
	TOTAL	67	140	71	278
		<i>24.1</i>	<i>50.4</i>	<i>25.5</i>	<i>100.0</i>
PT	foreign born	58	14	14	86
		<i>(67.4)</i>	<i>(16.3)</i>	<i>(16.3)</i>	<i>(100.0)</i>
	native born	157	21	45	223
		<i>70.4</i>	<i>9.4</i>	<i>20.2</i>	<i>100.0</i>
	TOTAL	215	35	59	309
		<i>69.6</i>	<i>11.3</i>	<i>19.1</i>	<i>100.0</i>
RO	foreign born	3	1	0	4
		<i>(75.0)</i>	<i>(25.0)</i>	-	<i>(100.0)</i>
	native born	133	44	101	278
		<i>47.8</i>	<i>15.8</i>	<i>36.3</i>	<i>100.0</i>
	TOTAL	136	45	101	282
		<i>48.2</i>	<i>16.0</i>	<i>35.8</i>	<i>100.0</i>
MT	foreign born	14	10	7	31
		<i>(45.2)</i>	<i>(32.3)</i>	<i>(22.6)</i>	<i>(100.0)</i>
	native born	36	48	42	126
		<i>28.6</i>	<i>38.1</i>	<i>33.3</i>	<i>100.0</i>
	TOTAL	50	58	49	157
		<i>31.8</i>	<i>36.9</i>	<i>31.2</i>	<i>100.0</i>
SI	foreign born	4	12	9	25
		<i>(16.0)</i>	<i>(48.0)</i>	<i>(36.0)</i>	<i>(100.0)</i>
	native born	29	55	25	109
		<i>26.6</i>	<i>50.5</i>	<i>22.9</i>	<i>100.0</i>
	TOTAL	33	67	34	134
		<i>24.6</i>	<i>50.0</i>	<i>25.4</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Tab. 15-2: Sample B (parents): answers to BQ34 by survey country and birthplace of informants

Although, as stated above, the sociolinguistic situation in the six countries involved in the MERIDIUM Project is complex and highly diverse, some interesting analogies were noted. First of all, the presence of students with different backgrounds is increasing at primary level thereby giving rise to challenges that schools must be equipped to face, both in terms of teacher education and at practical levels. It is encouraging to note, however, that although schools are more multiethnic and multicultural when compared to the past, this is also often seen as a potential source in order to create an enriching experience and as an opportunity to broaden the horizons of all students. Such considerations emerge especially when researchers who were collecting the MERIDIUM data were given direct feedback by teachers. Secondly, it was noted that, in most contexts, place of birth (both of children and of parents) may play a significant role in the formation of identity. Clearly, one's identity is influenced and shaped by other factors, but one's place of birth plays a noteworthy role in this respect, as it may condition the manner in which one perceives oneself and the way one is perceived by others. Thirdly, children who are born in one of the six countries included in the MERIDIUM project, of parents also born in the same country, generally show an interest towards foreign languages, towards language learning and also towards language diversity although, as stated earlier, there is hesitancy when one is asked whether migrants' languages should be taught in schools. However, interest towards foreign language learning is still largely directed towards European languages which are traditionally taught in schools (especially towards English), rather than towards "new" languages present, due to migration, in the contexts investigated. Finally, the enthusiasm and promptness by which children, in particular, filled in the MERIDIUM questionnaire, irrespective of their nationality, is another indication of their eagerness to express themselves and their willingness to participate in research involving the use of languages.

The results obtained in the MERIDIUM project, despite their limitations which were repeatedly outlined in the contributions to the second part of this volume, certainly set the scene for further research and provide a basis for educational authorities and teachers to reflect upon when implementing measures aimed at giving value to multicultural and plurilingual situations which are very much the reality in many schools in Southern Europe today. Furthermore, while highlighting the diversity and complexity of the issues which were investigated, the considerations put forward by the contributors to this volume also confirm the importance of having realistic and goal-oriented policies both at a national level, and also on a European scale.

Through MERIDIUM a cross-section of the reality found in schools in various areas in Southern Europe has been presented. This research must be also considered in view of its attempt to shed further light on situations present in previously relatively unexplored areas, thereby creating the basis for further inter and intra-national research and networking. In this sense, one observes that understanding more fully linguistic diversity and multiculturalism in schools is indeed necessary in order to address issues that are encountered in these institutions in Southern Europe today, thereby moving towards more inclusive systems which are vital to create reflection, acceptance and involvement while putting aside prejudice and fear.

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Lucija Čok, Professor and scientific counsellor in the field of Multilingualism and Interculturalism, was the first Rector of the University of Primorska. Furthermore, as Minister of Education, Science and Sport (2000-2002), she contributed to the reforms in the field of educational system in Slovenia and participated in the national strategies leading to the integration of Slovenia in the European Research Area and the European Higher Education Area. In her research she has dealt with the social, psycho-linguistic and didactic aspects of teaching and studying foreign languages; her research findings have been published in numerous papers in French, Italian and English. She has lectured at foreign universities, has been responsible for national development projects, coordinated international projects, as well as headed projects at the European Centre for Modern Languages in Graz. She is a member of numerous boards of experts that have prepared the research and education policy in Slovenia as well as a member of High Assessment panels within the directorates of the European Commission and the EUA Institutional Evaluation Program; within the MERIDIUM Project, she coordinates the MERIDIUM research unit of the University of Primorska. She has received the prestigious award from the President of France (Légion d'honneur) for her promotion of the French language and culture and the strategies for the encouragement of linguistic diversity. She was also awarded the title of Cavaliere della Repubblica d'Italia from the President of Italy.

Joana Duarte is a post-doctoral assistant at the Institute for International Comparative and Intercultural Education of the University of Hamburg. Her main research interests are multilingualism and its consequences on educational systems, bilingual school models and language assessment tools. She has conducted her research in Lisbon, Athens and Cologne, where she coordinated the EU-Comenius project “EUCIM-TE: European Core Curriculum for Inclusive Academic Language Instruction”. In her current position in Hamburg she works in the LiMA research cluster (Linguistic Diversity Management in Urban Areas) and coordinates language assessment of multilingual speakers in a panel study on language development. Her most recent publications include: “Global students for global education research?” (with Ian Menter and Radhica Gorur), in *The Routledge doctoral student’s companion* (2010), *Bilingual language proficiency. A comparative study*, Waxmann (2011) and “Migrants’ educational success through innovation: The case of the Hamburg bilingual schools”, *International Review of Education* (2011).

Vicente González Martín is Professor of Italian Literature at the University of Salamanca, where he is currently Dean of the Faculty of Philology. He has been Head Researcher in various projects financed by the European Union over the past years, such as: *European Youth and Reading; European Network for the promotion of books, reading and tradition*, and *Hacia la unidad en la diversidad: Difusión de las lenguas europeas*. He is also in charge of the Doctorate Course *Thinking, religion and woman in Mediterranean literature* (at the University of Salamanca) and collaborates with the Doctorate Courses concerning themes of Mediterranean culture with the University Federico II of Naples and the University of Catania. He is the coordinator of the MERIDIUM research unit of the University of Salamanca. He has published various articles on the literature of emigration, and has participated in international congresses on this topic and in the creation of the “Network of Mediterranean universities”. He currently is the director of the “Cátedra Sicilia” and also of the publication “RSEI. Revista de la Sociedad Española de Italianistas”.

Manuel Heras García is Assistant Professor at the University of Salamanca. His main lecturing duties regard the Foreign Language teaching. This includes language teaching to immigrants in a Master Degree course in Spanish as a Second Language and also in a Master Degree in Spanish Language and Culture for American Teachers in Atlanta (United States). He also lectures on the Doctorate Course

Thinking, religion and woman in Mediterranean literature at the University of Salamanca and has an extensive experience in the organization of international conventions, scientific meetings, seminars, etc. He is also an expert in educational technologies, heading the website of the Department of Modern Philology. His publications are essentially on the linguistic aspect and the processing of methods for contrastive teaching of languages.

Cornelia Ilie is Professor of English Linguistics at Malmö University, Sweden. She has coordinated international research projects and published extensively on political discourse, media practices and intercultural rhetoric. She is the coordinator of GENPARDIS (*Gender and Parliamentary Discourse practices*), the president of ESTIDIA (European Society for Transcultural and Interdisciplinary Dialogue) and member of the IAU (International Association of Universities) Reference Group of Experts.

Ana Kralj is Research Associate at the Science and Research Centre and assistant professor at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Primorska. Her research is focused on globalization processes, nationalism, undocumented migration, policies on immigration, asylum and integration, and analysis of the status of marginalized social groups.

Paulino Matas Gil is Professor of Italian Literature at the University of Salamanca. He has been a member of the research group headed by Prof. Vicente González, participating in various European Projects as well as in the Doctorate Course *Thinking, religion and woman in Mediterranean literature* at the University of Salamanca. He is also a member of the Doctorate School in Sciences of text, edition, analysis, reading and communication at the University of Siena. Likewise he is coordinator of the Erasmus—Socrates program with different Italian universities and is an expert in literature on travelling (member of CIRVI) and in Italian—Spanish comparative studies, as he has published numerous essays on this topic, such as *The reception of Italian literature from the 1900s in Spain: approach to journalistic language through books on newspaper style in Italy and Spain*, etc.

Luiza Mesesan Schmitz is Senior Lecturer at the Faculty of Sociology and Communication, Transilvania University of Braşov. Her PhD is in the Sociology of Health and Illness and her areas of specialisation also include Demography and Social Statistics. She has participated in research projects with the Sociology department on educational services for

children (financed by Medina Association, Italy), on social representations, perceptions and images constructed at Braşov community level, and on *European Community Integration Effects Acknowledged at Braşov Community Level and Implications on The Quality of Life and Lifestyle*.

Stefania Scaglione is Associate Professor of Linguistics at the University for Foreigners of Perugia, where she holds courses on Sociolinguistics and Language Policy and Planning. She is the coordinator of the MERIDIUM Project and of the MERIDIUM research unit of the University for Foreigners of Perugia. Her main areas of research include sociolinguistic aspects of migration and linguistic rights. On these topics she has published *Attrition. Mutamenti sociolinguistici nel lucchese di San Francisco* (2000), *Italiano e Italiani nel mondo* (2004), *Lingue e diritti umani* (2011, edited with Stefania Giannini).

María Mar Soliño Pazó, PhD, is lecturer in German Linguistics and Language at the University of Salamanca. Her main research is in Applied Linguistics (Teaching of Foreign Languages, Acquisition of Foreign Languages in different contexts and Contrastive Linguistics) and in children's as well as young people's literature. She has participated in various research projects with the Spanish Ministry of Science and Technology, which relate to the translation and study of linguistic pluralism in multicultural societies, having analyzed the importance of cultural and linguistic pluralism in the world today. Her fields of interest are German as a foreign language, German semantics, children's literature in the classroom (intercultural aspects and children's literature in foreign language learning and teaching). She is author of several articles in these research fields. She has been Research Fellow at the University of Lisbon (Portugal), Postdoctoral Fellow at Frankfurt University (Germany) and Visiting Scholar at Leipzig University (Germany).

Maria Isabel Tomás is Assistant Professor in the Linguistics Department at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences (FCSH) UNL, since 2005, where she holds courses in the areas of Sociolinguistics, Research Methods in Linguistics, Teaching Portuguese as L2, Language and Identity in Creole Communities. She is the coordinator of the MERIDIUM research unit of the Universidade Nova of Lisbon. Her research work and publications have focused on Portuguese based Creoles as minority languages, in particular on Linguistic Processes and Social Contexts in Language Obsolescence. Current research interests cover Multilingualism and Interaction Analysis in Social Work.

Stefania Tusini is Researcher of General Sociology at the University for Foreigners of Perugia. She specialized in Social Sciences Methodology with a PhD at the University "La Sapienza" of Rome. Her main interests concern empirical social research, both quantitative and qualitative. She carried out research in Florence, Rome and Perugia, coordinating several working teams as project manager. Her main publications are on methodology of empirical social research, mostly interview techniques, relational dynamics of interviewing, question wording bias and semantic issues.

Alexandra Vella is a Senior Lecturer in Phonetics and Phonology, at the Institute of Linguistics, University of Malta. Her specialization is in Phonetics and Phonology, particularly Intonational Phonology, and her research focuses on Maltese prosody and intonation, and on the influence of these on the intonational structure of Maltese English. She is also interested in interlanguage phonology and in accent and dialect variation. She is currently working on a project aimed at archiving material from a Survey of Maltese Dialects carried out in the 1960s, and in creating a searchable database using samples from the data. She also heads the SPAN Project on the prosodic annotation of data from a spoken corpus of Maltese.

Maja Zadel is Early Stage Researcher at the Institute for Mediterranean Humanities and Social Studies at the Science and Research Centre, University of Primorska. In her doctoral studies she is focusing on ethnic and transcultural studies in relation to mass media.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRES A (PUPILS) AND B (PARENTS)

The questionnaires hereby reproduced are the English versions of the data-collection tool used by each one of the MERIDIUM research units in order to carry out the sociolinguistic survey in their respective countries. The questionnaires have been translated into Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Slovene, Maltese and Romanian.



University of Malta
L-Università ta' Malta



Questionnaire A

City / Town _____

School _____

Class _____

Serial number
(to be copied on parent's questionnaire)

Date __ / __ / __

Researcher _____



Lifelong Learning Programme

This project has been funded with support from the European Commission.
This publication [communication] reflects the views only of the author, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

HELLO! WE ARE A TEAM OF UNIVERSITY RESEARCHERS. WE WOULD LIKE YOU TO ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS WITH US. WILL YOU PLEASE HELP US?

1) You are....

- male
- female

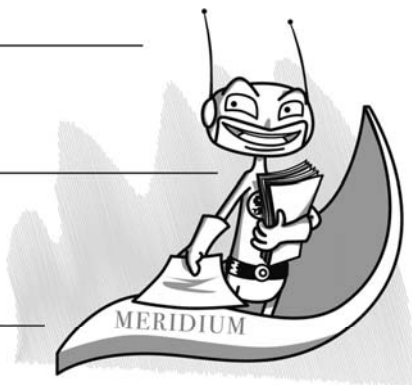
2) How old are you? _____

3) In which year were you born? _____

4) In which country are we now? _____

5) Were you born in Malta?

- no. Where? _____
- yes
- I don't know



6) If you were not born in Malta, how old were you when you came to Malta?

7) Have you ever lived in a different country than Malta (for more than six months)?

- no
 yes . Where? _____
 I don't know

8) Did you ever attend school (from Year 1 to Year 5) in a different country from Malta?

- no
 yes. Where? _____
 I don't know

9) If you answered YES, please tell us for how long you went to this school.

- for a few months
 1 or 2 years
 3 or 4 years
 5 years or more
 I don't know

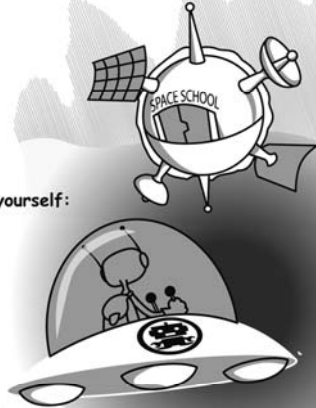
10) Who are you? Please use five words to define yourself:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

11) What job would you like to do when you are older?

- I would like to be _____

 I don't know



12) How much do you feel part of your class?

- very much just enough a little bit not at all I don't know

13) How much do you feel part of your group of friends?

- very much just enough a little bit not at all I don't know

14) How much do you feel a citizen of the city/town where you live?

- very much just enough a little bit not at all I don't know

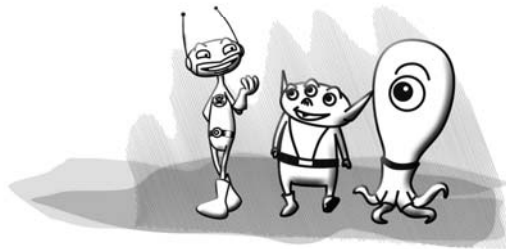
15) How much do you feel Maltese?

- very much just enough a little bit not at all I don't know

16) How much do you feel European?

- very much just enough a little bit not at all I don't know

17) Which country do you feel a citizen of? _____



18) According to you, how many Maltese children are there in your class? (also count those who are absent)

19) Which is/are the language/s which most people normally use in Malta?

20) According to you, how many children in your school speak other languages besides Maltese and/or English?

- many quite a few a few no one I don't know

21) If there are children speaking other languages, which language/s do they speak?

22) How often do you hear people speaking other languages than Maltese and/or English?

- it has never happened to me
 it happens sometimes
 it happens often



23) Do you have friends, who do not attend your school, who speak other languages, besides Maltese and/or English?

- no
 yes. Please tell us which languages they speak _____
 I don't know

24) Do your parents have friends who speak other languages, besides Maltese and/or English?

- no
 yes. Please tell us which languages they speak _____
 I don't know

25) Do you have relatives who speak any other languages besides Maltese and/or English?

- no
 yes. Please tell us which languages they speak _____
 I don't know

26) If you have friends or relatives who speak languages which are different from Maltese and/or English how do you feel about this?

- proud
 I do not really care
 embarrassed
 I don't know

27) Which languages are spoken throughout the world? Please, write the names of some of them.

28) Besides Maltese and/or English, are you learning other languages (by yourself or with the help of someone)?

- no, I'm not interested
 no, but I would like to
 yes. Please tell us which languages you study _____

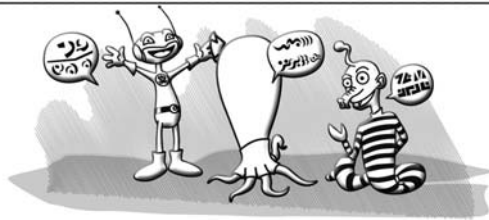
29) If yes, how are you learning this language?

- through private lessons / private tuition
 I attend a language school
 I am attending a course at an institution / a course organised by the Local Council
 other: _____

30) When you are older, would you like to know how to speak other languages, besides those you already know or you are studying? (max. 3 answers, to be ordered by adding a number)

- no
 yes, to travel
 yes, because it is important for the job I'd like to have when I'm older
 yes, because some of my friends already know how to speak other languages
 yes, because my mother / father know how to speak other languages
 yes, because I like studying languages
 yes, because there are TV programmes in which foreign languages are spoken
 other reasons. Which ones? _____

31) Tell us which languages you'd like to speak when you are older:



32) Do you think that the language/s you have learnt at home is/are beautiful?
Or do you think that other languages are more beautiful? (only one answer)

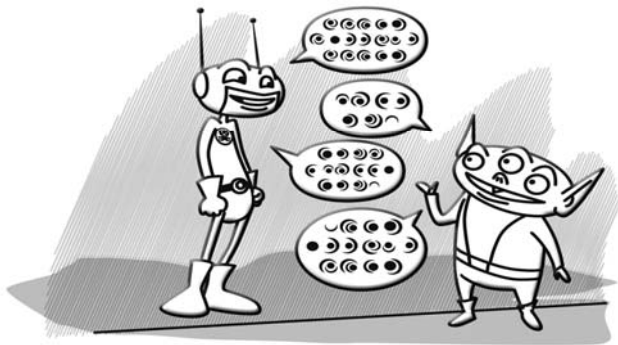
- I think that the language/s that I have learnt at home is/are the most beautiful
 it's beautiful, but there are other beautiful languages as well
 I think other languages are more beautiful. Which ones? _____
-

33) When I hear someone speaking a language which is different from Maltese and/or English in the place where I live, I feel: (only one answer)

- amused
 curious
 annoyed
 scared
 I don't take any notice
 I don't know

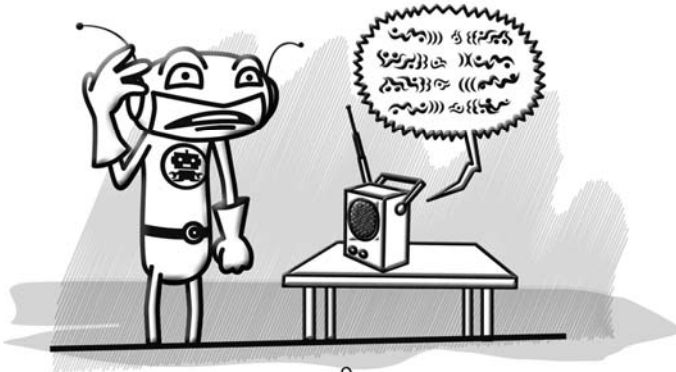
34) When you hear someone speaking a language you do not know, do you think that it sounds like ...

- music
 noise
 something else, that is _____
 I do not know



- 35) Here you will read some sentences written in unusual alphabets. Try to guess which languages they are.

	Which language is it?
Всички хора се раждат свободни и равни по достойнство и права. Те са надарени с разум и съвест и следва да се отнасят помежду си в дух на братство	
يولد جميع الناس أحراراً متساوين في الكرامة والحقوق، وقد وهبوا عقلاً وضميراً، وعليهم أن يعامل بعضهم بعضاً بروح الإخاء.	
人人人生而自由，在尊严和权利上一律平等。他们赋有理性 and 良心，并应以兄弟关系的精神相对待。	
अनुच्छेद १. सभी मनुष्यों को गौरव और अधिकारों के मामले में जन्मजात स्वतन्त्रता और समानता प्राप्त है। उन्हें बुद्धि और अन्तरात्मा की देन प्राप्त है और परस्पर उन्हें भाईचारे के भाव से बर्ताव करना चाहिए।	



36) Which language/s do you usually speak at home with your:

mother _____

father _____

brothers/sisters _____

grandparents _____

37) Which language/s do you usually speak outside with your:

relatives _____

classmates _____

friends (your age) _____

neighbours (adults) _____

teachers (on the whole) _____

38) Do you remember which language/s you used to speak when you were young?

the same one/s I speak now

a different language, that is _____

I do not remember

39) In which languages do you know how to say "I want a sandwich"?

40) Besides Maltese and/or English, which languages do you know how to read in (e.g. comics)?

41) Besides Maltese and/or English, which languages do you know how to write in (e.g. a letter to a friend)?

42) Besides Maltese and/or English, which languages do you understand (e.g. a song or a cartoon)?

- 43) Who lives permanently with you in the same house? Underline YES or NO below:

My mother	YES	NO
My father	YES	NO
Younger brothers / sisters	YES	NO
Brothers / sisters of the same age	YES	NO
Older brothers / sisters	YES	NO
Grandparents	YES	NO
Other relatives	YES	NO
(your or your parents') Friends	YES	NO

- 44) Do your grandparents, uncles/aunts and cousins live in Malta?

- yes, they all live here
 some live here; some live in other countries. Where? _____

 they all live in other countries. Where? _____

- 45) In which country was your father born? _____

- 46) In which country was your mother born? _____



47) What is your father's job?

he is (e. g. a mechanic, a teacher etc.)

at the moment, he doesn't work

I have no father

I don't know

48) What is your mother's job?

she is (e. g. a hairdresser, a teacher etc.)

at the moment, she doesn't work

I have no mother

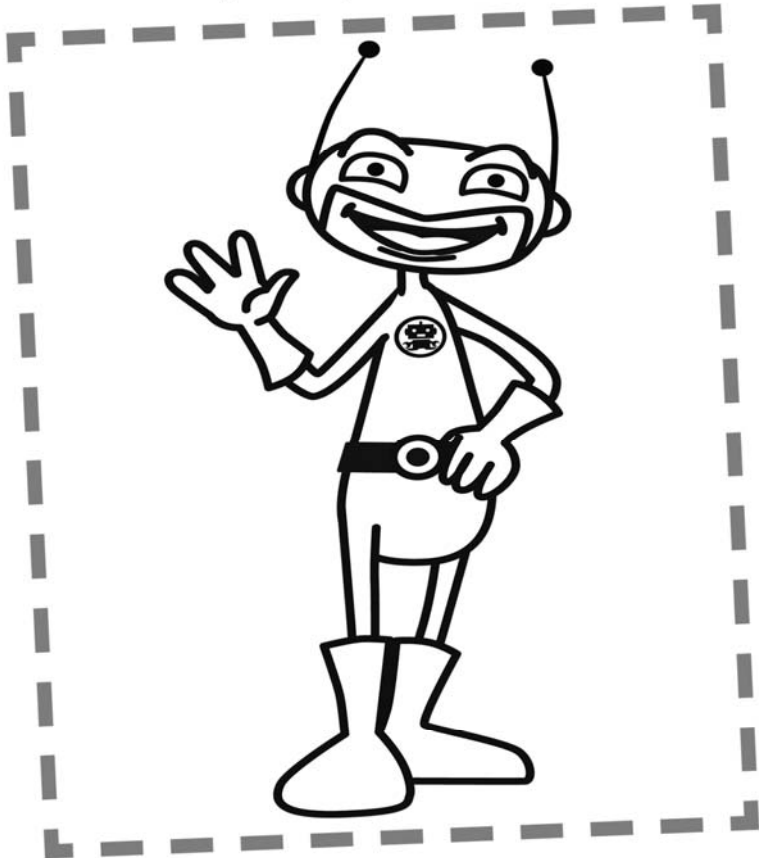
I don't know





MERIDIUM

Multilingualism in Europe as a Resource for Immigration
Dialogue Initiative among the Universities of the Mediterranean



Now you are a member of our team!
This is "Babel", our mascot:
Tear off this page and, if you like, use it as a badge.

Questionnaire B

City / town _____

School _____

Class _____

Serial number _____

Date __/__/__

Researcher _____



**INSTRUCTIONS**

We are a team of researchers from the University of Malta and we are carrying out a study on how people living in Malta perceive and judge languages. We have obtained permission from the Department of Education to ask some questions on this issue to your child at school, in a completely anonymous manner. Now we would like to know your opinion too.

Therefore we kindly ask you to answer these questions.

Your answers will be treated in a completely anonymous way. All the data you will provide will be treated in strictest confidentiality, only for the purposes of this research, and will be used in order to provide statistical data.

We have tried to formulate the questions in a straightforward way, also taking into consideration the fact that some of you may be foreigners. Some questions may therefore not be perfectly applicable to your situation. However, we would like to ask you to read all questions carefully and answer those related to you.

We kindly ask you to send the questionnaire to us by using the self-addressed envelope which we have provided.

Thank you!





- 1) **You are:**
 male female
- 2) **Age:** _____
- 3) **You are:**
 Married / Living with your partner
 Divorced or separated / Single / Widow or widower (if you mark this option you may not answer questions in which we ask information regarding husband / wife / partner)
- 4) **In which country were you born?** _____
- 5) **In which country was your husband / wife / partner born?** _____
- 6) **How long have you been in Malta?**
 I was born here I arrived here _____ years ago
- 7) **For how many years did you attend school?**
 Total number of years _____ (please count all the years you have attended school, from the first year of Primary school to the last year you attended, including University)
 I never attended school (go to number 9)
- 8) **Where did you attend school?**
 in Malta
 in another country. Which one? _____
- 9) **For how many years did your wife / husband attend school?**
 Total number of years _____ (please count all the years you have attended school, from the first year of Primary school to the last year you attended, including University)
 She/he never attended school (go to number 11)
- 10) **Where did your wife / husband attend school?**
 in Malta
 in another country. Which one? _____



**11) Who lives with you at home? Please mark YES or NO.**

husband / wife / partner	YES	NO
children	YES	NO
father / mother	YES	NO
father in-law / mother in-law	YES	NO
brothers / sisters	YES	NO
grandparents	YES	NO
other relatives	YES	NO
friends or acquaintances	YES	NO

12) What is your job?

I do not work / I am unemployed

I am a / I work at _____

13) What is your husband's / wife's job?

He/she does not work / He/she is unemployed

He/she is a / He/she works at _____

14) Who are you? Please write 5 words to define yourself

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

15) How much do you feel part of your family?

very much just enough a little bit not at all I don't know

16) How much do you feel part of your group of friends?

very much just enough a little bit not at all I don't know

17) How much do you feel part of the city/town in which you live?

very much just enough a little bit not at all I don't know

18) How much do you feel Maltese?

very much just enough a little bit not at all I don't know



**19) How much do you feel European?**

- very much just enough a little bit not at all I don't know

20) If you weren't born in Malta, how much do you feel part of your country of origin?

- very much just enough a little bit not at all I don't know

21) It is positive to have friends who originate from a country which is not your own

- I do not agree I agree I don't know

22) I think that it's better to meet up with people who speak my own language

- I do not agree I agree I don't know

23) When there are people who speak different languages living in the neighbourhood there may be problems

- I do not agree I agree I don't know

24) If there is respect and tolerance among people, speaking different languages is not a problem

- I do not agree I agree I don't know

25) Do most of your friends come from your country of origin?

- no yes I don't know

26) According to you how many people who are not of Maltese origins live in your neighbourhood?

- many quite a few a few none I don't know

27) According to you how many people who live in your neighbourhood speak languages which are different from Maltese and/or English?

- many quite a few a few none I don't know

28) According to you, which languages, other than Maltese and/or English are spoken in your town/city/area?

- _____
 I don't know

29) How often do you hear people speaking different languages, other than Maltese and/or English?

- it never happened
 it happens occasionally
 it happens often





30) Do you have relatives or friends who speak any other languages besides Maltese and/or English?

- no
 yes. Which languages? _____
 I don't know

31) Having relatives and/or friends who speak languages which are different from Maltese and/or English makes you feel:

- proud indifferent embarrassed I don't know

32) Are you learning another language, other than your native language/s?

- no, I'm not interested (go to question 34)
 no, but I would like to (go to question 34)
 yes. Which language? _____

33) How are you learning this language?

- through private lessons / private tuition
 I attend a language school
 I am following a course at an institution or a course organised by the Local Council
 by myself
 other. How? _____

34) Do you think that children of immigrants should be given the opportunity to learn their own language/s in Maltese schools?

- no
 yes. At what age should they be given this opportunity? _____
 I don't know

35) Do you think your native language/s is/are beautiful? Or do you think that other languages are more beautiful? (just one answer)

- I think that my native language/s is/are the most beautiful
 it's beautiful, but other are just as beautiful
 I think other languages are more beautiful. Which ones? _____

36) Do you think your native language/s is/are useful? Or do you think that other languages are more useful?

- I think that it is very useful (go to question 38)
 it is just as useful as others (go to question 38)
 I think other languages are more useful. Which ones? _____

37) Why do you believe this/these language/s is/are more useful? _____



38) Which language do you think is more useful in order to: (please, fill in each section)

have a good job	
make many friends	
earn more money	
be more respected	

39) According to you, how important is it to speak well at least one language, besides your native language/s?

- very much just enough a little bit not at all I don't know

40) When I hear someone speaking a language which is different from my own, in the town/city/area where I live, I feel: (just one answer)

- amused
 curious
 annoyed
 scared
 I don't take any notice
 I don't know

41) Here there are some languages which are written differently from Maltese and/or English. Try to guess which languages are:

	Which language is it?
Всички хора се раждат свободни и равни по достойнство и права. Те са надарени с разум и съвест и следва да се отнасят помежду си в дух на братство	
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人人而自由，在尊严和权利上一律平等。他们赋有理性和良心，并应以兄弟关系的精神相对待。	
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42) In your city/town/area, do local institutions (e.g. your Local Council) create occasions where people from different cultures, and who speak different languages, can meet?

- many times sometimes few times never I don't know

43) In your city/town/area, do local institutions (e.g. your Local Council) create opportunities to learn other languages?

- many quite a lot a few none I don't know

44) In general, do you think that in Malta schools create an interest among children towards people from different cultures and who speak other languages?

- very much so quite a bit very little not at all I don't know

45) Which is your native language? _____

46) Which other languages do you know how to speak (e.g. to have a conversation)? _____

47) Which languages do you know how to read in (ex. a newspaper)? (please include your native language)

- _____
 none

48) Which languages do you know how to write in (ex. a letter)? (please include your native language)

- _____
 none

49) Which languages do you understand, ex. listening to a song or to the radio? (include your native language) _____

50) During the last week you used Maltese and/or English to:

work	YES	NO
read newspapers and/or books	YES	NO
speak to friends or relatives	YES	NO
write a letter or some other form of correspondence	YES	NO
watch a film	YES	NO



51) During the last week you used a language, other than Maltese and/or English to:

work	YES	NO
read newspapers and/or books	YES	NO
speak to friends or relatives	YES	NO
write a letter or some other form of correspondence	YES	NO
watch a film	YES	NO

52) Which language or languages do you use at home to speak to your: (please, fill in each section)

wife/husband/partner _____
 children _____
 brothers/sisters _____
 parents _____
 grandparents _____

53) Which language or languages do you use outside to speak to your: (please, fill in each section)

relatives _____
 colleagues at work _____
 friends _____
 neighbours _____

That's all! We would just like to remind you that this questionnaire is anonymous.
 All information provided will be treated in full respect of privacy laws and all results will be produced collectively, not individually.

For further information, please contact Dr. Sandro Caruana (tel: _____ / email: _____)

).

Thank you very much!

Questionnaire B

13a) Have you ever had experience of working/living abroad?

- No (go to question 13d)
 Yes. Where? _____

13b) For how long have you worked/lived abroad?

- a few months 1-2 years 3-4 years
 more than 5 years

13c) Can you speak the language of the country you worked/lived in?

- No Yes

13d) Has your spouse ever had experience of working/living abroad?

- No (go to question 14)
 Yes. Where? _____

13e) For how long has he/she worked/lived abroad?

- a few months 1-2 years 3-4 years
 more than 5 years

APPENDIX C

BABEL AND LANGUAGES

The booklet hereby reproduced has been prepared as part of the MERIDIUM European research on multilingualism in Southern European countries and countries of the Mediterranean. It has been conceived as a tool to stimulate children's curiosity on language diversity. At the same time, it is addressed both to primary school teachers and to parents: the former may use it as part of their teaching materials and as a stimulus to prepare similar resources, whereas the latter may consider it to represent an opportunity to reflect with their children on the language history of their family as well as on their language use.



MERIDIUM

Multilingualism in Europe as a Resource for Immigration
Dialogue Initiative among the Universities of the Mediterranean

BABEL AND LANGUAGES

BABEL E LE LINGUE

BABEL E AS LÍNGUAS

BABEL ŞI LIMBILE

BABEL IN JEZIKI

BABEL Y LAS LENGUAS



Notes for teachers and parents

This booklet has been prepared as part of the MERIDIUM European research on multilingualism in European Countries of the Mediterranean. It is a useful tool to stimulate children's curiosity on this subject, and at the same time, it is addressed to primary school teachers as teaching material and to parents as an opportunity to reflect with their children about language history of their family as well as their language use.

Nota per gli insegnanti e i genitori

Questo opuscolo è stato redatto nell'ambito della ricerca europea MERIDIUM sul multilinguismo nell'Europa mediterranea. Nasce come strumento utile a stimolare la curiosità dei bambini su questo tema; al tempo stesso, si propone agli insegnanti di scuola primaria come spunto didattico e ai genitori come occasione per riflettere insieme ai propri figli sulla storia e le abitudini linguistiche della famiglia.

Nota para os professores e pais

Este livrete foi preparado no âmbito do projecto europeu de investigação MERIDIUM sobre o multilinguismo na Europa Mediterrânica. É seu objectivo ser um instrumento útil para estimular a curiosidade das crianças em relação a este tema; simultaneamente, poderá ser utilizado pelos professores do Ensino Básico como material de ensino e pelos pais como uma oportunidade para reflectiram em conjunto com os filhos sobre a história e os hábitos linguísticos da sua própria família.

Notă pentru profesori i părinți

Această broură a fost realizată ca parte a proiectului european MERIDIUM, proiect de cercetare a multilinguismului în Europa Mediteraneană. Este un instrument util pentru stimularea curiozității copiilor în legătură cu acest subiect, adresându-se, în același timp, profesorilor din ciclul primar pentru a o folosi ca material didactic, și părinților ca oportunitate de a reflecta, alături de copiii lor, asupra istoriei utilizării limbii în familie.

Opomba za učitelje in starše

Ta knjižica je nastala v okviru evropskega raziskovanja večjezičnosti Sredozemlja MERIDIUM. Ponuja se kot uporabno sredstvo, ki naj spodbuja radovednost učencev za to tematiko, obenem pa naj ponudi didaktično pomoč učiteljem osnovne šole, staršem pa priložnost, da razmislijo skupaj s svojimi otroki o družinski zgodovini in domačih jezikovnih navadah.

Nota para profesores y padres

Este cuadernillo ha sido redactado dentro de la investigación europea MERIDIUM sobre el multilingüismo en los países europeos del Mediterráneo. Nace como instrumento útil para estimular la curiosidad de los niños sobre este tema; al mismo tiempo, se dirige a los profesores de la escuela primaria como sugerencia didáctica y a los padres como una oportunidad para reflexionar junto a sus hijos sobre la historia y los hábitos lingüísticos de la familia.

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Education and Culture DG

Lifelong Learning Programme

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Hi!

My name is Babel and I come from the planet Multilingua, where we study the languages of the universe in order to communicate with the inhabitants of other planets. On Multilingua, knowing many languages is important, because when we have problems, doubts or curiosities, we can turn to the inhabitants of all the planets in the universe to know what we need.

I made a trip to Earth to learn the languages of this planet, and I discovered that there are so many! Now, with the help of researchers at the MERIDIUM European Centre, who come from Italy, Malta, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia and Spain, I wrote my diary in six terrestrial languages to tell the inhabitants of my planet what I have discovered. However, I am still missing some information: could you help me to find it?

Ciao!

Il mio nome è Babel e vengo dal pianeta Multilingua, dove ci occupiamo di studiare le lingue dell'universo, per entrare in comunicazione con gli abitanti degli altri pianeti. Su Multilingua, sapere tante lingue è importante, perché, quando abbiamo un problema, un dubbio o una curiosità, possiamo rivolgerci agli abitanti di tutti i pianeti dell'universo per sapere quello che ci serve.

Ho fatto un viaggio sulla Terra, per conoscere le lingue di questo pianeta, e ho scoperto che ce ne sono tantissime! Adesso, con l'aiuto dei ricercatori del Centro Europeo MERIDIUM, che vengono dall'Italia, da Malta, dal Portogallo, dalla Romania, dalla Slovenia e dalla Spagna, ho scritto il mio diario di viaggio in sei lingue terrestri, per raccontare agli abitanti del mio pianeta quello che ho scoperto. Però mi mancano ancora alcune informazioni: vorresti aiutarmi a raccoglierte?

Olá!

O meu nome é Babel e venho do planeta Multilingua onde me entretenho a estudar as línguas do Universo para poder comunicar com os habitantes de outros planetas. No meu planeta, conhecer muitas línguas é muito importante porque, quando temos um problema, uma dúvida ou uma curiosidade, podemos falar com os habitantes de todos os planetas para saber aquilo que precisamos.

Fiz uma viagem à Terra para conhecer as línguas deste planeta e descobri que são imensas! Por isso, com a ajuda dos investigadores do Centro Europeu MERIDIUM, que vêm da Itália, de Malta, de Portugal, da Roménia, da Eslovénia e de Espanha, escrevi o meu diário de viagem em seis línguas terráqueas para poder contar aos habitantes do meu planeta o que descobri aqui. Mas faltam-me ainda algumas informações: podes ajudar-me a recolhê-las?

Bună!

Numele meu este Babel și vin de pe planeta „Multilingua”, unde studiem limbile universului, pentru a putea comunica cu locuitorii altor planete. Pe Multilingua, cunoașterea multor limbi este importantă, deoarece când avem o problemă, o îndoială sau o curiozitate, ne putem adresa locuitorilor tuturor planetelor din univers pentru a afla ceea ce avem nevoie.

Am făcut o călătorie pe Pământ, pentru a învăța limbile acestei planete, și am descoperit că sunt foarte multe! Acum, cu ajutorul cercetătorilor de la Centrul European MERIDIUM, care vin din Italia, Malta, Portugalia, România, Slovenia și Spania, mi-am scris jurnalul în șase limbi terestre, pentru a le spune locuitorilor de pe planeta mea ce am descoperit. Însă, încă îmi lipsesc câteva informații: vrei să mă ajuți să le strâng?

Pozdravljeni!

Moje ime je Babel in prihajam s planeta Multilingva. Tam se učimo vesoljske jezike, da bi se lahko sporazumevali s prebivalci ostalih planetov. Na Multilingvi je pomembno znati jezike, ker se s prebivalci drugih planetov vesolja dogovarjamo, kako rešiti posamezen problem ali odpraviti dvom.

Potoval sem že na Zemljo, da bi spoznal jezike tega planeta, vendar sem ugotovil, da jih je zelo veliko. Zdaj bom s pomočjo raziskovalcev Evropskega središča MERIDIUM, ki prihajajo iz Italije, Malte, Portugalske, Romunije, Slovenije in Španije pisal v svoj dnevnik potovanj v šestih zemeljskih jezikih in tako pripovedoval prebivalcem svojega planeta, kar bom odkrival. Potrebujem pa nekaj več informacij: mi jih lahko pomagat zbrati?

¡Hola!

Me llamo Babel y vengo del planeta Multilingua, donde nos ocupamos de estudiar las lenguas del universo para comunicarnos con los habitantes de otros planetas. En Multilingua saber muchas lenguas es importante, porque, cuando tenemos un problema, una duda, una curiosidad, podemos dirigirnos a los habitantes de todos los planetas del universo para saber lo que necesitamos.

He hecho un viaje a la Tierra, para conocer las lenguas de este planeta, y he descubierto que ¡hay muchísimas! Ahora, con la ayuda de investigadores del Centro Europeo MERIDIUM, de Italia, Malta, Portugal, Rumanía, Eslovenia y España he escrito mi diario de viaje en seis lenguas terrestres para contar a los habitantes de mi planeta lo que he descubierto. Pero me falta todavía alguna información: ¿querrias ayudarme a recogerla?

On Earth, some 6000 languages are spoken! Some of these languages are also used to write textbooks, comic books, laws, scientific treaties etc; others are hardly ever written, but this does not mean that they are less valuable than the others! People use them to communicate with each other every day, or to give a special name to people and things that are particularly significant in the local community.

Sulla Terra si parlano circa 6000 lingue! Alcune di queste lingue si usano anche per scrivere libri scolastici, fumetti, leggi, trattati scientifici; altre non vengono scritte quasi mai, ma questo non vuol dire che siano meno utili! Le persone le usano per comunicare tra loro quotidianamente, o per dare un nome speciale a persone e cose particolarmente significative per la comunità in cui vivono.

Na Terra falam-se cerca de 6000 línguas! Algumas destas línguas também são usadas para escrever livros escolares, histórias aos quadrinhos, leis, tratados científicos, etc.; outras línguas quase nunca são escritas, o que não quer dizer que sejam menos úteis do que as outras! As pessoas usam-nas para comunicar com os outros no dia a dia ou para dar um nome especial às pessoas e às coisas que são particularmente importantes na comunidade em que vivem.

Pe Pământ se vorbesc cam 6000 de limbi! Unele dintre acestea sunt folosite pentru scrierea manualelor, cărților de benzi desenate, legilor, tratatelor științifice, etc.; altele nu se scriu aproape niciodată, însă asta nu înseamnă că sunt mai puțin valoroase! Oamenii le folosesc pentru a comunica și pentru a numi persoanele și obiectele care au o semnificație aparte pentru comunitatea locală.

Na Zemlji govorimo okoli 6000 jezikov in veliko govorov! V jezikih pišemo knjige, stripe, zakone, znanstvene razprave. Mnogi govori pa ne poznajo pisane besede. To pa ne pomeni, da so manj uporabni! Ljudje jih uporabljajo vsak dan, da se sporazumevajo, ali da poimenujejo ljudi in stvari, posebej pomembne za njihovo skupnost.

¡En la Tierra se hablan alrededor de 6000 lenguas! Algunas de ellas se usan también para escribir libros de texto, tebeos, leyes, tratados científicos; otras no se escriben casi nunca, pero esto no quiere decir que sean menos útiles que las otras. Las personas las usan para comunicarse entre ellos cotidianamente, o para darle un nombre especial a personas y cosas que son particularmente importantes para la comunidad en la que viven.

List, in a column, the names of languages that are both written and spoken, and the name of languages or dialects that are only spoken. Show your parents, or your teachers and school-friends, what you have written. Ask them if they agree with you in order to see whether they agree or if other languages come to mind:

Prova a elencare in una colonna i nomi di lingue che si parlano e si scrivono, e nell'altra i nomi di quelle che si parlano soltanto, e poi mostra ciò che hai scritto ai tuoi genitori, o ai compagni e agli insegnanti, per vedere se condividono le tue scelte e se a loro vengono in mente altre lingue:

Escreve numa das colunas o nome de algumas línguas de que te lembra e depois mostra a lista aos teus pais, ou aos teus colegas e professores, para ver se eles também já ouviram falar das línguas que escreveste ou se se lembram de outras, e lista-as na outra coluna:

Scrie într-o coloană numele limbilor vorbite și scrise și numele limbilor (sau dialectelor) doar vorbite. Arată ce ai scris părinților sau colegilor și profesorilor, să vezi dacă sunt de aceeași părere și dacă pot adăuga și alte limbi:

Zapiši imena jezikov in govorov, ki ti pridejo na misel, nato pokaži svojim staršem, ali svojim sošolcem, ali svojim učiteljem, kar si napisal. Ugotovil boš, če delijo s teboj tvoj nabor ali se spomnijo še drugih jezikov:

Intenta escribir en una columna las lenguas que se hablan y que se escriben, y en la otra el nombre de las que sólo se hablan y luego enséñales lo que has escrito a tus padres o a tus compañeros y a los profesores, para ver si comparten tus opciones y si a ellos se le ocurre alguna lengua más:

1)

2)

Many people who live on Earth think that speaking or understanding many languages is something rare and difficult. On the other hand, in the world 1 person out of every 3, uses two or more languages everyday: at school, at home, at work, with friends... People who do so ("bilinguals") normally would have learnt the languages they know through their parents or friend, but also by studying or by living among people who speak them.

Molti terrestri pensano che saper parlare e capire lingue diverse sia una cosa rara e difficile. Al contrario, nel mondo 1 persona su 3 usa ogni giorno due o più lingue diverse, a scuola, a casa, al lavoro, con gli amici. Le persone che si comportano in questo modo ("bilingui") di solito hanno imparato le lingue che sanno dai loro genitori, parenti o amici, ma anche studiandole e vivendo tra persone che le parlano.

Muitos terráqueos pensam que falar e compreender várias línguas é uma coisa rara e muito difícil. Pelo contrário, no mundo 1 em cada 3 pessoas usa diariamente duas ou mais línguas diferentes, na escola, em casa, no trabalho, com os amigos. As pessoas que o fazem (os "bilingues") aprenderam normalmente essas línguas com os pais, os familiares e os amigos, mas também por andarem na escola e por viverem no meio de pessoas que falam essas línguas

Mulți pământeni cred că a vorbi și a înțelege multe limbi este ceva rar și greu. Pe de altă parte, în lume 1 din 3 oameni folosește zilnic două sau mai multe limbi: la școală, acasă, la muncă, cu prietenii... Acești oameni („bilingvi”) au învățat de obicei aceste limbi de la părinți, rude sau prieteni dar și studiind și trăind printre oameni care le vorbesc.

Mnogi zemljani še vedno menijo, da znati različne jezike je težko. Vendar ni tako, 1 človek od 3 uporablja dnevno v šoli, doma, na delu ali s prijatelji dva jezika ali več. Te osebe so dvojezični govornici in so se običajno naučili jezike od svojih staršev, sorodnikov ali prijateljev, ali pa so se jih naučili v šoli in v življenju z ljudmi, ki jih govorijo.

Muchos terrestres piensan que saber hablar distintas lenguas es una cosa rara y difícil. Al contrario, en el mundo 1 persona de cada 3 usa a diario dos o más lenguas diferentes, en la escuela, en casa, en el trabajo, con los amigos. Las personas que actúan así ("bilingües") habitualmente han aprendido las lenguas propias de sus padres, parientes o amigos, pero también estudiándolas y viviendo entre personas que las hablan.

Write down the languages that you use to speak about daily things: are you bilingual? Then, write the languages that your parents and your grandparents speak: are they the same ones that you speak?

Scrivi qui sotto le lingue che sai parlare per conversare normalmente di cose quotidiane: sei bilingue? Scrivi anche le lingue che sanno parlare i tuoi genitori e i tuoi nonni: sono le stesse che sai tu?

Indica a língua (ou línguas) que usas para falares no dia a dia: és bilingue? Em seguida, indica as línguas que os teus pais e os teus avós falam normalmente: são as mesmas que tu falas?

Scrive limbile pe care le folosești de obicei pentru a vorbi despre activitățile zilnice: ești bilingv? Apoi, scrie limbile pe care le vorbesc părinții și bunicii tăi: sunt aceleași pe care le vorbești tu?

Spodaj zapiši jezike, ki jih znaš, da se lahko gladko pogovarjaš o vsakodnevnih stvareh: si dvojezičen? Napiši tudi jezike, ki jih govorijo tvoji starši, tvoji stari starši: so isti kot tisti, ki jih znaš ti?

Escribe más abajo las lenguas que sabes hablar para conversar normalmente de cosas cotidianas: ¿eres bilingüe? Escribe también las lenguas que saben hablar tus padres y tus abuelos: ¿son las mismas que sabes tú?



Thanks to the presence of people who are bilinguals, or who speak more than one language, in every country in the world many different languages are spoken. The languages spoken by most people in a population can be chosen as "official" languages and are very useful for people who live in their country. However, people speak other languages, that may also be typical of certain regions in a country, or languages that are normally spoken in other countries.

Grazie alla presenza dei bilingui, in ogni Stato del mondo si parlano molte lingue diverse. Le lingue che sono usate dalla maggioranza della popolazione possono essere proclamate lingue "ufficiali" e sono molto utili per vivere in quello Stato. Ma le persone parlano anche altre lingue, che possono essere tipiche di particolari regioni del Paese, oppure lingue parlate soprattutto in altri Stati.

Grças aos falantes bilingues, falam-se várias línguas em cada um dos países do mundo. As línguas usadas pela maioria da população num determinado país podem ser escolhidas como "línguas oficiais" e são muito úteis para quem vive nesse país. Nalguns países, as pessoas podem também falar outras línguas, típicas de determinadas regiões desse país, ou mesmo línguas faladas sobretudo noutros países.

Datorită prezenței persoanelor bilingve, adică a celor care vorbesc mai mult decât o singură limbă, în fiecare țară din lume se vorbesc mai multe limbi. Limbile folosite de majoritatea populației pot fi alese ca limbi „oficiale” și sunt foarte utile pentru a trăi în acea țară. Totuși, oamenii vorbesc și alte limbi, tipice pentru anumite regiuni ale țării respective, sau limbi vorbite în mod normal în alte țări.

Pristnosti dvojezičnih govorcev gre zahvala, da se v vsaki med državami govoriijo različni jeziki. Jeziki, ki jih uporablja večina govorcev so "uradni" jeziki in omogočajo skupno življenje. V posameznih pokrajinah pa ljudje govoriijo tudi druge jezike, značilne za tisto okolje ali pa jezike drugih sosednih držav.

Gracias a los bilingües, en todos los países del mundo se hablan diferentes lenguas. Las lenguas que son utilizadas por la mayoría de la población pueden considerarse como "oficiales" y son muy útiles para vivir en ese país. Las personas pueden hablar también otras lenguas, que pueden ser las típicas de regiones específicas del país o que se hablan en otros países.

Imagine planning a journey with your friends in which you would visit all those places where a language you know is spoken: which areas of your country would you be able to visit? Which other countries would you go to?

Immagina di progettare con i tuoi compagni un viaggio che tocchi tutti i posti dei quali almeno uno di voi conosce la lingua: in quali regioni del tuo Paese potreste soggiornare? Quali altri Stati potreste visitare?

Imagina-te a planear uma viagem com os teus colegas. Nessa viagem, irão visitar todos os lugares onde se fale uma língua que seja conhecida por, pelo menos, um dos alunos da tua turma: que outros países irias visitar?

Imaginează-ți că planifici o călătorie cu prietenii în toate locurile în care se vorbește o limbă pe care o știti: care regiuni ale țării le-ați putea vizita? Ați putea merge și în alte țări?

Zamisli si načrt potovanja s svojimi sošolci tja, kjer se govori jezik vsaj enega med vami: v katero pokrajino tvoje države bi šel? Bi lahko obiskal tudi druge države?

Imagina planear un viaje con tus compañeros que pase por todos los sitios de los que por lo menos uno de vosotros conoce la lengua: ¿qué regiones de tu país podrías visitar? ¿Qué otros países podrías visitar?



There are some languages that are similar to each other and there are others that do not resemble each other at all. If they are similar, they are said to belong to the same family, just like brothers, sisters and cousins. This happens because they descend from the same ancient language, that is the same "ancestor language". Sometimes this can be seen also by comparing certain words.

Tra le lingue, ce ne sono alcune che tra loro si assomigliano molto o abbastanza e quelle che non si assomigliano per niente. Se si assomigliano, si dice che appartengono alla stessa famiglia, proprio come i fratelli e i cugini, perché discendono dalla stessa lingua antica, cioè dalla stessa "lingua progenitrice". A volte questo si può vedere anche confrontando alcuni tipi di parole.

Há algumas línguas que são muito parecidas com outras e há também línguas que não são nada parecidas entre si. Se são parecidas, diz-se que pertencem à mesma família, como se fossem irmãs ou primas, por descenderem de uma mesma língua antiga, um "antepassado" comum. Por vezes, podemos verificar esse facto comparando certo tipo de palavras nas diversas línguas.

Sunt unele limbi care se aseamănă foarte mult între ele, dar sunt și limbi care nu seamănă deloc una cu alta. Dacă sunt asemănătoare, se spune despre ele că fac parte din aceeași familie, ca frații, surorile și verișorii; aceasta pentru că provin din aceeași limbă veche, adică aceeași „limbă strămoșească”. Uneori asta se poate vedea comparând anumite cuvinte.

Med jeziki so si nekateri med seboj zelo ali še kar podobni, spet drugi pa so si popolnoma različni. Kadar so sorodni, pravimo, da pripadajo isti jezikovni družini, tako kot bratje ali bratranci, saj izhajajo iz istega starega jezika, torej iz istega "prajezika". To včasih spoznamo, če primerjamo nekatere besede med seboj.

Entre las lenguas, hay algunas que se parecen mucho o bastante entre sí y otras que no se parecen en nada. Si se parecen, se dice que pertenecen a la misma familia, como los hermanos o los primos, porque vienen de la misma lengua antigua, es decir, de la misma "lengua madre". A veces esto se puede comprobar comparando ciertas palabras.

This is how numbers “1” and “2” are called in several languages. Under each one of them write the name of the language you recognize and use the same colour for those which look similar. Get help from parents, classmates and teachers!

Questi sono i nomi dei numeri “1” e “2” in diverse lingue: scrivi sotto ciascuna coppia le lingue che riconosci e colora in modo simile quelle che ti sembrano più somiglianti tra loro. Chiedi aiuto ai genitori, ai compagni e agli insegnanti!

Estes são os nomes dos números “1” e “2” escritos em várias línguas. Por baixo de cada uma das palavras que reconheceres escreve o nome da língua em que está escrita e usa a mesma cor para colorires as outras palavras que achas mais parecidas com essas. Pede ajuda aos teus pais, colegas e professores!

Iată cum sunt numite cifrele “1” și “2” în diferite limbi. Scrie sub fiecare dintre ele limbile pe care le recunoști și folosește aceeași culoare pentru cele care seamănă între ele. Cere ajutorul părinților, colegilor și învățătorului/învățătoarei!

Spodaj so imena v različnih jezikih za številko “ena” in “dva”. Zapiši pod besedami jezik, ki ti je znan in pobarvaj v isti barvi tiste, ki se ti zdijo najbolj podobne med seboj. Prosi starše, ali sošolce, ali učitelje za pomoč!

Estos son los nombres del número “1” y “2” en varias lenguas: escribe debajo de cada pareja las lenguas que reconoces y colorea del mismo color las que te parecen más parecidas entre ellas. Pide ayuda a tus padres, compañeros y profesores.

uno - due		eden - dva		yī - èr
	one - two		ek - do	
unus - duo		edin - dve		ichi - ni
	eins - zwei		ikk - do	
unu - doi		jeden - dva		otu - abua
	ena - dve		jekh - duj	
um - dois		jedan - dva		wiehed - tnejn
	un - deux		bir - iki	
uno - dos		një - dy		wāhīd - 'ithnān

On Multilingua we speak 'Multilanguage'. To express our ideas and feelings, we use a writing system called 'multi-symbolism'. I have found out that on Planet Earth people use a variety of writing systems: from top to bottom, from left to right, and viceversa. The beauty of each writing system is that each one of them has something unique.

Sul pianeta Multilingua parliamo la "multilingua". Per esprimere idee e sensazioni usiamo un sistema di scrittura che chiamiamo "multisimbolo". Ho scoperto che sulla Terra le persone usano vari sistemi di scrittura, disponendo i segni dall'alto in basso, da sinistra a destra e viceversa. La bellezza dei sistemi di scrittura è che ciascuno di essi ha in sé qualcosa di unico.

No Planeta Multilingua falamos "Multilinguês". Para expressar ideias e sentimentos usamos um sistema de escrita chamado "multi-simbolismo". Descobri que no Planeta Terra as pessoas escrevem de maneiras muito diferentes, de cima para baixo, da esquerda para a direita e mesmo da direita para a esquerda. O que torna os sistemas de escrita mais belos é que cada um deles tem algo de único.

Pe Planeta Multilingua noi vorbim „multilingua”. Pentru a ne exprima ideile și sentimentele folosim un sistem de scriere denumit „multisimbolism”. Am aflat că pământenii vorbesc multe limbi și că utilizează diferite sisteme de scriere, unele de sus în jos, altele de la stânga la dreapta sau invers. Frumusețea fiecărui sistem de scriere este că are ceva unic.

Na planetu Multilingva govorimo "multilingvalščino". Svoje misli in čustva izražamo v pisavi, ki ji pravimo "večsimbolščina". Spoznal sem, da na Zemlji ljudje uporabljajo različne načine pisanja: od zgoraj navzdol, od leve proti desni in obrnjeno. Lepota vseh sistemov je v tem, da ima vsak med njimi nekaj povsem edinstvenega.

En el planeta Multilingua hablamos la "multilingua". Para expresar ideas y sensaciones usamos un sistema de escritura que llamamos "multisímbolo". He descubierto que en la Tierra las personas usan varios sistemas de escritura: de arriba a abajo, de izquierda a derecha y viceversa. La belleza de los sistemas de escritura es que cada uno de ellos tiene en sí algo único.

Can you figure out which writing system is associated with the following languages? Match the writing system with the corresponding languages. For each writing system the word for 'friendship' has been given.

Sai dire quale sistema di scrittura è associato alle lingue elencate? Abbina il sistema di scrittura con la lingua corrispondente. Tutte le parole che vedi scritte con sistemi diversi significano "amicizia".

Consegues descobrir que sistema de escrita está associado a cada uma das seguintes línguas? A palavra escrita em cada um dos sistemas de escrita significa "amizade".

Știi care sistem de scriere este folosit în următoarele limbi? Asociază fiecare sistem de scriere cu limbile corespunzătoare. Pentru fiecare sistem de scriere ai ca exemplu cuvântul „prietenie”.

Prepoznaš pisave, ki bi naj pripadale k naštetim jezikom? Poveži pisavo z odgovarjajočim jezikom! Vse besede, ki jih vidiš, pomenijo "prijateljstvo".

¿Sabrías decir qué sistema de escritura corresponde a las lenguas enumeradas? Une el sistema de escritura con las lenguas correspondientes. Todas las palabras que ves escritas significan "amistad"

1. Japanese / giapponese / japonés / japoneză / japonščina / Japonés	a. Дружба
2. Greek / greco/ grego/ greaca / grščina / Griego	b. miqësi
3. Hindi / hindi / hîndî / hindi / hindijsčina / Hindi	c. 우정
4. Chinese / cinese / chinês / chineză / kitajščina / Chino	d. φίλια
5. Arabic/ arabo / árabe / araba / arabščina / Árabe	e. دوستی
6. Albanian / albanese / lingua albanesa / albaneză / albánščina / Albanés	f. 友誼
7. Ukrainian / ucraino / ucraniano / ucrainiană / ukrajinsčina / Ucrainiano	g. 友情
8. Korean / coreano / coreano / coreană / korejščina / Coreano	h. الصداقة

You learn languages at school, by listening to songs, by watching cartoon and films, by surfing the Internet. During your holidays you may meet children of your age and as you play with them you try your best to communicate too: with your hands, using gestures and with all your senses. We can learn languages everywhere and at every moment of our lives - from when we are very young till when we grow much older.

Impari le lingue a scuola, ascoltando canzoni, guardando cartoni animati e film, navigando in Internet. Durante le vacanze incontri coetanei e giocando con loro comunichi in molti modi: con i gesti, con le espressioni e con tutti i sensi. Possiamo imparare le lingue ovunque e in ogni momento - dall'infanzia alla vecchiaia.

Podés aprender línguas de muitas maneiras: na escola, a ouvir canções, a ver filmes e desenhos animados, a navegar na Internet. Durante as férias podés encontrar crianças da tua idade e enquanto brincas com elas tentas também comunicar: com as mãos, usando gestos e todos os outros sentidos. Podemos aprender outras línguas em qualquer lugar e em qualquer momento da nossa vida - desde muito pequenos até sermos velhos.

Limbile străine pot fi învățate în școală, ascultând melodii, vizionând filme și desene animate, navigând pe internet. În timpul vacanțelor, când te întâlnești cu prietenii ca să vă jucați, încerci să comunici cum poți: cu mâinile, gesticulând, și cu toate simțurile. Putem învăța o limbă oriunde, oricând în viață - din copilărie până la bătrânețe.

Jezikov se učiš v šoli, pa tudi ob poslušanju pesmi, gledanju risank in filmov, brskanju po svetovnem spletu. Med počitnicami srečaš sovrstnike in ob igri z žogo se sporazumevaš kot pač znaš: z rokami in vsemi tvojimi čutili. Jezike se lahko učimo povsod in vedno - od malih nog do pozne starosti.

Aprendes las lenguas en la escuela, escuchando canciones, viendo dibujos animados y películas o navegando por Internet. Durante las vacaciones encuentras chicos de tu edad y jugando con ellos te comunicas con ellos como puedes: con las manos y con todos los sentidos. Podemos aprender las lenguas en cualquier parte y en cualquier momento - desde la infancia hasta la vejez.

You can surely remember a song that you have learnt, the name of a monument, of a typical dish or of traditional clothing in another language than yours. Think about these and write down what you remember:





Certamente ricordi se hai imparato una canzone, il nome di un monumento, il nome di un piatto tipico o di un abito tradizionale in una lingua diversa dalla tua. Pensaci e scrivi:

Lembras-te com certeza onde e como aprendeste uma canção, o nome de um monumento, de um prato típico ou de um traje tradicional, numa língua diferente da tua. Pensa nisso e escreve esses títulos e nomes:

Cu siguranță îți amintești un cântec pe care l-ai învățat, numele unui monument, numele unui fel de mâncare sau al unei îmbrăcămînți tradiționale, într-o altă limbă decât a ta. Gândește-te la acestea și scrie:

Prav gotovo se spomniš, kje in kako si se naučil pesem, si videl nove in zanimive stvari, si izvedel več o drugem narodu, v drugem jeziku od tvojeja lastnega. Pomisli in zapiši:

Sin duda te acuerdas si has aprendido una canción, el nombre de un monumento, el nombre de un plato típico o de un traje tradicional en otra lengua diferente de la tuya. Piénsalo y escribe:

_____		_____	
_____		_____	
_____		_____	
_____		_____	
_____		_____	
_____		_____	

Let's do about a game with languages now! Please say whether you agree or disagree with the statements that you find below. At the end of this game you will know if you are an ideal citizen of the planet Multilingua!

Adesso faremo un test sulle lingue: rispondi se sei d'accordo o no con ognuna delle frasi che troverai nelle prossime pagine. Alla fine, saprai se sei un cittadino ideale del pianeta Multilingua!

Agora vamos fazer um teste sobre línguas. Responde, por favor, se estás de acordo ou não com cada uma das afirmações que vais encontrar na página seguinte. No fim do teste, poderás saber se és ou não o cidadão ideal do planeta Multilingua!

Acum haide să jucăm un joc despre limbi! Te rog spune dacă ești de acord sau ești împotriva afirmațiilor de mai jos. La sfârșitul jocului vei ști dacă ești cetățean ideal al planetei Multilingua!

Še preizkus o jezikih: odgovori, če soglašas ali ne soglašas s povedmi, ki so na spodnjih straneh. Izvedel boš, če si vzoren državljan planeta Multilingva!

Ahora haremos un test sobre las lenguas: responde si estás de acuerdo o no con cada una de las frases que encontrarás en las páginas siguientes. Al final, sabrás si eres un ciudadano ideal del planeta Multilingua!















Agree / D'accordo / Concordo / De acord / Soglašam / De acuerdo



Neither agree nor disagree / Né d'accordo, né in disaccordo / Não concordo nem discordo / Nici de acord nici împotrivă / Niti soglašam, niti ne soglašam / Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo



Disagree / In disaccordo / Discordo / Impotrivă / Ne soglašam / En desacuerdo

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1. | <p>Learning new languages is useful and exciting</p> <p>Imparare nuove lingue è utile e divertente</p> <p>Aprender novas línguas é útil e divertido</p> <p>Este util și palpitant să înveți limbi străine</p> <p>Učiti se novih jezikov je koristno in zabavno.</p> <p>Aprender nuevas lenguas es útil y emocionante.</p> | 

 |
| 2. | <p>Children who know more than one language are lucky!</p> <p>I ragazzi che sanno più di una lingua sono fortunati!</p> <p>As crianças que sabem mais do que uma língua têm muita sorte!</p> <p>Copiii care știu mai multe limbi sunt norocoși!</p> <p>Otroci, ki zanjo več jezikov so srečni!</p> <p>¡Los niños que saben más de una lengua son afortunados!</p> | 

 |
| 3. | <p>Languages are like shoes! Without them you cannot go far in life!</p> <p>Le lingue sono come le scarpe: senza, non si può fare molta strada nella vita!</p> <p>As línguas são como os sapatos! Na vida não se pode ir longe sem elas!</p> <p>Limbile sunt precum pantofii! Fără ele nu poți ajunge prea departe în lume!</p> <p>Jeziki so kot čevlji: brez njih v življenju ne moreš daleč priti!</p> <p>Las lenguas son como los zapatos. ¡Sin ellos no puedes ir por la vida!</p> | 

 |
| 4. | <p>Learning a new language helps me know more about the other languages that I know already</p> <p>Imparare una nuova lingua mi aiuta a conoscere meglio anche le lingue che so già</p> <p>Aprender uma língua nova ajuda-me a saber mais sobre as outras línguas que eu já conheço</p> <p>Faptul că învăț o nouă limbă mă ajută să știu mai multe despre celelalte limbi pe care le cunosc deja</p> <p>Naučiti se novega jezika mi pomaga pri boljšem poznavanju jezikov, ki jih že znam.</p> <p>Aprender una nueva lengua me ayuda a saber más sobre las otras lenguas que ya sé.</p> | 

 |

5. I admire people who try to communicate with others whose language they do not know
 Ammiro le persone che cercano di comunicare anche con gente di cui non conosco la lingua
 Admiro as pessoas que tentam comunicar com outras que falam línguas que elas não conhecem
 Îi admir pe acci oameni care încearcă să comunice cu persoane a căror limbă nu o cunosc
 Občudujem tiste, ki se poskušajo sporazumevati tudi z ljudmi, katerih jezika ne poznajo.
 Admiro a la gente que intenta comunicarse con otros cuyas lenguas no sabe.
6. Learning languages helps me grow and become a better person
 Imparare le lingue mi aiuta a crescere e a diventare una persona migliore
 Aprender línguas ajuda-me a crescer e a tornar-me uma pessoa melhor
 Învățarea limbilor mă ajută să cresc și să devin o persoană mai bună
 Učiti se jezike pomaga odrasti v boljšega človeka.
 Aprender otras lenguas me ayuda a crecer y a hacerme mejor persona.
7. I still do not know enough languages. As I grow older I will surely learn more!
 Non conosco ancora abbastanza lingue. Da grande ne imparerò certamente di più!
 Ainda não sei línguas em número suficiente. Irei certamente aprender mais à medida que for crescendo!
 Încă nu știu suficient de multe limbi. Dar pe măsură ce voi crește, voi învăța cu siguranță mai multe!
 Še vedno ne znam dovolj jezikov. Ko odrastem se jih bom prav gotovo učil več!
 No sé todavía bastantes lenguas. ¡Cuando sea mayor sin duda aprenderé más!



mostly	Result
maggioranza di	Risultato
maioria de	Resultado
majoritatea	Rezultat
večina odgovorov	Rezultat
mayoría de	Resultado



You can make more of an effort to learn more about new languages and you might also one day learn how to become more interested in them than you are today: you are at the beginning of your voyage towards Multilingua!

Puoi sforzarti un po' per imparare qualcosa di nuovo su lingue che non conosci e magari troverai il modo per appassionarti di più a questo argomento: in partenza per Multilingua!

Podes fazer um esforço maior para aprender mais sobre novas línguas e um dia poderás vir a interessar-te mais por elas: Boa viagem para Multilingua!

Ai putea depune mai mult efort pentru a afla mai multe lucruri despre alte limbi și vei putea ajunge să fii mai interesat de ele decât ești azi: la punctul de plecare spre Multilingua!

Prav gotovo bi se lahko malo potrudil, da bi izvedel več o jezikih, ki jih ne znaš. Morda pa se boš navdušil nad tem: Odhod na Multilingvo!

Puedes esforzarte un poco para aprender algo nuevo sobre lenguas que no sabes y quizás encuentres la forma de apasionarte más en este tema: ¡saliendo hacia Multilingua!



You do love languages and you wish to learn more about them, and you certainly can find the time to develop these qualities: you are travelling towards Multilingual!

Ami le lingue, vuoi saperne di più e troverai certamente il tempo per sviluppare queste tue qualità: in viaggio per Multilingual!

Gostas de línguas e gostarias de aprender mais sobre elas. E vais de certeza encontrar tempo para desenvolver essas tuas qualidades: Boa viagem para Multilingual!

Îți plac limbile și dorești să afli mai multe despre ele și cu siguranță îți vei face timp să-ți perfecționezi aceste calități: ești în drum spre Multilingual!

Jeziki so ti všeč in želiš vedeti več o njih. Prav gotovo boš našel čas, da razviješ svoje sposobnosti: Na pot na Multilingvo!

Te gustan las lenguas, quieres saber más de ellas y sin duda encontrarás el tiempo para desarrollar estas cualidades tuyas: ¡de viaje a Multilingual!

You love languages, you find them useful and you wish to learn more: YOU ARE AN IDEAL CITIZEN OF MULTILINGUA!

Ami le lingue, le trovi utili e vuoi impararne altre: CITTADINO IDEALE DI MULTILINGUA!

Gostas de línguas, achas que elas são úteis e queres aprender mais: CIDADÃO IDEAL DE MULTILINGUA!

Îubești limbile, le consideri utile și dorești să înveți mai multe: EȘTI UN CETĂȚEAN IDEAL AL PLANETEI MULTILINGUA!

Rad imaš jezike, zdiyo se ti koristni in želiš se učiti več: IDEALEN DRŽAVLJAN MULTILINGVE!

Te gustan las lenguas, las consideras útiles y quieres aprender otras: ¡CIUDADANO IDEAL DE MULTILINGUA!



That was great! I am now returning to my planet and I thank you for your help. I hope that even you enjoyed yourself as much as I have in this journey among languages. We would be very pleased to receive more information from Earth on Multilingua: write to the addresses of the MERIDIUM universities and send me questions, stories, pictures, your own work, tasks you may have carried out at school, with your friends and teachers. Anything which concerns languages would be fine. If you visit the MERIDIUM website you will find a competition for you! Goodbye!

Bene! Io sto per tornare sul mio pianeta e ti ringrazio per avermi aiutato. Spero che anche tu ti sia divertito quanto me, in questo viaggio attraverso le lingue. Su Multilingua saremmo molto felici di ricevere altre notizie dalla Terra: scrivi agli indirizzi delle università MERIDIUM e mandami domande, racconti, disegni, lavori fatti da te, oppure realizzati a scuola, con i tuoi compagni e gli insegnanti. Qualsiasi cosa, insomma, purché riguardi le lingue. Se visiti il sito MERIDIUM, troverai anche un concorso per te! Arrivederci!

Ora bem! Vou regressar ao meu planeta e agradeço-te teres-me ajudado. Espero que te tenbas divertido nesta viagem pelas linguas. No meu planeta, Multilingua, gostaríamos muito de continuar a receber notícias da Terra: escreve para um dos endereços das Universidades MERIDIUM e envia-nos perguntas, histórias, desenhos, trabalhos feitos por ti, projectos realizados na tua escola com os teus colegas e professores, em resumo, tudo o que tenha a ver com as linguas. Se visitares o sítio MERIDIUM na Internet poderás encontrar um concurso em que podes participar! Até à próxima!

Excelent! Acum mă întorc pe planeta mea și îți mulțumesc pentru ajutor. Sper că te-ai distrat tot atât de bine ca și mine în această călătorie în lumea limbilor. Pe Multilingua vom fi foarte fericiți să primim și alte știri de pe Pământ: scrie-ne pe adresa universităților MERIDIUM și trimite-ne întrebări, povestiri, desene, lucrări de-ale tale sau realizate la școală împreună cu prietenii și cu profesorii. Orice are legătură cu limbile este bine primit. Dacă vizitezi site-ul MERIDIUM, vei găsi un concurs pentru tine! La revedere!

Dobro! Vraćam se na svoj planet in se ti zahvaljujem za pomoć. Uпам, da si se zahvalav z menoj na tem potovanju z jeziki. Na Multilingvi bomo zelo srečni, če se nam boš kaj oglasil z Zemlje: piši na naslove univerz MERIDIUM in pošlji mi vprašanja, zgodbe, risbe, svoje izdelke, ali pa tiste, ki jih boste naredili v šoli s sošolci in učitelji. Pošlji karkoli, kar se tiče jezikov. Če obiščeš spletno stran MERIDIUM, boš našel tudi natečaj, ki ti je namenjen. Na svidenje!

¡Bien! Yo estoy a punto de volver a mi planeta y te doy las gracias por haberme ayudado. Espero que tú también te hayas divertido tanto como yo, en este viaje a través de las lenguas. En Multilingua seremos felices si recibimos más noticias de la Tierra: escribe a las direcciones de las Universidades MERIDIUM y envíame preguntas, cuentos, dibujos, trabajos hechos por tí, o hechos en la escuela, con tus compañeros y los profesores. En definitiva, cualquier cosa con tal de que esté relacionada con las lenguas. Si visitas el sitio web de MERIDIUM, podrás encontrar también un concurso para tí. ¡Hasta la vista!

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