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ORIGINAL PAPER

Political strategies and language policies: the European Union Lisbon strategy and its implications for the EU's language and multilingualism policy

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Abstract This paper explores the interplay between the politics and policies of multilingualism by looking at the role of political macro-strategies in shaping language and multilingualism policies within the European Union. The paper focuses on the relationship between the European Union's 2000–2010 Lisbon Strategy on the European Knowledge-Based Economy and the content and scope of EU language and multilingualism policies of the same period. We argue that the economic orientation of the EU language and multilingualism policies of the last decade was mainly determined by the fact that these were subsumed into the overall strategic aims and policy-priorities of Lisbon. Thus, the impact and recontextualisation of typical arguments (e.g. on the skills or competitiveness in/of the EU economy) also dominated EU language policies on multilingualism. Simultaneously, other salient EU-political discourses of the early 2000s (e.g. about the deficiencies of EU democracy, about 'European values', or about European social cohesion) were often silenced, or toned down, in EU language and multilingualism policy.

Keywords European Union · Language policies · Lisbon strategy · Conceptual history · Discourse-historical approach · Policy documents · Knowledge-based economy · Multilingualism · Language ideology

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Introduction[1]

Throughout the last decade, i.e. the period of the preparation and implementation of the Eastward Enlargement of the European Union (EU) which was characterised by the Union's institutional and constitutional crisis (cf. Krzyżanowski 2010a, 2011; Krzyżanowski and Oberhuber 2007; Triandafyllidou et al. 2009), *multilingualism* increasingly became one of the key foci of the EU's policies.[2] Formerly associated with the activity and actions of the Council of Europe, the issue of multilingualism arrived onto the EU-Agenda in the late 1990s. In what followed, we have encountered manifold EU-initiated activities, action-plans, declarations, resolutions, reports or surveys dealing with Europe's multilingualism. Starting with the grand-scale set of actions of the '*2001 European Year of Languages*', and including the European Commission's widely-debated Action Plan 2004–2006 on '*Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity*' (European Commission 2003) or its '*New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism*' (European Commission 2005), and continuing on to the recent comprehensive document on '*Multilingualism: an Asset for Europe and a Shared Commitment* (European Commission 2008), the EU policy has made multilingualism and linguistic diversity one of its central themes.

However, the EU's Language and Multilingualism Policy (henceforth EULMP[3]) still receives rather limited analytical attention; most of the studies focus on its implementation in selected contexts (Lorenzo and Moore 2009; de Cillia and Wodak 2006). What is clearly missing from the debates about the EULMP so far are contextually-oriented analyses which would link the rise and development of the EULMP to other key developments in the politics and policies of the EU in the late 1990s and 2000s. Against this background, this paper proposes a critical and context-sensitive approach to EULMP which links development of the latter to the EU's key political 'macro-strategy' of recent years. Hence, we focus on the relationship between, on the one hand, the EU's 2000–2010 Lisbon Strategy on the European Knowledge-Based Economy which, as a macro strategy, spanned a variety of EU policy fields and was recently replaced by the new '*Europe 2020*' initiative (cf. European Council 2010) and, on the other, the content and scope of

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[2] In the paper, we focus on EU language policies (concerning, in their scope, mainly the areas of the EU Member States) rather than what we call EU language regulations (regulating the use of languages in the institutions of the EU). For detailed analyses of the latter, cf. Ammon (2006), van Els (2001, 2005), Wodak and Krzyżanowski (2011), Wright (2000, 2004, 2009).

[3] We introduce and use the abbreviation EULMP—for EU Language and Multilingualism Policy—mainly due to limitations of space. By using this abbreviation we do not want to suggest that a coherent language and multilingualism policy exists in the European Union. In fact, as our paper shows, due to the heterogeneity of ideas on language and multilingualism and despite some actions on those issues any coherent EU policy on language and multilingualism is still far from being developed.

European language and multilingualism policies which were initiated as a new field and developed largely during the same period.

The more general aim of this paper is to explore the interplay between the politics and policies of multilingualism by looking at the *de-facto* role of political macro-strategies in shaping language and multilingualism policies and regulations. Whilst it is generally accepted that language policies have played a crucial role in implementing grand political visions and strategies in different national domains (cf. Shohamy 2006; Wright 2000, 2004; Wodak 2010, 2011), this paper sheds light on the supranational spaces of the EU in order to discover how and to what extent language policies have become 'tools' for implementing political macro-strategies of supranational provenance at national level. Hence, our analysis builds on such research questions as:

- How do (supranational) political macro-strategies influence (national and other) policies, especially those related to languages and multilingualism?
- Does EULMP change under the influence of such macro-strategies as the 2000–2010 EU Lisbon Strategy, and if so how?
- What implications would such change have for the development of EULMP as a separate policy field and for its provisions within different social fields?

We approach EU politics as a *multilevel system of governance* which is based on "continuous negotiation among nested governments at several territorial tiers—supranational, national, regional and local" (Hooghe and Marks 2003: 1; cf. also Jessop 1995; Bache and Flinders 2004). This multilevel system of governance is, we claim, part of the late modern political order which is aptly described by Held (2006: 288) as "the outcome of a complex web of interdependencies between political, economic and social institutions and activities which divide power centres and which create multiple pressures to comply". In this context, EU politics and policy-making must be seen as inherently bound by the constant mediation between different levels of governance as well as between different level-specific institutions. That mediation, we argue, must, however, be based on specific simultaneous bottom-up and top-down directions of policy-making and implementation. Thus, contrary to many arguments on multilevel governance which relate it to processes of one-way top-down Europeanisation, i.e. the influence of EU policies on the domestic spaces of EU member states (cf., inter alia, Mény et al. 1996; Green-Cowles et al. 2001), we argue—using the example of EULMP—that the system must be based on both top-down and bottom-up logic which would allow for the policies not only to be produced or implemented at selected levels but to gain their legitimacy at all levels of EU governance (Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2008; Wodak and Fairclough 2010).

Our analysis combines the Discourse-Historical Approach in critical discourse studies (Wodak 2001, 2009; Wodak and Krzyżanowski 2008; Reisigl and Wodak 2009) with the conceptual analysis of social and political concepts in the tradition of Conceptual History or, more specifically, of German *Begriffsgeschichte* (cf. Koselleck 1979, 2002; Åkerstrøm-Andersen 2003; Ifversen 1997). Such a methodological combination (cf. Krzyżanowski 2010b) allows tracing of the recontextualisation of different aspects of EU policy and major EU policy-relevant discourses (on economy,

democracy and society, cf. below) and analysing how 'semantic fields' of multilingualism and related concepts changed over the period of development of EULMP. In our context-sensitive analysis, we strongly rely on a multi-level definition of context (Wodak, 2001) which integrates the influence of changing socio-political conditions (i.e. macro-level of context) on the dynamics of discursive practices (policy documents, etc.) with an in-depth analysis of relevant texts or text extracts. Accordingly, prior to the eventual analysis of key documents of EULMP, we first provide an in-depth exploration of the 'macro' context which, in our case, encompasses recent developments in the EU, its integration process, and its major policy-related activities.

In this paper, we start with definitions of language policy and language ideology. The latter, though traditionally neglected in many aspects of language policy analyses, has recently received widespread attention among language-policy analysts. We then outline the key developments in the EU in the late 1990s and 2000s. The detailed description of the latter—especially from the point of view of the two major EU narratives on European democracy and the European Knowledge-Based Economy—provides us with the necessary contextualisation for discussion of key aspects of the EU Lisbon Strategy (including its 'rise and fall' in the period 2000–2010). Here, we also devote special attention to the role played by languages and language-related issues in the original strategy. Subsequently, we move to our analysis which proceeds along the lines of a diachronic study. The latter looks at how the key language-related arguments enumerated in Lisbon were recontextualised in different instances of EULMP—especially in its definitions of multilingualism—and how and to what extent other arguments (e.g. about European society or European democracy) have found their way into EULMP despite the dominance of Lisbon-related issues.

(European) Language policies and language ideologies

This paper links two concepts—*language policy* and *language ideologies.* We argue that language policies, as regulatory tools governing how languages should coexist and be used in specific social political and economic contexts, are always inherent representations of different language ideologies, i.e. beliefs, visions and conceptions of the role of certain language(s) held by different (most commonly institutional) social actors.

In this paper, we draw on the conception of language put forth by Shohamy (2006) in her critical framework of language policy. As Shohamy argues, language is not "stagnated and rule-bound" (ibid.: xvi) but primarily "personal, open, free, dynamic, creative and constantly evolving" (ibid.). For this reason, we believe that language (or its more general policy or context-specific regulation) cannot be 'owned' by any individuals and groups and should not be subscribed to individual and collective aims and interests. Moreover, we argue that language should not become 'a tool' in the creation of what Gal (2010) defines as 'sociolinguistic regimes'. As Gal states, the EU has gradually become a typical late-modern *sociolinguistic regime* which, though officially multilingual, perceives its

multilingualism in rather limited ways. Gal claims that the EU could be considered a "top down regime of multilingual standardization that tries to manage increased diversity in the same ways nation states managed non-standard varieties" (ibid.). Inspired by critical approaches to language policies and language planning, such as those proposed by Shohamy and others (de Cillia et al. 2003; Phillipson 2003; Ricento 2005; Spolsky 2004; Wright 2000, 2004), this paper also draws on the concept of *language ideologies,* as elaborated in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology (cf. Blommaert 1999; Gal 1998, 2005; Mar-Molinero and Stevenson 2006; Schieffelin et al. 1998; Silverstein 1998, 2010). While at the general level language ideologies can be viewed as "cultural ideas, presumptions and presuppositions with which different social groups name, frame and evaluate linguistic practices" (Gal 2006: 13), they must also be viewed as being (re-)constructed and negotiated in debates "in which language is central as a topic, a motif, a target, and in which language ideologies are being articulated, formed, amended, enforced" (Blommaert 1999: 1). Such language-ideology debates are taking place across different strands of public and semi-public spheres (cf. Blackledge 2005; Blackledge and Creese 2010).

Thus, in our case, it is important to investigate which language ideologies were and are salient when implementing recent EU policies; i.e. which language ideologies are linked to the Lisbon strategy (Wodak 2005, 2010). We claim that the global tendency of economisation via the Knowledge-Based Economy (KBE) has also had a major impact on the language ideologies influencing debates on recent EU language policies, similar to other policy fields (such as Higher Education, cf. Wodak and Fairclough 2010; Fairclough and Wodak 2008; Jessop et al. 2008).

Thus, we endorse Jessop's (2008a) view that:

> Related theoretical paradigms seek to establish the novelty of the KBE by identifying its distinguishing features in terms of some combination of the reflexive application of knowledge to the production of knowledge, the key role of innovation, learning, and knowledge transfer in economic performance, and the increasing importance of the intellectual commons and/or intellectual property rights in contemporary competition. In turn the hegemonic policy paradigm is especially concerned to establish the reality of the KBE through the compilation and repetition of statistical indicators, through the development of benchmarks and league tables, and through the elaboration of an interwoven set of useful concepts, slogans, and buzzwords. These can then be applied to generate a relatively simple set of policy prescriptions and legitimations to be applied to many sectors, many scales, and many countries. (ibid: 25)

Following this definition, we assume that language policies drawing on KBE (and their underlying language ideologies) will be oriented towards employment policies, employability, and the skills and tools which seem to be necessary to achieve economic targets. Other values related to language and communication are backgrounded. We assume that concepts and values have changed in salient ways when deconstructing the relevant documents in detail.

The European Union in the late 1990s and 2000s: between democracy and (a knowledge-based) economy

Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, the European Union experienced important changes in two major areas: developing and sustaining the EU as a supranational democracy; and saving the EU's once major economic aims and transforming them into the goal of making the Union one of the world's most competitive knowledge-based economies (KBE, cf. above).

Since 1993 when, after the treaty of Maastricht, the European Community transformed into the European Union, the latter has become a supranational political organism—rather than merely an institutional-economic transnational organisation. Already in the mid-1990s, questions about democratic aspects of the EU started to be asked and its (complex) relationship to the European citizenry—or European *demos*—was challenged (Majone 1994, 1998, 2005; Moravcsik 1998; Follesdal and Hix 2006). Towards the end of the 1990s, the EU started revising its governing treaties and introduced a new treaty in 1996 (Amsterdam) and another in 2000 (Nice) in order to make its system more comprehensive and more representative. Those actions were, however, deemed insufficient by the European public who protested against many of the new provisions already existing during the 2000 Nice summit.

In order to avoid further unrest and criticism of the progress of its integration (Weiler et al. 2003), the EU organised a Convention to draft the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights—a bill of basic human and social rights which should be enjoyed by each EU citizen. Experiencing a further and steady decline in public support and the subsequent rise of Euroscepticism across Europe (Taggart and Szczerbiak 2008), the EU soon decided that pro-citizen actions (such as the Charter) must in fact be accompanied by a more profound rethinking of the EU system, its institutional architecture, and its future in the wake of the EU Eastward Enlargements (which came to eventual fruition in 2004 and 2007, respectively). That led to another Convention which, working between early 2002 and mid-2003, drafted the European Union's Constitutional Treaty (Krzyżanowski and Oberhuber 2007). The latter—though very ambitious in institutional and related terms—was however eventually rejected by the European public, specifically in traditionally pro-EU countries such as France and the Netherlands. It was only with the active support of the European Commission and its Communication Policy (European Commission 2005, 2006; cf. Krzyżanowski 2011) as well as of the German and Portuguese EU Council Presidencies of 2007 that the EU managed to revive the discussion of its Constitution. The latter—now renamed as the Reform or Lisbon Treaty—had come into force by the end of 2009 (Krzyżanowski 2010a).

Simultaneously, in the early 1990s, the then President of the Commission, Jacques Delors, elevated rethinking of the European economy, mainly from the point of view of employment policies, to be the central focus of EU policy. At that time, "a new collective sense of agency was needed at the highest level to drive an across-the-board agenda of systemic change and help create the conditions for a more competitive and cohesive Europe on the global stage" (Jones 2005: 247). Hence, the EU policy-makers saw the main aspect of creating European economic cohesion and competitiveness as re-emphasising the role of employment and related

aspects (Muntigl, Weiss and Wodak 2000). This, however, implied that the new economic policies would radically affect the foundation of the European Social Model (ESM).[4]

Subsequently, via the White Paper on Growth, Competitiveness and Jobs (1994)—as well as several actions that followed throughout the mid/late 1990s including the 1997 Luxembourg Employment Agenda (also known as the Luxembourg process, cf. Muntigl et al., 2000)—the EU launched a set of policies which were supposed to make it economically more efficient internally, and more competitive globally. Both of those—internal and external—aspects of EU economic policy eventually led to the 2000 EU Lisbon Strategy (cf. below for details) which introduced a set of activities, coordinated by the EU and implemented at the level of the member states.

The 2000–2010 EU Lisbon strategy

The rise and fall of the Lisbon strategy

The European Union Lisbon Strategy was implemented as of the spring of 2000. Inscribed into the Presidency Conclusions of the EU Council Meeting in Lisbon held on 23–24 March 2000 (European Council 2000), the Lisbon Strategy is mainly legitimised by bi-dimensional challenges: global or external ones (associated with global competitiveness and the rise of KBEs across the world) and local or internal ones (the reform of European economic policy and its preparation for the then forthcoming Enlargement/s of the EU). As argued in the first part of the document:

> The European Union is confronted with a quantum shift resulting from globalisation and the challenges of a new knowledge-driven economy. These changes are affecting every aspect of people's lives and require a radical transformation of the European economy. The Union must shape these changes in a manner consistent with its values and concepts of society and also with a view to the forthcoming enlargement. (pt. 1)

Or, to put the aforementioned rationale differently, "the EU had to define a new strategy to tackle the challenges of globalisation, reinforced by the enlargement of the Union, and of demography, characterised by the rapid ageing of the population" (Dion 2005: 295).

In accordance with that strictly socioeconomic rationale for the Strategy, the latter outlines the Union's "new strategic goal" (European Council 2000: pt. 5) "to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world

[4] European Social Model (ESM) is a common description for a set of ideas on relating economic growth to the development of the welfare state and social protection. The idea has traditionally been embraced by post-war Western European social-democracies (e.g. within the so-called 'Swedish model') as well as, to some extent, by the EU or its predecessor(s), i.e. the EEC/EC. It is widely argued that the rise of neoliberal tendencies in the late twentieth century—including the ideas on KBE—has largely undermined ESM as well as related ideas. For further discussions on ESM, cf., inter alia, Azmanova (2009), Judt (2007, 2010) or Magnusson and Stråth (2004).

capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion" (ibid.). That aim is to be reached by rapid development and implementation in such areas as:

(a) *Economic policy*—by "preparing the transition to a knowledge-based economy and society by better policies for the information society and R&D[5] as well as by stepping up the process of structural reform for competitiveness and innovation and by completing the internal market" (ibid.) as well as by "sustaining the healthy economic outlook and favourable growth prospects by applying an appropriate macro-economic policy mix" (ibid.);
(b) *Social cohesion policy*—by "modernising the European social model, investing in people and combating social exclusion" (ibid.);
(c) *Environmental policy*—in order to "ensure the equilibrium between economic growth and ecological considerations" (Zgajewski and Hajjar 2005: 3) by acting in such priority areas as "the climate change, the viable ecological transport, the health security and the reduction of polluted means via the responsible administration of the national resources" (ibid.).

In order to ensure the efficient implementation of the Lisbon goals in all of these policy areas, the EU decided to modify its traditional Community Method and introduced a new comprehensive implementation instrument defined as the "Open Method for Coordination" (OMC). The latter—also perceived as "the new approach to EU governance" (Armstrong et al. 2008b: 436)—was "based on iterative benchmarking of national progress towards common European objectives and organised mutual learning" (ibid.). The general rationale for the OMC was that Lisbon spanned those policy areas which were, following the principle of 'subsidiarity', within the sole responsibilities of member states. Therefore, the EU had limited means or instruments to influence changes in those areas "in which national diversity and political sensitivities are high" (Dion 2005: 299).

However, it was obvious from the outset that the OMC suffered from numerous shortcomings and that one of its key weaknesses was that "by proposing non-compulsory guidelines it faces the risk of low implementation and hence the absence of significant changes in national policies to tackle the challenges identified at Lisbon" (Dion 2005: 299; Wodak and Fairclough 2010). It is therefore not surprising that, when reassessing the implementation of Lisbon at its mid-term, the High Level Group chaired by Wim Kok (Kok Report 2004) pointed to problems with the OMC as one of the key reasons why the goals of Lisbon had not been fulfilled. Zgajewski and Hajjar (2005: 4) state that, despite some small successes, it was obvious that Lisbon would not reach its key objectives. More specifically, "neither that 70% general employment rate nor the 50% of 55–64 aged workers rate will be achieved in 2010" (ibid.). By the same token, "a second objective is not yet ready to be met: the research and development structural indicator (…)[which] was supposed to reach 3% of the GDP spending for R&D, but the majority of Member States remain far from it" (ibid.).

[5] Abbreviation for 'Research and Development'.

Following this fierce criticism of its implementation progress, the Lisbon Strategy was re-launched in early 2005 with the arrival of the new European Commission (the first college headed by J-M Barroso). The latter proposed following all of the suggestions put forth by the Kok Report—including re-direction of the entire Strategy to the idea of Competitiveness (Howarth 2007)—and introduced a modified OMC by means of National Reform Programmes (NRPs) to be developed by each Member State (Armstrong et al. 2008a). Simultaneously, the Commission itself wrote the so-called Community Lisbon Programme (CLP) which included additional community guidelines for different policy areas.

In 2010 it became clear that most of the goals of the Strategy had not been achieved. The introduction in 2010 of the 'new Lisbon', now called the '*Europe 2020*' programme (European Council, 2010), reinforced some ideas of Lisbon which remain in place in the new strategy.

The Lisbon strategy: disappearing 'society' and the instrumentalisation of languages

What remains a particularly interesting aspect of the Lisbon Strategy—relevant for our analysis of the EULMP (cf. below)—is the role of the provisions and policies related to social cohesion, the European Social Model (ESM) and European society at large, as well as to language, multilingualism and so forth. Especially in the aftermath of the Kok report and the relaunch of the Strategy in 2005, different aspects of social cohesion disappear. As Zgajewski and Hajjar (2005: 6) show, "the social problems are analyzed nearly exclusively from the point of view of employment [and] (…) other social problems are not evoked".

It was thus not surprising that the aspects of social cohesion were no longer salient or were in fact neglected in national programmes (in the context of Lisbon implementation also known as National Reform Programmes or NRPs) and policies. As Armstrong et al. (2008b: 439) aptly illustrate, as early as 2006 NRP reports referred to issues of social cohesion only rarely. Moreover, structural funds were clearly directed away from issues of social cohesion, and "few direct linkages between the social cohesion/inclusion objectives and Member States' plans for the use of the structural funds" (ibid.) were established. This situation continued until 2010. The Lisbon-based '*Europe 2020*' Programme, while focusing on putting EU economies "back on the path of sustainable and job-creating growth" (European Council 2010: 1), does not focus on issues of social cohesion-inclusion at all.

The provisions related to languages appear in the original Lisbon Strategy document in the second part dedicated to policies and priorities in the field of social cohesion. That part—entitled "Modernising the European Social Model by Investing in People and Building an Active Welfare State"—stipulates, as one of the key areas of Lisbon activities, improving "Education and Training for Living and Working in the Knowledge Society".

In those areas, it is argued, the member states should facilitate the development of a European framework which "should define the new basic skills to be provided through lifelong learning" (ibid.). That framework should help define targets for improving Europeans' "skills" such as: "IT skills, foreign languages, technological

culture, entrepreneurship and social skills" (ibid.). Hence, by means of Lisbon, *language becomes just one of many tools for introducing the KBE and one of its key skills*. This kind of instrumentalisation of language is also evident from the fact that it is not mentioned in any other parts of the Lisbon strategy, not even in the section devoted to the European Research Area (which was also placed into the part of the document devoted to KBE).

Changing semantic field of multilingualism in EULMP: analysis

The following analysis illustrates the changing character of the EU's Language and Multilingualism Policy in the late 1990s and 2000s. In the analysis, we are particularly interested in examining evolving meanings of the concept of 'multilingualism' in EULMP in order to investigate if and how the latter was influenced by KBE-related discourses related to the Lisbon Strategy. Moreover, we study if and how the conceptualisation of 'multilingualism' in the EU was influenced by other major discourses of the European Union of the late 1990s and 2000s, especially discourses associated with European Society (including social cohesion, ESM, etc.) and European Democracy (including European citizens, their relation with the EU, EU communication with European citizens, etc.; cf. Krzyżanowski 2011).

Our analysis covers the period 1997–2010, i.e. the development of EULMP to date (cf. Krzyżanowski 2008, 2009, 2010a; Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2010; for further details, cf. Kelly and Quince 2009). The key policy-relevant developments of that period include:

- 1997: Adoption of the 'European Council Resolution on Early Teaching and Learning of EU Languages'—the first major EU Document dealing with language policy provisions in relation to the Union's member states;
- 2000: Adoption of the Lisbon Strategy on the European Knowledge Based Economy which emphasised (foreign) language skills among its basic features (cf. above);
- 2001: 'European Year of Languages' celebrated throughout EU and candidate states;
- 2002–2003: European Commission's Consultation and Adoption of the Action Plan on "Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity" (2004–2006, cf. below);
- 2004–2006: Multilingualism tied in with the Education and Culture Portfolio of the European Commission under J. Figel, a very active period in the Union's multilingualism policy including adoption of "The New Framework Strategy on Multilingualism" (2005) and initiation of the "High Level Group on Multilingualism"(2006);
- 2007–2010: Separate Commission's Portfolio on Multilingualism created under L. Orban. Longer period of consultation and eventual adoption of a (General) Action Plan "Multilingualism: An Asset for Europe and a Shared Commitment" (2008);
- Since 2010: Return of the Multilingualism Portfolio to the EU Commissioner for Education, Culture and Youth (A. Vassiliou).

According to the content of, and developments in, the EULMP, we distinguish three periods in which the EU's policy discourse about language and multilingualism underwent substantial change. Those periods, which help in relating political and policy developments, roughly coincide with (a) the period before the development of the European Commission's portfolio on Multilingualism (1997–2004), (b) the period when a portfolio on Multilingualism was created but was merged with those on Education and Culture (2004–2007) and (c) the period when it received its position as a separate policy area (2007–2010). We start the periodisation in 1997 as, since then, we encounter a rather regular appearance of different language-(and, later on, also multilingualism-) related policy documents issued by different EU institutions (while, of course, some, though very isolated, language-related policy and other documents were published before 1997 as well). Accordingly, our analysis below is divided into three sections; we focus on the detailed presentation of conceptualisations (and examples) from key policy documents from these periods.

Our analysis covers 24 key EU-documents (394 pages in total and an average of ca. 8,000 words per document in length)[6] on language and multilingualism policy. All analysed documents (Table 1) were obtained in electronic form by means of extensive web searching, mainly in the databases of the EU, such as the *Official Journal of the European Communities* (http://eur-lex.europa.eu).

Table 1 Genres of key EULMP documents (1997–2010)

Genres	Issuing institution	Number
Speeches/statements	CEC	3
Codes of conduct/rules of procedure	EP	1
Survey results/summaries	Eurobarometer, CEC	2
Resolutions (with/without recommendations)	EC, EC/EP	4
Presidency conclusions	EC	2
Decisions	EP/EC	1
Community action plans (including framework strategies)	CEC	4
Recommendations	EP/EC	1
Reports/interim reports (with/without recommendations)	CEC, EP	4
Other[a]	CEC	2
TOTAL		24

EC Council of the EU, *EP* European Parliament, *CEC* the European Commission (i.e. Commission of the European Communities), *ESC* Economic and Social Committee, *CoR* Committee of the Regions

[a] Includes such documents as: European Indicator of Language Competence (2005) and Framework for the European Survey of Language Competences (2007)

[6] Cf. Krzyżanowski and Wodak (2008) for a detailed list of documents. For the purposes of the current analysis, the original corpus (between 1997 and 2007) has been supplemented by such documents as European Commission (2008a, b).

Period I: EULMP between 1997 and 2004

In this first period, we witness an intense conceptualisation of issues related to languages and multilingualism (such as language learning and teaching, linguistic diversity, language skills), whereas multilingualism as such is not actually debated in any explicit detail. Relevant documents mainly focus on emphasising and profiling Europe's linguistic diversity—usually on the basis of statistics (e.g. via special Eurobarometer surveys)—and delineate diverse language-related policy fields to be developed in the following years.

Figure 1 presents the semantic field of multilingualism from an exemplary document issued in 2000 (European Commission 2000a). It shows that, while the central concept of multilingualism remains empty, the set of neighbouring concepts (or *Nebenbegriffe*, Koselleck 1979) includes 'mother tongue' as well as several concepts related to 'foreign languages'. Importantly, the latter are also supported from the point of view of '(foreign) language skills'—i.e. from the perspective on languages introduced by the Lisbon Strategy.

One document from that period also argues that improving foreign language skills is economically sound and enhances one's employment chances as well as possibilities for economic and otherwise understood mobility. In so doing, languages seemingly enable EU-ropeans to take advantage of Europe's single market:

> In many countries it is quite normal for people to be able to use up to three languages. In the European Union, such people are well placed to take full advantage of European citizenship and of the single market. They are better able to move between countries for educational, professional or other reasons. Their linguistic skills are attractive to employers. The Commission wants everybody to share those benefits. (European Commission 2000b: 8)

However, in spite of the opinion stated above, we also encounter—albeit still in relation to languages (and not multilingualism)—arguments which depart from

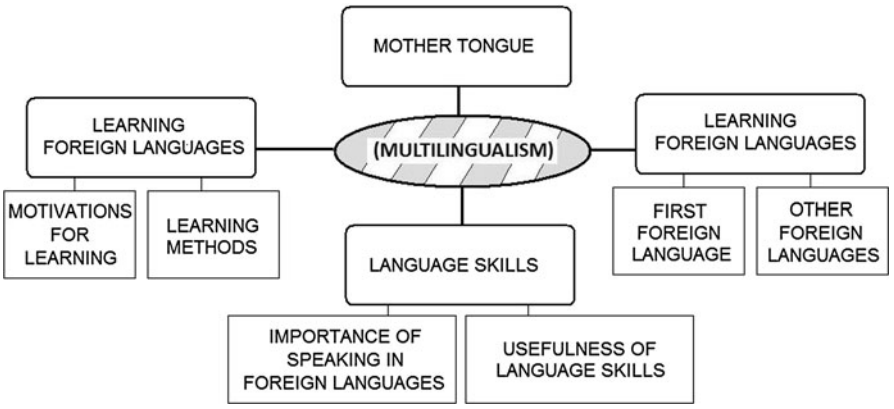

Figure 1 Semantic field of multilingualism in EULMP in 2000

strictly economic frames and which define linguistic diversity in terms of Europe's culture and civilisation, i.e. traditional values related to EU identity construction(s):

> All the European languages, in their spoken and written forms, are equal in value and dignity from the cultural point of view and form an integral part of European cultures and civilisation. (European Parliament/European Council 2000: 1)

It is obvious that, in this first period of EULMP, the Lisbon strategy is already influencing the foci and scope of policies on language and (the then still undefined) multilingualism. Hence, languages are described mainly as 'skills' and discussed from the perspective of 'foreign languages', in the same way as seen in the Lisbon passages devoted to languages (cf. above).

Period II: EULMP between 2005 and 2007

The second period of EU policy discourse on multilingualism includes the stage when the EU recognised the importance and policy-relevance of language and multilingualism by adding a multilingualism portfolio to the remit of the responsibilities of the Union's Commissioner on Education and Culture. The growing importance of multilingualism was also reflected in the policy documents of this period, which now talked explicitly about multilingual aspects of EU-rope and about ways of supporting multilingualism within the member states.

The key document of that period—'The New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism' (European Commission 2005)—reasserts such claims and argues for the Commission's "commitment to multilingualism in the European Union" (ibid.: 1) and for "promoting multilingualism in European society, in the economy and in the Commission itself" (ibid.). The document also lists different 'action fields' in which the Commission plans to promote multilingualism in the EU. Mapped out in detail in the semantic field (Figure 2), those areas include: multilingual society, economy and multilingualism in the Commission's relations with EU citizens. It is particularly the presence of the first and third areas which shows that, unlike before, the EU views multilingualism not only in economic (and thus KBE-related) terms but also in *social and democratic terms*. By arguing that multilingualism is not only good for the European economy but also for a 'social Europe' and the democratisation of the EU, it places multilingualism between the two major EU discourses described above.

Now, the EU also proposes—for the first time—a policy-relevant definition of multilingualism. It closely resembles academic distinctions between 'personal' and 'social' multilingualism and argues that "multilingualism refers to both a person's ability to use several languages and the co-existence of different language communities in one geographical area" (ibid.: 3). This definition allows directing the argumentation towards a rather abstract discourse about identities and values (Wodak and Weiss 2004; Weiss 2002) which was typical for the mid-2000s:

> The Commission considers that the situation can and must improve and therefore urges Member States to take additional measures to promote widespread

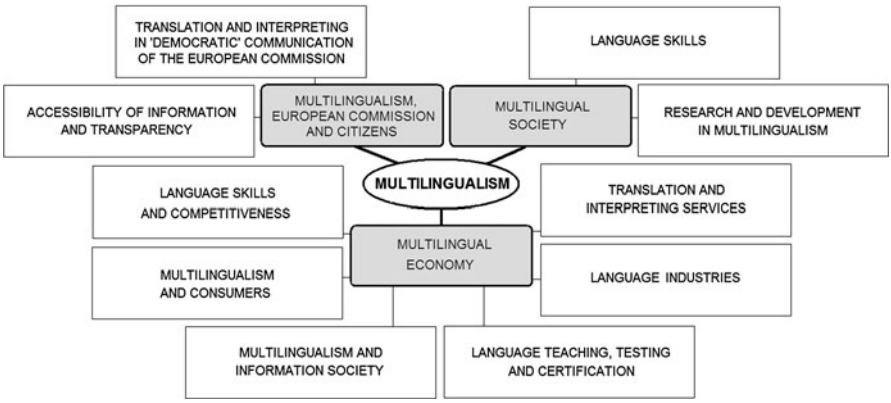

Figure 2 Semantic field of multilingualism in EULMP in 2005

> individual multilingualism and to foster a society that respects all citizens' linguistic identities. (European Commission 2005: 15)

However, it is particularly the discourse about values, which comes to the fore while providing a background for the so-called 'competitiveness rhetoric' (Wodak 2000), which typically characterises debates about KBE:

> The European Union is founded on 'unity in diversity': diversity of cultures, customs and beliefs—and of languages. (…). It is this diversity that makes the European Union what it is: not a 'melting pot' in which differences are rendered down, but a common home in which diversity is celebrated, and where our many mother tongues are a source of wealth and a bridge to greater solidarity and mutual understanding. (European Commission 2005: 2)

Competition is mainly constructed by implicit reference to the USA (the use of the metaphor of 'melting pot' traditionally describing ethnic and cultural diversity in the US) which is portrayed as being different to Europe (metaphor of a 'common home', cf. Musolff 2004; Chilton 1996; Krzyżanowski 2010a) whose key distinctive features include linguistic diversity (Wodak and Weiss 2004).

Importantly, though the second period of EULMP coincides with the relaunch of Lisbon, the Lisbon Strategy and related arguments are not the only ones which can be found in EULMP at that time. On the contrary, in the period 2005–2007—as is evident from Figure 2—multilingualism in the EULMP is perceived in a fairly diversified way which reflects all major EU policy discourses of the early 2000s. Hence, the conceptualisation of multilingualism from the point of view of 'multilingual economy' is linked to 'multilingual society' and 'multilingualism in the Commission's contacts with the Citizens'.

While the former area clearly displays some KBE-related features, the focus on the 'democratic' aspect of contacts between CEC and the citizens remains

somewhat more genuine. A question remains, however, of why 'social' aspects were not perceived from the point of view of social cohesion, social inclusion or of the ESM:

> The European Union adopts legislation which is directly binding on its citizens. It is therefore a prerequisite for the Union's democratic legitimacy and transparency that citizens should be able to communicate with its Institutions and read EU law in their own national language, and take part in the European project without encountering any language barriers. The very first Regulation adopted by the Council therefore defines the European Community as a multilingual entity, stipulates that legislation must be published in the official languages and requires its institutions to deal with citizens in the official languages of their choice. (European Commission 2005: 12–13)

Most importantly, the discourse about democracy is linked interdiscursively with EULMP. Multilingualism is defined as salient for the participation of, and communication with, European citizens. The right of citizens to speak in their national language when dealing with the law and official institutions seems to be part and parcel of EULMP. In this way, however, this document emphasises a kind of 'monolingual multilingualism', i.e. every citizen should be allowed to use their language; however, there is no mention of the importance of foreign language skills or multilingual citizens.

Period III: EULMP between 2007 and 2010

The third period—dating from the creation of a separate Commission portfolio for Multilingualism in 2007—provides a significantly different discourse about multilingualism than Period II. It is limited to economic arguments and, contrary to period II, returns to framing multilingualism from the perspective of the Lisbon Strategy. For example, multilingualism itself is described solely in terms of economic competitiveness:

> Multilingualism makes a real contribution to the competitiveness of the European economy, for reaching the targets of the Lisbon strategy. (European Commission 2007a: 1)

Moreover, we witness a return to the rhetoric oriented towards skills and competences present in the Lisbon Strategy-related discourses of the early 2000s:

> Improving language skills in Europe is also an important objective within the drive to improve the skills and competences of the population as part of the Lisbon growth and jobs strategy. (European Commission 2007b: 2)

This return to Lisbon-oriented positions marks a clear departure from the democracy-oriented discourse of the late 1990s and 2000s. Instead, multilingualism is yet again constructed in a way which limits its meaning to (foreign) language skills and competences defined solely via their economic—and not social—importance.

However, unlike previous periods which were consistently coherent, the third period of EULMP displays a quite significant change in the policy content and conceptualisation of multilingualism. Whilst the first part of that period is characterised by strong pro-Lisbon arguments, the second part manifests a radical rethinking and broadening of the role of languages and multilingualism in EU policy.

This stage starts with an EU-wide Public Consultation on Multilingualism (European Commission 2008a). It concluded that EULMP does not fulfil citizens' expectations and that European citizens wish to see EULMP go beyond its increasingly economy-only orientation:

> Most people think that the linguistic diversity of the EU is an asset to be safeguarded and wish to see it placed in a context going beyond economic and functional aspects, which recognises the identities and cultures represented in languages. (ibid: 4)

Accordingly, we encounter a new semantic field of multilingualism (cf. Figure 3) in a salient document (European Commission 2008b) which clearly goes beyond the Lisbon conceptualisations previously predominant in EULMP (especially in Period I and to a large extent in Period II). Multilingualism in EULMP is thus conceptualised into five areas. The first of them ('Multilingualism for Intercultural Dialogue and Social Cohesion', p. 6) constitutes a clear departure from Lisbon and—in the spirit of the aforementioned Public Consultation—the reinstatement of social and intercultural aspects of multilingualism. The first sub-area here argues for 'valuing all languages'—i.e. not only official ones but also those used 'at home' or in 'communities' as well as for 'overcoming language barriers in the local environment'. Even a 'democratic' element of discourse (reference to 'citizens') also appears within the latter to show that:

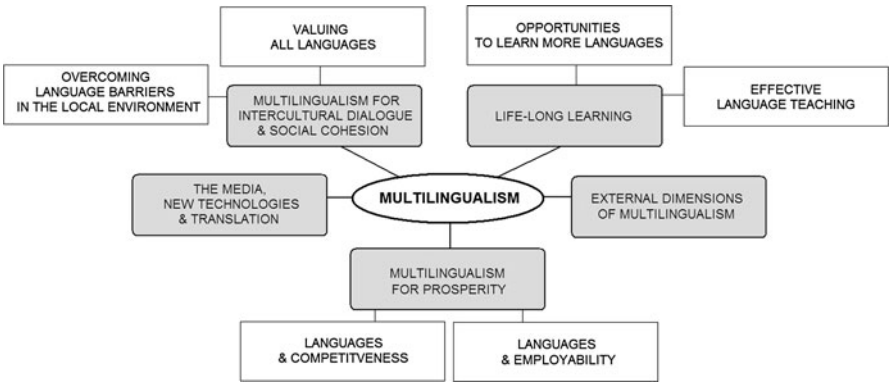

Figure 3 Semantic field of multilingualism in EULMP in 2008

> A basic feature of citizenship is that people living in a local community can benefit from the services available and are able to contribute to the life of their neighbourhood. Tourists, foreign workers or students, and immigrants often come to local communities with limited proficiency in the national language. (European Commission 2008b: 6)

The following two areas—devoted to 'multilingualism for prosperity' (including aspects such as 'competitiveness' or 'employability', p. 8), languages and multilingualism in 'lifelong learning' (pp. 10–12, i.e. in one of the key areas of subsuming education to the ideas of KBE in Europe, cf. Dion, 2005)—reinstate the Lisbon-based discourse. Then, the area devoted to 'the media, new technologies and translation' (p. 12 ff.) introduces a new topic (NB: media were not thematised in EULMP before) which is contextualised by hybrid arguments, related to economy ('globalising economy', cf. below) and democracy ('citizens' etc.):

> The media, new technologies and human and automatic translation services can bring the increasing variety of languages and cultures in the EU closer to citizens and provide the means to cross language barriers. They can also play an important role to reduce those barriers and allow citizens, companies and national administrations to exploit the opportunities of the single market and the globalising economy. (European Commission 2008b: 12)

Finally, a completely new area is introduced with a focus on "external dimensions of multilingualism" (ibid.: 14). Here, no Lisbon-related arguments are employed; instead, multilingualism is defined as not being unique to Europe and thus as a potential tool for developing the Union's external relations (i.e. for foreign policy). This new area coincides, of course, with the simultaneous restructuring of EU foreign policies:

> Multilingualism's contribution to intercultural dialogue is increasingly recognised in the EU's external relations. Linguistic diversity is not unique to the EU and our experience of respecting diversity and promoting language skills could be turned to good account in our relations with other countries. (ibid.)

Although the (so far) final period of the EULMP illustrates new developments, some Lisbon-related arguments still persist. However, it seems obvious that the EULMP has received a new and broader understanding of the social, political and economic role of languages and multilingualism. Sadly, in the wake of the 2008 Financial Crisis and because of the transfer of the Multilingualism Portfolio of the European Commission to Education, Culture and Youth in 2010, most of the key provisions of the policies elaborated in 2008 have not (yet) been implemented. Thus, the earlier Lisbon-oriented policies remain in place.

Conclusions

The analysis of EU Language and Multilingualism Policy emphasises that "the discourse of the 'KBE' has become a powerful economic imaginary in the last

20 years or so and, as such, has been influential in shaping policy paradigms, strategies, and policies in and across many different fields of social practice" (Jessop 2008b: 2). Our qualitative context-oriented discourse analysis of key policy documents has illustrated that the policies on multilingualism oscillate between economic (KBE) values and ideologies and traditional European cultural values such as diversity and education. There is no clear uni-directional development to be detected, quite the contrary in fact, policies on multilingualism are clearly linked to the salient macro-strategies of the EU which depend on global economic and political phenomena. Frequently, multilingualism seems to be functionalized according to political interests which are themselves the subject of change due to other complex influences.

The profound impact and recontextualisation of several Lisbon-originating arguments (on the skills or competitiveness in/of the EU economy) have also dominated EU language policies on multilingualism. Simultaneously, other salient EU-political discourses of the early 2000s—on, *inter alia,* multilingualism in European society (European Social Model) or on the democratic character of multilingual communication in the EU—were backgrounded or even silenced in EULMP.

Our analysis, however, illustrates that the economic orientation of EULMP of the last decade was mainly determined by the overall strategic aims and policy-priorities of Lisbon, all more or less explicitly directed at increasing the (global) competitiveness of the European economy. Thus we claim that, because of the explicit convergence with key ideas and provisions of the Lisbon strategy, the EULMP throughout the late 1990s and 2000s did not offer any relevant understanding of the role of language and multilingualism in the contemporary EU. Namely, defined primarily as elements of 'skills' indispensable for the development of a European Knowledge Based Economy, language and multilingualism gradually became equalised with other KBE-related skills such as knowledge of information and communication technologies (ICT).

Accordingly, the EULMP has not really become an EU policy field in its own right (as manifested through the fate of the Multilingualism portfolio of the European Commission in recent years) and the policies it produced mainly became measures supporting the implementation of key provisions from other policy areas (e.g. Education—through the Lifelong Learning Programme and similar measures; Dion 2005).

Moreover, our analysis also emphasizes that the EULMP became increasingly top-down and autopoietic over the years between its inception in the late 1990s and the present. Just like Lisbon—whose eventual failure was to some extent ascribed to the lack of proper institutional backing at the EU level –EULMP remains focused on EU member states and fields of education while clearly disregarding the implications of EU-institutional multilingualism on public and Europe-wide perceptions of how multilingualism should be approached, managed and practised (Krzyżanowski 2010a; Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2010; Wodak and Krzyżanowski 2011).

As we have shown, because of its economic character, EULMP has become a closed field which has only intermittently allowed for the inclusion of non-economic arguments in its policies. Accordingly, just as in the Lisbon strategy, the EULMP

only sporadically includes references to society and social cohesion at different stages. The same is true for 'democratic' elements which appear very scarcely in the EULMP (namely in Period II and, to a limited extent, in Period III, cf. above). That is especially surprising in the period after 2006 when democratic aspects of EU communication with European citizens were strongly emphasised in many other EU policies.

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Ruth Wodak is Distinguished Professor of Discourse Studies at Lancaster University and has remained affiliated as Full Professor of Applied Linguistics to the University of Vienna. She has held many visiting professorships, i.e. at Uppsala University, Stanford University, University of Minnesota, University of East Anglia, and Georgetown University. In 2008, she was awarded the Kerstin Hesselgren Visiting Chair of the Swedish Parliament at the Örebro University. Besides various other prizes, she was awarded the Wittgenstein Prize for Elite Researchers in 1996 and a Honorary Doctorate from Örebro University in 2010. Her research focuses on discourse analysis; gender studies; language and/in politics; identity politics; prejudice and discrimination; and ethnographic methods of linguistic field work.