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Changing Media Spaces: The Transformative Power of Heteroglossic Practices

Brigitta Busch

Introduction

For many years a central role has been attributed to the media¹ in the rise of standard and national languages (Innis 1997). Recent developments, however, may well be contributing to the de-centring of national and standard languages. The monolingual habitus of media which address a national audience, their normalizing and standardizing role, is not an inherent feature of particular mass media technologies, but is rather due to the way media technologies are socially appropriated. In the period of the emerging nation-states a process of hierarchization of languages was set in motion through censorship and licensing procedures, which fostered state or national languages. At the same time the media began to fulfil a controlling function through the 'correct' use of a unitary language on the one hand and through meta-linguistic discourses on the other. National broadcasting was able to create 'a sense of unity – and of corresponding boundaries around the nation', 'turn previously exclusive social events into mass experiences' and 'link the national public into the private lives of citizens' (Morley 2000: 107).

The western European media order as it was established in the aftermath of World War II remained relatively unchallenged until the 1970s, when processes of regionalization and localization, of privatization, of European integration and later of globalization began to de-centre the national public spheres. In the process of economic globalization and the transformation of the world political order, supranational and sub-national institutions are gaining in importance in the developing power vacuum due to the retreat of the traditional nation-state (Castells 2003).

Nevertheless, the state remains a relevant political entity, it has constantly to define and redefine its role (Foucault 1986). On a supranational level core functions are being abandoned to international organizations (in terms of language policy and cultural policy especially the EU and UNESCO) and to international expert bodies, such as the WTO, which defy largely democratic control. On a sub-state level regional and local bodies are gaining in importance. Increasingly, intermediaries and private bodies are becoming more important actors. This development also applies to language policies in education, a domain which has traditionally been under direct state influence.

In the past two decades, there has been a radical marketization of public services, which means that hospitals, schools and universities increasingly have to operate like private businesses. These processes also involve a marketization of language, whereby the language of the market conquers the public service domain. Marketization entails a shift in social relations and social identities, which results in ambivalent and contradictory authority relations. The 'consumers' gain in power, the power to shop around and choose (Fairclough 2000: 163–4). In parallel with the changing media order, a process of de-centring of standard languages has become visible on several levels: supranational media seek to embrace whole language areas as one single audience and market, and follow different strategies of addressing this nationally and linguistically heterogeneous audience. In regional and local media varieties, minority languages or urban codes – before only present in niches – now assume a more comprehensive communicative function. Media enterprises have largely become actors in their own right as far as language policies are concerned.

Several factors determine language policy orientations in the media: the way audiences are being imagined and relationships with the audiences are being structured; how different modes of communication and communication technologies are being appropriated; how the production process is organized; and which resources can be used. I shall discuss and illustrate these factors in the following sections.

Focus on urban local media

Due to migration and labour mobility life worlds in European metropolitan centres are multilingual. The monolingual biography of the individual speaker – which was never more than a projection, a sort of ideal construct (see the chapters by Gal and Brumfit, this volume) – cannot therefore be upheld as the norm. For example, in Vienna almost

a quarter of the population (Waldrauch and Sohler 2004: 153) uses a language other than German or in addition to German in daily life. Through the internet and satellite technology, media are available almost everywhere in a huge range of different languages, although local media still play an important role in daily media habits.

Discussing examples from local radio stations in urban areas which produce programmes for migrants, I will show how these media question the monolingual habitus and transgress the imperative of linguistic purity. Radio MultiKulti, the multilingual local broadcasting station in Berlin, is one of the most documented and researched examples (see, for example, Vertovec 2000; Echchaibi 2002; Kosnick 2002; Busch 2004). Founded in 1994 as part of the Landesmedienanstalt Berlin-Brandenburg (Berlin-Brandenburg Media Authority), it is bound to the principles of the public service media sector. Radio MultiKulti claims to assure the continuity of so-called foreign language programmes broadcast for the *Gastarbeiter*² migration in Berlin since 1974.

Examining state migration policies and public service broadcasting policies in a historical perspective reveals direct correlations: when labour policies were aiming at a rapid turnover of workers and assumed that the workers would return after a temporary short stay, programmes in the languages of the larger migrant groups saw their mission as building bridges to the countries of origin. Later, when the idea of integration and assimilation began to dominate migration policies, the focus of the radio programmes changed. German language programmes with an intercultural orientation had the effect not only of decreasing the number of 'foreign' language programmes, but also of strengthening ties with the new environment and raising understanding and good will among the majority population (Kosnick 2000). Similar developments have taken place in other European countries. Franchon and Vargaftig (1995), for example, show in a Europe-wide study of public service television and immigration in the mid-1990s that there was already a clear tendency to abandon or outsource programmes in 'minority' languages to niches within the programme schedule or to the private sector.

Today Radio MultiKulti broadcasts in more than twenty languages. Most of the programmes in languages other than German are located in a programme slot between 5 p.m. and 10 p.m. During day time – that is, during the peak listening hours – the main language of transmission is German. There is a clear correlation between the size of particular migrant groups in Berlin and the amount of time allocated to programmes in 'their' languages.

In many European cities non-commercial private radio stations began to develop after the fall of the state broadcasting monopolies in the 1970s and 1980s. Right from the beginning, despite their different history and organizational structure, a multilingual orientation became one of their common characteristic features (Kleinsteuber 1991: 321–2). In many local community stations, like Radio LoRa in Zurich, Radio Fro in Linz or Radio Orange in Vienna, programmes in languages other than the 'national' language account for approximately 15 per cent to 20 per cent of the time on air (Busch 2004: 123). The range of languages which can be heard differs from Radio MultiKulti in so far as languages which do not figure prominently in the cities' census statistics can also be found. Furthermore, there is a high proportion of bi- and multilingual programmes which aim at addressing diverse audiences as one public. The strong presence of 'small' language groups suggests that the radio programmes on the community stations fulfil a compensatory function for those that are excluded from access to (national) media. It is not a coincidence that many of the minority programmes on community stations have titles like 'the voice of the voiceless'.

Imagining the audience – the fiction of a homogeneous national target group

On Radio MultiKulti programmes in the now separate languages spoken in the area of former Yugoslavia (Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian) have their own slots. The website of the 'Emisija na Bosanskom jeziku' (Programme in Bosnian Language) addresses the listeners directly:

Dobar dan i maksuz selam!

U akšame rane Emisija na bosanskom jeziku se svakog radnog dana obraća Vama, građanima Bosne i Hercegovine – Bošnjacima, Hrvatima i Srbima – koji su u ovom gradu 'kod kuće' na duže ili kraće vrijeme. (...) Dajemo Vam priliku da se čuje i Vaš glas, na Vašem jeziku i da zahori Vaša pjesma i donese malo sevdaha, meraka i rahatluca u večeri rane.

(Good day and a cordial greeting!

Every day in the early evening hours the programme in the Bosnian language addresses you, the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina – Bosnjaks, Croats and Serbs – who have been 'at home' in this city for a longer or shorter time. (...) We offer the possibility that your voice can be heard in your language and that your song brings a little bit of love, joy and contentment in the early evening.)

The programme is conceived for a multiethnic audience which is imagined as a single national community. Listeners are addressed in their capacity as citizens of the state (whose passport they often do not possess) and as migrants who have chosen Berlin as a new home. The programme reports relevant news from the *Heimat* (homeland) as well as from 'the community' in Berlin. It defines itself as a bridge to the country of origin and as a promoter of the integration process. The focus on national belonging also finds expression in the micro-linguistic choices. Expressions like *maksuz selam* (cordial greetings) or *malo sevdaha, meraka i rhatluka* (a bit of love, joy and contentment) were considered as dialectal, as Turcisms, when Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian were still regarded as one single Serbocroatian/Croatoserbian language. During the process of the disintegration of the Yugoslav state and the drawing of new borders, linguistic demarcation served as a means of emphasizing differences (see, for example, Busch and Kelly-Holmes 2004a; and Voss, this volume) and when the three separated national languages were proclaimed, expressions such as those mentioned above were incorporated into the new Bosnian written standard as markers of distinctness. The text on the web site suggests that a 'correct' and 'pure' Bosnian language is being used here. Similarly, the programme in Croatian on Radio MultiKulti announces that it reports about 'what is new in Croatia' and 'what Croats in Berlin and Germany should know', just as the Serbian programme focuses on Serbia and Montenegro.

During day time, on Saturdays and in the late evening hours Radio MultiKulti broadcasts a programme which might be characterized as 'world music'. It addresses a particular Berlin scene that defines itself through a multicultural life style. The following text is an extract from the website which introduces the presenters of the German language programmes:

Der Wahl-Berliner und überzeugte Neapolitaner Giò di Sera alias Don Rispetto ist ein Szene-Held und Allround-Künstler mit vielen Talenten. (...) Dabei bedient sich Don Rispetto einer besonderen Sprache, einer 'Misch-lingua', dem 'Berlingo'...a cool mix of Deutsch, Italiano and English u.a. per tutti i fratelli della musica!

(The adoptive Berliner and through and through Neapolitan Giò di Sera alias Don Rispetto is a hero of the scene and an all-round artist with multiple talents. (...) Don Rispetto uses a special language, a 'mix-lingua', 'Berlingo'...a cool mix of Deutsch, Italiano and English amongst others per tutti i fratelli della musica!)

The 'mix-lingua' is meant to contribute to the multicultural feeling. Unlike in the non-German language programmes, the audience is not imagined as a national/ethnic community but in terms of a life style expressed in a particular kind of music. Whereas the requirement of 'linguistic correctness' – which reigned in public service broadcasting until the 1980s/1990s – still seems to operate for the programmes broadcast in languages other than German in the early evening hours, it seems to have lost its force in certain German language programmes. The elements from other languages or codes in this case are less expressions of the heteroglossia present in the city than elements of style that refer to a certain life style.

Most of the urban community radio stations in Austria, Germany and Switzerland also feature programmes which address listeners from the space of former Yugoslavia. Some of the independent stations – like Radio Fro in the Austrian town Linz – even schedule a whole range of such programmes. Some of them are run by 'traditional' migrant organizations and address ethnic or national communities; more frequent are programmes which cater for a particular taste or address a particular scene or generation. At the Viennese station Radio Orange the programmes 'Yu-radio' and 'Radio Nachtwerk' are run by owners of discos. Both programmes aim not only at maximizing their radio audiences but also at attracting as many visitors as possible to the disco venues with a programme addressing people from the whole Balkan area. Consequently the journalists avoid as far as possible expressions which can be identified immediately as markers of difference for one of the three 'new' standards, Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian. Some commercial media produced in the space of former Yugoslavia (such as the diaspora version of Pink TV or the magazine Svet Plus) employ a similar strategy of addressing the whole former Serbocroatian linguistic space as a single potential audience (Busch 2004: 211 ff).

The following text comes from the introductory sequence of a programme broadcast on a community radio station in Austria. It avoids national/ethnic labelling not for commercial but for political reasons:

To je emisija na vašem i našem jeziku, ili barem jeziku za koji nikome nije potreban prevod, jeziku, koji svi razumemo. Muzika je (xxx) izključivo od naših izvođača i autora, geografski gledano od sredine tunela Karavanke pa do granične rampe sa Grčkom.

(This is the programme in your and in our language, a language for which nobody needs a translation, which we all understand. The

music is exclusively by our artists and authors, geographically speaking from the middle of the Karavank tunnel right to the border barrier with Greece.)

The broadcasting language is defined as 'a language for which nobody needs a translation, which we all understand' avoiding at the same time both the 'new' national labels and the 'old' unitary name. Irony is used as a stylistic resource to distance the speaker from ascribed national identities. The programme positions itself as an alternative programme, as a counter-discourse to the dominant national discourses. This is visible not only in the contents of the programme and in the linguistic choices but also in the ways the programme is designed and organized. For example, the emphasis is on dialogic forms, and live discussions and phone-in programmes encourage listeners to participate via telephone, email and text messages. Therefore a broad range of codes, registers, and styles is present in the programme.

It is in fact the producer-audience relationship and the ways in which audiences and their expectations concerning texts are imagined that determine how the text is shaped. The notion of the target audience, which encompasses a spatial (local, regional, national, global) and/or a social (social status, income, age, gender) dimension, is based on rigid and reified audience categories. The notion of media coverage and definitions of target audiences are instruments of market research and correspond to criteria established by the advertising industry. Ang (1991) demonstrates that this approach is based on a discursive construct of audience that is unable to capture the actual relationship between media and audiences. Following McQuail (1987), she distinguishes between two main orientations: audience-as-public and audience-as-market.

The first is generally associated with the public service media sector, in which the addressee is seen as a citizen (of a state), the relationship with the audience is paternal and the aim is to transmit values, habits and tastes. It is linked to the so-called transmission model of communication, in which the transmission of a message and the ordered transfer of meaning is the intended consequence of the communication process. Monolingual orientation and linguistic 'purity' dominate in this paternalistic model.

The second audience configuration is associated with the private commercial media sector. Audiences are addressed as consumers in a double sense: as consumers of the media product and as potential consumers of the products advertised in the programmes. In the

attention model of communication, communication is considered successful as soon as attention is actually aroused in audiences. The transfer of meaning plays a secondary role. The scoop, the extraordinary, and the scandal gain in importance as means of arousing attention. On the level of linguistic choices, standard forms lose their central position: for example, elements from other codes are built in to attract attention.

In the alternative media sector, by contrast, the conception of the audience is determined by the idea of an active public that participates in social action and media production. The aim is to overcome the division between producers and audiences, to move closer to a situation in which 'the Other' is able to represent itself, in which the heterogeneity of 'authentic informants' is not reduced (Atton 2002: 9). Alternative or 'third sector' media are consequently closer to the ideal of representing the multi-voicedness of society in all three dimensions which Bakhtin (Todorov 1984: 56) described: heterology (*raznorečie*), that is the diversity of discourses, heteroglossia (*raznojazyčnie*), the diversity of language(s), and heterophony (*raznoglossie*), the diversity of individual voices. However, the three sectors cannot be separated neatly. It has, for example, been observed that the public service sector is becoming more market-oriented, at least in some segments of its programmes, and that formats and genres developed in a certain sector are taken up – sometimes in a transformed way – by others. The different basic orientations in conceiving the producer-audience relationships result in preferences for particular media formats (for example, authoritative information-centred programmes, market-oriented infotainment programmes, dialogic forms such as phone-in programmes) and in different linguistic practices. They also determine the way in which discourses are shaped, reproduced and transformed.

Multimodality – decentring the role of standard languages

Media communication is inherently multimodal communication: language in written and spoken form is only one of several modes available for expressing a meaning potential. For instance, in print media layout and image are available in addition to the written word, in radio language is present in its spoken form, alongside music and different sound sources, and in television all of these modes can be drawn upon in a context in which the moving image holds a central position. Similarly, in computer-mediated communication a wide range of modes is available (Kress 2002: 6).

How these modes interact is not only a question of technical availability but rather a question of social appropriation and convention, as Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) point out in their multimodal social semiotic theory. The interplay between the different modes has undergone substantial changes in media history. Writing was considered in many cultural environments as the central mode for the transfer of canonical knowledge and authoritative discourse. The predominance of the written text influenced radio production so that practically all radio texts in the early days of the medium were first produced in written form and then read in front of the microphone. Even on television news broadcasts were read for some time without transmitting the image of the speaker as it was considered that the moving image might distract the audience's attention. Linguistic practices and text genres from established media exerted, and continue to exert, a considerable influence on 'new' media and vice versa.

The programmes on urban multilingual radio stations discussed earlier use different communication channels and therefore also different media (each with their own technical and stylistic possibilities) in their contact with their audiences. The web pages designed by the editors of different radio programmes stick closely to the conventions established in print media. A 'correct' and elaborate standard language is the norm as is the case for the websites of the Bosnian programme cited above or of Don Rispetto's music programme on Radio Multikulti. Commercially oriented or alternative radios do not differ substantially in their linguistic practices for this kind of web site.

Some of the radio programmes accommodate interactive spaces on their web sites. In guest books or chat rooms the rules and practices traditionally attached to the written mode seem less powerful (see also Bleichenbacher, this volume). The following example from Radio Nachtwerk (nw), one of the Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian programmes on Radio Orange in Vienna, shows a mix of elements current in oral communication, in text messages and in 'netspeak'. Both messages in the guest book refer to a concert with the popular singer Seka:

Example 1

ich fands ganz super das seka in nw war cmok an das nw team nw 4ever
(It was great for me that Seka was in nw kiss for the nw team nw 4ever)

Example 2

Ej nemogu da erwartenim da vidim seku!!! es wird sicher geil!!!!
wahnsinn...
(Oh, I cannot wait to see Seka!!! it will be cool!!!! amazing...)

In both messages there are features of speech current among German and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian speaking youth in Vienna such as amalgamating different codes: in example 1 'cmok', listed in Bosnian, Serbian or Croatian dictionaries as 'loud kiss', interrupts a predominantly German netspeak flow. In the second example, codeswitching occurs not only after the first sentence but also with the German 'erwarten' which is inserted into the first sentence with a Slavic verb-suffix attached to it. In both messages graphic elements also play a role. Messages from the internet guest book or from emails sent to Radio Nachtwerk are sometimes read during the broadcast, so that (written) web practices make their way into the spoken mode. Music can also serve as a door-opener for 'impure' practices in the sense that song texts in other languages or codes can interrupt the monolingual orientation of programmes.

Recontextualization and linguistic transformation – the availability of resources

Media production is regulated by institutional routines, media reception by everyday practices and arrangements; both depend on available resources. The production of media texts can be seen as a series of transformations, a chain of communicative events which links sources in the public domain to the private domain of media reception (Fairclough 1995: 48–9). Media production encompasses the collection and selection of 'raw material'. At each stage in media production, earlier versions of the text are transformed and recontextualized in ways that correspond to the priorities and goals of the current stage. Due to the economic imperative of reducing the fixed costs in media enterprises, the amount of genuine journalistic work decreases in favour of 'ready-made products' such as news agency material, pre-produced programme elements and formats.

Journalistic work thus becomes more a matter of selection than of investigation. This process is encouraged by an oligopolistic owner structure and practices of cross-referencing between different media (Siegert 2003). However, it would be too simplistic to say that these developments lead necessarily to a homogenization of cultural production. Different media develop their particular policies of material collection and selection in which the search for the unusual and the surprising also has a certain value, so that elements from all kinds of (sub-cultural) codes have their market value. For the journalist current developments in media production also mean an increasing specialization on narrower

fields of reporting, on particular genres, topics and so forth, while the traditional division of labour between the technical and journalistic parts of production is disappearing. With the increasing responsibility for the final media product the journalist becomes the designer and producer of a multimodal text.

Returning to local radio stations, it is noteworthy that the public service Radio MultiKulti in Berlin is also organized in a more traditional way. It is part of a hierarchically structured media institution, in which the organization of work is based on a division of labour. According to the company's employment guidelines, journalists for programmes in languages other than German must have an accent-free command of their 'mother tongue' and most of the journalists employed as editors of these programmes have completed the major part of their education in their 'mother land'. Similarly, for the programmes broadcast in German journalists should have mastered German perfectly, but a certain 'foreign flavour' in the voice is considered an advantage. For short interviews, opinion polls and so on within the German language programmes, the editors explicitly want voices that display an immediately noticeable 'foreign' accent. In this context the accent is not a reflection of the social heteroglossia but functions as a marker of ethnicity or as Kosnick (2002: 125) in her ethnographic study of Radio MultiKulti puts it: 'Visual appearances, central to the process of categorization along ethnic and racial stereotypes, cannot function as indicators of ethnic belonging in a purely oral context, and so language plays a central role in signaling ethnic otherness.' Although 'untamed and impure' practices like code-mixing, codeswitching and speaking with a Berlin accent are slowly penetrating the German language and 'foreign' language programmes, the situation is somewhat paradoxical as language policies on this local station, while emphasizing a multicultural and multilingual orientation, exclude a range of heteroglossic local linguistic practices. To keep costs low, Radio MultiKulti re-broadcasts programmes or parts of programmes from other radio stations. Among their partners are public service radio stations in different German Länder and the BBC World Service news programmes in different languages. Radio MultiKulti's multilingual language policy, with its complicated set of rules, gives the impression that 'other' voices, immigrant voices, are represented on air; only a closer analysis reveals that this policy is still very much based on a nation-state principle and on the assumption of distinct and bounded ethnic and cultural identities.

In local community radio stations the programme schedule is usually the result of a process of negotiation between different groups of

producers. Groups or individuals that can guarantee regular programme production can apply for time on air. They receive basic technical and journalistic training and are then entitled to use the radio infrastructure, but do not receive any remuneration from the station for their product. Often – especially for programmes in languages other than the dominant one – very diverse initiatives with diverging interests are present on the same station. Producers include traditional migrants' associations, second generation initiatives, commercial 'ethnobusiness' enterprises, groups with an emancipatory orientation, and cultural initiatives. The resulting multiperspectivity and multivoicedness draws attention to the fact that migrant groups within one city cannot be seen as ethnically, linguistically or nationally homogeneous groups of 'others'.

In community radios each group of journalists is responsible for the respective programme and its realization. Traditional press agency material only very rarely figures as source material; producers rely to a large extent on personal contacts and on local material. Connections with other media function in a translocal or transurban framework rather than in an international or transnational one. An example of an already relatively structured translocal network is Cross Radio (www.crossradio.org), which started in 2001 when a group of radio activists from Radio B92 (Belgrade), Radio Student (Zagreb) and Radio Student (Ljubljana) began to exchange programmes on a regular weekly basis. Each radio station produces a 20-minute long feature about current activities in the local cultural scene with a special emphasis on new, young, independent cultural activities. Today the Cross Radio project brings together in this way twelve radio stations from Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia, Kosovo, Macedonia and Switzerland (produced by members of the Bosnian community in Zurich). Cross Radio has adopted a specific language policy: programmes are rebroadcast by the partners in the original languages (except the programme from Pristina/Kosovo, which is in English), so the listeners are exposed to language in use in Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia and among the diaspora.

Conclusions

Increasingly creative responses to the challenge of heteroglossic societies can be found in the third sector. But community radio stations also have an impact on developments in other media sectors as they usually allow space for experimentation and creativity. Independent stations were the first to produce interactive formats such as phone-in programmes, duplex programmes which are produced on two stations

simultaneously, or bi- and multilingual programmes which search for approaches other than simple translation.

Such linguistically diverse programmes can succeed in bringing together diverse audiences into one single public. The following example from Radio Helsinki in Graz (Austria) shows that this design feature also has an impact on the level of discourse. On the occasion of a football match between Turkey and Austria two editorial teams decided to produce a common bilingual programme. The idea was that listeners would watch the live TV transmission of the match, and switch off the sound provided by TV while listening to the alternative commentary on the radio. The co-presence of the mode 'moving image' enabled the presenters to move away from conventional broadcasting routines and experiment with innovative commentary patterns.

Sometimes the commentators commented on the match consecutively in Turkish and German, sometimes – especially when one of the teams was approaching the goal – in both languages simultaneously. From time to time the Turkish- and German-speaking journalist translated and both sets of commentators engaged in a discussion. In the studio the Turkish-speaking journalist soon took the lead, determining the dynamic of the programme. For the German-speaking audience the Turkish-speaking journalist's ability to switch between the two codes becomes obvious. It gives this part of the audience the opportunity to experience everyday multilingualism from another perspective than that of a deficit, in which the bilingual speaker is often identified as the one who speaks with an accent, the one who does not conform to the standard norm.

Both the Turkish-speaking and the German-speaking journalists have inside knowledge relevant to their tradition of sport reporting (that is, in Turkey and in Austria respectively). Their inside knowledge adds a surplus value for the other part of the audience as they can interpret, for example, the meaning of a particular team formation from this insider position. The most striking feature is that the deictic frame of reference is very different from that normally found in sports programmes. Listener-inclusive 'we-constructions' addressing the listeners as Turkish or Austrian nationals are very rare, as are metonymy and personification using the names of the two countries when the two teams are meant. Much more frequent are inclusive we-constructions meaning the two commentary teams in the studio, or listener-inclusive we-constructions – referring to the people following the match through the programme – that bring the two (the German-speaking and the Turkish-speaking) audiences together.

This bilingual commentary on the football match therefore represents a new genre, another social practice in sport reporting. At the core is the fact that it addresses two audiences separately in acknowledging their difference, but at the same time it merges the two audiences into one in which parallelisms, differences and convergences can be experienced, in which the space between begins to emerge.

As I have tried to show in this chapter, the predominantly monolingual habitus of the mainstream media appears to be linked to the ideal of a single national public sphere. This ideal, which aimed at homogenizing diverse populations, tended to marginalize and exclude segments of society which did not correspond to the dominant role model and to dominant discourses. The current fragmentation of the national public sphere that is accompanying the process of globalization is resulting in a reconfiguration of media spaces in which supranational as well as local media are gaining in importance at the expense of nationally organized media. Furthermore, while the rise of national and standard languages was connected with the nation-state project, the de-centring of the nation-state as the organizing principle in society seems to favour the de-centring of national and standard languages. The presence of a multitude of languages and codes in the media enhances the visibility of diversity within society, but does not in itself cater for social cohesion and dialogue. Therefore it is necessary to allow for interfaces, public spaces in which the heteroglossia of society is represented and in which negotiation can take place.

Notes

1. The data used in this chapter were collected in the context of the research project 'Changing city spaces', which was carried out within the 5th Framework Programme of the European Union (2002–05).
2. The term *Gastarbeiter* (guest worker) was coined to designate the (predominantly male) workers that came to Western European countries in the period of rapid economic growth in the 1960s and 1970s. It was meant to replace the term *Fremdarbeiter* (foreign worker).

Websites

Radio multikulti Berlin: <http://www.multikulti.de>
 Radio orange, Wien: <http://www.orange.or.at>
 Nachtwerk, Wien: <http://nachtwerk.at>

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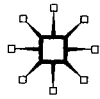
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