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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

This dissertation is based on the following original publications, which will be referred to in the text by their respective Roman numerals.

I Siiner, Maarja (2006) Planning Language Practice. A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Language Policy in Post-Communist Estonia. Language Policy 2006/5, 161–186

II Siiner, M., Tender, T. and Vihalemm, T. (2007) Piirkondlike keelekujude tunnustamisest Prantsusmaal ja Eestis Euroopa Liidu keelepoliitika taustal. Emakeele Seltsi Aastaraamat 2007/53, 200–221

III Siiner, M. (2010) Hangovers of globalization: A case-study of laissez-faire language policy in Denmark. – Language Planning and Language Problems, 34 (1), 43–62

IV Estonian Human development report, Chapter 5. Language space and human capital in the Baltic States:

- **A** Vihalemm, Triin, Maarja Siiner and Anu Masso, Language skills as a factor in human development, Estonian Human Development Report 2011, Eesti Koostöö Kogu pp 116–118
- **B** Siiner, Maarja and Triin Vihalemm, Language and integration policies of the Baltic states in the EU context, Estonian Human Development Report 2011, Eesti Koostöö Kogu, pp118–121
- **C** Siiner, Maarja and Triin Vihalemm, Language policy initiatives in Estonia and their influence on actual language use, Estonian Human Development Report 2011, Eesti Koostöö Kogu, pp 122–124
- **D** Siiner, Maarja and Triin Vihalemm, Individual Multilingualism in the Baltic states within the European context, Estonian Human Development Report 2011, Eesti Koostöö Kogu, pp 135–137

V Siiner, Maarja, 2013. Globaliseringens tømmermænd: sprogs rolle i tegningekrisens omfang. Københavnerstudier i tosprogethed, Københavns Universitet

Author's contribution

Studies I, III and V are objects of single authorship, where the author is solely responsible for defining the research problems, conducting research, interpreting results and drawing conclusions.

Study II is a result of cooperation between three authors, where my contribution to the article consisted of the analysis of language policy in France and the EU, while the theoretical part and analysis were written jointly with common responsibility for defining the research problems, interpreting results and drawing conclusions.

Study IV is a result of cooperation between three (A) and two (B-D) authors, with common responsibility for defining the research problems, interpreting results and drawing conclusions. However, the data used in the analysis comes from sociological research designed and conducted by others, some of it conducted by my co-author, Triin Vihalemm.

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Planning languages is planning societies
Bernard Spolsky

PART I

1. INTRODUCTION

Can language policies[1] succeed? And under what conditions? Those two questions formed the starting point of the present doctoral thesis, which has stretched over six years, and has ranged from research papers analysing the genesis of different types of language policy to a critical analysis of the very concept of language policy itself. The first study, carried out in 2006, was a macro-sociolinguistic analysis of language policy in post-Soviet Estonia (STUDY I). The results indicated a gap between normative and protective attitudes towards national language as an ethnic marker strongly present in Estonian language policy, and a need to develop a common civic culture for all inhabitants of Estonia where the Estonian language could serve as a bridge and not as a barrier between different ethnic, social and linguistic groups. The task seemed to be even more complicated due to the fact that the Estonian integration policy has put the acquisition of the state language at the core of integration (STUDY IV C). I have also referred to Smith's analysis of the revolutionary character of the laws passed in Estonia in 1989, including the first Language Act; their aim was to distance Estonia from the Soviet occupation and to reverse once and for all the asymmetric linguistic situation, with its one-sided bilingualism (STUDY I). Although politicians expected the Language Act to effectively alter the linguistic behaviour among Russian-speakers in Estonia, the law also had symbolic functions: asserting authority and justice, and (re)establishing Estonian as the only official language in Estonia. The latest Integration report from 2011, however, reveals that there are a large number of young Russian-speakers with good Estonian language skills who feel detached from and critical of the Estonian state and society (Integratsiooni monitooring 2011, 243). If language competence, at a certain level, is a prerequisite for successful integration, as is stated in the Estonian Language Development Plan

[1] Legal theory distinguishes between two levels of a legal phenomenon: the logical surface of statutes (or judicial decisions or laws) and the deeper "competing legislative bases" (or policies), which are the ideological underpinnings of the law (at least as traditionally conceived by lawyers) (Bell 1985, Holmes 1897). In the context of the present thesis, the ideological bases for the development of language laws are seen as inseparable parts of the process of language policy (making), and the term "policy" thus covers both ideological underpinnings and laws (Spolsky 2012, 5).

2011–2017 (5) and Estonian Integration Strategy 2008–2013 (4), is the increasing number of Russian-speakers who pass Estonian Language tests a clear sign of the success of both integration and the language policy (Tomusk 1999)? The failure to integrate Russian-speakers into the labour market can easily be attributed to language as a barrier (Heidmets et al 2011, and Lindemann and Vöörmann 2010). Seen through the prism of language planning in developing countries (Rubin and Jernudd 1971) and nation-state building and constitutional design (Choudhry 2009), introducing a common language may be a necessity in making the state function vertically and horizontally, but may not necessarily ensure social justice, economic well-being and political participation and harmony for all its inhabitants (STUDY IV A).

The dilemma of national language policies, torn between their symbolic (Garcia 2012) and problem-solving functions and language management (Nekvapil 2006, Jernudd and Nekvapil 2012), puzzled me, since the tendency in the development of modern national language policies has been that the greater the complexity in language practices and the less consensus there exists on language matters in a state, the more likely the dominant ideologies in the state are to develop thick and explicit language policies in order to modify practices in the desired direction (Spolsky 2002). According to Spolsky (2004), there are relatively few cases where language management has produced its intended results, and thick policies, aimed at unifying complex language practice, tend to work very slowly. The second central question that fed input into my research was the question of what problem language policies try to solve. Reasons for developing a certain type of language policy design are not always connected with language per se, e.g. they do not take as a point of departure the ways language is used and acquired as outlined within sociolinguistics, anthropology or ethnography (Jørgensen 2010, MacCarty 2011). The analysis of language policy developments in macro sociolinguistics reveals its relation to larger political or other ideological discourses (Rubin and Jernudd 1971). In recent decades, the dominant discourse in Europe and North America has been the discourse of endangerment (Heller and Duchêne 2007), in which the outcome of language policy developments in countries with different sociolinguistic settings may be the same. In Estonia, Koreinik has studied how the academic discourse intervening in public and media discourse makes use of discursive mechanisms to effectively silence contesting views on language, using arguments of threat to the nation-state and combining it with the survival of the idealised and symbolic national language norm (Koreinik 2011, 33).

Shohamy, in her analysis of the hidden agendas in language policies, refers to the way language, with its open, dynamic and process-like nature, is manipulated for political and ideological agendas, turning it into a closed, fixed and stagnated, pure, hegemonic, standard and oppressive system (Shohamy 2006, xviii). The gap between the results from the newest sociolinguistic and anthropological studies on language using ethnographic methods and language's functions for people, and the ideologically constructed concept of language present

in language policy is alarming, since studies on problem-solving methodology developed in political science (Seidman and Seidman 1994) show that legislators need to adopt a methodology that is based on reason and informed by experience and academic research.

Language policies do not stand alone: the concept of language is the main starting point for any development and understanding of language policy (Schiffman 1996). While language policies do, in their formation, tend to be more about politics than language (Ricento 2005), they should in their effort to solve language problems (Rubin and Jernudd 1971: xvi) never lose sight of their intended objects: language users and their reasons for using language in particular ways. This includes insight into how people behave towards languages and utterances, how people manage their discourse, and how they evaluate languages and their features and think about adjusting them (Jernudd and Nekvapil 2012: 16). The view of the essence of language, however, tends to emerge from the political, social and economic agendas that lie behind policies and seldom vice versa (Shohamy 2006), as is demonstrated in the study of the genesis of language policy in Denmark (STUDY III and STUDY V), which describes the ideas, ideologies and hidden agendas behind policies and laws regulating what languages to use and how. Therefore, the interdisciplinary nature of language policy, which aims to solve problems and deals with language (use), calls for an expanded theoretical approach, combining inspiration from sociolinguistics, ethnographic studies, sociology and political science.

While macro-sociolinguistics increases the understanding of how the relationship between language ideology and language practice has an influence on developing language policy (Ferguson 1977, Spolsky 2002 and Spolsky 2012), the ethnographic approach to language policy, from which the second source of the inspiration of the dissertation comes, conceptualises language policy as a dynamic process stretching over time and involving agents in different layers of society (Levinson et al 2007, and Ricento and Hornberger 1996). This concept is based on an understanding of language as dynamic and creative (Shohamy 2006), and as an activity (*languaging)* (Becker 1991). Due to the ambiguity of the term languaging, the alternative offered by Spolsky, language practice,[2] is preferred, as it includes social and psychological aspects of language use (Spolsky 2009). This thesis offers an analysis of language policy design in Denmark and Estonia, and combines elements from the extended and dynamic understanding of language policy as a process, the concept of language as an

[2] Spolsky (2012, 2009) introduces language practice as one of the three components of language policy (the two others being language values and language management), defining it as: what variety the members of the speech community use for each of the communicative functions they recognize, "what variants do they use with various interlocutors, what rules do they agree for speech and silence, for dealing with common topics, for expressing or concealing identity. This is what actually happens, the 'real' language policy of the community, described by sociolinguists as the ecology or the ethnography of speech, exceptions to which may mark the speaker as alien or rebellious" (Spolsky 2012: 5).

activity and from Giddens' structuration theory structure-agency dualism, with an emphasis on his concepts of (authoritative and allocative) resources.

The introductory cover article is divided into two main parts. The first, theoretical, part of the thesis will present the conceptual framework for the thesis, listing the main sources of theoretical inspiration, and will conclude with an introduction of an extended concept of language policy, emphasising the process-like and dynamic nature of language. The second part of the dissertation is devoted to the analysis of language policy design in Estonia and Denmark, in the beginning of which a comprehensive model will be offered for a critical analysis of existing language policies, with the aim of determining whether the dynamic and process-like nature of language is contained in policy texts. The analysis will cover the genesis of language policy, by examining the historical, political, sociolinguistic, demographic and other settings that lead to the development of a language policy, and how this process shapes the formulation of the goal of political intervention. The other line of analysis explores how policy and law texts form the rules for the implementation of policies, considering the division of resources and possibility for agency in different institutional settings framing the different stages of human life. The introductory cover article will conclude with a discussion of the findings of the analysis, offering suggestions for further studies.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical part is dedicated to the elaboration of an extended concept of language policy (2.5), which will create a basis for the development of the model for analysis of the flexibility of language policy design in the second part. The theoretical part will introduce the central terms used in the model according to the theoretical context that they derive from. The terms language, language policy, language political debate and language ideology will thus partly be introduced in the first section on sociolinguistics (2.1). The dynamics of language policy and its layers will be introduced in the section on the ethnographic approach to language policy (2.2). The term institutional settings, which surround and frame different stages of human life, will be introduced in the section on policy design (2.3), and the terms rules, resources and agency are introduced in the section on Giddens' structuration theory (2.4)

2.1. Sociolinguistics

2.1.1. Concept of language

Central to the present thesis is the concept of language as activity, stressing its process-like nature, as it broadens the understanding of language as an integrated part of all spheres of human life, leading to an extended understanding of language policy as an object of study, which is presented at the end of the theoretical part of the thesis. Sociolinguistics aims at an understanding of the role language plays for human beings and takes its point of departure from the uses of language: what do speakers do with language and why? Humankind is a social species, with people constantly involved with other people in social groups and organisations. Language is involved in the majority of those social relations and is both a tool and an object for the construction of the social structures and norms that are essential for creating and passing on meaning. Human language is, in the sociolinguistic tradition, seen as a socially developed phenomenon, which humans use intentionally to make themselves understood among other humans, thereby allowing them to achieve their goals (Jørgensen 2010, 13). It is, however, also an individual phenomenon, as every individual uses it to meet his or her personal needs. Language is therefore conservative and creative, normative and innovative, and there are hints that innovation is especially important for those learning a language (Jørgensen 2010), as language is used to create and negotiate a (new) social identity.

Sociolinguistics criticises language professionals and linguists as being preoccupied with the code image of language, a trait which also dominates the field of language policy, where language is seen as a code that has functions and a certain market value (Heller and Duchêne 2007, and Ricento 2005). In 1991 Becker, building on Ortega y Gasset's advocating for a shift from the code image of language to a autopoetic image of languaging, pointed to the Hum-

boldtian idea of language as a process of making meaning and shaping knowledge. Elsewhere, Massier (2003), citing Bakhtin, who introduced the term "languaging" as an alternative to "language use", indicates that people do not use language as an instrument, but that people, by speaking, writing etc., perform language actions: linguistic behaviour.

The Danish sociolinguist Jørgensen has developed Becker's "languaging" further, defining humankind as a languaging species (Jørgensen 2010, 180). With reference to another Danish sociolinguist, Jespersen (1964), Jørgensen defines language as a social activity that is involved in almost all aspects of human life.

Language is the most important means by which norms are negotiated, but language may also become the object of such norms. Language is humankind's primary means of building, maintaining and negotiating social relations, and language, similarly, has a tremendous influence on individuals' establishing of identities. Jørgensen criticises traditional linguistic descriptions of language as separate sets of features called "languages" or "codes" as purely ideological ascriptions of features (Jørgensen 2010, 120). In contrast to strong monolingualism norms being aggressively supported in education, media and public discourse in general, Jørgensen's longitudinal studies of Turkish immigrant children's acquisition and use of Danish reveal that, in private and semi-private interactions, humans use whatever linguistic features are at their disposal, regardless of their ideological ascription to separate categories. Languages are thus used and acquired as we make sense of the world around us (Vygotsky 1986) with the aim of fulfilling our social and psychological needs. Language is always in the making, a lifelong activity with changing functions, depending on the social and psychological needs we have at certain stages of life.

2.1.2. Normative view of language

The understanding of languages as separate and closed systems of norms in the public discourse raises another sociolinguistically important question: do language users agree that features that are attributed to the norm by elite language users (e.g. linguists) belong to a certain set of features (Edwards 2012)? One aspect of this discussion is whether one group of "elite" language users, such as language editors, have the right or authority to make decisions for other language users, e.g. such professionals as writers and journalists[3]. The value of a national language is not determined by the whole nation but by a privileged social group, who through their position happen to dominate social language, who attain personal profit from it, or who would profit if everybody used the same language, e.g. politicians (Lehman 2006, 162). As pointed out by Mey (1981), some linguists have a tendency to extrapolate their own language

[3] for a discussion of that topic in Estonian media, see Kaplinski in Sirp, 11.04.2008 and Kaus in Sirp 03.08.2012

to the "Native Speaker" (an idealised figure with complete insight into the standard language), i.e. they measure the language use of others against their own language.

The aggressive upholding of a normative view of language has given birth to a disability view on linguistic minorities' use of the standard language. "Bilinguals" are therefore expected to learn the standard language to the degree that natives do and their use of the standard language is expected to be "unspoilt" by their native language, with state institutions engaged in guaranteeing that languages are kept apart, i.e. keeping the state language unspoilt by the other languages spoken in the territory of the state. For such a view of bilingualism, alternation, code-switching and borrowing create problems. Such standardisation processes may be inherent in linguistic culture (STUDIES I and IV A), and the effect can be enhanced by an explicit normative and control-oriented language policy (STUDY I and STUDY II).

Those power hierarchies are based on consensus inside the linguistic group, but this consensus may be challenged when it comes to linguists' right to define right and wrong. According to Chomsky (1957), the native speaker is the ultimate referee over all linguists, and if the native speaker does not accept what linguists propose, the results must be discarded. Although native speakers are expected to master their native language, nobody can master a language completely in the sense of knowing all the words and grammatical rules. The native speaker that linguists are focused on is therefore an idealised character (Davies 2003). This is the native speaker against whose language use the success of second language learners is measured. Jørgensen (2010, 155) accuses a range of works on second language acquisition of taking for granted the term "native speaker" and the norms of mother tongue speakers as goals for second language learners. Here it is important to distinguish between foreign and second language learning. While the former is never supposed to end in language use that is comparable to native language use, the latter is constantly measured against native language use and is therefore always imperfect, even defective. Second language users are those whose mother-tongue is not the official language of the state, and their use of the titular language is subject to constant measuring and public interest, and can easily become an object of ridicule.

Another important difference is the degree of obligation to obtain the language. Learning a foreign language is more or less a question of free choice, a tool to experience and explore the world *outside*, while second language learning is an obligatory tool of social and legal inclusion: a key to higher social status and mobility, and a necessity in order to have access to the labour market and educational system, and to participate in democratic processes (Risager 2003). Learning a second language is not only about activating a standard linguistic system, but also about gaining a new social identity, including new patterns of understanding and communicating, which can be experienced as a

loss of one's former position and identity (Verschik 2008, Kramsch 2002 and STUDY IV, A).

2.1.3. Macro-sociolinguistic analysis of the genesis of language policy

The political agenda of a modern nation-state involves making the state function both vertically and horizontally (Bourdieu 1991), The use of one, standard language is among the most important tools to guarantee the flow of information, and thus language policy and language regulation form one of the tools by which the nation-state exercises its institutionalised power (Bourdieu 1991). This also includes status regulation, where precedence is given to one language over all others. All members of the state are thus expected to master the required language norm: those who do not have it as their mother tongue are expected to master it, and their language competences are constantly measured against what is perceived to be the native speaker's use of language, the standardised norm.

Sociolinguistics as a discipline tries to understand society through language and is a natural choice for the study of language policy and its effects on language situations and habits in a society (Spolsky 2002, 2009). Language policy[4] in the macro-sociolinguistic tradition is studied according to the relations of a policy to the sociolinguistic settings that surround it, therefore creating a clear distinction between language policy, language ideology and linguistic practice (Ferguson 1977, 9). Language management, as defined by Spolsky, is an attempt by someone who has or claims to have authority over others to modify their language practice or ideology (Spolsky, 2002: 320). While language ideology is a set of beliefs about the language articulated by its users as a justification for how language should be used (Silverstein, 1979), language practice is how people actually use the language, i.e. the habitual pattern of selecting among different languages, also called the ethnography of language (Hymes, 1974). This distinction offers a useful insight into the genesis of language policy, since the relation between language practice and language ideology has a strong effect on the birth and development of language policy. As language management always aims to modify existing linguistic behaviour, there is no

[4] In the context of the present analysis, no distinction is made between the terms "language planning" and "language policy", since they are seen as parts of the same process and appear simultaneously (Hornberger 1994 and 1996). Language policy is the decision-making process of language planning and is oriented towards change or problem-solving or –preventing (Baldauf 1994: 83), consisting of implicit or explicit, planned or unplanned decision-making processes. However, a useful distinction is made in the Estonian context by Erelt (2002, 20), who defines the language political activity "status planning" *as* language policy and "corpus planning" (usually one of the language political activities) as language planning. Thus the terms "language planning" and "language management" are here used synonymously, both meaning conscious development, enrichment, stabilisation and updating of the standard language (cf Estonian Language Development Plan).

need for a strong explicit language policy if existing language practice, in a given society is in accordance with the dominant language ideology (also called linguistic hegemony).

A three-part approach is a useful tool for explaining the development of a thin or thick language policy: if the language practice in a society is complex and multilingual, and if a consensus exists on language ideology, language policy will likely be implicit and thin. If there is, on the contrary, complexity in language practices and no consensus on language ideology, there will most likely be attempts by dominant ideologies to develop thick explicit policies in order to modify practices in the desired direction. In contrast to a thin policy, which makes its presence felt only occasionally in a few isolated regulations, a thick language policy is one that appears explicitly in repeated laws and regulations, with agencies designated to carry out the regulating functions. This model is used in the analysis of language political developments in post-Soviet Estonia in STUDY I.

However, as stressed by several sociolinguists, language policy issues are, in the deepest sense, political issues and are always about more than language (Jernudd and Nekvapil 2012 and Ricento 2005). The sense of language endangerment and a need for protective language political intervention are not always based on language specialists' evaluation of the linguistic situation: protective measures are activated when they fit into the overall political agenda, as the central players on the language policy scene are not (only) language specialists, but primarily politicians (Heller and Duchêne 2007). Even in countries where the linguistic situation is close to hegemony, changes in political discourse can start a language ideological debate over the need to draw up a protective language act (Milani 2008).

2.1.4. Language ideology and language ideological debates

With a background in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, Blommaert elaborates the sociolinguistic model for the analysis of language policy, emphasising the central role of ideology in the development of language policy (Blommaert 1999). In addition, Blommaert pays attention to the sociolinguistic settings against which a policy arises, as changes in language ideological discourses are always changes in political discourses, since: "political will (is) the primary ingredient in utilizing the factor of language in any meaningful way in the process of national development" (Kashoki 1993, 12). The debate over the pros and cons of language legislation preceding actual language policy making can, in Blommaert's view, be considered a language ideological debate: a slowly unfolding process of discursive exchange, where different social actors struggle for their underlying political interests (Blommaert 1999). As STUDY III reveals, the actual making of language policy is, in many cases (Milani 2008, Milani and Johnson 2008 and Koreinik 2011), preceded and framed by an ideological debate on language, where the winning ideology decides whether

the debate will lead to drawing up a language act or whether existing language policy will be amended. The answer to which ideology wins can be found in the analysis of the political context surrounding the language ideological debate.

The analysis of language ideological debates relies, among other tools, on the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which studies texts as discursively constructed using reductive mechanisms: by highlighting some aspects of reality they place others in the background (Blommaert 1999). While CDA recognises the power of macro discourses, a strong sense of Foucault's (1977, 1978) theories of discourse and power underlies CDA. Foucault argues that "discourse" makes certain ways of talking, being and acting "normal", and can thus be hegemonic, helping to explore how language policies can hegemonically sculpt language education toward monolingual practices. Fairclough, using Foucault's term, calls them "orders of discourse" (Fairclough 1989), and some others refer to them as "grand narratives", "paradigms" (Risager 2003) or "frames" (Hajer 1995, Arnscheidt 2009). Whichever term is used, they allow for an analysis of counter-discourses that try to interpret and appropriate language policies in agentive ways. The struggle between orders of discourse and counter-discourses, which occurs in language ideological debates, can lead to changes, but also block them: "Discourse can thus be an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy" (Foucault 1978: 100–102). As analysed in STUDY III, the success of a participant in a language ideological debate depends on the power of his/her "voice", i.e. success in making him/herself understood (Blommaert 2005). The possibility of making oneself understood depends on both the use of available discursive means and the context or conditions of use of those means.

2.1.5. The transformations of the language management of a nation-state in the context of globalisation

Another important component often ignored in the sociolinguistic analysis of language policy in nation-states is the supranational socioeconomic challenge that falls under the heading "globalisation" (Blommaert 2003). Blommaert modified sociolinguistic theory into what he calls the "sociolinguistics of globalization", making it possible to see what is happening locally in the global context. Globalisation raises the issue of the capacity of mobility, with an emphasis on the value of linguistic and semiotic resources – the capacity to perform adequately in and through language in a wide variety of social and geographical spaces – therefore also raising a new issue: inequality (Blommaert 2003). Rather than recognising the value of local linguistic diversity and hybridity, globalisation has caused language competence to be conceptualised and represented as a set of marketable communicative skills, which can be valued, bought and sold, and therefore also accurately measured and tested (Heller 2003).

Multilingualism is not necessarily positive; only competence in certain utilitarian languages (e.g. the official state language or a lingua franca) increases one's market value in national and global markets (Siiner, 2013). Languages have market value depending on the likelihood of profit: the number of their speakers and their socioeconomic situation. Or, as Phillipson has put it, an increasing number of the decisions affecting the entire world's population are taken in English, creating an invisible border between the "world of English-speaking haves and non-English-speaking have-nots" (Phillipson 2001:2). Having no knowledge of English creates a new kind of functional illiteracy (Preisler 1999).

As analysed in STUDIES II and III, standardised national languages have become a common argument whereby liberal democracies officially respond to the linguistic diversity ensuing from enhanced human mobility in a globalised world (Fairclough 2002, 2003; Heller 2003). Cameron refers to this as anxiety prompted by globalisation (2007); a great deal of political discourse presents globalisation as threatening: a creator of worldwide uniformity, and a universal shift in the nature of societies or identities (Blommaert 2003). On the nation-state level, the term "multilingualism" tends to be a negative term, as it refers to groups with low social status: immigrants, guest workers and refugees (Siiner, 2013). The need for growing legislative control over language matters on the state level is a result of a growing freedom of action and choice on the personal level (Fishman 1972).

This leads us back to the notion of a (separate/different) language, which, according to Jørgensen, is a question of academic convention (Jørgensen 2010, 35), but according to Heller (2007, 1) and Makoni et al (2006, 7) also involves ideological and political notions. They argue that languages as separate and countable units are ideological constructs, which were invented along with the nation-state in Europe in the 1700s, when the concept of language was created in relation to the nation. "Alongside, or, rather, in direct relation with the invention of languages, therefore, an ideology of languages as separate and enumerable categories was also created" (Makoni et al 2006, 2). This ideological construction of the inseparability between the nation-state, national language and national culture (Herder's concept of nationhood as one nation-one language-one culture, from the 1800s) makes the notion of languages as entities so strong that it is almost impossible for decision makers, educational planners and the ideological elite to challenge it (Risager 2003). As touched upon briefly in STUDY II, giving a language status as a separate language instead of the status of a regional variety or a dialect is a question of politics and power, rather than mutual comprehensibility. Norwegian *bokmål* and Danish are more mutually comprehensible than Standard Estonian and the South Estonian varieties of Estonian.

Although offering valuable insight into the genesis of language policy both nationally and globally, and an understanding of how the concept of language in the public and political discourse as a norm, a separate, measurable entity that

has a market value, is a part of this policy-making process, sociolinguistics, with its many branches, maintains a view of language policy as an authoritative product whose top-down implementation is unvaried. In describing what takes place on the macro level of language policies and the micro level of language use and linguistic practices, the field of sociolinguistics tends to fall short of fully accounting for the processes – creation, interpretation and appropriation – of language policy, i.e. how micro-level interaction relates to the macro levels of social organisation (Ricento 2000).

2.2. Ethnographic approach to language policy

This is where the ethnography of language policy comes in, criticising traditional language policy research for dichotomising language policy creation and implementation, and for ignoring the agentive role of "implementers" (Johnson 2009, 156). Johnson argues that ethnographic and other critical approaches to language policy are not mutually exclusive, as both are committed to resisting existing dominant and linguistically discriminative policy discourses and include critical analysis of local, institutional and national policy texts (Johnson 2009, 142). The ethnography of language policy is a method for linking micro-level educational practices with macro-level language policies and discourse, re-conceptualising language policy as an interconnected process. Pennycook (2002) argues that power does not solely rest with the state, or within the policy text. Instead, there is a need for a method which takes the focus off of "the state as an intentional actor that seeks to impose its will on the people and instead draws our attention to much more localized and often contradictory operations of power."

Levinson et al. (2007) argue that traditional divisions between policy formation and implementation implicitly ratify a top–down perspective by characterising those in power as legislating directives that are implemented by practitioners. Instead, "policy" in the ethnographic approach is seen as a dynamic process that stretches across time, and implementation (or "appropriation") is not just what happens after policy is made – it is a link in the chain of policy process in which all actors potentially have input. Rather than a linear top-down process, language policy consists of different layers of what Ricento and Hornberger (1996) metaphorically refer to as "the language policy onion". The levels through which language policy moves and develops are divided into three main levels – the macro (state), meso (local/institutions) and micro (individual) levels – illuminating the development of language planning and policy in its various types – status, corpus and acquisition – across the cycle of creation, interpretation and appropriation (Hornberger and Johnson 2011, 275). Hornberger and Johnson emphasised, in their earlier study of language education policy (2007, 526), the importance of creating and utilising ideological and implementational space in an educational system, to develop and support locally adjusted solutions and promote multilingualism in education.

Ricento and Hornberger (1996) and Siiner (2006) demonstrate how teachers, at the micro level, can exercise language political power by choosing to incorporate minority languages or accept linguistic variations, thus acting as language political agents[5], especially in cases where there are no legislative regulations in the area (Siiner 2006).

Along with teachers, school administrators, at the institutional meso level, can make choices that open up or close those potential spaces. Hornberger and Johnson, however, point out that teachers' choices are constrained by language policies which tend to set boundaries on what is allowed, expected or considered normal. Policies can thus create implementational and ideological space, as was the case with post-apartheid multilingual policies in South Africa, creating "democratic space for legal and peaceful promotion of multilingualism" (Bloch and Alexander 2003). This was also the case with Bolivia's education reform, which, by not specifying conditions, left space for initiatives in the area of preserving indigenous identity (Hornberger and Johnson 2007, 528). An ethnography of language policy can include textual and historical analyses of policy texts, and still stress the importance of the ethnographic understanding of a local context. The ethnographic approach to language, therefore, offers an important enhancement of the model for the analysis of language policy by introducing a broadened concept of language policy as multi-layered, with several actors at different levels, thus emphasising the role that practitioners at the meso and micro levels play in language policy processes. The ethnographic approach also recognises the framing power of language policy texts, and introduces the concept of implementational and ideological space. Legislation and regulations can open up space for necessary local initiatives, interpretations and adjustments, by stating them explicitly in policy texts, by leaving agency to actors at lower levels, or by choosing not to regulate in a specific area.

Introducing the traditional methods of ethnography, such as participant observation, in the analysis of language policy, however, also creates a new problem. If what is going on in a classroom or at a work place can also be conceived of as language policy, then what isn't (Hornberger and Johnson 2011, 285)? Where is the border between language policy and the norms of interaction and discourse? Or, as discussed in STUDY III, when is a linguistic practice a result of an enduring influence from linguistic culture and when is it from an intentional macro-level language political intervention? The ethnographic approach to language policy is, in part, inspired by a tradition of ethnographic research on language diversity influenced both by Hymes' (1974) ethnography of communication and Fishman's approach (1964, 1991), and has

[5] In reference to language political agents, Edwards distinguishes between "agencies" whose language management efforts arise as a consequence of other concerns, and those for whom language issues are central or, indeed, account for their very existence (Edwards 2012: 427). My point in the present thesis and the extended understanding of language policy introduced later is to include both types of agents.

been criticised as not being a convincing method of explaining the multi-sited and multi-layered nature of language policy, since the question remains as to whether it can, besides illuminating language policy as a multi-layered process, also contribute to policy development in a technically substantive way (Fishman 1994). Due to the interdisciplinary nature of the object of study, it is therefore necessary to include theoretical inspiration from both political science and sociology in order to also properly understand language policy as a political and social phenomenon.

2.3. Policies as tools of framing and managing heterogeneity

In order to better grasp the technicalities of policy making, some inspiration from political science is needed. Feldman, with a reference to Lefebvre's spatial politics (Lefebvre 1991), analyses how a state can manage the messiness of the state's demographic reality or its inhabitants' daily practices by using abstraction as a policy tool to shape individuals' interaction with the state and thus orient social processes. Those abstractions are not easily amenable to the ethnographic and anthropological methods of participant-observation, since people do not always ascribe meaning to political processes. Feldman also criticises ethnographers' use of space as a given, neglecting its inherently political character (Lefebvre 1991:90). In his analysis of the Estonian integration policy, Feldman demonstrates how the state can trap an individual within a set of legal circumstances or within an abstract space that demarcates how immigrants or majorities may engage with the nation, creating a stateless Russian-speaking population to be integrated under particular conditions (Feldman 2008). Feldman shows, furthermore, how policy documents are produced with a specific (constructed) group of (Soviet inner) immigrants in mind, and how this construction is inseparable from its efforts to produce the nation-state as an abstract space belonging only to those fluent in Estonian (Estonian citizens).

According to Feldman, the Estonian integration policy displays an effort to reproduce the state's two-dimensional, culturally homogeneous, abstract space, which simultaneously reifies Russian-speakers as policy subjects or "others" by abstracting out the idiosyncrasies of their lives. The Russian-speaking immigrant is trapped in an abstract space in the sense that he has to construct his daily routines in reference to the given frames of the given space. Although policies can never entirely determine an individual's opportunities for movement, Feldman sees those abstractions as social facts. The homogenising effects of abstract space facilitate the management of "others" in the state's sovereign space in accordance with the ideal which underlies state policy practices. The ideal also frames how a particular problem is to be solved in a particular way, where the solution offered is tightly bound to the genesis of the problem. The solution is not to let the Russian-speaking population in but rather to find a way to shut them out by legal means. According to Feldman, the researcher should

thus identify what has channelled the issue (a problem that has to be solved in a particular way) and, secondly, pay attention to the production of policy documents in that process (Feldman 2008, 314). Problem-solving can easily turn out to be problem elimination.

2.3.1. Language policy design at the national and institutional levels

Choudhry, who has analysed how constitutional design can be used to manage linguistic nationalism (2009), points out how official language policies have an impact on opportunities for political participation, in particular, and participation in democratisation processes in general, for example by restricting access to public offices, whether membership in legislatures or public sector employment. Using examples from South Asia, Choudhry demonstrates how what seems to be a political competition regarding official-language status is in fact economic competition for white-collar public sector employment, which in any state is also valuable for economic reasons. Just as a state's demographic reality seldom matches the ideal of the territorial nation-state (Feldman 2008), no state can be neutral on the question of language, since communication is essential to the functioning of any state, liberal democratic or otherwise, and language also functions as a coordinating device that permits collective deliberation and decision making (Choudhry 2009). The demand for official languages is, however, institutionally differentiated. While state activities can be broad or non-restrictive in terms of the regulation of language use in some areas, there are some institutional contexts where language use has to be regulated at the state level, such as courts, legislatures and public services (Choudhry 2009, 604).

In the realm of public services, debates over the language of public education are of central importance here: should they be in state or minority languages? Choudry makes a useful distinction here: with respect to primary and lower secondary education, the question is largely about the survival of a language, but the language of instruction on the secondary and post-secondary levels is intimately connected with the availability of post-secondary education in the languages of the public sector and the economy. Lacking language competence can become an occupational barrier and be an obstacle to economic and social mobility. This distinction between the different functions of the language of instruction at the different levels of education is especially relevant in the context of the present thesis, since it also opens up for discussion of the modification of the functions a language has at different levels of life. While the existence of an official language is inescapable, the official language policies of a state have to be disaggregated into a number of institutional contexts, in which the scope of linguistic choice (e.g. the choice of language of instruction at different levels of education) and the consequences of this choice are rather different.

While strict regulations can create a symbolic trap, broad or non-restrictive official regulations can leave space, or "envelopes", in legislation which allow for the emergence of initiatives at other than the state level, as is the case with corporate language policies[6]. In management and economics, business firms are conceived of as economic actors, and governments and their agencies are considered to be the only political actors. Scherer and Palazzo suggest that, under the conditions of globalisation, the strict division of labour between private businesses and nation-state governance no longer holds up. Many business firms have started to assume social and political responsibilities that go beyond the legal requirements and fill the regulatory vacuum in global governance (Scherer and Palazzo 2011, 892). The traditional approach to corporate social responsibility (CSR) has been hierarchical: national governance systems execute formal rules through the legal and administrative system of command and control (hard law) (Sundaram and Inkpen, 2004), and business firms are forced to play according to the rules (Parker and Braithwaite, 2003) and only engage in processes of self-regulation through *soft law* in instances where state agencies are unable or unwilling to regulate (see, e.g. Mörth, 2004).

Local and global economic interests are not stable, but are constantly changing, as are business communication strategies. Language management in a corporation should be inherently flexible, since the changes in internal and external communication emerging out of the increasingly multilingual situations in which workers find themselves demand that new forms of language management also emerge (Nekvapil and Nekula 2006; Spolsky 2009). Even when language choice is affirmed in policy at the managerial level, daily practices are characterised by constant linguistic negotiations related to the immediate situation and the stakes they carry. Duchêne and Heller (2012) describe tensions between Taylorism (predictability, standardisation and top-down regulation in language matters) in language management in companies, and soft management, i.e. flexibility and variability in order to solve unexpected communication problems, e.g. a worker is allowed to use, and is appreciated for, his non-standard communicative skills. Language and communication management in modern companies are thus much more open to flexibility and initiatives from below, seeing them as resources (e.g. for solving problems).

In legal studies, a new concept of regulation is being discussed that places private actors in a prominent role, not just as the addressees of public rules, but also as their responsible authors and agents (Parker and Braithwaite, 2003), thereby broadening the concept of language policy as taking place in different layers of society and initiated by different actors. As mentioned above, language policies do not stand alone. They are, in their genesis and development, a part of broader political and social agendas, and are influenced by changes at the state level and globally (STUDY I–III). The concept of language as a marketable and

[6] The term "corporate language policy" is sometimes categorised under language strategy, communication strategy or communication policy, and those terms are sometimes interpreted as covering the same phenomena (Grønning 2001).

measurable entity that emerges from language policies is also a product of ideological and political agendas. The question, however, remains as to what the consequences are of formulating a language policy with the aim of bringing about change in society. There is a need to broaden the view from language policy to the society and its structures that the language policy is a part of. To do so, I will in the next section introduce Giddens' structuration theory and explain in what way his understanding of the forces that can bring about social change is relevant for the present thesis.

2.4. The mutually constitutive character of social structures and agency

What makes Giddens' structuration theory relevant as a set of "thinking tools" (Bourdieu, cited in Thomas 2007, 83) in the analysis of language policy is his illumination of the constitutive, although amenable to change, character of social structures. Giddens' "structure" refers to a set of rules and resources which individual or collective agents draw on to enact social practices. The concept of "system" may be understood as a process of social practices being chronically reproduced and gaining permanence, with "actors repeating routines and rituals (reproduced practices) across time and space over and over so that the pattern itself becomes a taken for granted feature of social life" (Cohen 1998, 282). One of the central ideas in the structuration theory is that "the rules and resources drawn upon in the production and reproduction of social practices are at the same time the means of system reproduction" (Giddens 1984, 19). This may be the case in a state education system where headmasters and teachers keep doing what they are expected to do, so that what they do starts to appear natural, as if things have always been so and shall always be (Day Ashley 2010, 339). Giddens' reproductive nature of social practices and the institutionalisation of rules is reminiscent of Foucault's (1991) concept of "governmentality", where the state's hierarchical, top-down power is seen to include forms of social control in such disciplinary institutions as schools, which help to compound certain discourses that get internalised by individuals and guide their behaviour. In my analysis of language policy design, there is a particular focus on the institutional level of schools and other institutions of education, such as universities and training centres for the unemployed run by local municipalities.

Rules are, however, in Giddens' view – contrary to the laws of nature – generalisable (sets of) procedures or rituals which enable individuals to take part in an "indeterminate range of social circumstances" (Giddens, 1984, p. 22). Laws are attempts to institutionalise and make some rules or rituals more durable than others, but are, in Giddens' view, only codified interpretations of rules, i.e. they suggest only one understanding of how the society should work. Laws are also important tools for distributing resources, i.e. "the power of

getting things done" (Giddens 1984, 283). Giddens' resources are of two types: authoritative and allocative. Authoritative resources are the nonmaterial resources drawn on in controlling and influencing the circumstances of other agents' actions or coordinating the activity of others; and allocative resources are connected with the harnessing of material resources, in terms of goods, technology and the environment. These interpretations are contextual and conditional, depending on which agents are involved (which parties, experts, institutions etc.) and the resources available (the popularity of the political parties involved, their political agendas, knowledge and experience, material resources, other laws/constitutions that have to be taken into account etc.). Allocative resources (material, such as land or means of production) and authoritative resources (non-material, such as social status or life chances) reflect the power and domination relations in society and, as such, determine the individual's potential for action (Giddens 1984, 258). The concept of resources is important as it allows one to distinguish between different types of actors in terms of their capabilities or potential for action.

While resources constitute the conditions which influence actors' potential for action and thus their participation in the reproduction of or change in social practices, rules are said to "generate" social practices. There are, however, actions that are routinised or institutionalised; they are habits, traditions or routines that are more resistant to change, becoming institutionalised features that the society seems to be based on. Giddens sees language as one of these social institutions, being by definition a more enduring feature of social life and social structures, since its institutionalised features give it solidity across time and space, marked by an "absence of the subject". The survival of institutions is supported by individuals' general desire to preserve ontological security, i.e. to maintain a sense of trust that the social world and its parameters are trustworthy and that, while everything seems to change, some things remain the same (Deumert 2003). Also, such collective agents as politicians (members of a political party or a government) also strive for the preservation of social institutions and attempt to legitimise the interpretation of rules that the institution stands for through legal regulation.

Here, it is important to note that Giddens' approach to the mutually constitutive nature of social structures and agency was developed further by Bourdieu, whose "habitus" is central in critical discourse analysis, and is also related to the language ideological debates outlined above, where "the audibility" of one participant's "voice" depends on the participant's "habitus", or the availability of the necessary resources to validate individual viewpoints. As competent members of society, we know countless social rules which allow us to participate in a wide range of social interactions. Actors can not, however, know everything, and the consequences of their actions constantly and chronically escape their initiators (Giddens 1984, 297), indicating the fragility of the power of actors and the limits of their knowledge of the rules. This is a very important point in terms of the issue of the possible success of legislative

intervention, in this case the success of a language policy, and for two reasons. Since the duality of structure and agency makes change and stability two sides of the same "social life" coin, Giddens explains conditions for both change (the availability of resources determines the capability of agency and thus transformation, while actions may have unintended consequences) and for durability (structure is reproduced through social action). Giddens' structuration theory is thus applicable as an explanation of how laws are born.

Giddens' structuration theory can, on the other hand, also be used to explain how a law works: although such "visualised" rules as laws or grammars are only "codified interpretations of rules" and not rules themselves, their overt formulation gives them special qualities of endurance (Giddens 1984, 21). Laws are, furthermore, some of the most strongly sanctioned types of social rule, which gives them strong influence on structuring social activity. Giddens' theory of how social practices are ordered over time and space is an attempt to overcome the macro-micro-level leap present in ethnographic and socio-linguistic research on language policy outlined above. Giddens does not give primacy to either structure or agency, seeing their mutual constitutive nature as a cycle. This understanding is also relevant in the context of the present thesis, since it explains how such social institutions as national languages are a result of a need for stability in the midst of change, and how laws are used to constitute and "freeze" an understanding or signification of language – giving this understanding a sense of durability over time and the value of a truth or convention.

Laws also make visible and somehow stratify "rules of the game": how language is to be used or taught, and the division of allocative and authoritative resources, i.e. the stratification of who has the right (authoritative resources) and the necessary means (allocative resources) to decide in matters of language. Language legislation gains durability through becoming institutionalised and, in that sense, an originally contextual solution to a (temporal) problem that the legal intervention was designated to solve in the first place can become permanent, a durable solution, "a fact" or "a truth" that exists outside of time and space and without a subject. With Giddens' structure-agency dualism and dynamics of social structures in mind, the next chapter presents an extended understanding of language policy, with the main aim being to avoid fixation of language as a closed entity with a separate existence from language users, thus conceptualising language as an abstract "language space" that language users can be shut out of. Language is inseparable from other spheres of human life, and from the social and psychological needs that language users have in different contexts and at different stages of their lives. Rather than being (only) a tool of protection (of the status and corpus of a language), language policy should contribute to ensuring social justice, economic well-being and political harmony.

2.5. An extended concept of language policy

Firstly, an extended concept of language policy is based on its interdisciplinary nature and thus a need for an interdisciplinary approach in language policy studies. As Jernudd and Nekvapil stress, concerning both policy formulation and implementation, language policy is clearly socio-political, extending beyond the margin of linguistics and thus calling for a combination of tools and approaches from a wide range of disciplines besides sociolinguistics, including economics, sociology, law and political science (Jernudd and Nekvapil 2012: 17). Secondly, an extended concept of language policy is based on an understanding of language as an activity or a way to interact with the social world and to "pull through" in different social situations, in order to meet individual needs. In order to include this dynamic, an extended understanding of language policy sees policy itself as a process rather than a product that is passed on unchanged from policy-makers through the hands of implementers to passive receivers, i.e. language users.

Language policy is a cycle, consisting of creation, implementation/ interpretation and appropriation (Hornberger and Johnson 2011, 282), or a spiral, as appropriation lifts it up to a new level of interpretation and knowability. It is important to conceptualise language policy as constantly in the making, never a goal in itself (reflected in the understanding of passing laws as sufficient to solve a problem). It is however important to emphasise that the concept of language policy outlined here is "an ideal", and the model offered for analysis is just an example of how a part of this process – policy texts and their creation – can be analysed, as analysing the whole cycle would probably take another PhD thesis. The present dissertation mainly covers the creation and (partly) implementation (how language policy texts settle rules and divide resources for implementation) stages of the language political cycle, while the aspects of interpretation and appropriation of language policy are left out of the main focus in the present introductory cover article, as an analysis of this part would require different types of data (e.g. observation, interviews etc. with language policy agents).

Concerning the analysis of the genesis of language policy and the design of language policy texts, the following concepts are of central importance. Contextuality is central to understanding the creation of a policy: language policy is usually designed to solve a local problem that has arisen in a certain historical, political and cultural context. In order to examine context, the analysis of language policy has to start with the contextual determinants behind the genesis of language policy, i.e. mainly the political and ideological factors, but also broader historical, cultural and global aspects, as outlined in the sociolinguistic analysis of the genesis of language policy. This is primarily the concern of the first three studies (STUDIES I–III). The second important concept in the analysis of language policy design is the multi-layered nature of language policy. Besides the traditional macro (state) level, there exist both a meta level, including such international or/and global confederations or

consolidations as the WTO, EU and Nordic corporation (de Varennes 2012), and a meso level, which includes the level of institutions, including private companies, corporations (Duchêne and Heller 2012), such institutions as universities and schools (Cenoz and Gorter 2012), local municipalities and local governments (Backhaus 2012), while individual language-users constitute the micro-level (Caldas 2012). As Sue Wright points out, the developments taking place during recent decades in the relocation of power from the nation-state to sub-state and supra-state levels also have linguistic consequences. The strong version of the sovereign state is disappearing and a number of groups that were incorporated into nation-states have (re)gained some political and economic power, and some political and economic power is also controlled by global/ supranational/international organisations rather than national governments (Wright 2012: 72).

My use of the terms meta, macro, meso and micro level is slightly different from that common in political science (Landman 2008), or in the use of language policy layers in the ethnographic approach (Hornberger and Johnson 2007), and is an adoption of the terms for the context of the present interdisciplinary approach of the introductory cover article. The main interest is thus on how language policy texts are codifications of interpretations of how language and society work or should work. Interpretation is here seen as a process, where different collective and institutional agents (media, NGOs, political parties etc.) struggle for their ideological or political agendas, somewhat similar to Blommaert's language ideological debate, where the main concern is not always language, but may be sales figures, discursive and material resources, power, popularity etc. Here it is important to mention Edwards' useful distinction between agencies (institutions), or agents whose language management efforts arise as a consequence of other concerns, and those for whom language issues are central or, indeed, account for their very existence (Edwards 2012: 427). With the focus of this article (an extended concept of language policy) in mind, my point is that these factors should be given a much more prominent role in language policy analysis and language management.

Not all aspects of how language and societies work are knowable; legal interventions in language matters can lead to unintended consequences, which might require different solutions at different levels and the participation of new agents. The term "language practice", introduced above, sees language as a (social) activity rather than a product, in which Giddens' structure-agency dualism also applies to the process-like nature of language. Language is usually conceived of as a social institution, for example a state language, whose status, use and form/corpus are fixed (by law). Certain standardisation-justification processes are, however, intrinsic to all language uses, since the majority of language users strive for mutual understanding (Jernudd and Nekvapil 2012). Or, as Spolsky has stated, language policies exist even where they have not been made explicit or established by authority or law (Spolsky 2004, 8), and

almost any government agency may in the course of its normal work implement a language policy (Spolsky 2009: 228). Language is always changing, as are language users' needs in changing societies and contexts; as a result, not all aspects of language (as a social institution) rules are knowable, and legislative interventions in language matters may lead to unpredictable consequences. Laws are, according to Giddens, only (codified) interpretations of rules, because not all aspects of social structures are knowable, as they, too, are ever changing. The main hypothesis of the present thesis is that this aspect requires a certain amount of flexibility in language policy, in order to meet the changing needs of language users. Flexibility includes the possibility of an agency depending on a division of resources at the meta, macro, meso and micro levels.

While laws present a codified interpretation of rules, they also more explicitly frame implementation by distributing authoritative and allocative resources, i.e. which agents on what levels have the power to control or decide about action, and by allocating the necessary resources (which can be economic, intellectual, material, discursive etc.) for the fulfilment of the task. Laws as interpretations of rules also frame the possibility of agency, either by leaving the possibility of legislative intervention to other agents at "lower" levels of society or by leaving certain areas unregulated. Central to implementation is thus the distribution of allocative resources. Do those who are given, or are capable of taking on, the task of fulfilling the goals of policy also have the necessary means and capacity to do so? It is also important to consider at what level the allocative and authoritative resources are to be found. As stated in Foucault's concept of governmentality above, if allocative and authoritative resources are found at the same level, this can give some (usually state) institutions an incontestable monopoly on truth (a rule becomes subject-less and outside of time and space), in contrast to private institutions and companies, which might possess considerable allocative resources. When the state is both the legislating and implementing agent (possessing both the authoritative and allocative resources), this can make language policies less flexible concerning the possibility of solving "local" language problems contextually, while distributing authoritative and allocative resources at lower levels (to institutions and corporations, or international organisations) may create a greater sense of temporality and contextuality, and thus increase the possibility of finding a local and contextual solution.

Apart from language policy as a process taking place on different levels, language policy dynamics also involve interventions in the different stages of human life, according to what psychological and social needs language use and acquisition have to meet for language users. Choudhry (2009, 605) states, with reference to Patten and Kymlicka (2003), that the value of disaggregating the question of official language policy is that this highlights how the range of choice is quite different in different institutional contexts. His idea is based on debates over the language of instruction in public education, where the primary and secondary education levels are seen as being largely about cultural

survival/integration and language socialisation, while the language of instruction at the post-secondary level is intimately connected with the availability of higher education in a certain language, and the language of the public sector and the economy. Although Choudhry's focus is slightly narrower (language of instruction), I see it as applicable to the present thesis mainly because it emphasises the different needs of language users at different levels of their lives and how the different phases contribute to reaching the declared ultimate goal: self-supporting and active participation in the labour market and in the democratic processes in society.

With reference to Choudhry, the different stages of human life are, with some modifications, divided according to the institutional settings that designate speakers' needs and opportunities. Regulations on language use and acquisition at the pre-school and primary education levels deal with cultural survival, while regulations of language use and acquisition at the upper secondary and vocational training levels are more about how well-equipped youngsters are for the needs of the labour market and higher education (and thus economic and social mobility), and adult education is for those who are not well-equipped or need better equipment for the changing needs of the labour market. This part also stresses the interconnectedness of language legislation and legislation in other related areas, such as education, the labour market and social policy, and whether those areas are regulated centrally in a separate language act (overt language policy) or in legislation covering the mentioned areas (covert language policy). This aspect is covered by STUDIES III–V.

An extended understanding of language policy thus focuses on the dynamics of language policy, where the parts of the language policy cycle, from genesis to appropriation, are interpreted as interrelated parts of a process. The dynamics of language policy underscore the importance of examining how language legislation changes a temporal understanding of a contextual problem that is to be solved contextually into a more durable understanding of language that is outside of time and space, i.e. a convention or tradition that is easily conceived of as a context-less truth. If language policy is a tool intended to bring about change, the design of language policy has to incorporate the possibility of change or modification of the problem to be solved, and thus also the solutions offered (and the resources distributed) should be geared toward the changing needs of language users. It is therefore important to leave space for "local" initiatives, interpretations and appropriations. What I am advocating here is not total anarchy or neutrality in language matters, or the undermining of the importance of the existence of one standard language, since, as Choudry stresses, a state can not be neutral in language matters as it can be, for instance, in religious matters; the importance of choosing and developing (a limited set of) standard languages is essential to a state's ability to function horizontally and vertically.

Due to the multi-layered and multifaceted nature of language policy, which originates from its task – the regulation of language use, status and acquisition –

there is a need to develop a more nuanced and flexible picture of the task of legal interventions in the language area. The second part of the introductory cover article will elaborate on a method of critical and textual analysis of language policy and law texts, with the aim of focusing on how the language policies of Denmark and Estonia have been designed, in order to find out how problems are defined, and what solutions are offered, including the distribution of resources and thus possibility for agency, and how the solutions offered correspond to language users' needs, depending on the stages of life they are at and the institutional settings surrounding them.

PART II

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS, METHOD AND OBJECTIVES

3.1. The main study questions

Based on the understanding of language practice as a human lifelong activity, the introductory cover article generally discusses the question of how language policies are designed to solve language problems according to the specific needs of speakers and the life stages they are at. More specifically, the thesis aims to find answers to the following questions:

The first set of questions is about the contextuality of the genesis of language policy and how the design of the policy is conditioned by those settings.

1. ***What are the demographic, historical, political, ideological, sociolinguistic and other settings that have influenced the genesis of (a certain type of) language policy? (Section 4.1 in Findings)***
   - *1.1. How are language rules and language problems explicitly or implicitly interpreted in policy texts?*
   - *1.2. Are there any differences between the interpretations of language rules in different policy texts?*
   - *1.3. How is this interpretation of language rules connected to the specific settings mentioned above, influencing the genesis of language policy?*

The second set of questions is about the design of language policy as it appears in policy texts, based on the differentiation of the levels of implementation/ interpretation and the institutional settings surrounding the different stages of human life.

2. ***What solutions are offered in political documents and how do these solutions correspond to the process-like nature of language as practice? (Section 4.2 in Findings)***
   - *2.1. Which institutional settings (corresponding to stages of human life) are regulated and on what level?*
   - *2.2. Which agents are explicitly involved in the implementation of policy in legislative texts?*
   - *2.3 How are the authoritative and allocative resources for implementation distributed in policy texts?*
   - *2.4. What does it mean when the legislative and implementative agents are on the same/different macro, meso or micro level(s)?*

The final set of questions is about the flexibility of language policy design.

3. Which institutional settings/what stages of human life are less/not regulated? (Section 4.3 in Findings)

3.1. Are there any "free spaces" in legislation, intentional or unintended?

3.2. What are the consequences when an area is not regulated?

The data used in the analysis are secondary data, gathered from sociological, political, demographic, sociolinguistic and discursive analyses conducted by other researchers (the first and third sets of questions), and law texts which regulate language use, corpus, status and acquisition, as well as such policy texts as development plans and policy reports that recommend or lay out the direction of political development (all sets of questions).

3.2. Objectives and the structure of the analysis

STUDIES I–III mainly focus on the genesis of language policy in relation to the political agenda and/or the sociolinguistic settings and language culture in the country, based on the sociolinguistic (STUDIES I –III) and discursive (STUDY III) methods of analysis. Those studies also focus on the signifying power of language political texts in determining how the genesis of language policies affects the design of policy: what the problem is and how it is to be solved (1990, Ricento and Hornberger 1996). The fourth published analysis (STUDY IV) draws conceptually, in its interpretation of the results of quantitative sociological analysis, on the ethnographic approach to language policy, placing language policy achievements in the context of human development. The study aims to make explicit the interrelatedness of language policy, social policy, integration policy and educational policy, thus taking a step further in the direction of an interdisciplinary approach to and a broader conception of language policy as socio-political in its formation and implementation. STUDY V takes the development of an extended concept of language policy a step further, analysing the unintended consequences of language policy in the context of globalisation.

The present introductory cover article aims to connect the successive studies conceptually and methodologically into a coherent whole, based on inspiration from sociolinguistics, ethnography, sociology and political science. The mentioned studies illuminate different aspects of the dynamics of language policy, thus contributing to the development of the extended understanding of language policy, without using it as a model of analysis. The introductory cover text will therefore fill in the gaps by elaborating a model of analysis based on the extended understanding of policy and will subsequently apply this model to an analysis of language policy design in two contrasting countries, Denmark and Estonia. Some references are also made to language policy design and development in France and the EU (STUDY II), Latvia and Lithuania (STUDY IV A, B and D) and Sweden (STUDIES III and V). This is mainly done for illustrative

and comparative purposes and the analysis will mainly concentrate on language policy design in Estonia and Denmark.

3.3. Method of study

Based on the extended concept of language policy outlined in 2.5, this section will develop and adopt a method for the critical analysis of language policy texts in Denmark and Estonia. In order to examine the dynamics of language policy, special attention is given to the genesis of language policy, by looking at the historical, demographic, sociolinguistic (language attitudes, language culture etc.), political and ideological settings that influence the creation of a policy and the problem to be solved as explicitly stated in the policy text.

Next, the language policy design as it emerges from the policy texts will be analysed as to how it frames the possibility of solving the stated problem or meeting the goal. This will be done by analysing how authoritative and allocative resources are distributed among different agents at different levels (Figure 2).

With reference to Choudhry's division of the institutional settings surrounding certain stages of human life, I will, for the purpose of the present introductory cover article, divide the phases into five main parts: 1) pre-primary education and child care institutions, 2) primary and lower secondary education, 3) upper secondary education and vocational training, 4) higher education and professional higher education, and 5) adult education and in-service-training in the labour market. The process can be presented visually as the following:

Figure 1. The institutional settings of implementation corresponding to certain stages of human life

In my critical textual analysis of policy texts, I will further on – inspired by the ethnographic "language political onion" (Hornberger and Johnson 2007) – look at the level at which the different agents, explicitly or implicitly involved in the implementation of the policy, are placed. The division is, for the sake of simplicity and clarity, reduced to five levels (Figure 2): 1) the personal level, 2) the institutional level, 3) the level of local government/municipality, 4) the state level and 5) the international/global level. The arrow points both ways in order to emphasise that policy is not merely a one-way, top-down process (Hornberger and Johnson 2007).

Figure 2. Levels of implementation, as to who has the necessary authoritative and allocative resources

In order to understand the different agents' capacities and opportunities for action/agency, I will further on examine the division of allocative and authoritative resources among agents involved in implementation. Resources can be distributed explicitly by a law or a policy, by giving certain institutions the responsibility for deciding how the task is to be completed or the responsibility for controlling how the task has been completed (authoritative resources), also supplying the necessary means for the fulfilment of the task (allocative resources), which might however not turn out to be sufficient. The distribution of resources can also be implicit: where the existing rules (i.e. laws passed at the state level) or lack of rules leave the possibility of agency to other agents who might, or might not, have the necessary means to fulfil the task. Legal regulations (or the lack of them) as interpretations of rules are thus seen as creating a framework for the possibility of agency.

3.4. Two case studies

For the present analysis, two contrastive single country studies are provided: Denmark and Estonia. The countries are, strictly speaking, not comparable (Landman 2008: 86) in terms of political, historical, cultural and other settings that have influenced the genesis of their language policies, but are in the context of the present introductory cover article presented side by side. The analysis of the design of the two apparently different language policies is nevertheless seen as useful for contrast, as this can provide an explanation and understanding that may have merit beyond the reference country.

Another reason for comparing the two cases is a growing tendency to borrow from or use language policies from countries as best practices, as was the case with the last version of the Language Act in Estonia, partly inspired by the language policy of France (STUDY II). The reasons for the borrowing of solutions are more often the conceived effectiveness of interventions or ideological similarities, rather than similar sociolinguistic, historical or political settings. Comparisons of (the results of) the language policies of socio-linguistically, politically and historically divergent countries frequently appear in the context of the European Union (STUDY II, Eurobarometer special 243).

Another example of the comparison of culturally and economically divergent countries that can affect language policies is Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (STUDY III). Inspiration for present comparison comes also from, among others, a similar comparison of France and Sweden in Oakes 2001.

Denmark and Estonia have been chosen as case studies both for their similarities (both are small member states of the EU) and for their differences (historical, demographic, geographic etc.). It is the differences that allow for a more complex understanding of the possibilities of language political intervention in the context of the major challenges currently facing small languages and nation-states in Europe. Another reason for choosing the two contrastive cases is how the mentioned different settings have influenced types of language policy (what I call thick and thin; see definition in the theoretical part) but also how those different models have produced different concepts of rules for language political intervention. While language political interventions in Denmark have developed smoothly over a longer period of time and have been preceded by language ideological debate (although scattered), language political intervention in Estonia took place over a very short time period, during politically and historically revolutionary times, and were intended as tools of change and the bringing about of justice after decades of political and linguistic discrimination. Language political debates emerged only later and took place while the institutionalisation of language matters was already taking place, complicating the possibility of initiatives from below.

4. FINDINGS

4.1. The genesis of language policy in Denmark and Estonia

This sub-chapter analyses the main demographic, historical, political, ideological, sociolinguistic and other settings that have influenced the genesis of (a certain type of) language policy.

As is stated in the two Danish language political reports Sprog på spil (2003) and Sprog til tiden (2008), the Danish language is not perceived to be in a threatened position (due to the low percentage of minority language speakers) and there is therefore no need to protect the (symbolic) status of the Danish language "centrally" through a separate law. There have been no historical, demographic or sociolinguistic situations drastic enough to foster a need for the legislative protection of the Danish language (or other languages in Denmark). To the contrary, the Danish language itself has – as a (post)-colonial language – influenced the development of language policies in the Faroe Islands and in Greenland. While the Faroe Islands passed their Home Rule Act as early as 1948, giving Faroese official status in the Faroe Islands, the strong Danification tendencies in the 1950s in Greenland led to the development of a political movement that culminated in the introduction of the Home Rule Act in 1979, giving Greenlandic the status of the official language (Jacobsen 2003, 156). The last language political report from 2008 states the language ideological and language cultural bases for why there is no need to introduce a general Language Act in Denmark (in contrast with Sweden, where the Language Act (*Språklag)* was passed in 2009): partly because there is no political will in Denmark to safeguard language rights and partly because the way language is being used cannot be regulated, especially by a penalty system aimed at those who do not comply with the letter of the law (Sprog til tiden 2008, 134).

As outlined in STUDY III, the type of language policy developed in Denmark only appears to be liberal or laissez faire, as there are in fact some regulations covering the language area. The language policy in Denmark should instead be seen as covert, as decisions influencing the use, acquisition and status of languages are made in other areas of legislation, such as integration and pre-school and primary education. As described in STUDY III and partly in STUDY V, the reasons for developing this covert type of language policy were political and economic. STUDY III reveals how the language ideological debate in Denmark has not led to passing a general language act, as the main argument for passing one was to safeguard the status of Danish against the spreading importance and use of English, and the liberal government at that time did not conceive of English as a threat, but rather as a positive tendency that should be supported (STUDY V). The other part of the language ideological debate was, however, about immigrants' right to maintain and develop their mother tongues. This debate started in Denmark in the 1990s and reached its peak under the former liberal-conservative coalition, supported by the populist right-wing

Danish People's Party. The language ideological debate led to an amendment to the Basic Schools Act in 2002, which made it no longer obligatory for local municipalities to support classes in the mother tongue. The political coalition also enacted several other amendments to laws – mainly initiated by the populist Danish People's Party – concerning the status of immigrant languages, and the acquisition of Danish as a second language in pre-school child care institutions and in basic and lower-secondary schools. The new political agenda was supported and strengthened by language ideological debates in the media, giving a boost to the spread of the general negative public discourse on bilingualism (i.e. in Danish and immigrant languages), depicting it as a deficiency and a sign of lacking resources and low social status, while, in contrast, having English as one's second language remained a symbol of status, higher social class and better opportunities in the labour market (STUDY V).

In contrast to Denmark, the reasons for developing a rather overt and "thick" type of language policy in Estonia were sociolinguistic, ideological, demographic and economic. A language policy was enacted and its main features developed during the revolutionary period preceding and succeeding the restoration of independence in 1991 (STUDY I). After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Estonia was left with a large number of Russians speakers (approx. one-third of the population), a result of heavy immigration in the Soviet period of factory workers to Estonia from the territory of Russia. The Russian-speaking population was, and still is, concentrated in the former industrial cities in the north-eastern corner of the country and in some parts of the capital city, forming compact Russian-speaking enclaves and turning the task of linguistic integration into a regional, social and structural challenge. Besides having a high symbolic value, deciding the status of Estonian as the only official language that could and should be used everywhere in Estonia, the first Language Act passed in 1989 was conceived of as a universal start lever that would, once and for all, reverse the asymmetric bilingualism and linguistic discrimination of the Soviet period. As Smith (2003) points out, the laws passed in the three Baltic States during the 1990s were revolutionary in the sense of being used as instruments of change in the society as a whole. Rather than stabilisation, the aim of those laws was to create distance from the Soviet occupation and linguistic oppression, and to create the basis for stable and democratic states. As outlined in STUDY I, Estonia therefore developed a thick and control-oriented language policy with regulations at the state level and state institutions to carry out the task of language management and control. As a result, language competence, rather than ethnic affiliation, forms the basis for social differentiation in today's Estonia (STUDY IV A and C). Soviet immigrants' lack of competence in Estonian gave language (competence) the function of a symbolic border, or a stand-in-border, for the non-existent state border between Estonia and the rest of the USSR. Requirements of very good competence in, especially, written Estonian in today's labour market indicate

that this function of a symbolic border still exists to some extent (STUDY IV, C).

Brubaker (1998:277) has described the nation-building policies of Estonia and a number of other post-communist states as "nationalising", where the degree of nationalisation depends on to what extent the core nation senses its position as being extremely vulnerable and continuously in need of protection (Korts 2001 and Hallik 2001). The topos of threat, which Feldman (2001) describes as the distinctive endangered disposition of the Estonian identity, and Kalmus (2003) in her analysis of Estonian ethnocentric discourse describes as the "almost minoritised" position of the endangered majority, is also present in the prevailing language ideological discourse, also affecting Southern-Estonian (Võru) language revitalisation initiatives from below, which are "silenced" in public discourse by a reference to the threat from outside (Russia), and by the view that several official languages will weaken the (already weak and threatened) position of Estonian as the only official language (STUDY II, and Koreinik 2011). The discourse of outside threat, especially from Russia, has been an important factor in the genesis of language policy and laws regulating the language area. The fact that, in some towns and parts of Estonia, Russian-speakers were in the majority forced Estonians to pass a citizenship law that made the capacity to master Estonian a condition for Estonian citizenship, to avoid separatism in these regions (STUDY I, and Feldman 2001). In addition, language tests were demanded of people in certain key positions, e.g. teachers, doctors, police personnel and people working in the service sector and public administration. As outlined in STUDY II, The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, which came into force in Estonia in 1998, was ratified in Estonia together with a special declaration according to which Estonia does not recognise Estonian non-citizens as a national minority. Only citizens of Estonia can be treated as such. Furthermore, granting the rights of a national minority (including the right of autonomous self-government and administration of their own schools in the mother tongue) to the Russian-speaking minority would have worked at cross-purposes with the interests of the state in integrating Russian-speakers. Russian-speaking children can, however, still receive education in municipal schools, at the basic and lower secondary levels, with instruction in the Russian language like they did during the Soviet occupation. This is however not a result of conscious planning but rather a lack of political will and ability to make decisions concerning the future of Russian-medium schools.

Secondly, this sub-chapter examines how language (rules) and language problems are explicitly or implicitly interpreted in policy texts:

On the declared ideological level – as stated in the last language political report – there is no need for legislative protection of the status of the Danish language, and the prevailing attitude in Denmark is that language use cannot be regulated by means of penalty (Sprog til tiden 2008, 134). The lack of central

regulations in a language act is also seen as support for the freedom of speech, i.e. every person's right to say what they mean in a language (or sociolect or dialect) of his/her own choice. In the official ideology, there are thus no language problems that require intervention at the state level (STUDY III). The legislative interventions in the use and acquisition of Danish as a second language do not deal with language problems per se, but with integration problems and problems in advancements in education.

In the Estonian language policy, the Estonian language equals the written norm of Estonian, and this is true both in the constitution and in the Language Act, as well as in the Estonian Integration Strategy 2008–2013 and in the Estonian Language Development Plan 2011–2017, which states that there is a need for constant protection of Estonian (as the basis of the Estonian culture and state). Protection of the language norm is discursively and ideologically connected with the topos of threat (to the Estonian state). The Estonian language (norm) thus, during the occupation period (although the process started in the 19th century), gained high symbolic value (Edwards 1985) to the core nation as an ethnic marker, something that belonged to the core nation and should not be spoiled by others (Wright 2012), making the development of a civic nation based on one common (Estonian) language complicated (STUDY I and STUDY IV, C).

Thirdly, I will outline the differences between interpretations of language and language problems in different policy texts:

The assertion that the declared "hands off" and "liberal" language policy in Denmark is not that liberal after all is touched upon in STUDY III, which describes the quick standardisation processes taking place in Denmark. The declared liberal and globalisation-supporting language ideologies in Denmark are further punctured in STUDY V, which analyses the roles of English, Danish and Arabic in the Danish Cartoon crisis. The analysis outlines the contradiction between the market value of a language in the national and global linguistic market, as at the national level the ideological value rather than the market value determines the status of a language. In the seemingly laissez-faire language policy, there are in fact some regulations in the area of language; as outlined in subsequent sections, the existing regulations are in some ways even more far-reaching concerning the private vs. public sphere. Furthermore, regulations in the area of language status and acquisition previously existed or were enacted under the government that opposed adopting a language law (outlined in the subsequent section).

In Estonia, the topos of threat is in legal and regulative texts inextricably interwoven, and in language management (STUDY IV, C) is connected with the view that the language (norm) has to be kept "unspoilt", with the growing number of non-Estonians using the Estonian language being explicitly seen as a threat (among many) to the survival of the norm. Russian-speakers have adopted the view that they should not use Estonian unless they do it very well

(not making grammatical mistakes or speaking with an accent), which has become a serious obstacle to linguistic integration. The Integration Strategy explicitly states a contradictional proposition, that competence in the Estonian language is both a prerequisite and an outcome of successful integration. As mentioned above, legally and ideologically binding the Estonian language to (the survival of) the Estonian ethnic culture makes the development of a civic state based on one common inter-ethnic language (Estonian) a complicated task.

Finally, I will outline how this interpretation of language (rules) is connected to the specific settings mentioned above that have influenced the genesis of the language policy.

The specific sociolinguistic, historical and demographic settings – both Danish language political reports from 2003 and 2008 state that the Danish language is not in a threatened position – certainly are correlated to the declared and overt language ideology in Denmark, where the choice of a language is a question of freedom of speech, and sanctioning in the area of language is seen as unnecessary. This interpretation (and the fact that no separate language act exists) can thus be related to the situations mentioned. Certain changes in political power constellations in 2001–2012 have, however, led to assimilative regulations concerning the acquisition of Danish as a second language, the status and acquisition of immigrant languages, and the resulting spread of negative official discourse on bilingualism (STUDY III).

In Estonia, passing the Language Act was, above all, a symbolic act in terms of the status of Estonian as the only official language. The problem was to bring linguistic practices and reality into accordance with ideology. Rather than social integration, active participation in society and self-reliance, the aim was to improve Russian-speakers' language competence. In contrast to Denmark, where in principle everybody who shares the values of a political party can become a member of it (there are restrictions only on those eligible to vote in a general election and on membership in Parliament), in Estonia, according to the constitution, only Estonian citizens may belong to political parties (Appendix, A), making the passing of the language test a prerequisite for active participation in the democratic processes of the society.

The task of cherishing and protecting Estonian (the standard/written norm), explicitly stated in the constitution, Language Act, Language Development Plan and the National Curriculum (Appendix, D, K and L) as the foundation of the Estonian ethnic culture and nation-state, has created the normative paradigm that during the first years of independence gave precedence to the written language and grammar rules in teaching Estonian as a second language: texts were learned by heart and conversational skills were not trained (STUDY I). Language is seen as a prerequisite for successful integration into society and the labour market (Appendix, C), not as a part or result of a successful integration process (STUDY IV, C). The separated school system – a Soviet legacy – at the pre-school, basic and upper secondary school levels, is one of the biggest

challenges of the transition period (Heidmets et. al 2011), but as long as it exists it will contribute to the preservation of the language as a symbolic border.

4.2. Main characteristics of language policy design in Denmark and Estonia

This chapter will analyse policy texts, with the aim of examining how authoritative and allocative resources are distributed among the different agents involved in the implementation of policy. The chapter is divided into sub-chapters according to the institutional situations corresponding to the stages of human life, in order to give a better overview of the agents involved at different levels and the resources available to them.

4.2.1 Pre-school child care institutions, basic schools and lower secondary schools

In Denmark, the language of instruction at the pre-school and basic school levels is Danish, with the exception of the language of instruction in the German minority basic schools, which is German. However, the Minister of Education can, in special cases, allow the language of instruction in a free or private basic school to be other than Danish (Appendix, L and M). The Danish school system has, at the pre-school and basic school levels, traditionally been characterised by decentralization: the Minister of Education sets the target subjects and the guidelines for curricula, and organises leaving examinations (the examinations were optional until 2007), but municipalities and schools themselves decide how to reach the targets. This was changed in 2006 due to Danish pupils' poor results, especially in reading and science, on PISA[7] 2000. While the Danish school system can be characterised as having a great deal of freedom and responsibility at the institutional level, with the frames of control and demands set quite loosely (indicating state-signalled trust in schools' ability

[7] The PISA programme (Programme for International Student Assessment) was established as a collaboration between the governments of the OECD member countries to measure how well young people are prepared for the challenges they face in today's information society. The hallmark of the PISA test is that it does not assess competences based on the contents of specific curricula, but instead focuses on how well young people can use their skills in relation to real-life challenges.

Sixty-five countries participated in the fourth round of PISA, "PISA 2009", and, as in previous rounds, the results from PISA include three academic areas – referred to as domains in the survey – that cover *reading, mathematics and science.* In PISA 2009, as in PISA 2000, reading is the main domain, and is therefore studied in most detail. PISA attaches importance to assessing students' abilities to reflect on their skills and experience, and to complete tasks related to their own lives. This includes assessing students' abilities to "read between the lines", to understand an implied message, and to evaluate perspectives in a social context (Egelund, Nielsen and Rangvid 2011, 115)

to deal with their tasks individually), the poor PISA results changed the picture regarding greater control of school achievement, including these tests, which had not been used before.

The PISA results also demonstrated rather substantial differences between native and immigrant pupils: 15 per cent of native and 51 per cent of ethnic minority pupils, according to the test, lacked functional reading competences. The results invoked debate among educators, politicians and the public, since Denmark has one of the highest levels of educational expenditures per capita for primary and lower secondary education in the EU. One of the weaknesses pointed out as a possible explanation for the poor results was that there was no culture of evaluation (no grades or exams are given until the end of folkeskole) and that insufficient attention is paid to reading and language problems, especially at the pre-school level. A new PISA for ethnic minority children was carried out in 2009, and the results demonstrated that approximately one-third of the reading score gap was due to the immigrant students' socio-economic backgrounds (Egelund, Nielsen and Rangvad 2011). Supported by changes in the political agenda after 2001, and the resulting general negative attitudes towards bilingualism and bilinguals in the official discourse and media (STUDY III), amendments were made to the pre-school and basic school acts in 2006.

The local municipality is now the main agent responsible for making sure that all children are prepared to start school, which includes the task of offering the screening of Danish language competence to all three-year old children in and outside of day care, while the language screening of bilingual children is obligatory at the start of day care (at the age of three), at the beginning of pre-school, at the age of five or six, and during basic school, usually in the 4th and 7th forms, in order to ensure that children have sufficient language skills in Danish to keep up with their studies. If needed, extra classes in Danish as a second language are offered. Since there was a clear positive correlation between, especially, ethnic minority students' poor reading skills and their parents socioeconomic situations, a further step was taken regarding legislation, which also had an impact on the parents' situation. Parents are not only involved in language screening and instructed in how they can stimulate their children's language development, but the local municipality has the responsibility of informing parents whose children do not attend day care about the opportunity to place their children in day care (Appendix, L). The local municipality's role as the central agent in solving the problem of linguistic integration includes the responsibility of offering support (allocative resources, i.e. know-how and feedback to parents) and control, expressing the state's distrust in bilingual children's parents' capability of supporting their children's integration sufficiently.

Furthermore, the parents' employment situation is included in the evaluation of a child's situation and stimulation needs. Parents are also obliged to let their children participate in language screening and language stimulation classes. If

parents themselves want to attend language stimulation classes, they are obliged to inform the local municipality about it in written form, including, as minimum information, who will attend language stimulation, which children will participate in language stimulation and where it will take place. The municipal council is in charge of controlling and inspecting the language stimulation classes attended by parents (Appendix, N). Since the PISA Ethnic 2009 also demonstrated that school settings also have an impact on students' reading skills – both native and ethnic minority students attending schools with 40% or more bilingual students achieve significantly lower scores on the PISA reading test, compared with native students who attend schools with fewer than 10% bilingual students – yet another amendment was made to the basic and lower secondary school act in 2009.

The Minister of Education can, in setting the rules for instruction in Danish as a second language for bilingual children, also dispense with § 36, stk. 2 and 3 in cases where a child at the start of school is assessed to have a not inconsiderable need for language support, and when there is a pedagogical need to refer the child to a different school than the local district school. In the capital of Denmark, the "Copenhagen Model" (*københavnermodellen*) was launched by the municipal authority in order to reverse the disturbing tendency of a growing concentration of bilingual children in a number of municipal primary and lower secondary schools in certain "ghetto" areas.

The local municipality offered bilingual children the opportunity to attend basic schools in different catchment area schools. The municipality, at the same time, offered schools resources to attract "monolingual" children from "socio-economically advantaged" Danish-speaking families[8]. The Copenhagen municipality made a plea to these families, asking them to do "a favour" for the bilingual families and send their children to the public schools, instead of sending them to private schools with fewer bilingual pupils, as was the tendency at the time.

As far as I know, no scientific studies have been conducted in the area, but there are indications that Danish parents still avoid schools with high concentrations of bilinguals. It is, however, important to note that in 2006 an amendment was made to the Private and Free Schools Act (Appendix, M), where it was for the first time explicitly stated that Danish was the language of instruction in free and private schools, with the exception of German minority schools. In addition, both the school board and the school principal have to have a good command of both written and oral Danish. Private and free schools had, prior to that time, enjoyed a great deal of freedom, but by the end of the 1990s a number of private schools for Arabic-speaking children were opened, in the

[8] In Denmark, children are divided between schools at primary and lower secondary levels according to school geographical cachement areas, but there are a considerable number of private schools and free-schools where admission is not connected to where you live.

public discourse also mockingly called "Koran schools", and the new regulation on language use (in instruction) was mainly oriented towards these schools.

These initiatives regarding legislative interventions at the state level into schools' and local municipalities' responsibilities, and the local municipalities' new role as an agent to control the child's private sphere indicate a change in the previous hands-off, decentralised approach to pre-primary and basic education. Amendments made to the Pre-school and Primary and Lower Secondary Schools Act, with restrictions in one of the language political areas, language acquisition, clearly indicate that Denmark has developed a control-oriented language policy (Holmen and Jørgensen 2010), in spite of the declared liberal attitude toward language matters (Sprog til tiden 2008, 128). A new culture of stronger state intervention and control/assessment requirements in pre-primary and primary-lower secondary education has been introduced, sending a clear signal of a lack of confidence in schools and in parents' competences, and at the same time providing a boost to the official negative discourse on bilingualism. Interventions consisting of obligatory Danish language screening, starting from age three and lasting through the primary and lower secondary school, are supposed to effectively eliminate the disturbing impact of the ethnic minority culture and home language, and guarantee smooth integration into society, higher education and the labour market.

However, as Choudhry (2009) has stated, this level of education is also about the survival of the language (and culture) of minorities. The question that remains is what the cost has been. While there is clearly a need in Denmark for people with good skills in immigrant languages (speakers of Arabic language as the largest group) in the globalising world, there have been no systematic studies of ethnic minority children's competence in their mother tongues, nor have initiatives been undertaken to support their acquisition of better skills in their mother tongues (STUDY V). For the moment, it seems that the instrumental arguments (bilingual children's achievement at school) have effectively silenced the ideological debate in the area, or that the lack of a language ideological debate has made it possible to present the mentioned interventions as mainly instrumental. In Sweden, a heated ideological debate led to passing a language act that supports the preservation and acquisition of immigrant languages (Språklag 2009 § 14, Milani 2008). The Danish instrumental solution of intervention at an early age, involving agents on the lower (local municipality and school) levels and allocation of resources for both support to and control of the fulfilment of the task, seems to be a frighteningly efficient tool of assimilation or linguicism[9].

[9] For more discussion on this type of subtractive language learning and more broadly on linguistic human rights and arguments for and against mother-tongue-based multilingual education see Skutnabb-Kangas 2011 and Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty 2008. Skutnabb-Kangas has several decades advocated for a more nuanced view on minority children school achievement. She underlines that counterarguments against mother tongue based multilingual education are usually political and not research-based.

Estonia differs considerably from Denmark in terms of stages of human life, levels of legal and implementational intervention, and allocation of resources. Estonia inherited separate schools for Estonian children with Estonian as the language of instruction and for Russian-speaking children with Russian as the language of instruction, as a Soviet legacy, in 1991. Today, the separate schools system at the pre-school, basic school and (de facto) upper secondary school levels still exists, why they can in no way be perceived as an example of mother-tongue based multilingual education. Rather, they are a sad example of segregation or subtractive language learning (Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty 2008). The future of the "Russian schools" is a sensitive political topic, as it cannot be solved separately from the question of regional development, since the schools mainly lie in the "Russian enclaves" in the north-eastern corner of Estonia and are therefore part of the distinctive demographic and structural features of post-communist Estonia. As was stated by the Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG) responsible for language policy in South Africa – language policy is an integrated part of the general social policy (www.polity.org.za/polity/govdocs/reports/langtag.html). What superficially seems to be a question of the language of instruction is at a deeper level a demographic, social and economic question (STUDY IV A). Although the overall ideological and political guidelines have been made clear for decades now, political struggles, a lack of necessary resources and the involvement of agents at lower (local municipality and school) levels have been important obstacles to solving the problem.

The Pre-school Child Care Institutions Act and Private Schools Act reflect an understanding that Russian-speaking children with Russian as their home language attending pre-school children's institutions for Russian-speaking children are not to be prepared to start school in Estonian basic schools. The act states that although the language of instruction in all pre-school child care institutions is Estonian, educational activities in other languages than Estonian are permitted with the approval of the municipal council. In a child care institution, or in one of its groups where educational activities are not carried out in Estonian, the study of the Estonian language is allowed on the basis of the National Curriculum for Pre-school Child Care Institutions, which guarantees language instruction in the Estonian language to all children whose home language is not Estonian, starting from the age of three (language immersion methods may be used from the age of five). The law does not specify what happens to those children who do not attend pre-school child care institutions, since pre-school education can also be attained at home §2 (1), and kindergarten teachers are obliged to instruct only those parents in the institution's catchment area whose children do not attend the institution who apply for instruction § 22(3) (Appendix, N). The tendency over time has been that the more proactive and socioeconomically conscious parents are, the more they are concerned with the future possibilities of their children and their opportunity to attend higher education (in Estonian), and the more they take their own

precautionary measures, sending their children to Estonian pre-school child care institutions (EIM, Siiner and Vihalemm, 2013).

Although state acts control administration (§28), the language skills of personnel (Language Act, §2 (1) and children's advancement according to the goals set by the national curriculum, no specific and overall control of bilingual pre-school children's language competencies is carried out. Attending or not attending a pre-school institution is not always a question of free choice, since, especially in rural areas and in the capital, it can be difficult to find a place in a pre-school institution within a reasonable distance of the child's home. But, in spite of that, compared to the Danish model, parents in Estonia are given more responsibility for dealing with the problem of linguistic integration, having to decide for or against day care and which type. By leaving the responsibility to parents, there can be, compared to Denmark, a disadvantage for kids from less socio-economically advanced families or families living in areas with only a few options to choose from. This seeming freedom of individual choice and action, combined with a lack of control, can be a serious problem for both the children and the whole society, as no support is offered to parents who do not have the necessary resources to solve the task (Appendix, D).

As stated in the Basic Schools and Upper Secondary Schools Act (Appendix, L), at the basic school level, the language of instruction can be other than Estonian. In a municipal basic school or in single classes thereof, on the basis of a decision by the council of the rural municipality or city government, relying on a proposal of the board of trustees of the school, and in a state basic school or in single classes thereof, the language of instruction may be any language, on the basis of a decision by the Minister of Education and Research. In a school or class where the language of instruction is not Estonian, it is compulsory to teach Estonian as a second language beginning in the first grade. A Russian-speaking child who has not attended any institution before the start of school, or has attended a Russian pre-school child care institution, may start in a basic school with Russian as the language of instruction (at least 60% of subjects taught in the language) and can, according to §23 of the National Curriculum for Basic Schools, graduate from basic school when she has scored at least a satisfactory score on the examination in Estonian or Estonian as a second language (Appendix, L). Estonian as a second language is, furthermore, taught as a language subject (replacing a foreign language at the B-level, leaving Russian-speaking pupils behind Estonian pupils in terms of competence in two foreign languages, cf Framework Strategy for Multilingualism), not as a competence for successful participation in society.

There are no strict requirements for competence in Estonian for teachers in basic schools with Russian as the language of instruction. The picture is different at the upper secondary level, where the teachers are supposed to be able to teach their subjects in Estonian. There is, in general, less specific control of bilingual children's advancement in terms of their overall linguistic integration. For Russian-speaking children attending Estonian-medium schools, no special

control of their general linguistic integration is exercised either, as they are supposed to attend Estonian language classes along with Estonian mother tongue pupils. According to the Basic and Upper Secondary Schools Act §17 (1), classes in Estonian as a second language in a school with Estonian language instruction are not obligatory for pupils with a different mother tongue, but are organised by the school only with the consent of the pupil or, in the case of a pupil with limited legal capacity, with the consent of the pupil's parents, leaving it to the pupil or parents rather than to the school to decide what is necessary. The state's lack of control can also be seen in the fact that no teachers for Russian-medium basic schools have been educated in the last 20 years, and since many of the present-day teachers in those institutions are approaching retirement age, this leaves open the question of the future of Russian-medium basic schools (Appendix, K and L).

Those facts have to be weighed against the general tendencies in the Estonian education system. Due to the low birth rate in the early 1990s, the overall number of schoolchildren in general schools (grades 1–12) has been decreasing. An especially steep decline in the number of pupils has occurred in Russian-medium schools, which have almost been reduced by half: of more than 100 schools with Russian as the language of instruction in the 1990s, only 61 were left in 2010 (EIA, 101–103). This happened due to several factors: a portion of the Russian-speaking population left for Russia in the early 1990s (mainly military personnel and their families), there was an even lower birth rate among Russian-speakers than among the native population, and the decline was partly a result of the policies promoting wider usage of the state language as the language of instruction at the primary and secondary levels. At the same time, a rather small percentage of basic school leavers of Russian-medium schools have continued their education in vocational education (less than 30 per cent) and the number has been decreasing, making the number of early education leavers (young people aged 18–24 who have not completed secondary education) rather high (14 per cent, EIA, 102). The number of vocational schools has also been decreasing (from 91 in 1996 to 51 in 2009). The majority of the closed schools have been in rural areas. There is a need for further studies to focus on whether and to what extent this tendency is related to the Russian-speaking school-leavers' poor competence in Estonian.

4.2.2. Upper secondary schools and vocational schools

No Danish law establishes the language of instruction in Danish gymnasiums or in vocational schools. With the exception of the International Baccalaureate schools, the language of instruction at upper secondary, professional higher education and vocational schools is Danish. As can be seen from the last language political report (Sprog til tiden 2008, 32–35), and the existing legislation covering the area (Appendix), the main concern is – in a continuation of the problems at the primary and lower secondary levels – poor Danish and

English skills, especially among students in vocational training (mainly due to there being few language classes on the schedule). Another worrying tendency is the fact that competence in English is outmatching competence in all other foreign languages at all levels of secondary and higher education studies (Sprog til tiden 2008, 34). With reference to A New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism – the official EU language strategy – and the Bologna Process, the Language Policy Report sees this as an obstacle for student mobility and for Denmark's competitive position in the global market (ibid., 32). The language report also stresses the importance of good foreign language skills to guarantee that school graduates are well equipped for labour market needs (Sprog til tiden 2008, 66), thus emphasising the clear conceptual link between upper secondary and professional higher education and the labour market. There is no state intervention concerning language of instruction or language acquisition in that area, except for the national curriculum, which establishes the framework and goals for studies and evaluation criteria.

Estonia has the strongest socio-economic differentiation along ethnolinguistic lines in the Baltic states and language is still a barrier in applying for higher education for Russian-speaking students graduating from upper secondary schools (EIA, 134). This development has its roots partly in the Estonian school system. Estonia has by and large maintained the separate school system inherited from the Soviet times for Estonian and Russian-speaking children at the pre-school, basic and (de facto) upper secondary levels (since the original plan of using Estonian as the main language of instruction in Russian-speaking upper secondary schools by 2007 has been postponed several times). Estonian language instruction is, as stated in the previous section, compulsory at the basic level, as it is seen as necessary for graduates to be able to continue their studies in Estonian at the next level of education (upper secondary, or professional higher and vocational schools). Estonia has the lowest completion rate of vocational training in the Baltics (EIA, 102), and there are high prejudices concerning vocational training: only nine per cent of parents recommend vocational schools to their children (Kutseharidus 2008, 65). At the same time, the completion rate of upper secondary schools in Estonia is the highest in the Baltics (82 per cent in 2008, EIA). Upper secondary school is, in contrast to basic school, also subject to considerable language political intervention and control.

According to the Act on Basic and Upper Secondary Schools, the language of instruction at the upper secondary level is Estonian for all students who commence their studies in an upper secondary school as of the academic year 2011/2012 (subsection 21 (3) of this act). The state Language Inspectorate exercises control over the compliance of the level of Russian-medium school teachers' competence in the Estonian language according to the requirements stated in the Language Act. The responsibility for solving teachers' language problems are mainly delegated to schools' leadership, who are not always very competent in handling this responsibility (EIA, 132). Besides language skills,

teachers also feel ill-equipped to teach in Estonian due to ethnic sensitivity regarding some topics in history and social studies (ibid). Although the national curriculum for upper secondary schools provides for the preservation of students' ethnicity and cultural backgrounds, all students at the upper secondary level in Estonia share the responsibility of safeguarding and developing the Estonian nation, language and culture (§ 3).

Local governments in Tallinn and Narva have requested that the Estonian government continue Russian-medium instruction in four upper secondary schools in Narva and 10 upper secondary schools in Tallinn, referring to §37 of the constitution, which states that the language of instruction in national minority educational institutions shall be chosen by the educational institution. Their request was rejected by the government with reference to the law that prescribes a transition to Estonian-medium education in all upper secondary schools[10]. Two of the schools have closed their upper secondary school sections and are today only basic schools, and the third school has closed applications for the 10th grade. Delegating the task to solve the problem (transition to Estonian-medium education) to schools and teachers, without at the same time supplying them with the necessary allocative resources, support and opportunity for dialogue, seems to have led to an "efficient" way of getting rid of the problem of Russian-medium schools, at least at the upper secondary school level. Unfortunately, the disagreements between schools, local municipalities and the state, and politicians' lack of willingness to make unpopular decisions have moved the main focus away from the core of the problem: how schools can equip Russian-speaking students with the necessary competence to become self-supporting and active members of the Estonian society.

4.2.3. Higher education and professional training

The committee behind the last Danish language political report expressed a desire to make amendments to existing legal documents only in a few areas, one of them being higher education. The report recommended amendments to the Danish Act on Universities, in order to safeguard the continued development of Danish for specific purposes and of Danish terminology, and to harmonise the legislation with the government's language policy (Sprog til tiden 2008, 154). However, other committee members stated that issuing recommendations, along with a careful monitoring of the linguistic developments in universities and other institutions of higher education, was sufficient at that stage, signalling that there was a general respect for universities' autonomy and trust in their capacity to deal with problems. It's was also left up to university boards to decide in which language instruction would take place. The committee highly recommended that

[10] Resolutions passed at the government session on 22 December 2011: http://valitsus.ee/et/uudised/istungid/51162/valitsuse-22.12.11-istungi-kommenteeritud-päevakord

all universities develop their own language policies in order to safeguard the position of Danish as the language of science and to offer both students and the academic staff at universities the means to evaluate and improve their academic English skills (Sprog til tiden 2008, 55). As indicated in the Appendix, the Copenhagen Business School and Copenhagen University have approved their language policies as part of the overall strategy for internationalisation (Appendix, I). Language policies mainly establish how students can, on a regular basis, be offered feedback on the quality of their English; their papers on various topics are also occasionally evaluated in terms of the quality of their written English. The evaluation states the level of their English competence and suggests what can be done to gain higher levels. English courses at different levels are offered on a regular basis for students. In 2008 the Board of the University of Copenhagen decided to establish a Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use, with the aims of contributing to the further internationalisation of the university and the continuation of a language policy based on the parallel use of Danish and English (STUDY III). Recent studies reveal that the threat of Danish domain loss in science and academic teaching is rather exaggerated (Madsen 2008), and the main concern is to improve both students' and lecturers' English, as university language policies are also influenced by market forces and demand for courses in English (Phillipson, forthcoming). Recent studies have been analysing the developments of internationalisation in the natural sciences at Copenhagen University, where language policy aims at ensuring a balance between studying, teaching, and publishing in a national language and in international languages, revealing that this means mainly English (Harder 2009).

According to the Adult Education Act (1993), adult education in Estonia consists of formal education (gymnasiums), professional education and non-formal education (popular adult education). Another characteristic of the current Estonian educational landscape is the considerably increased number of institutions of higher education (a nearly 50% increase from 1994 to 2009), mainly due to the large number of private schools of higher education that were established during the first half of the 1990s, a time of rapid liberalisation in the whole educational system: the number of students in state universities has during the same period been reduced almost by half. The success of the free market on higher education (in spite of a number of bankruptcies) is understandable, since education seems to be the best guarantee of securing a job: the stability and dynamics of employment of people with higher education is even more obvious in Estonia than in the rest of Europe (EIA, 104). However, there are still language-based and regional barriers to access to higher education. In the late 1990s there was a step-by-step "returning of the state", with the elements of centralised regulations and strategic planning leading at the beginning of the 21st century to more intense harmonisation of Estonian education with European standards and frameworks. Although universities and other institutions of higher education in Estonia are characterised by considerable

autonomy, several of them using English as the language of instruction in parts of their curricula, in the case of Katariina College initiatives taken on the university (institution) level to solve the problem of the language barrier for higher education for students with insufficient Estonian competences to follow instruction in Estonian were turned down by the state (which did not accredit the curriculum) after the state advisory Language Council had intervened, pointing out that this would work at cross purposes with the goals of the Integration Act and Language Act, deepening the segregation of education systems based on language.

4.2.4. Labour market and adult education

There are two ways to access the Danish labour market: through the formal education system, described above, and through adult education for those who have arrived in Denmark as adults. Foreigners who have recently arrived in Denmark, are over the age of 18 and have a valid residence permit and a Danish social security number (CPR), or who fall under the rules regarding freedom of movement, are entitled to up to three years of Danish language tuition in one of the three Danish language programs: Danish Language Level 1–3, (assignment to a level depends on the learner's educational background and estimated learning speed). Language Level 2 ends with the state-controlled "Dansk Prøve 2". Passing this test allows a student to apply for a permanent residence permit. The test also gives students access to upgrade their skills through Preparatory Adult Education (FVU) and Adult Education (VUC). The purpose of Danish Language Level 2 is to make students able to get jobs and work actively as citizens in Denmark. Tuition also qualifies students to take part in qualifying courses or vocational training. Completing Danish Language Level 3 mainly provides students with the competence to complete higher education in Danish. For those foreigners who have already completed language school but would like to improve their reading, writing and spelling, Danish classes are available as part of Preparatory Adult Education (FVU) for adults with different ethnic backgrounds. Courses, textbooks and other resources are free of charge, and those attending second language courses are usually entitled to receive social welfare support while studying (although there are certain restrictions for receiving public economic assistance during the first years of stay, as being self-supporting is a prerequisite to apply for family reunification and permanent living permission; see Lov om aktiv socialpolitik 2012, §3 (4) and Integrationsloven 2010). In most cases, immigrant students of Danish are also required to do vocational practice in order to develop their language skills in a work-based context.

The main purpose of classes in Danish as a second language is to contribute to the fulfilment of the individual integration plan made according to each immigrant's previous qualifications and experiences, and to guarantee that the individual gains the necessary competence in Danish and knowledge of the

Danish society to participate and contribute to the society actively and equally with other members (Appendix, C). If the immigrant does not attend his/her Danish classes regularly and systematically enough, and during the planned time-period (§ 4, stk. 2), the local municipality is entitled to warn the immigrant of the possible consequences of lacking competence in Danish.

In 1999 a new law was passed, the Act on Danish as a Second Language Courses for Adult Foreigners, with the aim of shifting the responsibility for the quality of Danish courses from county authorities (*amt*) to local municipalities (*kommune*), the latter having responsibility both for integration and Danish courses for immigrants, and in that way being able to secure quality and coherence between the efforts to improve integration, education (which remains in the competence of local municipalities), Danish competence and employment (Strukturkommissionen 2003: 19). Integration is therefore primarily seen as integration into the labour market, where both private and public companies are seen as important partners in accomplishing this task (Appendix, C). The other important change was the passing of the new law on Danish courses for adult immigrants, where the monopoly of language schools in the area of teaching foreigners Danish as a second language was abrogated, so that Danish classes could be offered by other educational or municipal institutions. Local municipalities are now in charge of both integration (in the labour market) and education (including Danish as a second language courses for adults) (Appendix, C).

This is a clear sign of decentralisation tendencies, sending a signal that integration, both linguistic and in the labour market, is best solved locally, and that socioeconomic integration is part and parcel of linguistic integration. Offering language training at different levels and in job-related situations (e.g. "kitchen Danish" or "medical Danish") makes it more relevant and rewarding to study the language. The conviction regarding the appropriateness of solving integration problems locally can also be detected in the latest language report, where the following recommendations are included (Sprog til tiden 2008, 66): all important/vital information (about contracts and security matters) for employees with a lack of or poor competence in Danish should be translated into the mother tongue, and all foreign employees should be offered courses in the Danish language; The language situation should also be included as part of the workplace risk assessments carried out by The Danish Working Environment Service; where relevant, corporate language policies should be adopted concerning the use of different languages in the work place.

Many Danish companies that operate internationally have already adopted their own language policies. The Danish multinational corporation Vestas Wind Systems A/S has officially decided that the corporate language is English and has, as a result, composed an English Language Guide for the use of its employees. This has led to an enormous development in the spread of English in recent years, since it has become "acceptable to write in English to both international business partners but also to a Danish colleague. The English

language, however, is the second language for many Vestas employees. The Language Network has therefore prepared a language guide which is intended as a tool to help our colleagues with their English communication. This has led to considerable improvement of written documentation in English. There is however, still a need for local languages when it comes to written documentation like for example safety instruction" (Isager 2009, 36).

The successful Danish multinational pump manufacturer Grundfos has also published a corporate language policy, called *In other words ...*. Grundfos' corporate policy on communication states that: "High quality is therefore the only acceptable level of language and communication". Furthermore, it is stated in the handbook that Grundfos needs a common corporate language and this language is British English. British English has been chosen because it is taught in schools in many countries in which Grundfos companies operate. English being Grundfos' corporate language does not involve English being spoken or written in all situations in the company. On the contrary, Grundfos attaches great importance to being close to its customers and their culture and language, and thus local languages are spoken and written in the respective countries. The central message of the handbook, high language quality, applies not only to English but to all languages. This document was written by a team of language and communication workers, the "Language Group", and was targeted, as the introduction states, at "all Grundfos' employees who write English regularly or often". Three operative areas were identified to enhance this process: 1) tools, mainly such computer programmes as the electronic dictionary MultiTerm and WebTranslate TermBase, 2) people, involving education and language training, but also guidelines for the writing process, and 3) the organisation itself, meaning reorganising teams and the physical design of the office-space (Simonsen 2009).

COWI, the leading international consulting firm in the fields of engineering, environmental science and economics, has also adopted its own language strategy, stating: "Language is image, and the way we write and speak shows who we are. An organization which is able to adapt its use of language to its values and communicate clearly gains credibility. COWI's communications agency helps customers bring their message across, targeting the message to the intended groups. In order to guarantee that readers understand and act on a message, COWI's communications agency carries out language and communication checks and adapts our customers' texts to suit their image, in terms of style as well as contents. Understanding is also about clear communication and clear public speaking", which COWI's communication agency also teaches. They teach presentation techniques, focusing on improving the speaker's vocal pitch, non-verbal communication and also awareness of language as a tool and how to use it in different contexts (Communication policy, www.cowi.com).

As those three examples indicate, language is defined not only as a system of grammar, but also deals with the challenges of managing multilingualism, communication and the company's image. In the labour market, where the

instrumentality of language is tantamount, the agency given to companies, in regard to internal regulation of language use, status and acquisition, helps them to find locally working solutions for factual communication problems as part of their overall image and PR strategies. However, as the latest research seems to indicate, such guidelines on the local level may have only a limited effect (Isager 2009).

In regard to adult lifelong education, Estonia is still far behind its northern neighbours: only one-third as many adults participated in adult education of at least four weeks in 2008 (EIA, 104). At the same time, the percentage of the labour force without professional training is approximately one-third (EIA, 109). Adult education in Estonia is, in general, not financed through the state budget, and as indicated by research the cost of learning is one of the main reasons for not participating in adult education. To participate in courses a participant has to pay or the payment is made by employers. At the end of last year, the effort to develop a new financing scheme for adult education started. The goal is to find a scheme that supports in-service training and retraining of adults and motivates entrepreneurs to train their employees. This scheme should include three paying parties: learners, employers and the state. According to the results of the international survey "Adult training in enterprises", conducted in 2000, this type of financing system was especially costly for small companies: they lacked the financial resources necessary for training, and faced difficulties in finding substitutes for the employees participating in training courses.

The financing of continuing education and retraining opportunities in vocational education institutions and institutions of professional higher education providing vocational education was started in 2007 with the resources of the European Social Fund (ESF) and state funds. The free training courses offered by the state seem to have led to some increase in the proportion of participants in lifelong learning (Adult learning strategy 2009–2013 p 8). One of the goals of the new strategic plan for adult education is to ensure sustainable financing of adult education with state support.

One of the goals of Integration Strategy 2008–2013 is to approve opportunities for adult residents of Estonia whose mother tongue is not Estonian to learn the Estonian language. As part of the development of adult education, the learning of Estonian in the working environmental, expanding opportunities to learn Estonian together with professional training and additional training will be supported. However, as statistics show, the participation rate of non-Estonians in adult education courses is still lower than that of Estonians (7% compared to 11.2% in 2008, Statistics Estonia). The share of participants in lifelong learning in both ethnic groups seems, however, to be increasing. Training will also be given to employers to enhance their awareness and encourage them to employ people whose mother tongue is not Estonian, in order to enrich the working environment and increase efficiency (Appendix, C).

Language requirements are connected with the topos of threat, as the use of and proficiency in the Estonian language of legal persons in private law and

natural persons are regulated if justified for the protection of fundamental rights or it is in the public interest. For the purposes of this act, the public interest means public safety, public order, public administration, education, health, consumer protection and occupational safety. The right of persons to use a foreign language, including the language of national minorities, is ensured in compliance with other acts and international agreements. Measures to support foreign languages are not allowed to damage Estonian (Appendix, D). According to the Adult Education Development Plan 2009–2013, the main bodies for implementing the development plan, in addition to the responsible ministries, other involved ministries (e.g. the Ministry of Finance) and the State Chancellery, are the Association of Estonian Adult Educators ANDRAS, the Estonian Non-formal Adult Education Association, the Estonian Qualification Authority, secondary schools for adults, vocational education institutions and institutions of higher education. The state exercises control over the language competence of personnel in the public sector (including teachers) and, according to the new Language Act, also over visual communication: signs, stamps, advertising, logos and names, contracts, webpages etc. have to be in correct Estonian.

Good competence in the Estonian language is a prerequisite to apply for a permanent living permit in Estonia (Appendix, B), and language competence is seen as a prerequisite for successful integration (Appendix, C). Overall responsibility for the integration strategy used to lie with the Minister for Population and Ethnic Affairs, but now lies with the Ministry of Culture; its implementation is overseen by the steering committee made up of representatives of ministries responsible for th eimplementation of measures of the Integration Foundation, and other stakeholders related to the strategy. Local municipalities' role in meeting integration challenges is thus very weak: so far the role of county-level state organisations and of local governments in the implementation of the state integration policy has been modest and rather incidental. There is no division of roles between the state and local levels, or clear definition of duties or division of measures by regions, which are also not involved in regional activity plans. Even though the regional differences in Estonia in social and economic development and in the ethnic composition of the population have been described in detail, there have been no analyses of the possible ties between them or with other sectors (Appendix, C).

The Integration Strategy 2008–2013 for the first time includes a social economic strategy focusing on the development of a knowledge-based society and lifelong learning. In adult education, major reforms are scheduled, as declared by the Estonian Strategy of Lifelong Learning 2005–2008, the first strategic document setting state goals since 1991. The strategy's goal is to improve adults' opportunities (including the development of a transparent funding system and motivation for participation in formal and informal learning in order to improve knowledge and skills according to individual needs, the needs of the society and of the labour market). The main risk groups are adults

without professional qualifications, school drop-outs, and non-Estonians who don't speak Estonian. The plan to develop the capacity and readiness for work of the risk groups, via rehabilitation, re-socialisation, and teaching Estonian to people with poor language skills, is not fully developed yet.

4.2.5 The solutions offered in language policy design and their correspondence to the process-like nature of language and thus capability of solving the problems stated

The covert type of language policy developed in Denmark and outlined above is at the official language ideological level rather liberal. Rather than protecting the status or corpus of Danish by law, the last language political report recommends campaigns at the state and institution levels in order to maintain the joy of Danish language use, including both the joy of reading books (Sprog til tiden 2008, 28) and the joy of using and experimenting with the Danish language in general (ibid. 97, 106). The Danish Language Council has launched a campaign, "Gang i sproget"[11] (*Let's get language (use) rolling*), with the aim of exciting curiosity about language matters among school-children. There is, however, a discrepancy between the declared ideology and what emerges from the analysis of hidden language political interventions, as outlined above. Besides rapid standardisation tendencies (STUDY III), where only competence in (Copenhagen standard) Danish and English is to be promoted, state interventions, followed by control and sanctions, have begun at the pre-school and primary school levels, levels crucial to cultural and linguistic survival, and linguistic integration. This design, with interventions at an early stage, with a mainly instrumental focus due to the hidden ideological agenda, and the necessary resources of support and control being supplied at the "local" level, makes the intervention effective. However, the aggressive maintenance of monolingual norms in public discourse, supplemented by the negative discourse on bilingualism, may become an obstacle, leaving the area of immigrant language without support, resources or monitoring, which increases the danger of unintended consequences in the area of linguistic integration, as well as economic, political and social developments in the society (STUDY V).

The symbolic status of the Danish language is not explicitly mentioned or stratified by law. The prevailing understanding of language is therefore instrumental and dynamic in the sense that problems have to be solved contextually at different life stages and in close connection with activities that language use is involved in, in the labour market and in universities. In the areas of adult education and the labour market, the lack of regulations at the state level increases the possibility of agency and initiatives at the institutional level, with the state intervening mainly in pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education. Implementation takes place mainly at lower levels: at the local

[11] www.gangisproget.dk

municipality level and the level of institutions (corporations, universities and public institutions). Initiatives "from below", such as corporate language policies and university language policies, mean that the authoritative and allocative resources are to be found at the same levels, making it possible to find a local solution for the local problem contextually. Universities and private companies have taken the initiative to exercise "soft law", using their own resources and therefore being forced to find the best and most effective solutions. Due to local municipalities' strong agency, they also take the initiative to find local working solutions to local problems (e.g. the "Copenhagen model"). Legislative intervention at early stages of life can also lead to penetration into the private sphere (involving bilingual children's families and choice of schools), making the intervention effective: (the lack of) language (competence) is seen in the context of the child's family and social life.

In Estonia, the overall task of language legislation has been to protect the standard language/language norm and the status of the Estonian language, with linguistic integration subordinate to this task. The discourse of threat played a central role in the genesis of language policy and still influences language policy and planning activities. Language regulations were passed quickly, stratifying the rules, norms and requirements for language users; the means to solve problems were applied to corpus planning and control, while strategic planning developed only later. Good competence in Estonian is a prerequisite for jobs in the public sector, in customer-service jobs and in access to education. At the same time – and in spite of the existence of parallel school systems at the pre-primary level and basic school level – the state exercises little control (authoritative resources) and provides little support (allocative resources) at those levels, which is why Russian-speaking youngsters with insufficient language competence, especially among the large percentage of early school leavers in this group, are not prepared. The transition to Estonian as the language of instruction at the secondary school level may be too little and too late to solve the problem. Adult education, including courses that address the group of adult Russian-speakers, is still under development, especially in terms of allocative resources to carry out the task. The allocative and authoritative resources of other, "local" actors, such as local municipalities, work places and educational institutions at all stages of life, are still insufficient or totally lacking. The task of control (authoritative resources) is allocated only at the state level (with the exception of the EU's multilingualism policy and the Bologna process, which to some extent have influenced curriculum planning). The task of solving problems and the distribution of the necessary means (allocative resources) are also carried out solely at the state level. Local municipalities' and institutions' (universities, and private and public companies) involvement is practically non-existent.

The development of language policy in Estonia has taken place from the top down, starting with status planning, closely followed by corpus planning, and supplying authoritative resources to institutions that have the task of managing

and controlling language use. The state has both the authoritative and allocative resources to carry out planning and control. Due to the demographic situation and the topos of threat, the state does not trust local municipalities (especially in areas with high concentrations of Russian-speakers), which are constantly accused in public and political discourse of working against state and official (language) policies. As stated in the latest language development plan, the state lacks allocative resources (to carry out control over language use and requirements) but, due to the central role of the state and strict rules, there has been no room for initiatives "from below" – on the institutional or private company level – to solve language problems. The overt and thick language policy developed in Estonia reflects an understanding of language as a separate and closed entity, a norm, and of language use as alienated from language (the language norm should be protected against diverging uses of the norm). This model has not been successful in developing local or contextual solutions or appropriations for problems depending on the life stages of language users. In spite of the thickness of the policy, the results have thus not been quite as expected.

4.3. An analysis of the flexibility of language policy in Denmark and Estonia

This sub-chapter looks at which areas in different institutional settings (corresponding to stages of human life) are less or not regulated with the aim of examining the "free spaces" in legislation.

The most characteristic feature of language policy design in Denmark is the lack of legal regulation of the symbolic status of the Danish language on the constitutional level (Appendix, A) or in a separate language act. This does not, however, mean that local dialects or immigrant languages are widely used and accepted, as the monolingual norm is fiercely protected and spread via public media and public discourse (STUDY V). Studies reveal, on the contrary, that standardisation processes are more rapid in Denmark than in neighbouring countries. The two languages with the highest market and ideological value are the Copenhagen dialect and English. In Denmark, the areas of less or no regulations are found at the later stages of human life, in institutional settings in secondary and higher education, and in adult education. In some of these institutional settings, "free spaces" are left intentionally, as is the case with universities, which are explicitly advised to pass their own language policies (Appendix, I).

The lack of centralised regulation of language use and status in Denmark has also made it possible for private companies to exercise "soft laws", as many of them have taken the initiative to pass their own language policies that can help them to remain competitive in the global market. Private companies are also

intentionally and explicitly involved in the task of solving the problem of (linguistic) integration, as they are seen to have the necessary allocative resources to solve the task (Appendix, C and F). The problem, however, usually involves employees lacking competence in the common language, English, and the solutions offered are usually courses in English and the availability of language- and term-databases. The absence of state level interventions in Denmark in secondary, higher and adult education, including language use in work places, has given birth to initiatives at the institutional level, but has also led to rapid standardisation processes, the disappearing of dialects (STUDY IV) and the strengthening of the status and spread of the use of English, both at the expense of Danish (in some areas of research, higher education, business, IT etc.) and at the expense of competence in other foreign languages (STUDY V).

Due to historical, political and demographic circumstances, the development of language policy in Estonia has been rapid, developing from the top down (STUDY I and STUDY IV A). With a thick language policy, where the state is both the legislating and implementing agent, there are "holes" in the distribution of necessary allocative and authoritative resources, as the state is incapable of solving the many language problems alone (Study IV, C). Due to strict rules, the state has to exercise control over language use and competence in the labour market, and administer penalties to those who do not comply with the requirements, which is an immense task. The question is whether the state's limited allocative resources could be used differently and more effectively elsewhere (STUDY I and STUDY IV A). Those holes in finding working solutions and necessary resources are neither intended nor unintended, but part of the development of a state infrastructure. Local municipalities' role in, for example, integration is still very weak, the implementation of coherent adult education is still in process and the area is characterised by different agents with allocative resources and mostly private financing by employers (or the individual himself) (STUDY IV, C).

Although the participation of non-Estonians in lifelong learning is considerably smaller than that of Estonians, no specific measures oriented towards this group are mentioned in the new strategy plan for adult learning. The state's intervention at the pre-school and primary school levels is also weak: there is no overall control over bilingual children's language integration (Appendix, L–N). Individuals (bilingual children's parents, unemployed Russian-speakers, teachers in Russian-medium schools and pupils at the basic school level) are, by and large, left with the task of solving the problem of gaining necessary language competence, but without having access to the necessary allocative resources (teacher training, teaching resources, economic means, and the necessary number of schools and classes). Some solutions found at the individual level can create new language problems, as is the case with Russian-speaking parents sending their children to Estonian-medium kindergartens or basic schools. Those schools are not always prepared for the task of teaching Russian-speaking children (Siiner and Vihalemm 2013). Due to the fact that the

rules (regarding language status and use) have been made explicit at the state level (Appendix D), only the state is in possession of authoritative resources, which is why initiatives to find local solutions in local municipalities or institutions have been rejected by the state.

In terms of the status of the national language (norm), monolingual attitudes towards the state language seem to be present both in a country with a thick language policy, where legalisation and implementation take place centrally (Estonia), and in a country with no regulations at the state level concerning language status and use (Denmark) (STUDIES I, III and V). Areas with fewer or no legislative interventions at the state level seem to be open to initiatives at lower levels that seem to be more appropriate for solving language problems contextually and locally, but can, in the case of institutions involved in globalisation and internationalisation processes, such as universities and international corporations, contribute to the spread of the use and confirmation of the high status of English (STUDY V). This is also a general and growing tendency in the labour market elsewhere in Europe (Eurobarometer, Phillipson 2003). Loose regulations or a lack of regulations, and thus no clear division of authoritative and allocative resources in the institutional settings that correspond to early stages of life (pre-school and basic-school), seem to have given a boost to social differentiation/hierarchisation tendencies and disputes among individuals, as this situation leaves the task of a child's advancement to his or her parents, making advancement dependent on parents' socioeconomic background and resources (STUDY IV, C).

Concerning attempts at language political interventions at the meta level, as is the case with the EU's New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism or the Bologna process (which mainly affect the institutional settings at the secondary, higher education and adult education levels), the results depend partly on whether legal regulations and the existing language political discourse on national level conflict or match up with the language political initiatives at a higher level, as the authoritative resources concerning language political interventions in the EU are at the state and not at the meta (EU) level (STUDY II). The success of the strategy depends largely on the allocation of necessary resources at the state level (as reflected in the national curriculum and adult education strategies) and at the school (institutional) level (e.g. the possibility of finding and attracting qualified teachers in other than the state languages and English (STUDY II)). In Estonia, pupils in Russian-medium schools are, according to the national curriculum, offered Estonian as a second language, plus one foreign language, while pupils in Estonian-medium schools are offered classes in two foreign languages during their basic school years (Appendix L).

5. CONCLUSIONS

My conclusions are based on the three sets of research questions introduced in sub-chapter 3.1, which deals with the genesis of (a certain type of) language policy, language policy design (the allocation of resources between different agents), and flexibility in language policy design (the possibility for agency at other than the state level).

What are the demographic, historical, political, ideological, sociolinguistic and other settings that have influenced the genesis of (a certain type of) language policy?

- Passing a general language law is above all seen as a symbolic act safeguarding the status of the state language and language rights, and is tightly bound to the discourse of endangerment, i.e. the leading ideology perceives the status and corpus of the state language as threatened. The need for centralised language management arises in situations where changes in the demographic, historical and political situation give rise to a need to bring linguistic practices and actual situations in accordance with the leading ideology (STUDY I). In nation-states where this ideology is not perceived to be in conflict with the language situation and the state language is not conceived to be in a threatened position, it is not likely that there will be the political will to take this type of symbolic action (STUDY III). High symbolic value connected with the topos of threat may lead to an overt type of language policy where language matters are solved centrally, at the state level. However, since language policy is about more than language, and mostly about politics, passing regulations in the language area seems to depend on political consensus, rather than on the actual language situation (STUDIES III and V).
- In the case of overt and thick language policies, whose genesis has been supported by interaction between historic, cultural, demographic, political and ideological factors, the language law and the state institutions assigned the task of managing language (corpus) are expected to be capable of solving the complicated task of integration, putting linguistic integration at the core of the integration policy (Study IV A, B).
- Analysis of the more covert type of language policy developed in Denmark demonstrates that the laissez faire language policy in a modern nation-state is only apparently liberal, as there are, in fact, some regulations in the language area (STUDIES III and V). Decisions influencing the use, acquisition and status of languages are made in other areas of legislation, such as integration and pre-school and primary education. Since, in the official ideology, there is a prevailing understanding that language problems do not need top-down management and intervention at the state level, the legislative interventions in the areas of use and acquisition of Danish as a second lan-

guage appear overtly instrumental, as they are not solved as language problems per se, but as integration problems and problems of advancement in education (STUDY III).

- It's important to note that both the overt type of language policy, claiming to establish inseparability between language and ethnicity, and the more liberal, covert type of language policy can create a basis for assimilative practices in second language acquisition (STUDIES I and III).
- While the thick and centralised/top-down language policy explicitly states the need to protect the language norm at the expense of dialects and regional varieties (STUDY II), the more covert and apparently liberal language policies seem to have led to similar tendencies of standardisation and a normative view at the state language (the ideal of monolingualism) and those processes have been even more rapid (STUDY III). Both Estonia (overt type of language policy) and Denmark (covert type of language policy) have experienced rapid increases in the use and status of English (STUDIES II and V).

In summary, standardisation processes in modern nation-states take place in countries where the state language is not perceived to be in a threatened position and where there is thus no political will to enact central regulations. In countries where the status of the national language is perceived to be in a threatened position and the language norm is conceived to be in constant need of protection, standardisation is part of active corpus planning activities, which require considerable resources from the state. Both types of language policies however seem to have given a boost to the status and use of English in a number of domains of life. Both language policy types, overt and covert, seem to support assimilative tendencies. In Estonia socio-economically advantaged Russian-speaking parents send their children to Estonian medium kindergartens and basic schools. In Denmark, the overt ideological standpoint is that there is no need for state intervention, while the local municipalities in fact exercise strict control of competence in Danish as a second language from the age of three, also intervening in children's private sphere. At the same time the state no longer supports financially mother-tongue classes for immigrant children (except children from EU countries, whose mother tongue is one of the official EU languages).

What solutions are offered in political documents and how do these solutions correspond to the process-like nature of language as a human activity?

- In the case of overt language policy (Estonia), where the language law was passed as a symbolic act, the state possesses both authoritative resources (control) and allocative resources (practical implementation) for language

management. The centralised and top-down management reflects the view that the state does not trust agents at the institutional and local municipality levels to solve language problems locally, and the state has to use considerable resources to control (authoritative resources) local agents, rather than developing a systematic means of practical implementation (allocative resources) (STUDY I and STUDY IV A).

- Centralised management with a lack of systematic division of necessary allocative resources seems to have given a boost to social differentiation/ hierarchisation tendencies and conflict among individuals and the institutions (schools and local municipalities) that have to take responsibility for solving language problems in situations where control is exercised (by the state) but the means to solve language problems are not systematically allocated (STUDY IV).
- Due to the precedence given to control in the case of an overt language policy, there is a tendency to distribute means to solve language problems (allocative resources) in the main areas of control, not where language-user needs actually exist (e.g. the transition to Estonian as the main language of instruction at the upper secondary level, but not in pre-school child care institutions and at the basic school level) (STUDY IV).
- In the case of a covert language policy (Denmark), where the state has not taken an official position regarding the symbolic status of language(s), the prevailing understanding of language (problems) is instrumental and dynamic in the sense that problems have to be solved contextually at different life stages and through activities that language use is actually involved in: in the labour market, at universities and in local municipalities (STUDIES III and V). In these cases, both authoritative and allocative resources are available at the same level (of local municipalities, corporations or universities).
- The lack of symbolic and ideological affiliation in the legal interventions in language, in the case of a covert language policy, has led to the possibility of more active state intervention and control (exercised by local municipalities), starting at an early age: in pre-school child care institutions and basic schools. This is made possible because the ideological aspects of this intervention – to effectively eliminate the disturbing impact of the ethnic minority culture and home language – remain hidden, while the overtly expressed reasons for the intervention are purely instrumental. Obligatory Danish language screening starting from the age of three and lasting through primary and lower secondary school is necessary to secure minority language children's advancement at school. This has also made possible the intervention into the minority language children's private sphere in solving the language problem, while officially declaring a liberal and hands-off language policy (STUDY III).

In summary, while involving agents at lower than the state level and starting interventions at an early stage of life seems to be a more efficient solution in

solving language problems (e.g. linguistic integration), stratifying the symbolic value/status of the state language may become an obstacle to that solution, since this ideological approach may be open to accusations of assimilation rather than integration. The high symbolic value of the state language also seems to have led to a situation where the state is in possession of both authoritative and allocative resources to solve language problems, blocking initiatives from below to solve language problems contextually, as well as the involvement of other agents at lower than the state level in solving local language problems.

Which institutional settings/what stages of human life are less/not regulated and what are the consequences?

- My studies have revealed that it is important to distinguish between "free spaces", where the state has chosen not to regulate in an area, inviting agents at lower levels to take initiative, and "holes", which are instead the result of structural and economic constraints and unsystematic distribution of allocative resources, and where politicians are unwilling to make decisions that can hurt their standing in public opinion polls. While the "free spaces", leaving space for initiatives "from below", are a result of non-centralised language policies with only limited state intervention, "holes" tend to appear in the case of thick and top-down policies, where the state has a monopoly on defining and solving language problems, but lacks resources to do so (STUDY IV A, STUDY III and STUDY V).
- The consequence of both "spaces" and "holes" is that agency is available at lower levels to solve language problems, and success depends on the agents' access to authoritative and allocative resources (STUDY IV A).
- Interventions in language use and acquisition in the institutional settings surrounding the early stages of life, such as pre-school child care institutions and basic schools, seem to be more efficient since these stages of life are crucial to linguistic integration. Interventions in these institutional settings also address the risk that early school-leavers lack competence in the state language, which may become an obstacle in their future opportunities for social mobility. Mainly focusing on the upper secondary level may lead to a situation where early-school leavers are ignored by politicians and thus problems remain unsolved. It is however important to note, that research indicates that teaching minority children solely through the medium of the dominant language, totally neglecting their mother tongue can as well have negative consequences on tehir school achievement.

In summary, both "free spaces" and "holes" can leave space for agency, i.e. local initiatives for solving problems locally. The success of those initiatives depends on the agents' access to necessary allocative and authoritative resources. While such collective agents as institutions and companies have

better access to allocative resources and seem to be better equipped to solve language problems locally/contextually (if they also possess the authoritative resources to do so), agency at the individual level is likely not to be sufficient to solve complex language problems properly due to the lack of both authoritative and allocative resources. Unsystematic allocation of resources provided to solve language problems may also lead to a sense of responsibility at the individual level and may thus lead to individual agency taken to solve problems. Initiatives at the individual level are usually taken by socio-economically better equipped individuals and may eventually lead to a deepening of social differentiation in the society (STUDY IV).

6. DISCUSSION

The opening question of the dissertation involved the possibility of the success of language political interventions. The question has turned out to be difficult to answer. First of all, the question is closely related to the concept of language policy itself and the way language is conceptualised in it. Secondly, the concept of success itself can be understood both as fulfilment of the explicitly stated task and as a general ability to create a framework (e.g. the distribution of necessary authoritative and allocative resources) for finding working solutions for existing and possible future language problems. Based on the concept of language as practice, rather than as a product or a closed system of norms, I have offered an extended concept of language policy as a process or a spiral, including (agents at) different levels of society and consisting of creation (of a policy), implementation/interpretation and appropriation. This concept offers a better conceptual basis for capturing both the dynamics of language policy and the duality of structure and agency in society.

A close examination of the creation or genesis of language policy revealed that the problem to be solved, and thus the concept of language that the policy is based on, is partly connected with the sociolinguistic, historical, demographic and cultural settings that influence the genesis of language policy (STUDIES I and III). An analysis of the language ideological debate preceding the creation of, or changes in, language policy also revealed that it is the division of political power and allocation of ideological and discursive resources among different agents (both individual agents, such as politicians and language specialists, and collective agents, such as institutions, NGOs, government and local municipalities) that has a decisive influence on whether a separate language act will be passed (STUDY III).

The differences between the language policies in Denmark and Estonia include both the situations that have influenced the genesis of language policy, as outlined in STUDY I and STUDY III, and the type and design of language policy. Besides differences in the historical, demographic, political, economic and other situations that have influenced the genesis of language policy in Denmark and Estonia, an important factor is time. The genesis of language policy in Estonia was rapid, taking place during a short revolutionary period, where power was redistributed by the new national elite and many laws were passed with the revolutionary aim of bringing about change and normalising the language situation. The new language laws passed in 1989 and 1995 were aimed at de-legalising Russian as an official means of communication, and establishing systems of language requirements and control to reach the defined goal: guaranteeing the status of the Estonian language as the only means of official communication (STUDY IV, B). The law included other regulations and development plans, and a number of institutions and agencies were designated to carry out the regulating task. During the Soviet occupation, the high symbolic status of the Estonian language as an ethnic marker emerged, symbolising a

non-existent border between the two language groups, and the Estonian language was, in the political ideology of the new, nationalising state, connected with the very survival of the nation-state. Estonia thus developed a thick, overt, control-oriented and top-down language policy, where the state was the main agent in language policy implementation.

In Denmark, where language political debates (although scattered and mainly about the status of English and immigrant languages) have lasted for decades (STUDY III), no separate language law has been passed, partly due to the demographic and historical situation, as the Danish language is not conceived to be in a threatened position and there is thus no need for a symbolic gesture to position its status in a separate law. Changes in political constellations at the beginning of the 21st century led, however, to several amendments in legislation for pre-school child care institutions and basic schools, concerning language use and acquisition (ibid.). Since the dominant political and ideological situation has been a lack of political will to safeguard the position of Danish or other languages used in Denmark, the regulations passed in the mentioned areas have remained overtly instrumental, and the ideological grounds for passing them have remained hidden. Language policy in Denmark can thus be characterised as "covert" and "thin" (a policy that appears only occasionally in a few regulations).

Another difference between overt (Estonia) and covert (Denmark) language policy seems to be the possibility for agency at other than the state level, i.e. the possibility of finding contextual solutions to local problems. The more top-down and symbolic the language policy, the less free space left for solving language problems locally, or for meeting the contextual needs of language users. "Free space" has been defined by the ethnographic approach to language policy as not top-down implementation, leaving space for local interpretations and appropriations in policy implementation, and thus the possibility of finding local solutions (Hornberger and Johnson 2007). My analysis has revealed that, besides "free spaces", there can also be unintended "spaces" or "holes", i.e. holes in the distribution of authoritative (control) and allocative (means) resources. Those can exist even in the case of a seemingly thick and centrally administrated language policy, as is the case with interventions in pre-school child institutions and basic schools in Estonia. As explained in 4.2.1, these "holes" are a result of structural and economic constraints and politicians' lack of willingness to make decisions that can cost them in public opinion polls. It is important to highlight, in the context of the present introductory cover article, the possible consequences of the lack of regulations (and thus also what politicians think is worth paying attention to) and consequently the insufficient distribution of needed resources to solve language problems at these stages of human life.

The "free spaces", as introduced in sub-chapter 2.2, can thus be both intentional and unintended. It is, however, important to stress that intentional "free spaces", which exist in the language policies at the level in Denmark, can also

have unexpected consequences (e.g. the growing status and use of English in certain subject areas) as a result of structure-agency dualism. The same is true of unintended "holes", where agents at lower levels try to solve problems "locally", solutions leading to further problems. My analysis has indicated that the division of authoritative and allocative resources (i.e. whether the agent who has taken agency to solve the problem also has the necessary allocative resources to do so) is of crucial importance in trying to solve language problems.

In Estonia, socioeconomically advantaged Russian-speaking parents have exercised agency in securing their children's successful linguistic integration by sending their children to Estonian-medium kindergartens or basic schools. This local "solution" at the individual level can create additional problems, since individual parents are not in possession of sufficient allocative resources to solve language problems, because Estonian-medium schools lack the appropriate teaching resources and necessary training for teachers in how to teach Russian-speaking children in classes designed only for Estonian students (Siiner and Vihalemm, 2013). Attempts at agency on the individual level are also a clear sign of the existence of a language problem that has not been solved properly. In the current situation, the state exercises control over children's language competence once they are adults, but does not distribute the necessary means to support their successful acquisition process starting at an early age. Individual language users are left with the responsibility of solving their own problems without having access to the necessary resources. The state, institutions and individuals have different levels of access to allocative resources, which can be discursive, political, intellectual and material.

While Denmark and Estonia seem to have standardisation and normative processes in common, in spite of differences in their language policy genesis and design, the lack of symbolic regulations in Denmark seems to have led to a more instrumental attitude towards legal interventions in the language area. Since Denmark has refused to take an official symbolic position in language status matters, many legal interventions that in fact regulate the status of languages in Denmark are overtly introduced as instrumental solutions to practical problems, as shown in the case of bilingual students' poor results on PISA reading tests. The solutions are therefore instrumental (Edwards 1985) and contextual (which are preceded by studies on the roots and causes of the problem): how can we guarantee that bilingual children are ready to start school? How can we guarantee better advancement for bilinguals in primary education? How can we help immigrants achieve better integration into the labour market? These issues have remained outside of the language ideological debate. The decisions made and arguments supplied are however ideological in the sense that they are part of a broader political agenda (STUDY III). While the latest language political report emphasises immigrant languages and bilingualism as assets, the politicians and media still present bilingualism as a problem (STUDY III and STUDY V). In Estonia, the state language has a strong symbolic value to the core nation, and the discourse/topos of threat is

strongly connected with language legislation, alienating agents at lower levels (local municipalities, institutions and private companies), as language policy becomes solely a matter of the state and of defence. This can be an obstacle in solving many local, ad hoc and contextual language problems, as language policy matters are perceived as solely the business of the state (EIM: 241).

An extended approach to language policy also makes explicit how language as a human activity is ever-present and involved in almost all spheres of human life, and how the language policy areas of language use, status and acquisition are interwoven with other areas of legal regulations connected with securing social justice, economic well-being, political participation, access to education and helping individuals to become self-supportive (STUDY IV A–D). As stated by Jernudd and Nekvapil (2012: 17), concerning policy formation and implementation, language policy is clearly socio-political. The extended concept outlined in 2.5 also demonstrates how language use and acquisition at different stages of human life have to meet different social and psychological needs, and that these stages are interrelated in a cumulative process, where insufficient language acquisition and integration at earlier stages of life can have consequences for opportunities to become socially and economically successful later on. An extended understanding of language policy, based on the concept of language as a human lifelong activity and thus inseparable from language users and their reasons for using language, leads us back to the question of the possibility of success of language political interventions. More precisely, the question arises as to what problems need to be solved and whether language policy alone can solve problems related to linguistic integration, language acquisition etc.

As discussed in STUDY IV A, those questions can have a very strong social security dimension, which requires a comprehensive analysis of the language policy goals and possible impacts of political interventions. The study concludes that language issues are related to the issues of the development of both individuals and the state, as language competence is an important asset that creates preconditions for self-realisation and facilitates self-confidence and assurance (STUDY IV A). Language political interventions based on an understanding of language as a separate entity, the life and survival of which occupies politicians more than the possibility of social justice and mobility in the society, can be a dead end, as this moves the focus away from language users and their reasons for using language in particular ways. The social aspects of language use and acquisition may thus be ignored in political solutions offered to solve language problems. A lack of political will to pass a general language act in order to safeguard language rights, based on a belief that language use cannot be regulated by using a penalty system, may, on the other hand, lead to even more rapid standardisation processes and linguicism supporting the norm of monolingualism, triggered by choices made by individual and collective agents (STUDY III). The ideological aspects behind those choices may however remain hidden or out of focus, as those choices appear to be made mainly for instrumental reasons.

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Liikudes paindlikuma keelepoliitika poole: Eesti ja Taani keelepoliitika mudelite võrdlev analüüs

Kuigi iga riigi kehtiva keelepoliitika juured on minevikus, ulatuvad selle tulemused tulevikku. Kujundades keele kasutamise tingimusi ja võimalusi ning keelekasutuse keskkondi, kujundab keelepoliitika ka keelekasutajate eluolu, olles oma olemuselt sotsiaalpoliitika. Käesolev doktoritöö pakub välja mõningad elemendid, mida peaks jätkusuutliku keelepoliitika kujundamisel arvesse võtma, kasutades erinevatest distsipliinidest – sotsiolingvistikast, etnolingvistikast, sotsioloogiast, politoloogiast tulenevaid kontseptsioone.

Esmalt on oluline, et keelepoliitika aluseks oleks keele mõiste, mis tunnistab keele protsessilaadset loomust ning kasutaja keskset rolli keele (muutumise) protsessides. Keel ja selle kasutustingimused muutuvad ajas, olles tihedalt seotud suhtlemisvõimaluste ja -viiside arenguga. Seega tuleb ka riigi keelepoliitikat käsitleda kui dünaamilist tööriista, mis peab suutma lahendada keelekasutuse keskkonna ning keelekasutajate vajaduste muutusest tulenevaid probleeme. Keelepoliitikas peaks olema läbi mõeldud keele roll keelekasutajate elus ja ühiskonnas laiemalt ehk keeleoskuse alusel ehitatavate barjääride sotsiaalsed ja majanduslikud tagajärjed.

Keelepoliitika vaatlemine protsessina toob esile, et selles protsessis osalevad peale riigi ja poliitikute ka toimijad ühiskonna teistel tasanditel, näiteks kohalikud omavalitsused, haridusasutused ja ettevõtted, mistõttu on oluline planeerida teadlikult ka nende rolli ning ressursse. Toimivamad lahendused saavutatakse, kui ühiskonna eri tasandite (rahvusvahelise, riigi, kohalike omavalitsuste ja ametiasutuste tasandi) toimijad on kaasatud keeleprobleemide määratlemisse ning lahenduste otsimisse. Mida kesksemat rolli mängib probleemide määratlemisel ja lahenduste leidmisel riik, seda vähem paindlik on keelepoliitika ja seda vähem on riigil ressursse lahendada kohalikke ja keerukaid probleeme.

Käesolev doktoritöö analüüsib võrdlevalt kahe väikeriigi – Eesti ja Taani keelepoliitikat riigikeelest erineva emakeelega inimeste keelekasutuse suunamisel, lähtudes ülaltoodud jätkusuutlikkuse tunnustest. Loomulikult ei saa kahe maa näite varal teha laiemaid üldistusi, samas toob võrdlus esile huvitavaid keelepoliitika tekke ja arengu aspekte. Kui Taanis puudub keeleseadus ja ametlik keeleideoloogia koguni eitab, et keelekasutust on seaduse ja kontrolli abil võimalik muuta, siis Eesti ametlik keeleideoloogia toetab kontrolli ja aktiivset sekkumist ning Eestis on olemas nii keeleseadus kui rida muid keele kasutamist ja õpet reguleerivaid seadusi, määrusi, strateegiaid ning hulk institutsioone, mis tegelevad keele planeerimise ja keelekasutuse kontrolli ja hindamisega. Need üsna erisugused keelepoliitika mudelid on kujunenud riikide ajalooliste, poliitiliste ja demograafiliste eripärade tõttu, samas ootab nii Taanit kui Eestit väikeriikidena ees üsna sarnane väljakutse, kuidas tagada globaliseeruvas maailmas riigikeele funktsionaalsus kõigis eluvaldkondades.

Doktoritöö peamised uurimisküsimused ning tulemused on järgmised.

1. Millised on Eesti ja Taani keelepoliitika mudelite eripärad ning kuidas need on välja kujunenud?

Taani ja Eesti keelepoliitika arengu analüüs toob esile, et keelepoliitika kujundamine riigi tasandil on eelkõige sümboolne ja poliitiline otsus, olles tihedalt seotud riigis kehtiva ideoloogilise ja poliitilise olukorraga, mida on kujundanud ajaloolised, majanduslikud, demograafilised jm tegurid. Taanis, kus riigikeele positsioon pole ajalooliste ja demograafiliste eripärade tõttu ohustatud, puuduvad ametlik keeleseadus, poliitiline tahe ja ka tajutav vajadus riigi tasandil taani keele positsiooni ühiskonnas seadusega kaitsta, millega kaasneb ka riigi suhteliselt tagasihoidlik roll enamikus keelepoliitika valdkondades. Poliitilises diskursuses on levinud hoiak, et keelekasutuse ametlik reguleerimine piirab sõnavabadust, mistõttu keelekasutuse kontrolli ja reguleerimist peetakse nii ebademokraatlikuks kui otseselt võimatuks. Kuigi ametlik ideoloogia toetab keelte ja keelevormide paljusust, on Taanis viimasel aastakümnel poliitilise olukorra muutumise tõttu hariduspoliitikas vastu võetud rida seadusemuudatusi, mis reguleerivad nii riigis kasutatavate keelte staatust kui ka määravad keeleoskuse kontrolli nõuded. Eesti ametliku keelepoliitika kujunemisel on mänginud olulist rolli eesti keele positsiooni ja keele normkuju ohustatuse tunnetamine. Keelekasutust kontrolliva ja kujundava seaduse vastuvõtmist on keeleideoloogiliselt põhjendatud vajadusega kaitsta keelt ning tagada keele ning rahvuse säilimine läbi aegade. Seega on keelepoliitiliste otsuste ja lahenduste pakkuja rollis olnud pikka aega riik, kuna seda rolli ei ole usaldatud kohalikele omavalitsustele või haridusasutustele ja ettevõtetele. Eestis valitseb keelepoliitilises diskursuses keeleteaduslikult kitsas keelekäsitlus (keel on kirjakeele norm) ja sellest tulenevalt normeeriv ja kaitsev-kontrolliv paradigma. Eesti keelepoliitiliste regulatsioonide aluseks on seega mõnevõrra tehnokraatlik visioon keelest kui reeglite süsteemist ning sellele on rajatud eesmärk suunata kodanike keelelist käitumist riikliku kontrolli ja karistusmeetmetega.

Taani keelepoliitika on seega varjatud, kuna avalikult deklareeritud keeleideoloogiline neutraalsus võimaldab keeleoskuse ja -kasutuse piiranguid instrumentaalselt põhjendada isegi juhul, kui tegu on olemuslikult keeleideoloogiliste otsustega. Seega on ka Taanis, vaatamata riikliku keeleseaduse ning tervikliku keelepoliitika puudumisele olemas keele kasutust, staatust ja õpet määravad regulatsioonid. Eestis on riigikeele sümboolse staatuse ja keele normkuju kaitseks vastu võetud riiklik keeleseadus ning seda põhjendatakse ideoloogiliselt keele ning rahvuse säilitamise eesmärgiga.

2. Milliste keelepoliitika vahenditega püütakse keelekasutust muuta? Kas ja millistele keelepoliitikas toimijatele ühiskonna eri tasanditel on antud õigus ja/või võimalus keeleprobleeme määratleda ja lahendada? Kas neil toimijatel on ka selleks vajaminevad ressursid ja vahendid? Millisesse keelekasutaja ja -õppija elufaasi regulatsioonidega sekkutakse?

Taanis, kus ametlik keeleideoloogia eitab riigi sekkumise mõjusust ja vajalikkust, on see võimaldanud teiste keelepoliitikas toimijate, näiteks haridusasutuste ja ettevõtete ning kohalike omavalitsuste sekkumist keelepoliitikasse ehk määratleda keeleprobleeme ja pakkuda lahendusi. Eestis kuulub keelepoliitika sõnastamise ja lahenduste leidmise monopol riigile, teistel tasanditel olevate toimijate, näiteks haridusasutuste või kohalike omavalitsuste sekkumist ei usaldata peamiselt poliitilistel põhjustel kui ka seetõttu, et ekspertiis selles vallas kuulub vaid riiklikele institutsioonidele Seetõttu puudub Eestis rohujuuretasandil keelepoliitiliste initsiatiivide harjumus, oskus ja julgus, keelepoliitikat peetakse eelkõige riigi ja poliitikute pärusmaaks.

Kuna keeleõppel ja -keelekasutusel on inimese eri elufaasides erisugune psühholoogiline ja sotsiaalne funktsioon, siis on oluline keelepoliitika kujundamise element see, millises subjekti elufaasis keelepoliitika meetmetega tema eluilma sekkutakse. Taanis toimub riigi (varjatud) sekkumine kontrolli ja tugiõppe kaudu inimeste varases elufaasis (eelkooli- ja põhikoolialistele lastele). Hilisemas elufaasis sekkutakse ettevõtete või kohalike omavalitsuste tasandil, kus keeleõpet pakutakse näiteks täienduskoolituse või praktika käigus töökohal. Täiskasvanute keeleõpe on Taanis seotud tööturuga lõimumise ja järelõppega ning siin on kontekstuaalsete vajaduste sõnastamisse ja lahenduste leidmisse kaasatud peaasjalikult madalamate tasandite keelepoliitikas toimijad, näiteks kohalikud omavalitsused, töökohad ja haridusasutused. Eesti keelepoliitika mudeli järgi esitab riik nõudmisi ja teostab riigikeeleoskuse kontrolli peaasjalikult gümnaasiumi tasemel ja täiskasvanutele. Eesti keele (tugi)õpe koolieelsete lasteasutuste ja põhikooli tasandil on jäänud lahendamata peaasjalikult poliitilistel põhjustel, sest endiselt on lahtine vene õppekeelega koolide saatus. Seetõttu pole selge, milleks muukeelset last koolieelses lasteasutuses ette valmistatakse – kas vaid vene õppekeelega koolis õppimiseks või aktiivseks eesti ühiskonna kodanikuks sirgumiseks. Selle küsimuse lahendamine eeldab laiemate haridus- ja regionaalpoliitiliste otsuste langetamist.

Taani ja Eesti mudelite võrdlus toob esile, et kohalike lahenduste leidmise võimalus ja madalama astme keelepoliitikas toimijate osalus selles muudab keelepoliitika paindlikumaks, samas mõjuvad sellised lahendused kõige paremini olukordades, kus madalama taseme keelepoliitikas toimijatel, näiteks omavalitsustel või ettevõtetel, on nii otsustusõigus kui ka materiaalsed vahendid probleemi identifitseerimiseks ja lahendamiseks. Võttes aluseks keelepoliitika sotsiaalpoliitilise olemuse, on kõige halvem niisugune lahendus, kus probleemide lahendamine on riigi tasandil pakutavate lahenduste puudulikkuse tõttu jäetud keelekasutajate endi õlule, mis võib soodustada sotsiaalsete ja regionaalsete probleemide süvenemist.

3. Kas ja millistes valdkondades ja olukordades võimaldab riigipoolsete regulatsioonide puudumine madalama tasandi keelepoliitikas toimijate sekkumist? Mis tähtsus on sellel, kas riigipoolne reguleerimatus on teadlik või juhuslik?

Kui riigi keskne roll keelepoliitika üle otsustaja ja täideviijana on kujunenud liiga mahukaks (nagu Eestis), napib riigil paratamatult ressursse peale puuduliku keeleoskuse ja keelekasutuse kontrolli tegelike keeleõpet pärssivate probleemide tuvastamiseks ning toimivate lahenduste leidmiseks ja tugistruktuuride käivitamiseks. Riigi ressursipuudusel tekkinud tegematajätmiste eest ”vastutavad” aga keelekasutajad ja -õppijad, sest nendelt nõuab riik või töökoht tulemusi. Kontekstuaalsete lahenduste leidmisel on oluline madalama ühiskonnatasandi keelepoliitikas toimijate, näiteks ettevõtete, kohalike omavalitsuste ja koolitusasutuste kaasatus lahenduste leidmisse ja rakendamisse. Seda soosib paremini õhem keelepoliitika mudel, kus ametliku ideoloogia rõhk ei ole keele sümboolsel, vaid instrumentaalsel rollil, mis võimaldab serveerida keelepoliitilist sekkumist lähtuvana pragmaatilistest vajadustest.

Teises kultuuris ja poliitilises kontekstis kasutatavaid lahendusi ei saa loomulikult muutumatul kujul üle võtta, kuid lahenduste kõrvutamine võimaldab vaadelda meil toimuvat laiemas kontekstis. Eesti ja Taani keelepoliitika mudelite võrdlev analüüs tõi esile ka sellise huvitava aspekti, et keele standardiseerumisprotsessid toimuvad ka riigis, kus puudub ametlik ja aktiivne keelenormi kaitsev ja reguleeriv keelekorraldus.

Keelt omandatakse kõige paremini selle kasutuskeskkonnas, muu tegevuse ja (keelelise) sotsialiseerumise kaudu. Keele sümboolse väärtuse liigne tähtsustamine ja sellest tulenev kontrolli- ja kaitsevajadus võib mõjuda keelekasutusele/suhtlusele pärssivalt.

Võib ka öelda, et keele normile vastavuse ja staatuse ületähtsustamine raskendab keeleprobleemide, näiteks keelelise lõimumise komplekssuse nägemist ja probleemidele lahenduste otsimisel võimalikult laialdast eri valdkondade teadlaste ja keelepoliitikas toimijate kaasamist.

Lõpetuseks on oluline rõhutada, et keelepoliitika on nii poliitiliselt kui emotsionaalselt õrn teema. Kui riigi tasandil puudub riigikeele sümboolset staatust rõhutav diskursus või see diskursus on nõrk, ei taju keelekasutajad keelekasutust madalamatel tasanditel reguleerivaid otsuseid assimileerivatena, isegi kui need võivad seda oma sisult olla. Aktiivne keelepoliitika on ka väga ressursimahukas, mistõttu on oluline ressursside võimalikult otstarbekas kasutamine. Siinkohal võib abiks olla lahenduste leidmise ja pakkumise jaotamine erinevate keelepoliitikas toimijate vahel ning kontrolliks ja tugisüsteemide loomiseks kuluvate ressursside võrdsem jaotamine.

PUBLICATIONS

APPENDIX

All translations of the extracts, unless otherwise stated, are mine.

The appendix contains extracts from laws and policy texts, including provisions that regulate language proficiency and language use. The list of laws and policy texts for Estonia is incomplete, as the list would otherwise be too extensive.

Work-related language proficiency in Estonia is regulated by the Public Service Act, Local Government Organisation Act, Defense Forces Service Act, Courts Act, Prosecutor's Office Act, Bar Association Act, Authorized Public Accountants Act, Patent Agents Act, Bailiffs Act, Administrative Procedure Act and many other laws.

Ref	Level/law	**ESTONIA**	**DENMARK**
A	Constitution	*Eesti Vabariigi Põhiseadus 1992,* The Constitution of the Republic of Estonia (preamble) shall (among other things) guarantee the preservation of the Estonian nation, language and culture through the ages § 6.The official language of Estonia is Estonian. §37 Everyone has the right to receive instruction in Estonian. §48 Only Estonian citizens may belong to political parties. § 51. Everyone has the right to address state agencies, local governments, and their officials in Estonian and to receive responses in Estonian. § 52. The official language of state agencies and local governments shall be Estonian	*Danmarks Riges Grundlov 1953,* The Constitutional Act, originally verified in 1849, is designed to ensure a stable framework for political life and the political struggle for power and must ensure that the rights of citizens are not violated. Language is not mentioned, nor are the political parties as such or restrictions for becoming a member of a political party – in fact everybody who shares the views of a party can become a member. There are only restrictions on those eligible to vote in a general election and those eligible to be elected to Parliament: Section 29 Subsection 1. It is necessary to be a Danish citizen to be eligible to vote in a general election. Permanent residence in Denmark is also a requirement. Section 30 Subsection 1. Anybody who has the right to vote can be elected to Parliament, unless the person in question has been convicted of an crime that, in the general opinion, has made him or her unworthy to be a Member of Parliament.

B	Citizenship Act	*Kodakondsuse seadus* 1995 Citizenship Act § 6. Conditions for acquisition of Estonian citizenship by naturalization 3) have knowledge of the Estonian language in accordance with the requirements provided for in § 8 of this Act; § 8. Requirements for and assessment of knowledge of the Estonian language (1) For the purposes of this Act, knowledge of the Estonian language means general knowledge of basic Estonian needed in everyday life. (2)The requirements for knowledge of the Estonian language are as follows: 1) listening comprehension (official statements and announcements; danger and warning announcements, news, descriptions of events and explanations of phenomena); 2) speech (conversation and narration, use of questions, explanations, assumptions and commands; expressing one's opinion; expressing one's wishes); 3) reading comprehension (official statements and announcements; public notices, news, sample forms, journalistic articles, messages, catalogues, user manuals, traffic information, questionnaires, reports, minutes, rules); 4) writing (writing applications, authorization documents, letters of explanation, *curriculum vitae*; completion of forms, standard forms and tests). (3)Knowledge of the Estonian language is assessed by way of examination. The procedure for the holding of the examinations shall be established by the Government of the Republic. (4) A person who passes the examination shall be issued a corresponding certificate. (5) Persons who have acquired basic, secondary or higher education in the Estonian language are not required to pass the examination.	*Bekendtgørelse af lov om dansk indfødsret* 2011 Statutory Notice of Act on the Acquisition of Danish Citizenship § 12 stk 8 2) The Minister of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration can specify the rules for enforcement of this law § 24. (1) It is a condition for listing in a naturalisation bill that the applicant documents skills in the Danish language by a certificate of the Danish 3 Examination of the Danish language centres, or one of the examinations listed in Schedule 3.

		(6) A person specified in subsection 35 (3) of this Act shall take the examination to the extent and in the manner prescribed in the decision of the expert committee specified in subsection 35 (7) of this Act. §35 (10) Determination of the extent and manner of taking the Estonian language examinations and examinations on the knowledge of the Citizenship Act and the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia for applicants for citizenship or the conditions and procedure for release from taking of the specified examinations shall be established by the Government of the Republic. (11) The expert committee specified in subsections (6)–(9) of this section shall be formed and the organization of the work thereof shall be established by a directive of the Minister of Education and Research, in co-ordination with the Minister of Social Affairs.	
C	Integration Act	*Välismaalaste seadus 2010,* Aliens Act **§ 234. Integration requirement** (1) An alien who is applying for a residence permit for long-term residents is required to have Estonian language proficiency at least at the elementary level: language proficiency level B1 or a corresponding level. (2) The integration requirement need not be complied with by: 1) an alien under 15 years of age; 2) an alien over 65 years of age and 3) an adult alien who has restricted active legal capacity. (3) The Estonian language proficiency is evaluated at the Estonian language proficiency level exam under the conditions provided for in the Language Act.0	*Bekendtgørelse af lov om integration af udlændinge i Danmark* 2007 Statutory Notice of Act on Integration of Foreigners in Denmark **§ 20.** The local municipality is in charge of checking fulfilment of immigrants' integration contracts (including further plans for integration in society and in the labour market) Stk. 6. If the immigrant does not attend his/her Danish classes regularly and systematically enough and during the planned time-period § 4, stk. 2, the local municipality is entitled to warn the immigrant of the possible consequences of lacking competences in Danish

		(4) An alien who has acquired the basic, secondary and higher education in the Estonian language is not required to take the Estonian language examination. *Eesti Lõimumiskava* 2008–2013 Estonian Integration Strategy 1. Principles: **Estonian Language as the Common Language of Communication in the Public Sector** Command of the Estonian Language is one of the prerequisites for successful integration. It gives every person the opportunity to be involved in the social life on an equal basis. The long-term objective of language integration is a situation in which all permanent residents of Estonia are able to communicate in the official language. **Avoiding Ethnicity-based Separation** As a result of successful integration, the problems of separation and being left out of social life due to ethnicity or language barrier are reduced. **Regional Differences and the Role of the Local Governments in Integration** In Estonia there are relatively large regional differences in the level of integration and in the nature of integration-related problems. Integration-related problems are particularly evident in larger cities in Ida-Virumaa and Harjumaa. (–) So far the role of county-level state organisations and of local government in the implementation of the state integration policy has been modest and rather incidental. There is no division of roles between the state and local levels, or clear definition of duties or division of measures by regions, nor are these included in regional activity plans. Even though the regional differences in Estonia in social and economic development and in the ethnic composition of the population have been described in detail, there have been no analyses of the possible ties between them or with other sectors.	*Danskuddannelsesloven* 2006 (Act No 375 on Danish courses for adult aliens) of 2006, last amended in 2010 **§ 1.** The main purpose of classes in Danish as a second language is to contribute to the fulfilment of the individual integration plan made according to each immigrant's previous qualifications, and to quarantee that the person gains necessary competence in Danish and knowledge about the Danish society to participate in and contribute to the society actively and equally with other members of it. Stk. 2. Danish courses have to contribute to the quick achievement – after gaining permanent living permission – of necessary knowledge of Danish and of the labour market in order to find a job and become self-supporting as soon as possible

		3.1 Visions for 2013 The level of command of Estonian among people whose mother tongue is not Estonian has improved on all levels; · Contacts and communication between people with different mother tongues have increased and differences in participation in civil society organisations and the public sphere between the Estonian and Russian-speaking populations have decreased; · The percentage of people with undetermined citizenship among the residents of Estonia has been consistently decreasing; · The majority of Estonian residents trust people of other nationalities living in Estonia and they trust the Estonian state; · The majority of the people whose mother tongue is not Estonian regularly receive information from Estonian media sources and trust them; · Differences in employment and income levels between employees of different ethnic groups have decreased **3.2 The field of Social and economic integration** (not included in the state integration programme 2000–2007) Opportunities for residents of Estonia whose mother tongue is not Estonian to learn the Estonian language will be supported through the working environment – at the levels of both communication and the professional language, expanding opportunities to learn Estonian, together with professional training and additional training. Training will be given to employers to enhance their awareness and encourage them to employ people whose mother tongue is not Estonian in order to enrich the working environment and increase efficiency. Overall responsibility for the integration strategy lies with the Minister for Population and Ethnic Affairs; its implementation is overviewed by the Steering committee that is formed from representatives of line ministries responsible for implementation of measures, of the Integration Foundation, and other stakeholders related to the strategy. The Minister for Population and Ethnic Affairs proposes changes and additions to the composition of the steering committee.	

D	Language Act	*Keeleseadus* 2011 Language Act **§ 1. Purpose of the Act** The purpose of the act is to develop, preserve and protect the Estonian language and ensure the use of the Estonian language as the main language for communication in all spheres of public life. **§ 2. Scope of Application of Act** (1) This act regulates the use of the Estonian language and foreign languages in oral and written administration, public information and service, the use of Estonian sign language and signed Estonian language, the requirements for and assessment of proficiency in the Estonian language, exercise of state supervision over compliance with the requirements provided in this Act and on the basis thereof and liability for the violation of the requirements of the act. (2) The use of language of legal persons in private law and natural persons is regulated if it is justified for the protection of fundamental rights or in the public interest. For the purposes of this act, public interest means public safety, public order, public administration, education, health, consumer protection and occupational safety. The establishment of requirements concerning the use of and proficiency in Estonian shall be justified and in proportion to the objective being sought and shall not distort the nature of the rights which are restricted. (3) The right of the individual to use a foreign language, including a language of a national minority, shall be ensured in compliance with other acts and international agreements. Measures to support foreign languages shall not damage Estonian. (4) The provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act apply to the administrative proceedings prescribed in this act, taking account of the specifications provided for in this act.	*Sprog til tiden*, the language political report of 2008 134) was published by a committee appointed by the Danish government with the task of assessing the need for and the possibilities of a legislative regulation regarding language, either through the introduction of a Language Act or through legislation in selected areas. The report included a number of recommendations for regulations/ monitoring the development of language, but passing a separate law on language was not one of these: "As the Committee's work does not demonstrate any other areas in need of regulation through special legislation or a general Language Act, the Committee does not find that the introduction of a general Language Act can be motivated by a practical need for legislative protection of the Danish language. The Committee has discussed whether a general Language Act would have important symbolic political significance. The problem of formulating an actual law on the Danish language is that, for the most part, the way in which the language is being used cannot be regulated, and that it is difficult to imagine a penalty system for those who do not comply with the spirit and letter of such a law." The status of German as the official language of the German minority living in the southern part of Denmark, the Greenlandic Home Rule Act of 1978, Section 9, and the Home Rule Act of the Faroe Islands, Section 11 of 1948, establish the status of Greenlandic, the Faroese and Danish in Greenland and Faroe Islands. **Danish Language Council Act of 1997 A** Danish Language Council (Dansk Sprognævn) was created in 1955. This Council is a Centre for Research attached to the University of Copenhagen and falls under the authority of the Ministry of Culture. Its purpose is threefold: to modernise the language by

			creating neologisms, to set new rules (it publishes the Official Danish Dictionary) and to respond to questions from users. The Danish Language Council must: monitor the development of the Danish language and give advice and information on it. It determines the spelling of Danish; edit publications on the Danish language, in particular those on the use of the native language, and co-operate with institutions of terminology, dictionary editors and public institutions involved in authorising or registering people's names and surnames and brand names; collaborate with equivalent language councils and institutions in other Nordic countries. Because the laws on Danish usage actually take the form of recommendations, the framework is not especially restrictive and is far from being systematically applied.
F	Private Sector	*Keeleseadus* 2011 Language Act § 2 (2) The use of language by legal persons in private law and natural persons is regulated if it is justified for protection of fundamental rights or in the public interest. For the purposes of this act, public interest means public safety, public order, public administration, education, health, consumer protection and occupational safety. The establishment of requirements concerning the use of and proficiency in Estonian shall be justified and in proportion to the objective being sought and shall not distort the nature of the rights which are restricted. **§ 8. Right to access public administration and information in the Estonian language in oral and written form** (1) Everyone has the right to access public administration in the Estonian language in oral or written form (hereafter referred to as administration) in state agencies, including the foreign representation of Estonia, local government authorities, at the	Not regulated by legislation Sprog til tiden 2008. Language political report (LR: 66) Better foreign language teaching at all levels of the educational system, important/vital information (about their contract, security matters) for employees with poor competence in Danish. Where relevant, corporate language policies should be adopted regarding the use of different languages at the work place. The language situation should be included as part of workplace risk assessments carried out by The Danish Working Environment Service. All foreign employees should be offered courses in Danish languages. Several corporations working internationally have adopted their own corporate language policies. The Danish multinational corporation Vestas Wind Systems A/S has established its English Language Guide. Vestas has officially decided that the corporate language is English. A

		offices of notaries, bailiffs and sworn translators and their bureaus, cultural autonomy bodies and other agencies, companies, non-profit associations and foundations registered in Estonia. (3) All employees and public servants shall be provided with work-related information in Estonian, unless otherwise provided by law **§ 15. Language of seals, rubber stamps and letter-heads** The seals, rubber stamps and letterheads of agencies, companies, non-profit associations and foundations and sole proprietors that are registered in Estonia shall be in Estonian in public communication. Agencies, companies, non-profit associations and foundations and sole proprietors may add to the text in Estonian the translation into a foreign language. In communication with a person from a foreign country, as well as in international communication, a foreign language may be used l **§ 16. Language of information** (1) Signs, signposts, business type names and outdoor advertisements, including outdoor advertising, installed in a public place with the purpose of political campaigning, and the notices of a legal person shall be in Estonian. (2) The translation of the text into a foreign language may be added to public signs, signposts, business-type names and outdoor advertisements, but the text in Estonian shall be in the forefront and shall not be less observable than the text in a foreign language. (3) Upon using a brand as a sign of the place of business of a person or in outdoor advertising the part of a brand in a foreign language that includes essential information about the place of business and goods or services offered shall also be presented in Estonian, without damaging the distinctiveness of the brand and without applying subsection (2) of this section. The specified information may also be presented at the entrance to the place of business. (4) If agencies, companies, non-profit associations and foundations	senior respondent (HSE director, Danish) has explained how she has experienced an enormous development in the spread of English over the past four years and, especially over the past two to three years, it has become "acceptable to write in English to a Danish colleague". She has also stated that the spread of English when preparing written documentation has improved over the years, but the use of English is still not consistent. Furthermore, the further you go into the organisation, the greater the need for local languages when it comes to written documentation, for example safety instructions. She has stated that much of their communication with business partners and colleagues is in English. The English language, however, is the second language for many Vestas employees. The Language Network has therefore prepared this language guide, which is intended as a tool to help colleagues with their English communication. The Danish multinational pump manufacturer Grundfos has published a corporate language policy, *In other words ...*,. Grundfos corporate policy on communication states that: "High quality is therefore the only acceptable level of language and communication". Furthermore, it is stated in the handbook that Grundfos needs a common corporate language and this language is British English. British English has been chosen because it is taught in school in many countries in which Grundfos companies operate. English being Grundfos' corporate language does not involve English being spoken or written in all situations in the Group. On the contrary, Grundfos attaches great importance to being close to its customers and their culture and language, and thus local languages are spoken and written in the respective countries. The message in the handbook, high language quality, applies not only to English but to all languages. This document was

		and sole proprietors which are registered in Estonia have web pages in a foreign language which is directed to the public, they shall include at least a summary in Estonian about the field of activity or the goods and services offered. (5) At public events, the organiser shall ensure the translation into Estonian of the essential information in a foreign language. **§ 17. Right of consumers to information in Estonian** (1) Consumers of goods and services have the right to receive information and servicing in Estonian in compliance with the Consumer Protection Act. (2) A person who is not a consumer for the purposes of clause 2 1) of the Consumer Protection Act has the right to receive information from the merchant about the product features and terms and conditions of use in Estonian. **§ 18. Translation of foreign language texts of audiovisual works, television and radio programmes and advertisements** (1) Upon making audiovisual works, including programmes and advertisements, available to the public, the provider of the audiovisual media service or company shall ensure that a foreign language text shall be accompanied by an adequate, in form and content, translation into Estonian. (2) A translation into Estonian is not required for language learning programmes or programmes that are immediately retransmitted or in the case of the newsreader's text of originally produced foreign language news programmes and of originally produced live foreign language programmes. The volume of foreign language news programmes and live foreign language programmes without the specified translations into Estonian shall not exceed ten per cent of the volume of weekly original production. (3) A translation into Estonian is not required in the case of radio	authored by a team of language and communication workers, the Language Group, and targeted, as the introduction states, at "all Grundfos employees who write English regularly or often" Three operative areas were identified to enhance this process: tools – mainly computer programmes, such as the electronic dictionary MultiTerm and WebTranslate TermBase, people – education and language training, but also guidelines for the writing process and the organisation itself – meaning reorganising teams and the physical design of the office-space. COWI Language is image, and the way we write and speak shows who we are. An organisation which is able to adapt its use of language to its values and communicate clearly gains credibility. COWI's communications agency helps customers bring their message across, targeting the message to the intended groups. Written communication with a message Organisations need to write in a way that enables their readers to understand and act on a message. COWI's communications agency carries out language and communication checks and adapts customers' texts to suit their image, in terms of style as well as contents. We also teach clear communication. For instance, we tailor-make courses on report writing and how to write on the Internet. Clear public speaking Surveys show that public speaking is feared by many. We teach presentation techniques, focusing on improving the

		programmes that are aimed at a foreign language audience. The foreign language texts of speeches included in the radio programmes in Estonian shall be translated into Estonian. **§ 19. Language in contracts** Contracts of employment and contracts concluded on the basis of the Law of Obligations Act that are not related to the economic and professional activities for one party to the contract, as well as the contract for provision of a public service, shall be concluded in Estonian unless parties agree on using another language. **§ 20. Names** (1) The writing of place names shall be based on the provisions of the Place Names Act. (2) The writing of personal names shall be based on the Names Act. (3) The writing of business names is based on the Commercial Code. (4) The international form of Estonian place names, personal and business names, of the names of agencies or non-profit organisations and foundations in the Latin alphabet shall be identical to the form used in Estonia. For names written in a language that uses another alphabet, the transcription rules established on the basis of the Names Act shall be applied. Language may be used in the letterhead.	speaker's vocal pitch, non-verbal communication etc. Language also plays a role in public speaking, and incorrect language confuses the audience and gives a bad impression. Therefore we teach awareness of language as a tool and how to use it in different contexts. We carry out language and communication consultancy and teach presentation techniques for companies and organizations globally.

G	Public Sector	*Keeleseadus* 2011, Language Act **§ 2. Scope of Application of Act** (1)This act regulates the use of the Estonian language and foreign languages in oral and written administration, public information and service, the use of Estonian sign language and signed Estonian language, the requirements for and assessment of the proficiency in the Estonian language, exercise of state supervision over compliance with the requirements provided in this act and on the basis thereof and liability for the violation of the requirements of the Act. **§ 12. Access to public administration in foreign languages** (1) If an application, request or other document submitted to a state agency or local government authority is in a foreign language, the agency has the right to require the person who submits the document to submit the translation of the document into Estonian, except in the case provided for in § 9 of this Act. The person who submits the request or other document shall be notified of the requirement for translation immediately. Several other laws include provisions that regulate language proficiency and language use. Thus, work-related language proficiency is regulated by the Public Service Act, Local Government Organisation Act, Defence Forces Service Act, Courts Act, Prosecutor's Office Act, Bar Association Act, Authorised Public Accountants Act, Patent Agents Act, Bailiffs Act, and many other laws. The professional standards prepared by the Qualification Authority determine the level of Estonian and foreign-language proficiency that is required for an occupation. According to the Administrative Procedure Act, Estonian is the language of administrative proceedings, and this extends also to administrative proceedings related to many other laws. Estonian is also the language of court proceedings; legal acts regulate the use	No separate legislation, Only initiatives at the institutional level In 1981, the Danish State Information service published a booklet with the title "In plain Danish, please", directed to the employees in the public administration and pointing out the problem of the "bureaucratic" style in written communication from local municipalities or state institutions to citizens. The style is characterised by excessively complex hypotactic sentence structures, long foreign or seldomly used words etc. The booklet advised how style could be made more easily readable: short words, short sentences, every-day words etc (Lix index by Bjornsson from Sweden) In 1997 a Danish committee on Public Information Policy, appointed by the Ministry of Science, published a white paper with specific recommendations on language politics and strategies in the public sector. The paper showed that although the situation had improved since 1981, there was still room for improvement. During the period of 1994–1997 the information policy in the Danish Central Customs and Tax Administration was radically changed and the public institution today supplies its workers with a convenient manual on how to write official letters, pointing out differences between departmental and common language so the letters can be formulated according to whom they are addressed to. language campaigns implemented in The Municipality of Copenhagen, The Technical and Environmental Committee (2005–2007) and in The Courts of Denmark (2003).

		of other languages in court proceedings, as well as translation of documents and use of an interpreter. The Consumer Protection Act stipulates that the information provided to the consumer has to be presented in Estonian; an Estonian-language translation is required for instruction manuals in a foreign language. Pursuant to the relevant laws, state registries (e.g. the Criminal Record Registry, Business Registry) are kept in the Estonian language.	
H	Local Municipalities	Local Government Organisation Act, Kohalike omavalitsuste korralduse seadus of 1993 §23 (7) Council regulations and resolutions and minutes of council sessions shall be prepared in Estonian. In a local government where the majority of permanent residents are non-Estonian speakers, minutes of council sessions may, in addition to the Estonian language, also be prepared in the language of the national minority constituting the majority of the permanent residents of the local government. **§ 41. Use of language in local governments** (1) The working language of local governments is Estonian. Everyone has the right to address a local government and its officials in Estonian and to receive responses in Estonian. (2) The sessions of councils and governments are held in Estonian. (3) The use of foreign languages, including languages of national minorities, shall be provided for in the Language Act. The permission granted on the proposal of the local government council pursuant to § 11 of the Language Act to use the language of the majority of the permanent residents of the local government entity as the internal working language of the local government shall be valid until the term of office of the corresponding council expires. [RT I, 18.03.2011, 1 – entry into force 01.07.2011] (4) If a local government has been granted, pursuant to subsection (3) of this section, the permission to use the language of the national minority constituting the majority of the permanent	Statutory Notice of Act on Municipality Governing, Bekendtgørelse af lov om kommunernes styrelse of 2009, no working language mentioned

		residents of the local government alongside Estonian as the internal working language of the local government, the council and the government may decide to translate parts or whole sessions into the language of the national minority.	
I	Universities Act	*Eesti Vabariigi Haridusseadus* 1992 **Republic of Estonia Education Act**, § 4 the state and the local government ensure, within the territory of Estonia, an opportunity to receive Estonian-medium education in public educational institutions and universities at all education levels. Teaching of the Estonian language is granted in all non-Estonian-medium educational institutions and non-Estonian-medium study groups. *Ülikooliseadus* 1995 According to the **Universities Act** §22 (8), Estonian is the language of instruction of a university; use of other languages is decided by a university council. If a student without Estonian-language proficiency studies the Estonian language with the purpose of coping at an institution of higher education within the conditions and manner set by the Minister of Education and Research, the nominal period of studied will be extended up to one academic year. Universities of Tartu Strategic Plan 2009–2015 4.1.6. guarantee the opportunity for students to develop their English language skills and other transferable skills, in order to ensure their competitiveness in the international labour market; 4.2.6. support the continuous development of employees' professional skills and knowledge, including the development of management skills of managers and improvement of skills required for working in an international academic environment (Estonian language skills for international lecturers and researchers, English language skills, intercultural communication, etc.);	*Sprog til tiden 2008* Language political report: In the course of reviewing all aspects of the language policy, there has only been one area in which some of the committee's members felt that there was an actual need for legislative regulation. Thus several committee members, including the chairman, have expressed a wish to amend the Danish Act on Universities, in order to safeguard the continued development of Danish for Specific Purposes and of Danish terminology, and to harmonise the legislation with the government's language policy. However, other committee members have found that issuing recommendations, along with a careful monitoring of the linguistic developments in universities and other institutions of higher education, is sufficient – at least at the present stage. Language policies at the universities are mainly oriented towards their Danish staff and Danish students who are supposed to gain a more comprehensible knowledge of proper (academic) English. The language policy at the Copenhagen Business School is an integrated and important part of the overall strategy for internationalisation. All students are, on a regular basis, offered feedback on the quality of their English, and their papers on various topics are occasionally evaluated in terms of the quality of their written English. The evaluation states the level of their English competence and suggests what can be done to gain a higher level. English courses at different levels will be offered on a regular basis.

		5.1.3. guarantee that studies in the first level of higher education are based on Estonian-language curricula in every field of study which also contains courses or modules taught in other languages; 5.2.9. in cooperation with the national government, implement measures to develop scientific terminology in Estonian and promote disciplines studying the Estonian language and culture; 6.3.3. agree on principles regarding the use of Estonian and other languages in the university, and ensure that members and partners of the university have access to information in English and communication in English in a professional capacity; Tallinn University Development Plan until the year 2014 2. Tallinn University will preserve and develop Estonian scientific language. To achieve this objective, the university: (e) Actively introduces the results of university research, development and creative activities in Estonian and foreign languages (f) Creates a fully functional system of internal communication, both in Estonian and English	Copenhagen University, Faculty of Science/Nature: The main goal of the articulation of the language policy for the faculty in 2000 was to remain competitive among other international study and research centres, and to improve international scientific cooperation, and the quality of research conducted in Copenhagen University should be at an international level. Copenhagen University has established a research and teaching *Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Competence* which is well placed to work with representatives of all faculties in analysing and developing quality in both Danish and English. The website states that Centre "has developed a procedure for certifying university lecturers' English language proficiency. The certification with the name TOEPAS (Test of Oral English Proficiency for Academic Staff) is not only tailor-made for university lecturers, but is also a unique competence development tool which provides the participants with detailed written and oral feedback on their English language proficiency
J	Professional Higher Education and Vocational Schools	According to the **Institutions of Professional Higher Education Act**, Estonian is the language of instruction in institutions of professional higher education. Use of other languages is determined by the minister of the ministry that is responsible for the administration of the pertinent institution of higher education. If a student without Estonian-language proficiency studies the Estonian language with the purpose of coping at an institution of higher education under the conditions and manner set by the Minister of Education and Research, the nominal period of studied will be extended up to one academic year. According to the **Vocational Educational Institutions Act**, Estonian is the language of instruction of vocational educational institutions. Use of other languages as the language of instruction is determined by the Minister of Education and Research.	Several laws, no regulations in the area of language use

K	Upper Secondary Education	Basic Schools and Upper Secondary Schools Act At the upper secondary school level, the language of instruction is Estonian, but at the basic school level of a municipal school any other language can be used as the language of instruction. A permit for study in some other language is issued by the Estonian Government on the basis of an application by a local government council. The language of instruction of a school or a class is the language in which study makes up at least 60 per cent of the scope of a curriculum. Study of the Estonian language from the first form is compulsory also in those cases when Estonian is not the language of instruction of a school *Eesti keele arengukava 2011–2017* Development Plan of the Estonian language The **Development Plan of the General Education System 2007–2013** prioritises the Estonian language first and foremost in relation to the education of pupils whose mother tongue is not Estonian, as well as the transition of non-Estonian-medium upper secondary schools to partly Estonian-language teaching, also paying some attention to the role of the Estonian language in teacher training. The goal is to include the teaching of practical Estonian in the curricula of teacher training of all the school subjects and in-service training of teachers.	**Upper Secondary Schools Act (Gymnasieloven) 2008 no regulation of the language of instruction** **§ 12.** The mandatory courses on the gymnasium level for all study directions are, jf. dog stk. 4: 1) Danish at A-level. The reform of the Danish Upper Secondary Academically Orientated Programs introduced a new subject: general language comprehension, which, besides the more traditional teaching of grammar, also includes such topics as the history of languages and language development, sociolinguistics and contextual language use.
L	Primary and Lower Secondary Education	**Basic Schools and Upper Secondary Schools Act of 2011 (Põhikooli ja gümnaasiumi seadus)** Any language can be used as the language of instruction in a basic school. In the case of municipal schools, the language of instruction is determined by the local government council and, in the case of state schools, by the Minister of Education and Research. **§ 21. Language of instruction** (1) The language in which studies are pursued amounts to no less than 60 percent of the lowest permitted study workload laid down	**Primary and Lower Secondary Schools Act, Folkeskoleloven of 2009** The local municipality must offer language screening to all bilingual children at the beginning of preschool and twice during basic school. § 5 Stk. 7. If necessary, basic schools will offer courses in Danish as a second language to bilingual children. It is the task of the Minister of Education to provide rules for instruction in Danish as a second language to bilingual children and the rules of instruction in the mother tongue of children from the member states of the EU and EEC , including the Faroese

		in the national curricula is deemed the language of instruction of a school or class. If are not pursued to the extent of 60 percent in any language, the studies are deemed to be bilingual. In the event of bilingual studies, the two languages in which most of the studies are pursued are deemed to be the languages of instruction. (2) In basic schools the language of instruction is Estonian. In a municipal basic school, or in single classes thereof, the language of instruction may be any language on the basis of a decision of the council of the rural municipality or city government, relying on a proposal of the board of trustees of the school, and in a state basic school or in single classes thereof the language of instruction may be any language on the basis of a decision of the Minister of Education and Research. (3) In upper secondary schools, the language of instruction is Estonian. In municipal upper secondary schools or single classes thereof, the language of instruction may be another language. The permission to pursue studies in another language or bilingual studies is granted by the government of the Republic on the basis of an application of a rural municipality or city government. The board of trustees of the school makes such a proposal to the rural municipality or city government on the basis of the development plan of the school. (4) In a school or class where the language of instruction is not Estonian, it is compulsory to teach Estonian beginning with the first grade. In such a school or class, the school ensures the organisation of teaching Estonian at a level that allows the graduates of the basic school to continue their studies in an Estonian-medium educational institution. (5) A school shall organise language and cultural teaching for students acquiring basic education whose native language is not the language of instruction or who communicate at home in a language different from the language of instruction which is the native language of at least one parent, provided that no fewer than ten	Islands and Greenland. The Minister of Education can dispense from stk. 1-4, §§ 7 og 7 a, § 13, stk. 3, § 14, og § 16, stk. 1, while setting the rules for instruction in Danish as a second language and instruction in the mother tongue . Amendments made after 2001 restrict the right and opportunity to receive instruction in the mother tongue other than EU and Nordic languages: the local municipalities are no longer obligated to offer instruction in mother tongue in basic schools. The Minister of Education can, while setting the rules for instruction in Danish as a second language for bilingual children. stk. 7, also depart from § 36, stk. 2 and 3 in cases where the child at the start of school is assessed to have a not inconsiderable/minor need for language support, and there is a pedagogical need to refer the child to a different school than the local district school.

		students with the same native language or with the same language of household communication request it. (6) The government of the Republic shall establish the conditions of and procedure for language and culture teaching specified in subsection (5) of this section.	
M	Private Schools Act	Private Schools Act, Erakooliseadus 1998 § 15. Language of instruction and language of administration (1) The language of instruction shall be specified in the statutes of a private school, in the event of a joint curriculum, in the cooperation contract concerning the joint curriculum. [RT I 2008, 34, 208 – entry into force 01.09.2008] (2) In basic schools and upper secondary schools where the language of instruction is not Estonian, Estonian language instruction shall be compulsory, to the extent determined by the national curriculum, so that graduates will be able to continue their studies in Estonian at the next level of education. (3) In vocational education institutions where the language of instruction is not Estonian, Estonian language instruction shall be compulsory to the extent determined by the vocational education standard to ensure that students will be proficient in Estonian to the level which is necessary to work in their acquired professions. (4) The language of administration of a private school shall be Estonian. In a private school where the language of instruction is not Estonian, the language of instruction of the private school or another foreign language may be used alongside Estonian as a language of internal administration.	Private and Free Schools Act (Bekendtgørelse af lov om private skoler og friskoler) of 2006 §2 Stk. 3. The language of instruction in free basic schools is Danish. However, the language of instruction in the German minority basic schools is German. The Minister of Education can in special cases, however, decide that the language of instruction in a free or private basic school is other than Danish. § 5 Both the board of the school and the school principal must have a good command of both written and oral Danish.
N	Pre-Primary Education	Koolieelsete lasteasutuste seadus of 1999, Pre-school Child Care Institutions Act Educational activities in child care institutions are carried out in the Estonian language. Educational activities in some other language are permitted by a decision of the municipality council. In a child care institution, or in groups within it where educational activities	Statuary notice of Act on Pre-Primary Education (Bekendtgørelse af lov om dag-, fritids og klubtilbud mv. Til børn og unge) of 2011 Evaluation of language competence and language stimulation **§ 11.** The local municipality is obliged to offer Danish language screening for all three-year-old children in day care

		are not carried out in the Estonian language, study of the Estonian language is granted on the basis of the national curriculum of preschool child care institutions. **§ 8. Language** (1) Teaching and other activities in the institution take place in Estonian. Other languages can be used in instruction and activities if such a decision is approved by the municipality council. (2) Local governments must provide the opportunity to attend a child care institution, or a group within the institution, in the Estonian language to Estonian-speaking children living within their catchment area. (4) In a pre-school institution or a group where the language of instruction and activities is not Estonian, Estonian language training is guaranteed to the extent determined by the National curriculum for pre-school child care institutions (4^1) The state will provide funds for the instruction costs. **National Curriculum for Pre-school Child Care Institutions** Guarantees language instruction in the Estonian language to all children whose home language is not Estonian, starting from the age of three, either as a separate activity or as an integrated part of other activities. Language immersion methods can be used for children starting from the age of 5. As a result of language instruction, the child should understand conversation on everyday topics, understand questions and tasks in Estonian and know Estonian children's poems and songs, and the names of important places and persons in Estonia.	who are considered to have problems with language Stk. 2. The local municipality shall test the Danish competence of all children, beginning at age 3, who are not in day care and, in addition, inform parents about the opportunity to place the child in day care. The local municipality must offer language stimulation courses to children who are assessed to have language problems, and bilingual children must receive at least 15 hours of instruction per week. Parents are to be involved in the language stimulation: they are to be instructed as to how to stimulate their children's Danish language skills. The assessment of a child's language competence has to include an evaluation of the parents' (or common-law spouses') situation, including their employment situation. If at least one of the parents is unemployed, the child must participate in at least 30 hours per week of language stimulation in a day care. The parent is obliged to inform the local municipality about changes in their employment situation. The municipal government is responsible for involving parents in language instruction and language stimulation activities and for supplying parents with the necessary instructions to support their child's linguistic development. **§ 12.** Parents are obliged to let their children participate in language screening and stimulation classes, if necessary. If parents want to attend language stimulation, they are obliged to inform the local municipality in written form, including as minimum information who will attends language stimulation, which children will participate in language stimulation and where it will take place. The municipal council is in charge of controlling and inspecting the language stimulation attended by parents.

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Education:

2000	Baccalaureus Artium in Scandinavian Languages, Department of Scandinavian Languages, University of Tartu
2004	Master Artium in Psychology of Language, Copenhagen University
2007–2012	PhD studies, Institute of Journalism and Communication, University of Tartu

In addition, undergraduate studies in Semiotics and Literature Theory in the Estonian Institute of Humanities, courses at the Copenhagen Business School, University of South Denmark, Uppsala University, University of Hamburg, University of the Faroe Islands and Aalborg University, studies in Norwegian language and literature at the University of Oslo; studies in Icelandic language, University of Iceland.

Language skills:
Estonian (native language), Danish, Norwegian (excellent in speech and writing), English (upper intermediate), Icelandic, Russian, French, Finnish (elementary)

Professional employment:

2011–2012	Consultant in a project on improving employment and level of education among inhabitants in ghetto-areas, Copenhagen municipality, Denmark
2007–2010	Consultant on employment and integration issues in Gladsaxe, Frederiksberg and Helsingør Municipalities in Denmark
2004–2006	Consultant in a project on the disabled immigrants access to the labour market in Denmark, The Danish Association for the Disabled
2003	Assistant, The Danish National Center for Social Research,
1996–1997	Lecturer, Norwegian language and literature, Tallinn University
1993–1995	teacher of Norwegian language, Vanalinna Hariduskolleegium, Estonia

Research areas:
Psychology of language, social psychology, sociolinguistics, ethnography of language, language policy, language ideology, discourse analysis, multilingualism.

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2010–2013 principal investigator in the research project ”Formation of Group Identities in the Context of Changing Political and Economical Situation in Estonia”, University of Tartu, the Institute of Journalism and Communication

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2004–2005 Editor (with Jesper Hermann and Charlotte B Nielsen) of the compendium “På sporet af sprogpsykologi”, Frydenlund: Copenhagen

Freelance translator of fiction, poetry, radio and theatre plays from Danish and Norwegian to Estonian.

Translation consultant for Tallinn University Press

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Siiner, Maarja 2006. Sproglæreren som (ubevidst) sprogpolitisk aktør. Sprogforum 2006/37: 57–62

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Siiner, Maarja 2004. Sprogets refleksivitet: Det er lige så svært at spørge om sprog som det er at tale om det. Spindet–Sprogpsykologisk information og debat, 2004/4: 13–17

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Siiner, Maarja 2002. Om tommelfingerregler og god kommunikation. Spindet–Sprogpsykologisk information og debat. 2002/3: 9

Siiner, Maarja and Jesper Hermann 2002. An Unravelling of Principles We All Have to Use. Psycoloquy: 13/19

Siiner, Maarja 2001. Sprog–… hvad for noget? Spindet–Sprogpsykologisk information og debat. 2001/3: 9–12

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Haridus:

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2004–2005	nõustaja ja suhtekorraldaja Taani Puudega Inimeste Ühenduses
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1995–1997	norra keele ja kirjanduse õppejõud Tallinna ülikooli Põhjamaade keelte osakonnas
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Muu:

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Siiner, Maarja ja Vihalemm, Triin 2013. Jätkusuutlik keelepoliitika: kas ja kuidas? Keel ja Kirjandus 2013/2

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DISSERTATIONES
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