GLOBALISATION, MODERNITY AND LANGUAGE: NEW PERSPECTIVES ON LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION

THE EUNOM REPORT

GLOBALISATION, MODERNITY AND LANGUAGE: NEW PERSPECTIVES ON LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION.

The EUNoM report

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This is the final report of the EUNoM project, co-funded by the European Union under the Life-long Learning Programme from November 2009 to October 2012. The European Universities' Network on Multilingualism, which has over 25 members from all over Europe, first met in Barcelona in 2007, to discuss how the process of globalization makes changes in the way universities, and indeed society as a whole, approach multilingualism, both as a challenge and, above all, as an opportunity.

During the three years that the EU has co-funded the project, five European symposia were held:

- Symposium 1 on "Language teachers: Training for a New Paradigm" (Udine, Friuli, Italy, 7-8 September 2010)
- Symposium 2 on "Higher education and research on multilingualism: challenge or opportunity?" (Ljouwert, Friesland, The Netherlands, 18-19 November 2010)
- Symposium 3 on "Managing multilingual and multiethnic societies and institutions" (Koper, Slovenia on 20-21 June 2011)
- Symposium 4 on "Multilingualism in the knowledge economy: Labour markets revisited, and corporate social responsibility" (Belfast, Northern Ireland, UK, 14-15 November, 2011)
- Symposium 5 on "E-Learning, ICT and Languages" (Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain, 14-15 May 2012)

The project website remains in place for visitors interested in the topics we have covered: http://eunom.uoc.edu.

This document can also be downloaded from the website.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Driven by a neoliberal philosophy the globalisation process is responsible for profound changes in how we understand both language and higher education. The meanings elaborated in industrial age society are being destabilised. Language is no longer so closely tied to the nation state, its territory and the people who lie within it. Languages are also liberated from the rigidity of form. Higher education becomes a commercialised, global phenomenon, with individual Universities competing in the lucrative 'foreign student' market.

2. Language hegemony rests on how a range of institutions concur on specific perspectives or philosophies, shared interests and common goals that relate to the normative order. At the heart of these institutions is the notion of society as nation and social groups constituted in relation to the regulating activities of the state. Problems are constructed and resolved through this commonality. Identity involves how this involves a configuration of objects and subjects that relate to one another in a specific way such that the individual as subject and the nation and language as objects are drawn together.

3. While this institutional alignment persists there is little threat to state languages in the face of the emergence of English as a global language. The context for the production of English where it is not a state language does not integrate with the institutional context such that it plays a role in the generation of an identity. Once we recognise higher education as pertaining to the global it is expected that English as a globalised form of discourse increasingly focuses in its operations.

4. Social change obliges new perspectives on language learning. Language teaching shifts from the teaching of a specific language to the notion of the 'language teacher'. Theories of learning become important and new models of the language learner emerge. There is a change of emphasis from striving to achieve the proficiency of the native speaker to the notion of the plurilingual communicator. Flexibility is highlighted and the individual's language capacity pertains to specific contexts. Standard language gives way to tolerance of language mixing and hybridity. There is also a new emphasis on intercultural competence while language use is thought of as a social practice. In this respect the enhanced movement of populations involves the cultural disembedding and reembedding of language.

5. The relevance of languages for economic practices is increased. It places a renewed emphasis on the Triple Helix links between higher education, government and business. The question arises of the extent to which business should be responsible for language teaching. In many respects the role of higher education in the Triple Helix is linked to research. By reference to the new economy only the best Universities work with the main multinational companies in generating patents. The relaxation of the use of language in patent registration helps. However there remains a limited attention to the role of on-line working within a global market, which places demands on a knowledge of languages. While Universities persist in relegating language to specific departments, while ignoring the language needs of both students and faculty, there is little hope that the link between language and research for engagement within a global market will move forward.

6. The management of language changes from a context within which the state polices a territorialised language and culture and the associated identity. As management shifts from government to governance there is an increased emphasis on the governance of the self and the discursive means whereby this is mediated. It involves the EC's Open Method

of Coordination that links local communities and individuals with higher levels of management. As responsibility for the management of regional languages shifts from the state to regional government the notion of multi-level governance is brought into play. Put together these two processes result in a new understanding of language management. Problems remain by reference to the management of regional languages in that in the new context scarce resources must be deployed to sustain language management.

7. The production process of the industrial age economy involved little interaction between workers. In contrast, production within the knowledge economy is based on team working within which individuals learn from one another through 'learning by doing'. The reflexive element in this process is enhanced when more than one language is involved in work. How languages vary in their signifying processes lends a variety of symbolic contexts that enhance the relationship between meaning and understanding. This contributes significantly to creativity.

8. It is too simple to think of the new technology in terms of the link between ICT and language learning. There is a need to contextualise the learning process by reference to more than language competence. On-line working environments that can operationalise creativity involving language must be elaborated. This involves integrating the link between the use of ICT and language learning with the Triple Helix and related integrated work processes. Both mobile and fixed technologies must be used. What is new about the technology is its capacity to facilitate networking across both time and space. However, we must also recognise that technology is a social construct and that its form involves discourses that constrain as well as offering possibilities.

9. We are living in a new age where both language and higher education are being rethought. Education provides for the related needs of the individual and the economy. As individuals are articulated with a globalised context and the knowledge economy our understanding of language education must be subjected to a complete reassessment. This requires a new turn in how, why and what we learn as well as a step change in the orthodox thinking about higher education. It is a process that affects us all.

10. This report recommends that this rethinking be carried out at all levels, and suggests some specific, practical measures to assist the process.

1. INTRODUCTION

The process of change appears to have accelerated profoundly in recent years. Previously stable discourses with their relatively fixed meanings and their established links to institutions are being destabilised, raising questions about the nature of society. The related processes of globalisation and modernisation are promoting entirely new social contexts that demand changes in our understanding of society and in our ways of confronting the relevant issues.

THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR LANGUAGE EDUCATION APPEAR TO BE LARGELY UNAWARE OF THE NEW DEMANDS PLACED ON LANGUAGE EDUCATION AT ALL LEVELS BY THE CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES AND CONDITIONS.

Within this context those responsible for language education appear to be largely unaware of the new demands placed on language education by the changing circumstances and conditions. This is true not only at the primary and secondary levels of education, but also within higher education. Indeed, few efforts have been made to discuss the interplay between higher education institutions, private enterprise and public authorities in broaching the subject of the significance of language and languages for the future. In this series of symposia we emphasize that language education must be decompartmentalised, and non-language disciplines must engage with the relevance of language for their practices.

i. Globalisation and linguistic and cultural diversity. Globalisation involves a new context for the flow of financial capital. The speed of financial transactions is considerably enhanced, mergers and acquisitions involve vast sums, and the flow of capital is now global. Associated with the circulation of financial capital is the circulation of human capital in the form of migration. Demands are made not only for the recognition of a citizenship of residence, but also for an acknowledgement of the value of a diversity of languages and cultures for all countries, even those in the hands of the most intransigent of political regimes. Yet the wealth of multilingual contexts is often ignored in the public domain, and education consistently fails to exploit these valuable resources. The incomer tends to be treated with suspicion or as a threat to outmoded narratives about language and cultural purity.

The role of language within the economy is also changing. The shift from industrial economies to knowledge economies involves quite different working environments. Within the Taylorist conception of industrial production, work was organised in such a way that the worker was essentially silent and isolated. Language was irrelevant for work. Within the knowledge economy this focus changes. Work is organised around team working and learning by doing. Interaction and shared meaning come to the fore and language plays a formidable role in the working process (Williams, 2010).

It is argued, as we shall see below, that we are moving from modernity to late modernity (Beck 1998). Within the industrial society of modernity our alignment with institutions and our identities were largely conditioned by tradition. That is, the stability of key discourses was such that social practice involved only limited reflexivity. Social differentiation emphasised social class, the sexual division of labour, the nuclear family and large scale public and private bureaucratic organisations. The modernisation process incorporates a democratising force that allows institutions to be transformed while undermining the structures of industrial society.

WITHIN THE KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY TEAM WORKING AND LEARNING BY DOING REQUIRE INTERACTION AND SHARED MEANING, SO LANGUAGE PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE.

Within reflexive or late modernity, class culture and consciousness, gender and family roles dissolve. Since the social and political organisations and institutions in industrial society relied on these forms of collective consciousness, they also are dissolved. This 'detraditionalisation' is accompanied by a surge of individualisation. Class commitments and the associated solidarity are replaced by individual trajectories of social mobility, thereby breaking down class identities. The state, as the mainstay of belief and justice and as the basis of political alignment and identity, diminishes in relevance, leading to a fragmentation of cultural identity.

As individuals are gradually freed from the constraints of tradition and the associated integration with the institutions of industrial society, individualism emerges. Individuals are no longer forced into togetherness but choose their alignments. They are disembedded and then re-embedded. As tradition no longer shapes society and behaviour, there is a greater need for a reflexive process. Relationships are negotiated within new contexts and new social movements emerge, especially those based upon multiculturalism. Of course, there is no guarantee that these new contexts will not, in time, also be subject to stabilisation: they may also come to be regarded as 'tradition'. However, they constitute quite a different set of discourses from those associated with 'modernity'.

AS TRADITION BECOMES LESS AND LESS IMPORTANT AND SOCIAL MOBILITY INCREASES, INDIVIDUALISM EMERGES: AND THE NEED FOR A REFLEXIVE PROCESS INCREASES.

Even if one does not fully accept this account of social and cultural change, the arguments of postmodernism are equally disturbing. They present a convincing case for seeing Enlightenment thought in its ideological light: it was linked to specific objectives and institutions, and generated profound bases of inequality and injustice.

ii. New approaches to language education. Language education is in many places confronting these processes of change in both a piecemeal and an often unreflective way. Language education is undergoing a crisis because this social, economic, political and cultural restructuring is placing new demands on the use of language. On the one hand the orthodox context and tools for language learning are no longer adequate; on the other hand, the educational system is failing to address the needs of different institutions and to provide appropriate contexts for language acquisition and practice. Until the 1970s the orthodox approach to language learning, still widespread in Europe and throughout the world, has consisted of the teaching of 'foreign' languages in the school classroom, usually as a subject and often devoid of any practical exposure to real situations of language use. Languages have been expected to be learned by reference to an imposed normativity that derives from idealised contexts that pertain to standardisation. On the other hand, the rapid process of technological, social and cultural change is making such contexts increasingly redundant as the syntactic focus on standard gives way to a concern with the semantic basis of use and the communication skills that accompany such use.

IN LANGUAGE EDUCATION, THE SYNTACTIC FOCUS ON STANDARD IS GIVING WAY TO A CONCERN WITH SEMANTICS AND WITH COMMUNICATION SKILLS.

Language teachers are increasingly resorting to the use of the new technology. Often this happens merely as a practice without reflexion on the pedagogic and theoretical contexts for the use of such technology. The capacity of the new technology for language teaching and learning is immense. The contexts include all forms of interactional settings, as well as individual designs and learning formulations. However, procedures that are designed to encompass not only new contexts, but also a new philosophical and theoretical contextualisation, are called for. It is clearly inadequate to simply add on the new technology to the existing language teaching/learning contexts and frameworks.

The origins of this change are to be found in the new demands placed upon citizens and institutions as a result of the new economy and its relationship to globalisation. Relationships between languages are also changing. The belief that English is becoming a global language leads many to feel that a knowledge of this language is sufficient for anyone entering the global market. Partly as a result of this claim we find that the status of some linguae francae is changing. At the same time, the multilayered governance characteristic of the current political context in Europe has incorporated a strong emphasis on devolving government to the regional level within many states. This contributes to a re-evaluation of the relevance of so-called regional and minority languages for a variety of uses. The segmentation of labour markets that derives from a tendency to equate labour within multinational companies with English results in a form of diglossia that undermines the salience of some state languages. Language group relations are in a state of flux. Yet the response of those institutions responsible for language learning is simplistic and monolithic: they systematically fail to relate the contexts and scope of language learning to an understanding of change.

iii. Languages in the knowledge economy. On the other hand, evidence increasingly points to a profound association between linguistic diversity and work in the knowledge economy. It is argued that multilingual working practices are relevant for the generation of knowledge. Economists increasingly point to the link between language and marketing (CILT, 2006). Economic value chains extend - incorporating on-shoring and off-shoring – and this suggests that chains increasingly consist of links – activities – taking place in a variety of linguistic environments. Evidence from actual working environments suggests that within the knowledge economy a range of different languages is constantly in use, even if the use of one of more different *linguae francae* may predominate in each case. What is needed within working environments is an emphasis on semantics and mutual understanding rather than on syntax and purity. We know far too little about this as things stand.

The construction of what kind of language should be taught is thus misplaced; moreover, the resources available for the teaching of languages are totally inadequate. Far too many teachers teach languages without having had the opportunity to use the relevant language in a real world context (Williams and Strubell,

> **MULTILINGUAL WORKING PRACTICES ARE RELEVANT FOR THE GENERATION OF KNOWLEDGE; THEY MAY FOSTER REFLEXIVITY AND THEREBY CREATIVITY.**

2006). As the pendulum shifts from a concern with 'traditional' languages to a preoccupation with the so-called 'global' languages, teachers are displaced or are often being asked to start teaching languages with which they have an inadequate familiarity. The liberalisation of the education process results in demand-side emphases, that restrict the role of central planning to the supply side of the equation (Williams, Strubell and Williams, 2011). Competition between disciplines and languages prevails.

The current emphasis on early language learning is particularly ill-informed both as regards the capacity of teachers to engage with the new scenario, and in terms of understanding what such initiatives are trying to achieve. This emphasis places new demands on the organisation of language teaching and learning, demands that require particular emphases on continuity throughout the pupil's education and also on context. The aspect of considering the learner's "wants and needs" and learning strategies should be included, bearing in mind that they may vary during the lifelong learning process. Some claim that fundamental research on the development and functioning of the human brain, from the pre-birth phase onwards, is relevant here.

Even where the learning process is extremely successful there remain problems associated with the step from proficiency in a language to its use and practice.

As a consequence it is hardly surprising that in some states students often reach University with little real knowledge of any language other than the official or dominant language of the State. This is compounded by an ignorance of the role of foreign languages in the academic practices of University staff. They constantly use language, but rarely reflect upon that use. Language has a relevance for many disciplines that is beyond the grasp of perhaps most of the faculty and – tragically - in the current financial climate, it is often the explicitly language-related activities that are among the first to face cuts.

Educational policy is clearly in a state of uncertainty and flux. The autonomy of the nation-state is being rethought, and a broader orientation to language teaching is needed, one that involves a transnational focus. This broader context must be flexible, so that teachers must endeavour to train students to be able to function in a range of contexts. The activities of the symposia in our project have been designed to constructively and provocatively lead the way towards such an end.

iv. Reconceiving higher education, society and linguistic diversity. Given this situation, one of the goals of the EUNOM project is to elaborate a model that allows a reconception of the relationship between higher education, other levels of education and training, society and linguistic diversity. This model needs to be compatible with, or inform, the research priorities of the EU. The intention is that the model will derive from the key issues that were formulated as the basis for the various symposia organized. The expertise brought to bear on these issues and the formulations that derive from the project rationale provide the basis for the elaboration of the model.

EUNOM AIMS TO RETHINK THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ALL LEVELS OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING, SOCIETY AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY, WITH A VIEW OF INPUTING THE EU'S RESEARCH PRIORITIES.

Five key issues were elaborated as follows:

1. Language Teachers: Training for a new paradigm.
2. Higher Education and Research on Multilingualism.
3. Managing multilingual and multiethnic societies.
4. Multilingualism in the Knowledge Economy: Labour markets and corporate responsibility.
5. ICT, e-learning and languages.

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        Liberal state – devolves accountability
                    /responsibility
                         |
                     Multi level
                         |
            Individualism + civil society
                         |
             Self governance/regulation
Governance
Convergence of political philosophies
Diminished sovereignty – importance of global
institutions
Decline of welfarism
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The rationale for this design is that language education has to equip individuals so that they can play a relevant and coherent role within society. This requires not merely a suitable form of language teaching and learning, but also the use of the skills acquired at school, within Higher Education (HE) and the labour market. In this respect it might seem strange to leave aside the social use of language. However, if we treat the activities of HE and employment as social practices, it is clear that the social use of acquired languages is taken for granted, and that language use is not restricted to specific contexts. It remains to be seen – and this is an interesting area for research – whether

the learning-teaching process can achieve the necessary continuity so that students attain a sufficiently high level of proficiency in diverse languages for them to be able to effectively take advantage of the new model(s) envisaged for higher education. The new EU programmes would do well to stress and adequately support the whole learning process; otherwise HE innovation in this area is likely to fail.

2. SYMPOSIUM A. LANGUAGE TEACHERS: TRAINING FOR A NEW PARADIGM

Path-breaking advances are needed for the new European policy to maintain and develop language-learning diversity. The use of education by the diaspora and by minorities to sustain multilingualism and cultural continuity is relevant in the face of the demands of wider globalization and assimilatory forces. Immigration changes the composition of societies, bringing a rich diversity to teaching/learning systems. School-teachers need support (new strategies and methodologies) in their educational efforts; students need training to be able to benefit from lifelong learning opportunities.

Higher education bodies are responsible for training future teachers. They need a solid level of cross-cultural communicative competence. Universities also need to research issues such as the adaptation of teacher training curricula to prepare language teachers for new contexts; the pedagogical implications of working in diverse contexts, and their inclusion in teacher-education courses, etc. Effective comparisons were made of approaches across locations and systems. The main policy and socio-cultural drivers and constraints were considered, and how to respond to them imaginatively.

In the opening symposium Kelly argued for a shift from the orthodox paradigm of teachers of a particular language to one of 'language teacher'. He stressed that changes in the social context obliges new approaches that are contextualized within a new paradigm (Kelly 2004). The implication here is that the disciplines involved are opening themselves to a change in their basic assumptions. Given how globalization

LANGUAGE EDUCATION
From form to practice
Effectiveness vs. purity
Flexibility/customized learning
Focus on communication – 'the plurlingual communicator'
Expanded range of languages

is breaking down the territoriality of nation-states, and of their languages and sovereignty, this is hardly surprising. The role of standardization in the construction and constitution of a language by reference to the territory of the nation-state is now being challenged. The decreasing significance of borders withiin the European Union is increasing the need and opportunities for social interactions in a plurality of contexts and in a variety of languages, including those of the former neighbouring countries. The demand for some languages is growing (often at the expense of others), and social networks using the new technology cross language territories.

The demands of employment similarly involve networks that transcend language territory, and the functional use of language is also being challenged, as is the way they are viewed hierarchically.

Higher Education institutions are responsible for the education and training of language teachers, by both providing the language competence for future teachers and their training as teachers and educators. These two roles do not tend to be seamlessly integrated, for usually the student proceeds from language units or depart-

MANY LANGUAGE TEACHERS LACK THE FIELD EXPERIENCE IN THE LANGUAGE THAT THEY NOW TEACH, BECAUSE THEY WERE TRAINED TO TEACH EITHER A DIFFERENT LANGUAGE, OR DIFFERENT SKILLS, AND HAVE NOT HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO LIVE IN THE RESPECTIVE COUNTRY.

ments for the former task, to departments that focus their efforts on educational training for the latter task. The student is implicitly assumed to have sufficient language competence to become a competent language teacher. However, it is evident that there is a broad range of ways of defining competences that are needed, and of ways of acquiring each competence. This may have been fine while the emphasis was on the theoretical principles of language but, as we shall see, this is changing rapidly, for the student requires not only the theoretical principles, but far more than this. It is evident that a large number of language teachers lack the field experience in the language that they teach. This topic in itself is subject to considerable change, as the demand for learning each language changes. In this situation we welcome the attempts by the Council of Europe to develop means of standardising and evaluating levels of competence, so that a degree of comparability of objectives and of achievement can be established1.

A second issue that emerges is the relationship between the two disciplines: Language/Linguistics and Education. We recognise that the person largely responsible for the training of language teachers will be a practiced and competent language teacher, but this does not in itself guarantee a reflexive stance by reference to the two disciplines. This is important because each field is partly reliant on other disciplines, which are subject to significant change over time. Thus, for example, a shift in language teaching towards a focus on language use as social practice implies a shared orientation between the two disciplines, something that cannot be guaranteed without a reflexive theoretical exercise. It is argued that some of the fundamental assumptions associated with the philosophical orientations of each discipline are being challenged. If this is the case it would seem useful to consider how these changes are occurring by reference to each discipline. Within education we recognise distinctions between behaviourist and cognitive perspectives, while Linguistics remains divided in terms not only of formalism and sociolinguistics, but also how these categories are subject to further division.

LINGUISTS AND EDUCATIONALISTS STAND TO GAIN BY CRITICALLY RETHINKING THE PHILOSOPHICAL ORIENTATIONS OF EACH DISCIPLINE.

A third issue is the relationship between these disciplines and the departments that house them on the one hand, and the remainder of the specific University and its staff on the other. In general terms the services that they provide are for the outside world. However, within a globalised world it would be a mistake to ignore the needs of the internal HE environment. In the UK and Ireland the Universities that demand a knowledge of any foreign language are few in number. It is remarkable and ethnocentric for Universities to expect students who have not been offered the support necessary to achieve the appropriate level of language competence to consult publications in all the main languages of the scientific community, or of the range of publications in their disciplinary specialisations.

i. Transcultural changes. These are general issues that overlie the specifics of the initial symposium. Another binding theme was trans-culturalism and its relationship to how the construction and contextualisation of the language object changes. Nation-states have used their power to legitimise specific languages as state languages, perhaps in the name of efficiency, but in recent decades this is now being rethought. The extension of notions of justice to accommodate inequalities other than those based on social class, together with the associated 'new social

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1. Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR) http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/cadre_en.asp

movements' (Touraine, 1997), have resulted in a focus on the variety of language groups within many states. However, the focus remains on the notion of autochthony. At the same time as the recent churning of the labour market and the associated novel circulation of capital that derives from globalisation have promoted new forms of migration that bring new populations into play in the different nation-states. New forms of communication (involving technology in the broadest sense) allow such communities to transcend political boundaries. The political structure is obliged to respond to these developments. The political structure is obliged to respond to these developments. Arguments are made about the need for a citizenship of residence, this being coupled with an awareness that language education must move beyond the prevailing territorialised notions. The presence of millions of migrants makes it necessary for the educational structure to provide access to far more languages and their associated cultures, without having a negative effect on the rights of anyone. Attention has to be paid to the principle of equality of people, languages and cultures, as one of the bases of democracy. As we have said, the role of the state in language production and reproduction is changing. It is no longer acceptable simply to safeguard the hegemony of the state language to the detriment of other language groups.

The neo-liberal discourse profoundly challenges the more orthodox principles of language teaching and learning. This was emphasised in the papers by Kelly, McKendry and Pachler and to a lesser extent in those by Čok and Risager. Among many other things, neo-liberal discourse requires a reformulation of the theoretical and conceptual basis of "foreign" languages and languages as a whole in education. The educational discourse is shifting from fixed programmes of study to flexibility, customized learning and a concern with the needs of the individual. McKendry stressed that at the core of this liberalisation is a focus on learning to learn and specifically *"learning to learn languages"*. It also involves an emphasis on applying theories of learning, rather than on "teaching" the individual subject. The focus broadens from content to include the emotional, social, cultural and moral development of the learner, and the curriculum emphasises not just knowledge, but also understanding and skills.

> **NEO-LIBERAL DISCOURSE OBLIGES A REFORMULATION OF THE THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL BASES OF "FOREIGN" LANGUAGES, AND LANGUAGES AS A WHOLE, IN EDUCATION. PROGRAMMES OF STUDY ARE LESS FIXED, MORE FLEXIBLE AND CUSTOMIZED, AND ADDRESS THE NEEDS OF THE INDIVIDUAL.**

Changes in the social context demand new approaches, if only because of a marked change in the organisation of physical space and cultural action so as to take multiculturalism on board (see Kelly paper). This is partly because the enhanced migratory flows have contributed to an expansion in the modes of language contact which, in turn, should lead to enhanced creativity. On the other hand the relationship between language and power influences more than the attitudes of speakers, in that it penetrates entire language communities.

ii. New objectives in language learning. The changing context has multiplied and changed the arguments in favour of language learning, leading to an entirely new approach to language teaching that, as McKendry stressed, leads to new models of the language learner. Whereas within the earlier context language teaching aimed at native-like proficiency, this is now seen as holding up language learning in that learners are doomed to failure. The new models are designed to produce a plurilingual communicator, the intelligent listener, the intercultural mediator, etc. Similarly, the focus is shifting towards the motivating force of achievement rather than failure. The entire re-contextualisation entails moving from learning a language to learning 'to language', that is, to an emphasis on the use of whatever language resources the individual already possesses in learning new outcomes. This, in turn links with how the new role of education is to be understood.

Pachler picked up on this theme in arguing that teachers are increasingly expected to be equipped to teach in a multilingual, multicultural and ethnically diverse context. Globalisation has contributed to the development of a proliferation of variants and varieties within different contexts: linguistic variation, language varieties such as dialect change, new hybrid forms, etc. 'National languages' are less adequate as descriptors for linguistic and sociolinguistic practices that now require both a more measured view of 'language' in education, and new resources that may not necessarily have been designed for academic achievement. Monolingualism is no longer adequate since in the current world a knowledge of languages is an asset for social and geographical mobility.

The move away from purity of linguistic performance, towards the language of democratic citizenship and an openness to other cultures, reflects the fact that urban contexts are increasingly characterised by a diasporic, globalised multilingualism. It needs to reflect changes of the macro conditions in the micro context of teacher education, and the fact that multilingualism involves those responsible for organising and imparting language teaching coordinating resources and interactionally framed practices. Throughout the neo-liberal discourse there is a new emphasis on flexibility, and the elaboration of dynamic tools that can cope with contextual change. In this sense ethnicity is itself a counter hegemonic force. The focus of education shifts away from what the individual has, or does not have, to a concern with being sensitive to what the environment demands. The individual, instead of being expected to acquire a competence in foreign languages has to achieve the linguistic competence derived from the needs related to specific contexts. The lack of competence is a problem that involves much more than the inadequacy of a specific speaker. The notion of, and insistence upon, a standard language gives way to a tolerance of language mixing and hybridity.

The new context requires a new understanding of the acquisition of linguistic and intercultural competence. A critical and tolerant dialogue is needed, one that engages with the creation of inter-cultural awareness and with composing different contexts for varying levels of involvement in mediation. Memory will inevitably have to be rewritten, giving way to a cultural-linguistic interaction in which different ideas are exchanged in a social context. We place considerable stress on the claim that '…the road to myself lies through another', reiterating Benveniste's argument that an "I" exists only because there is a 'you' into which the 'I' can be transformed. This in turn has strong affinities with the work of both Bakhtin and others. It engages with the extension by political scientists of Habermas' call for a form of discursive democracy to embrace a citizenship of residence that will involve the interests of immigrants (Balibar, 2004).

Language teachers, facing the need to engage with transnationality, have to rethink their entire frame of reference, including the notion of language as well as the relationship between language and culture. Postmodernism, late modernity, globalisation, localisation, transnationality and transculturalism have, in their different ways, shifted the focus to a shared concern with the crisis of identity of the foreign language subject at school, away from the concern with national identity and nation building that separated language teachers. They also lead to a re-evaluation of language to encompass language use as social practice, linguistic resources and the emphasis that 'language' is most definitely a social construct. Language practices are integrated into different networks of different reach, and immigration should be thought of in terms of a valuable flow of language resources that can contribute to language learning, rather than being a problem. As such it involves a transnational and global understanding of the language object. The monolingual focus of the national paradigm is replaced with a comparison of languages and language encounters. We cannot help but realise how within Linguistics our understanding of language as an object has been conditioned by socio-political forces that exist outside of the discipline and its institutional context.

iii. Languages, cultures and identities. The relationship between language and culture is re-evaluated, moving from how the national paradigm stresses the integration of (state) language and (state) culture, to an awareness that language can be culturally neutral. This was stressed in Čok's paper, which argued for an enhanced tolerance of the values of diverse language and ethnic groups. Similarly, Risager argued that languages are potentially culturally neutral in the sense that their users may move across all kinds of cultural contexts in the world. Transnational migration thus causes a large part of the languages of the world to be disembedded from their mother tongue (or local) contexts and to be re-embedded in a great variety of other cultural contexts. Languages such as Spanish, Arabic and Chinese are used all over the world as first, second or foreign languages. On the other hand, any language is always culturally rich in the sense that it contains

> **LANGUAGES ARE CULTURALLY RICH: THEY ALL CONTAIN LINGUACULTURE OR 'CULTURE IN LANGUAGE. YET LANGUAGES ARE POTENTIALLY CULTURALLY NEUTRAL: THEIR USERS MAY MOVE ACROSS ALL KINDS OF CULTURAL CONTEXTS IN THE WORLD, AND MAY STUDY THEM WITHOUT THE NATIONALISTIC PARAPHERNALIA PREVIOUSLY ATTACHED TO MANY OF THEM.**

linguaculture or 'culture in language'. Linguaculture is the semantic-pragmatic, poetic and identity potentials of a language, that is, all the varied meaning potential of a language. It is carried by individuals, being developed as part of their life in specific social and historical contexts. As such it varies from person to person. In learning new languages individuals draw upon their personal linguaculture as a bridge to the meaning dimensions of the new language. Consequently, the traditional view of an intimate relationship between national language and national culture is replaced by a more dynamic view of the interplay between language, linguaculture and cultural context. As a feature of cultural identity linguaculture allows for an emphasis on the link between cultural identity and the construction of otherness. The entire homogeneity of language thus dissolves, regardless of the status of the specific language. This view obliges an engagement with a global, postcolonial and transnational perspective that involves embedding the national in a wider horizon.

As a consequence attention is focused on the relationship between the teacher and the student's conception of need by reference to language learning. This was stressed in Prats' paper, which referred to the political and the relationship between the normative and the political. It reiterated Pachler's concern with the responsibilities of the theoretician and the practitioner. This obliges an awareness that both education and language are politicised as a consequence of the overlap between politics and the normative order, a point forcefully made by Čok. Any discussion of lingua franca raises questions about the political boundaries of language and how such notions have been incorporated into the demos/ethnos relationship. It is hardly surprising that there is a need for a new understanding of the nature of 'language', leading to a liberation from notions of 'standard' and 'ownership'.

Similar concerns about the changing demands of language teaching confront a changing conception of the language object, and were voiced in Eyckman's paper. This obliges a shift from an overriding concern with the language purity of the standardised 'national' form, to a focus on practical aspects of fostering mutual understanding. An applied perspective involves a syntagmatic approach where the focus is on content, away from linguistic formalism to a focus on natural language. Such a perspective emphasises the difference between language and linguistics. The shift in perspective in language learning reflects a concern with language use as social practice (the bottom-up approach), rather than the hitherto predominant top down approach. It engages with content-based language learning and a focus on phrase learning.

3. SYMPOSIUM B. HIGHER EDUCATION AND RESEARCH ON MULTILINGUALISM: CHALLENGE OR OPPORTUNITY?

Universities' role within their region is growing. 'Learning regions' models contribute to a region's economic development, defining and exploring unique selling points, and serving the needs of its labour market, in an increasingly global and macro-regional context. Research explores the interaction between the regional and the global level, can promote innovation and development, and needs to enhance linguistic diversity as of great relevance for society.

Globalisation and reflexive modernity give new contexts to language and education in the polity. In a global economy language education needs change. Reflexive modernity gives new bases for identity, and language is important here. So social scientists should look at language issues in analysing the new social and global context.

Universities need to develop comprehensive language policies to meet the needs of (a) their own students and staff and (b) others involved in exchanges.

The following themes were focussed on in particular: (a) The relationship between the regional and the global level and the possible impact of universities/research on society with regard to multilingualism and plurilingual education; (b) The possible contribution of universities / EUNoM to language policy development within Europe; and (c) The multilingual university: language policy at the faculty / departmental level.

The obvious relationship between Higher Education and research on language and education involves new directions deriving from the Higher Education-led research exercise. The globalisation process highlights the relationship between the global and the local, in that the local is disengaged from its encapsulation within the nation-state. This places new constraints while affording new opportunities. Higher Education is increasingly becoming more aware of

EDUCATION
Tailorised
Flexible
Devolved authority
Self policing
Targets
Link to global markets

the global context, constantly gaining sensitivity to the competitive nature of Higher Education markets and the evaluations of the competences of individual universities. By the same token language issues need now to be analysed by reference to the framework of new social and global contexts. This opens the door to a consideration of new policies at a regional, national and global level, as well as within specific institutions. Unfortunately, the expanding European literature on the need for achieving competence in mother tongue + two other languages lacks even a rudimentary inventory of actual multilingual behaviour in Europe.

i. Languages and the knowledge economy. There is an increasing awareness inside institutions of the relevance of language for economic practices. Businesses are becoming more sensitive to the relationship between markets and language. To an extent on-line marketing is structured by language. The centrality of language for working practices within the Knowledge Economy and extended value chains signals the need for an evaluation of the relevance of multilingualism for such developments and its relationship to productivity. There is a limited appreciation of

cross-cultural communication between staff within business. However, should businesses be involved in teaching languages to their employees? And what is more important, should personnel have more language skills and a clear understanding of how multilingual and intercultural communications function? There is abundant scope for Universities to engage with such issues by considering the relevant communication processes, and especially how failed communication is handled – is it regarded as a cue for alternative forms of meaning and its relevance for knowledge generation, or is it simply dismissed? Temmerman sought to engage with such issues, firstly by providing a linguistic account of how evocative language and metaphor results in terminology coining, and second by stressing how organisations need to prepare for the use of a range of languages within their structure to the extent that they have carefully thought through language planning management strategies.

There is also a need for Universities to put their own house in order. Serra presented a lucid interpretation of the social representations of plurilingualism within the practices of three Swiss Universities, revealing an inherent tension between multilingual teaching practices and institutional assumptions. A comparison of institutional and individual representations reveals a contradiction about the use of multilingual resources and a controversial understanding of the effective role of plurilingualism in knowledge construction. She also showed how the choice of language is largely determined by the interface between the national and the global. Rontu's paper on how specific Universities in Finland have elaborated a language policy is also instructive. She described how this language policy sought to articulate the local context with the global, giving rise to specific discursive practices framed by a functional raison d'être and the demands of managing different organisational, teaching and learning cultures. Similarly, the paper by Chongarova and Cherneva, drawing on a case study of a Bulgarian University, underlined how a high level of competence in English is becoming the sine qua non of University teachers, rapidly replacing Russian within a context where transnational inclusion is professionally imperative.

UNIVERSITY LECTURERS AND RESEARCHERS WHO DO NOT HAVE A GOOD COMMAND OF ENGLISH PARTICIPATE SIGNIFICANTLY LESS IN INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC FORA.

ii. Rethinking state language policies. The policy field has been dominated, in some countries for centuries, by state languages that have been integrated as essential components of nation building, economic development, employment and education. There is an urgent need to reconsider the role of languages in the administrative functioning of the state. Beyond the nation-state communication has been in one or other of the state languages that have served as linguae francae. This tendency continues, with specific state languages being identified as 'global languages'. That is, the globalisation process is understood as an extension of a world configured by reference to several nation state languages. At the same time there is ample evidence that nation-states are losing their sovereignty, and that the link between each state and 'its' society is being undone by the diminishing power of the state to control and regulate its internal economy.

Globalisation has an impact upon the EU's tendency to classify languages in terms of global-national-regional-community languages. The contentious part of this categorisation involves the regional-community dimension. On the one hand there is a drive on the part of regional or minority language groups to assert themselves by taking advantage of the effects of globalisation in striving to enhance the standing of the associated language objects within a new context. At the heart of this assertion is the notion of territoriality and autochthony. There are also those who recognise the changes in terms of an enhanced process of labour migration, the loss of state sovereignty in some fields and a parallel attempt on the part of states to retain

their power by underlining their territoriality by reference to citizenship. There are increasing concerns about the plight of the 'sans papiers' as well as calls for a citizenship of residence. Language lies at the heart of both discourses, even though the assumptions associated with them may well be in contradiction.

Regionalists argue for a reframing of language, targeting the fact that, within modernity, the language object was defined exclusively, so as to deny status to linguistic alternatives. They claim that globalisation has generated a new context within which the definition of language requires a new insight, one that reconsiders the hierarchical nature of the relationships between languages. They look to the EU for solutions to concerns that they feel are inadequately addressed by the respective states. Thus, Riemersma argued that the EU is reticent in its language policy on account of the principle of subsidiarity. Consequently, the focus is mainly on individual or personal plurilingualism rather than on societal aspects of multilingualism. The concern of the EU is the linguistic diversity of the 23 official

THE APPLICATION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION'S SUBSIDIARITY PRINCIPLE, AND THE PRESENT POWERS OF MEMBER STATES, ARE OBSTACLES TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PAN-EUROPEAN LANGUAGE POLICY.

languages, each nation-state being responsible for its internal diversity. He outlines how such issues can be addressed within a framework that relates language policy and academic research. What is taken for granted in this discourse is the relationship between reified languages and language groups seen as social groups. If the nature of society and our understanding of it are changing, what is the 'social' to which these language groups relate? In the new context do we not have to rethink not only the diacritica of language, but also the political contexts of both language and social groups? Such limitations may derive from a tendency to search for specific research topics rather than elaborating a perspective that constitutes languages in such a way that they are an inherent feature of both society and practice. Given what we have already said about the limited grounding in diverse disciplines among the members of the academic community that focus on language issues, this is perhaps inevitable. As Walker's paper implies, it is a complicated issue that requires a clear understanding of the relevant issues.

iii. Subsidiarity and EU language policies. The issue acquires a particular significance in Europe because of the sensitivities associated with the relationships between different political levels. Each state has its own discourse on society and politics, as does the EU. The two overlap but this does not preclude discussing them independently. It is a territoriality that incorporates the state without prejudicing its autonomy in many fields, an autonomy that is subsumed in the notions of subsidiarity and 'unity in diversity'. Darquennes presented a thorough analysis of the relationship between research on both individual plurilingualism and societal multilingualism, and the EU discourse on language. He argued that this should result in a reflexive thrust to EU language policy, including guidelines for future academic research. His overview suggested that research continues to study both individual plurilingualism and societal multilingualism without an understanding of language use as social practice and how it is constituted in and through discourse. Much of the research he cited remains grounded in outmoded theoretical perspectives.

Despite Darquennes' argument regarding the need for a reflexive orientation, something that should be inevitable within a deductive approach, there is an inherent tension between the state and Europe, a tension that all political parties feel. The discourse also has relevance for notions of justice, as we have already seen above.

The focus of language planning has taken a profound shift in recent years. It has moved from an overriding concern with corpus and status planning to an increasing awareness that language is heavily involved in disciplinarity and that, consequently, subjects are governed

through language. The neo-liberal discourse constructs the role of government as merely that which enables people to use their language and culture of choice.

Such issues are related to the shift in the goal of language teaching and learning from a concern with linguistic competence as involving the mastery of grammar, phonology and vocabulary or with communicative competence as the mastery of communication skills, to an emphasis on the actual behaviour of plurilingual people using different varieties in different contexts with different interlocutors, each time with different levels of competence. This certainly influences the value of such categorisations as first and second language, base and guest languages, host and borrowing languages, etc. and the emphasis is now on practical skills in different languages. Plurilingual people now assume the roles of cultural mediators.

THE EU'S BARCELONA COUNCIL IN 2002 AGREED THE OBJECTIVE OF INCREASING INDIVIDUAL PLURILINGUALISM, AND THE STATUS AND VISIBILITY OF THE EC'S LANGUAGE POLICY WAS ENHANCED WHILE MULTILINGUALISM WAS A SEPARATE PORTFOLIO.

The Lisbon Strategy includes the goal of opening education and training to the wider world. In this context the Heads of States at the Barcelona Council in 2002 agreed the objective of increasing individual plurilingualism. This was merely one aspect of the intensification of interest in multilingualism and the related conceptualisation that extended to encompass policy related issues. The status and visibility of language policy within the EC was enhanced during the period in which multilingualism was temporarily allocated a separate portfolio.

iv. New Contexts for language. Language (in the sense of the French word 'parole' rather than 'langne') no longer serves to identify the interlocutor in relation to power and social position, but becomes a conveyor or a support for social imperatives, exploiting its advantages and drawbacks as understood by speakers, thereby linking the normative with the advantages in economic-moral terms. The link between education and linguistic socialisation asserts a moral sense that links language and progress. Languages are evaluated in terms of their relationship to a capacity to facilitate progress – language prestige. The management of language, by both planners and individuals, thereby has a direct link to the general well-being of the entire population. The family is meant to be free to access whatever means whereby this can be achieved, and the individual is meant to be free to mobilise any linguistic resource. Within the prevailing political liberalism the state is obliged merely to ensure access to them. Language is now a pliable resource capable of being used for advantage. A power relation is established between language (we repeat, all languages in that all languages are integrated into the new power relationship), the family, the social apparatus and the economic order. Language is now firmly linked to social integration within a social conception of an order that allows free mobility. Language becomes a mechanism that anchors social integration in a new way.

It is of value to remind ourselves that until recently universities were framed by the nation-state. Their primary goal was to serve the needs of the nation state while engaging with standards that were given a global context. This again has changed. The global context has rapidly displaced the national by reference to priority. The opening up of access to HE integrates each university with the global market place. This is not to deny that states still strive to use universities so as to enhance the position of states and even regions within the global economy. Nonetheless, the driving force for much of higher education is the global labour market, within which multinational companies compete in order to attract the best talent. Standards are increasingly defined, coordinated, measured and evaluated on a global basis. This should have an impact on the language policies of universities. Yet what we find is a tension between the need to enhance the numbers involved in HE in order to fuel a new economy that increasingly relies

on knowledge generation, and an acknowledgement that the graduate must engage with a broader multilingual community. Given that enrolment in universities is becoming increasingly multinational, and that universities are increasingly dependent on the revenue streams of international students, there is little doubt about how this tension will be resolved. Higher education is becoming increasingly commercialised, even to the point where global firms will sponsor a range of private Universities that will compete for the fees of its students on a global basis. This is clearly leading to greater interest on the part of universities to attract such students in large numbers, and perhaps to less interest in serving the need of the regional community. We were reminded of this in Serra's paper.

UNIVERSITIES INCREASINGLY COMPETE FOR STUDENTS, MAKING NEW LANGUAGE STRATEGIES AND POLICIES NECESSARY.

Given these challenges, what should be the role of HE research? How should it be organised and structured? It seems clear that both these questions require a pronounced focus on inter-disciplinarity. Universities have grown with the assumption that their activities should be organised and administered in terms of academic disciplines. Yet these disciplines derive from a fragmentation and compartmentalisation of knowledge. They have persisted as 'traditions' whose narratives have been ingrained in organisational structures. Nevertheless, the various disciplines do also appear to be united by a common philosophical underpinning, even though the latter has political undertones. Universities are not divorced from the cultural and political contexts of their immediate environments. This can be understood as positive if one maintains that each university should serve the interests of its region. Yet while HE activities express a fondness for the cosmopolitan nature of their knowledge base, they deny their cultural and political grounding, and this betrays a blindness as to how the subjective contributes to the objective. The relevant research agenda that informed this section should encompass such issues, breaking down old ways of thinking and embracing the challenges thrown up by the new context. Such developments would undoubtedly question the nature and organisational structure of HE, and especially how research should be conducted within it. The required research is perhaps less about language than it is about how the organisational structure of HE conditions how we understand both language as such and its relevance to society.

UNIVERSITIES SHOULD SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THEIR REGION-THEIR NATURAL CULTURAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT – THOUGH THE COSMOPOLITAN NATURE OF THEIR KNOWLEDGE BASE CAN MAKE THIS DIFFICULT.

4. SYMPOSIUM C. MANAGING MULTILINGUAL AND MULTIETHNIC SOCIETIES

Globalisation promotes some devolution of governance to regions and makes international cooperation for resolving crises imperative. Sovereignty is undermined and new ways of managing diversity are needed as new spaces for language and identity open up. Individuals are freed from the institutional integration that structured their identity and relationship to language and culture. Individual freedom makes integration with collectivities a voluntaristic phenomenon. It is a case of personal meanings and connotation related to the languages and cultures we have learned or we are aware of. New contexts for the revitalisation of regional languages emerge, and there is a demand for global linguae francae, and state non-linguae francae become diglossified. So technological development for business and the information society and new educational perspectives on multilingualism and interculturalism need to be considered.

As relations between the state, society and culture change, the interface between regional education systems, regional and international business and administrative contexts requires new management procedures. A European strategy for multilingualism and plurilingual education must be rethought and presented for debate. We address such issues and invite business and administration, and of course society at large, to consider how best to restructure the role of language in institutional practice. The direct participation of local non-HE personnel will be required, as will indirect participation of other personnel through the open on-going on-line discussion.

The following themes were focussed upon in particular: (a) Multilingual policies in European contact areas: language policy at the level of state with special regards to border areas, minority and regional languages and languages of immigrants; (b) Languages and identities: Multiple identities within global vision of political, social and cultural cooperation. New spaces for language and identity; and (c) Managing language diversity at work: global economy and the local dimension of language use. Regional languages and "linguae francae" today: demand at the global level and response in the local dimension to language use.

Issues of policy inevitably relate to governance. A focus on governance makes it possible to consider both the relationship between European, national and regional interests and institutions, the way they are unwinding, and their relevance for the management of language and culture. Languages as objects were constructed around

| **LANGUAGE PLANNING** |
| From planning to management |
| Voluntary |
| Non-combative |
| State provides use potential |

the centrality of the nation state, and this has had significant implications for the parallel construction of other languages. That is, language and culture have been at the heart of the constitution of the state and its relationship with its citizenry. Both language and culture have served as integrating symbols that have been so important in forging the population within the state's territory into a single community. So central are they to the national dimension that it

becomes difficult to separate both language and culture from the political dimension. The lack of congruence of linguistic and political borders has been problematised as a consequence of the rigidity of political territorialisation. Consequently, if we are to come to terms with how language and culture can be managed within the European context it becomes necessary, first of all, to consider the nature of the political context and how it is changing. Only then does it become possible to discuss how the political dynamic has an impact upon the construction of language and culture. One of the features of the changing political dimension is the shift from a focus on government to a concern with what has been called governance.

Governance tends to be thought of as an alternative to the focused and highly institutionalised concerns of representative government. It often informs studies of overlapping local, national and global governance relationships that do not necessarily directly involve the state and global legal and political institutions. Within a governance relationship there tends to be a restriction on possibilities of action and behaviour. Consequently, negotiation plays a key role in governance relationships. Furthermore, it operates through an open-ended interplay and interaction over time. It can be argued that within this context of negotiation the governed become civic citizens. Governance differs from the institutional differentiation between public and private of modern citizenship in making it possible to question governance relationships while simultaneously making it the basis of public scrutiny and negotiation. That is, the issues are brought out from the private sphere into the open public sphere of inquiry.

ONLY BY FIRST CONSIDERING THE NATURE OF THE CHANGING POLITICAL CONTEXT CAN ONE DISCUSS THE IMPACT OF THE POLITICAL DYNAMIC UPON THE CONSTRUCTION OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE.

i. Democratising government. One advantage that governance holds over representative government is that it is claimed to 'democratize' relationships in that both the governors and the citizens are now involved in a dialogical relationship, while the governors are more accountable to those whom they govern and the citizens have an effective say in and over the relationships that constitute their existence as subjects and citizens. The local voice has a chance to be heard. This rearranges the nature of representation: a direct voice is available to the citizen, so that mediation now becomes optional. Of course, each form of mediation - directly and through the representative - has its own advantages, and can be used differently. Nonetheless, governance is a step forward, because the representative is often constrained by the dictate of the political party that she represents, while at the same time she is elected to represent the individual constituent. The individual is no longer obliged to resort to the mediating role of the representative, but has the opportunity to play a direct role.

The consequences of the adoption of neo-liberalism as the prevailing political discourse involves the devolution of responsibility and accountability from the state to the individual and the community. This opens up the principle of democracy whereby whoever has responsibility and accountability must have a direct voice in policy development. This explains the current emphasis on digital democracy and consultation, as well as on Habermas' notion of discursive democracy. Language and communication are brought directly into the process of governance.

Balboni's paper acknowledged these changes, and strives to formulate the conditions for an action plan constructed out of management principles – what he calls Total Quality Policy (TQP). He claimed that governance in TQP is defined by a model, understood as an ideal type. He outlined the principles and knowledge involved in developing such a model, in the process inevitably having to tackle issues of justice and their relationship to the political.

This shift has been accompanied by the emergence of what is known as multi-level gover-

nance (Jessop, 2002). Advanced capitalism has generated profound changes in the nature of statehood. There has been a loss of de jure sovereignty of nation states through the de-nationalisation of territorial statehood which is visible through the rearticulation of different levels of the territorial organisation of power within a global world order. States are now obliged to engage with transnational interests such as drug smuggling, terrorism, etc. rather than thinking simply in terms of the state as a specific territory and the population living within it. Some decision-making has been moving to the supranational level, while internally in many states some power has been devolved to the regions, though states are responsible for rescaling state power and organising it. This is a feature of the broader change in the institutional and organisational scenario, the replacement of the welfare state guided by Keynesian principles, with a workfare

LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION ARE ESSENTIAL FOR GOVERNANCE; NEO-LIBERALISM DEVOLVES RESPONSIBILITY FROM THE STATE TO THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COMMUNITY, AND WHOEVER IS RESPONSIBLE AND ACCOUNTABLE MUST HAVE A DIRECT VOICE IN POLICY DEVELOPMENT.

guided by Schumptarian principles. The welfare state is being restructured, the education system is being redesigned through an increasing focus on lifelong learning, and national territory is no longer the repository of economic, political and cultural power. There is an enhanced role for supranational non-governmental bodies and quangos2 in policy formation. A concern with the excluded leads to an insistence on a knowledge of the state language, a knowledge of the 'tools' of citizenship, and redressing the behaviour of those 'who don't want to work'.

The notion of multi-layered governance (MLG) involves a technology of government that responds to the neoliberal discourse and its focus on the relationship between the state and civil society, in which unlimited direct control by the state is no longer admissible. Rather, there is a drive to programme and form the basis which makes this new relationship possible. There is a focus on the need to foster a self-governance premised on a mutual relation between the individual as citizen, the local community and society writ large (Foucault, 1994). Locally constituted norms dovetail with the broader normative order of society. Governance is increasingly organized through multiple jurisdictions and involves an array of formal and informal organisations. The former authority of the state is now dispersed across these bodies, and new ones are added to it. This contributes to an awareness of multiple agencies of governance which are not best understood in terms of a hierarchy of authority. MLG allows policy to accommodate both flexibility and a range of contexts, scales etc. It needs to be flexibly operationalised while there are potential conflicts between different levels of government, as well as the interests of NGOs, among others.

ii. The EU's Open Method of Coordination. Following the Lisbon Treaty and in response to an understanding of governance as a new process of the governing of society that reconceives the relationship between the nation state, government and society the European Commission has initiated what it refers to as the Open Method of Coordination (OMC). It acknowledges that it is no longer possible to understand governance in simple unitary terms within a fixed form of territory. There is a shift away from institutions to a concern with process and practice. It parallels the shift in the social sciences away from structure to agency and action. In this sense there is also a related shift in how society is politically organized, towards alternative forms of social coordination. This, of course, does not necessarily preclude the coexistence of the two conceptions.

2.   Quasi Non Governmental Organisations.

The OMC sets limits within which the EU, the various member states and other players engage with one another. Thus, it fixes guidelines and time tables by reference to achieving short, medium and long-term goals. It establishes both quantitative and qualitative indicators and benchmarks that serve as a basis for comparing best practice. By setting specific measures and targets it arranges for guidelines established at the European level to be converted into state and regional policies. Finally, it establishes monitoring procedures that target progress achieved so that a mutual learning process transpires. It makes it possible to rank organisations in terms of what is often referred to as a norm of efficiency (Boltanski, 2009:199).

THE EU'S OPEN METHOD OF COORDINATION ESTABLISHES QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE INDICATORS AND BENCHMARKS THAT SERVE AS A BASIS FOR COMPARING BEST PRACTICE.

Governance demands a high degree of flexibility and reflexivity, with the contours of reality constantly being transformed. Once the modes of qualification and the forms of proof are in place, the process can be activated by power holders at all levels of government, and by all organisations, as they play their role in the construction of reality (Lascoumes and Le Gales, 2005). It has been referred to in the following terms:

> '[Advanced liberalism] fragments the state or the firm into countless autonomous agencies and cost centres, then assembles them through the mechanisms of markets, contracturalism, consultation and partnership. It governs in the name of, and through the mobilisation of the freedoms, choices and desires of its subjects.' (Walters and Haahr 2005: 119)

It involves creating the conditions within which social and economic processes can be integrated and coordinated while allowing the individual citizens to govern themselves. It involves a series of mediating players who operate reflexively in adjudicating the goals and actions of others. Power is diffused across a range of institutional contexts that are both formal and informal, through networks and partnerships across a range of policy contexts. Rose (1996:61) argues that this is

> 'to govern through the regulated and accountable choices of autonomous agents
> – citizens, consumers, parents, employers, managers, investors – and to govern
> through intensifying their allegiance to particular "communities".'

It is a governing without society. On the other hand Donzelot (1991) argues that it involves implicating society in the task of resolving problems rather than serving as the recipient of state action.

The OMC includes a role for NGOs that can serve as a form of articulation between the EC and the local community. Of course, many NGOs extend beyond the local, operating at the level of the state or even supranationally. In this respect they can be understood as a means whereby local initiatives that share a common sense of direction are articulated with the EC without the need for any direct recourse to the state as a mediating institution. As such they involve a form of representation that can serve as an alternative to representational government. In this respect they constitute 'communities of interest' as opposed to the 'communities of location' of representative government. In linking these communities together it can be argued that what is involved is governance through networks.

Most importantly, advanced liberalism aspires to provide the citizen with direct access to policy makers without the need for mediation. But how this can occur is unclear. Habermas' notion of discursive democracy, which rests on the principle that dispute resolution should focus on

communication, may be relevant here. We now have the technology that, in principle, allows everyone to enter the debate, thereby questioning the need for representative government. This generates its own problems, including the need to share information, the need to develop multilingual platforms, or the role of the media in influencing the perception of actors. Perhaps the most obvious issue is how to premise the entire framework on the rational actor, reflexively operating within a dialogical context. It brings us back to Foucault's remark that while we may well know what we are doing - and even why we are doing it - we do not know what we do does, that is, what the effects of discourse are.

iii. Devolving language planning. The governance of language takes a new turn. We witness a link with language planning (LP). LP formulates and rationalises idealised formulations for representing, analysing and regulating reality. It may well draw on the discipline of theoretical discourse, but it is also subject to the predominant discourses of governance. Thus, we increasingly recognise a tendency for some states to strive to devolve responsibility and accountability for language planning to those whom it directly concerns. There is also the interjection of processes of monitoring, adapting and focusing planning interventions on the principles of good and best practice. It is clear that the modernist conception of language planning, focusing on how the state can police languages within its own territory, is in decline.

> **SOME STATES ARE DEVOLVING RESPONSIBILITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY FOR LANGUAGE PLANNING TO THOSE DIRECTLY CONCERNED, AT THE EXPENSE OF THE MODERNIST CONCEPTION OF LANGUAGE PLANNING, WITHIN WHICH THE STATE POLICED LANGUAGES WITHIN ITS OWN TERRITORY.**

Given that most minority languages are constructed by reference to a territorial sub-space of the state territory, the process of political decentralisation bears a direct relationship to the reconstitution of such languages. Decision-making re minority languages is reverting to the regional level, whereas previously there was only an administrative devolution. The region now becomes a key player, and where a "minority" language is spoken in several regions, new problems of coordination – or conflict – emerge. The relationship between the language object and relevant subjects changes. The nation state is no longer a focused and interested subject, but becomes a peripheral observer. It becomes more difficult to blame the 'problems' of the minority language on territorially external sources. Civil society becomes a primary subject in the planning process, assuming responsibility and accountability as part of the reformulated relationship between the civil state and the regional state. This has a bearing on how the discourse of justice has been formulated by reference to language and culture. Within the relevant regional territory minority languages are legitimised as objects that share the same status as the state language. The only thing that holds back this enhanced standing actually changing social practice are the conservative habits of the speaking subjects. The use of the term "minority" becomes redundant once devolution takes place and the language group can no longer blame institutions or people outside the territory, or act as the 'persecuted'.

> **IN A POST-INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY, MINORITY LANGUAGES FACE NEW CHALLENGES IN THEIR INSTITUTIONALISATION. THOUGH NOW SEEN AS A 'PUBLIC GOOD' THAT REQUIRES 'MAINSTREAMING'. THE MARKET PRINCIPLES OF NEO-LIBERALISM OBLIGES COST-EFFECTIVENESS ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED.**

Colin Williams provides an excellent evaluation of this process, arguing that the increasing regulation of minority languages, together with the dependence of policies to support them, imply the emergence of new challenges in the institutionalisation of such languages. They are interpreted as

a 'public good' that requires 'mainstreaming'. However, the domination of the market principles of neo-liberalism as the prevailing political discourse presents its own challenges (Williams and Morris, 1999). Among them, according to Williams, is the recontextualisation of the role of such languages in the media or education, which obliges them to address cost-effective arguments. He calls for an end to top-down language planning programmes and a new orientation that draws its inspiration from regional regeneration. This issue deserves more attention.

These principles apply to language varieties as much as to forms that have been legitimated and institutionalised as 'languages'. Regional varieties are re-evaluated. The principles of standardisation are shifting and with them the construction of languages as objects. Hitherto, as a conscious attempt to determine the normative, standardisation set the framework of language use within an idealised context. Subjects were judged by reference to compliance with these standards and a form of disciplinarity operated to ensure compliance. Linguistics as a knowledge supports the relationship between the standard, social class and space. This is made operative through the educational system. Syntax served as a benchmarking system for the policing of language. Syntax became a political tool that divided subjects. Unlike minority languages, the state languages have had a long history of being incorporated into the vast range of institutional contexts within a fixed territory and population. These institutions have incorporated the state language as a feature of their normative practices, conforming with and disseminating the rigorous rules of standardization. Their communication with the public conforms with the standard. This institutional alignment is shifting, partly as a consequence of the roles assigned to civil society, the individual and the community. However, there is a difference between oral and written standards, largely because syntax as a technology plays a more rigid role in relation to the written. The role of education in policing conformity with the written standard is being challenged by the anarchic world of the new technology that establishes new 'standards' through a practice-based rather than an institutionally-based normative.

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN POLICING CONFORMITY WITH THE WRITTEN STANDARD IS CHALLENGED BY THE NEW TECHNOLOGIES THAT ESTABLISH NEW 'STANDARDS' THROUGH A PRACTICE-BASED RATHER THAN AN INSTITUTIONALLY-BASED NORMATIVITY.

The focus on equal opportunity involves a utilitarian focus. Utilitarian arguments are used to motivate non-speakers to 'possess' the language or variety through recourse to utilitarian arguments. Language objects no longer divide subjects as they once did. There has been a shift in the grounding of antagonism. The shift in the level of responsibility places new responsibilities for language on institutions that do not have the necessary financial resources to deliver.

iv. Hegemony and linguae francae: The hegemony of the state, both in general terms and by reference to language, operates through processes that owe less to rational planning than to a prioritisation of the normative. That is, hegemony is not part of some huge conspiracy, but rather, operates tacitly as features of the social practices of those involved, including the general public. In this respect hegemony is an inherent feature of the governance of the self. There is an integration of institutions with the state such that the normative order is established as if it were a voluntary act, through the influence of disciplinarity. The various institutions of society require a means of common communication, understood as a shared understanding of a common goal that does not require reflection and consideration in its application, this goal is seen as a manifestation of common interests. The coexistence and interaction of heterogeneous institutions are regulated through discursive practice (Foucault, 1969: 95-96). Problems are constructed and resolved through this commonality so that disparate institutions operate in tandem. This development is currently under way in several European regions, as well as in the new member states.

In contrast to state languages there is an increasing tendency to refer to English as a 'global language'. Several papers addressed the issue. This is hardly surprising given the consternation within sociolinguistic circles about the new role for English and the implications for other languages and language groups. Tytgat understood the teaching of English in Flemish Universities as a threat to the native language, but acknowledged that it is rapidly becoming a measure of academic quality and excellence. House, on the other hand, argued that the varieties of English in circulation should not be equated with the state language. This is consistent with the preceding discussion of language hegemony in that both the institutional involvement and the normativised nature of language use are required for language to be capable of invoking a territorial and political identity.

THE ISSUE OF ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA NEEDS TO BE DISCUSSED IN GREATER DEPTH ,IN THE CONTEXT OF A GREATER WORLDWIDE NEED FOR A PLURILINGUAL WORKFORCE.

The 'global' status of English is a result of its role in the economic context and of its implications for social mobility, that is, for language prestige. Sociolinguists are beginning to understand the relationship between language and the economy, even if their focus remains rather narrow. By reference to language and employment, Gaz's paper explained how the transition from the command economy in Roumania led to a rapid flow of direct inward investment and with it a call for language competence which, in turn, is being met by the teaching of languages in all of the University faculties. Weber constructed a typology of economic activity and the functional demand for languages. The main thrust of his analysis is that companies tend to reach decisions on the supply side based on a knowledge of local languages, whereas on the demand side there is a far greater focus on global languages, largely determined by where goods are marketed. He claims that in many companies a knowledge of the local language, the language of the company and a global language is essential, and that companies are obliged to be both flexible and adaptable in their use of language.

COMPANIES TEND TO REACH DECISIONS ON THE SUPPLY SIDE BASED ON A KNOWLEDGE OF LOCAL LANGUAGES, WHEREAS ON THE DEMAND SIDE THERE IS A FAR GREATER FOCUS ON GLOBAL LANGUAGES.

Language is not a manifest reality but a shifting uncertainty. It is an object that achieves significance through its relation to the socio-political, and the mediations between them. There are clear lines of transformation of the language object as it increasingly encompasses an enhanced openness and sociality. Evidently, the social constitutes the concrete space of the intelligibility of language and it will be fascinating to witness its destiny within liberal society. To the extent that the social is no longer to be understood as a set of material and moral conditions that generate consolidation, but as the source of solidarity and the production of unique life styles that allow an escape from moral uncertainty, both language and society are clearly in a profound process of reshaping.

v. Citizenship and language: The one category of subjects that is not accommodated in the interface between justice and governance is that of what the EU calls 'third country nationals'. Again territoriality and autochthony raise their ugly heads. Citizenship is denied them for extended periods of time. The 2000 Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU proclaimed that all European citizens were the bearers of 'fundamental rights' that rest on universal values of 'human dignity, freedom, equality and solidarity'. While this is a clear reference to the goal of creating a united Europe, it simultaneously underlines the limitation of such 'universalism' in that it excludes the migrant population.

Drawing upon the work of the LETPP (Languages in Europe: Theory, Policy, Practice; http://www.letpp.eu) project Elidir King stressed the need to consider the changes that derive from

ECONOMY

Deregulated

Transnational production

Networked – outsourcing, etc.

De-territorialised

Commercial & financial capital dominate

International mobility of capital

the new economy and the associated new forms of communication. He focused on the emerging networks that condition much of social and economic activity and their relationship to the enhanced degree of geographical mobility. This he related to a hierarchy of multilingualism and to the need to agree on how to distribute functionally different languages. Because '... the extended reality of networks and increasing number of nodes within such networks aggregate people together across their national, cultural and linguistic differences' [LETPP, 2011: 27], they thereby make cultural patterns much more heterogeneous. Kinship and friendship links largely structured by language are now extended over vast distances. The power of the state, understood as a discourse, in conditioning identity, is weakened. King pointed to the tensions that arise from such developments as an indication of an inherent tension between conservative and liberal discourses, which include constructions of languages and their contextualisation. He called for policies that reflect these developments.

This issue is receiving considerable attention. The focus on the centrality of welfarism within European political systems, how it remains the prerogative of the individual state, how it can serve as a feature of state integration linked with an awareness about the decline in state sovereignty, raises the issue of the possibility of new forms of citizenship. The debate has recently focused around cosmopolitanism, and the potential of elaborating a citizenship of residence. There is an increasing awareness that the enhanced mobility of labour within global capitalism involves the movement of significant numbers of workers into Europe where many of their welfare rights are not accommodated. Many lack the papers necessary for them to be granted rights of residence, let alone any welfare rights. Issues of justice are highly relevant here.

EMERGING SOCIAL NETWORKS CONDITION MUCH OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND EMBRACE GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY, THUS WEAKENING THE POWER OF THE STATE IN CONDITIONING IDENTITY.

Creating a European citizenship that is restricted to citizens of the member states consolidates the notion of a 'fortress Europe' with an inside and an outside. Migrant labour is allowed to enter on specific terms and for limited periods. Many migrants enter illegally. They often have no right of residence and will tend to be asked, or forced, to leave when their labour power is no longer required. While they contribute to the well-being of Europe, Europe fails to contribute to their well-being. The right to have rights is denied them. As non-citizens they often do not have the privilege of democratic participation and their mere existence in Europe can criminalise them. Some may claim they constitute a threat to security. This form of exclusion is not acceptable.

The need for a citizenship of residence is highlighted by the increasingly mobile nature of the labour force and the notion of a network society that is not necessarily grounded in any specific territory. A deterritorialised network society demands a rethinking of welfare rights. The temporary residence of much of the global labour force is no justification for denying rights. The notion of 'Empire' (Hardt and Negri, 2000) is applied to describe how the expanding power of global capital encourages the elaboration of humanitarian norms while elaborating networking technologies that destroy the walls of separation in generating a new connectivity. This heralds a new epoch.

5. SYMPOSIUM D. LANGUAGE AND THE KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY:

Production in the industrial society relied on Taylorism and kept workers separate from one another, but the knowledge economy is structured round the centrality of communication, thanks to which knowledge is generated. Consequently, this topic will focus on the key relationship between learning and the demands of an economy in which language, and indeed multilingualism, are central features.

The knowledge economy rests firmly on the development of communities of practice, where shared meaning is central to knowledge generation. There are also arguments about how working multilingually, across languages, and cultures is conducive to the promotion of reflexive learning associated with integrating symbolic features of linguistic diversity and how it relates to shared meaning. The role of the universities in the operationalisation of Triple Helix-type partnerships in the emerging economy was discussed, given the varied experiences brought together.

i. Process innovation. The change from an industrial economy to a knowledge-based economy has been characterised as a shift from factory society to the social factory (Hardt and Negri, 1994). This involves focusing attention on production that operates at the level of power as well as subjectivity. The reference to power involves how

WORK
Focus on interaction/shared meaning
Importance of language
Communities of practice
Innovation & creativity

it normalises, disciplines and regulates, power here being understood as a productive force. Subjectivity, in turn, focuses on how new forms of subjectivity are constituted within a new discursive context. The change involves a crisis of the disciplinary regime and the consolidation of a biopolitical rule, or how populations are managed within a given political order (Foucault, 2004). In industrial society the artificial separation of the political and the economic loses its relevance and effectiveness, with accumulation asserting its own discipline such that capital was synonymous with the general interest and its relation to social class. Capital is identified with the common interest of society. The body and time become labour force and labour time. It involved a specific regime of disciplinarity that operated on the human body: regulation of time, surveillance of work, etc.

The epitome of industrial economy was Taylorism, a way of organising work characterised by the assembly line. It was established with a view to giving the worker enhanced responsibility over their lives, while simultaneously expanding production and reducing poverty. Since the worker controlled labour processes – part of the potential of their labour power – Taylor argued that it was essential to transfer control over the labour process to management. It was achieved by controlling and dictating each step of the labour process. However, this would have to involve management having the same knowledge of the various labour tasks and performances as the collective knowledge of the workers. The ultimate goal was the control over the decision-making process in work. The labour process was disassociated from the skills of the worker. The next step involved appropriating any brain-power associated with work. This meant breaking the link between the conception of the task and its execution, allowing management

to impose both methodological efficiency and the pace of work, while simultaneously divesting the worker of responsibility and planning. The planning involved management designing tasks for each worker, one day in advance. It was a mute labour process in the sense that each worker operated separately from other workers. It was also a form of production that emphasised information hoarding, and command and control thinking.

SOCIETY
Tradition non-determinate
Individualism = enhanced reflexivity
Diversity of forms of collective consciousness / identity
Gender and family roles change
Enhanced migration
Increased separation of economy & society
New forms of social organisation

Given that the focus of productivity in the knowledge economy is immaterial labour[3] and its impact upon knowledge generation, a marked shift can be seen in ways of working and the relations of production. This involves creating new business environments; a work environment that focuses on collaborative processes using shared resources; process models that encompass knowledge mixing and sharing; and the ICT scaffolding that can service these new processes. Communities of Practice are claimed to be the best way of organising these working processes (Wenger, 1997). They involve aggregates of workers in face to face interaction, who learn from one another through their involvement in work practices: learning by doing. While what they learn is tacit, and thereby not easily expressed nor taught, it is crucial for the creation of new knowledge. Knowledge production under post-Fordism becomes the production of subjectivity, of linguistic and social performances that are immediately valorised. Learning becomes a collective endeavour in which the relationship between knowledge and language is clarified.

ii. Language, creativity and innovation: We are confronted by a new relationship between language, creativity and innovation. There is a common thrust to the papers by Bradley, Williams and Jorna. The focus is on process innovation: the relationships between new processes of production and new ways of working on the one hand, and innovation and creativity on the other. How does the enhanced emphasis on language in production affect the relationship between work processes and creativity? The concern is with language as social practice, with its relationship to the construction of meaning, and with the relationship of meaning to innovation. Marx and Wittgenstein argued that knowledge is rooted in social relations and social practice, both of which involve a tacit component that relies on cultural and personal knowledge.

COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE ARE USEFUL TOOLS FOR ORGANISING NEW WORKING PROCESSES: WORKERS IN FACE TO FACE INTERACTION LEARN TACITLY FROM ONE ANOTHER THROUGH THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN WORK PRACTICES, AND THIS IS CRUCIAL FOR THE CREATION OF NEW KNOWLEDGE.

It is argued that the learning process within a multilingual community of practice contributes to creativity. This was the main thrust of Glyn Williams' paper. Labour within the knowledge economy demands specific operations that involve open presentation of the self to others, the management of degrees of unpredictability, the ability

3.   Immaterial labour involves a series of activities that are not normally recognized as "work", in other words, the kinds of activities involved in defining and fixing cultural and artistic standards, fashions, tastes, consumer norms, and more strategically, public opinion.

to begin new projects and the ability to negotiate alternative possibilities. The focus is increasingly on reflexivity, understood as asking the question, 'Why are things done the way they are, and what alternative ways are possible?' Questions of reflexivity are raised once the relationship between language and the world is not simply one of direct representation. Also, reflexivity as a form of self-awareness is problematised once one maintains that the individual only becomes a subject in and through discourse. These two observations condition how reflexivity is reassessed in relation to tacit knowledge. Creativity rests on reflexive practice. If an individual cannot be fully in charge of any discourse, rationality is not only limited, but is also reflexive. When we consider reflexivity as the interpretive capacity of the producers of meaning, we acknowledge the ability to create distinctive forms of meaning for language objects. The essential ambiguity of meaning, and the fact that meaning is manifested in the discursive formation and the materiality of language, are the keys to reflexivity.

For his part, Jorna argued that, as the fundamental premise of globalisation, neo-liberalism stresses the role of the market in determining outcomes. Applied to language, he argued critically, the end result would be the existence of a single language. Similar arguments have been made by reference to minority language planning (Williams and Morris, 1999). He also pointed to the inherent contradiction between universalism and relativism within state-based principles of democracy. On the other hand Williams and Jorna concur as regards the relationship between tacit knowledge, social practice and the role of reflexivity.

The socio-cultural is an essential part of how meaning is constituted in and through interaction, and there are distinctive reflexive processes for each language object. Unlike monolingual interaction, within multilingual interaction there is a constant process of informal translation and interpretation that interrupts the flow of language use as social practice. Anyone involved in translating has to consciously reflect upon meaning rather than taking it for granted as in a reflex form of social practice. There is a search for shared meaning within a conscious and unconscious reflexivity. Individual do not merely translate language, but also discourse, in the sense that they compare the constitutions of meanings in the respective languages. Wittgenstein (1986: 125) cites 'translating one language into another' as a language game, understood as each game having its own meaning-constituting rules; and it is the nature of the game that changes through translation. Translation, even when done informally, does what writing does: it provides the basis for symbolically mastering that which is mastered practically outside of it – language, space and time. It provides oneself with an account of the conceptual categories of others within one's own cultural context.

CREATIVITY RESTS ON REFLEXIVE PRACTICE, WHICH IS ENHANCED BY MULTILINGUAL INTERACTION, WHICH INVOLVES A CONSTANT PROCESS OF INFORMAL TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETATION THAT INTERRUPTS THE FLOW OF LANGUAGE USE AS SOCIAL PRACTICE.

Learning implies the existence of a vast repository of knowledge that is not known consciously to the individual. That is, we learn mainly through social practice, and we engage with knowledge as social practice. It involves understanding social practice as behaviour that we practise without reflection, the automatic features of practice. However, all knowledge is capable of being shared with others. This constitutes the potent nature of knowledge generation within the knowledge economy. The focus is now firmly set on the intensification of knowledge, on knowledge-intensive industries and knowledge-based organisations. Learning plays a central role, and the development of organisational structures that accommodate learning are paramount. The focus is on learning rather than on education, a learning that does not necessarily involve an awareness on the part of the individual that he or she is indeed learning.

Work is redefined, and the relations of work become the main factor relating to productivity. The focus on learning by doing and the notion that knowledge is infinite leads to an emphasis on lifelong learning or 'perpetual training', as it is referred to by Donzelot (1991). It is meant to result in a 'joy of working'. Learning reconstitutes the individual, modifying the relationship between the individual as subject and other subjects and objects.

iii. Globalisation and labour markets: A forceful argument in the emergence of the knowledge economy is that, as a consequence of globalisation and deregulation, the economy no longer belongs to the state. Grin's paper emphasised that this contributes to the enhanced interest in language economics. At the same time the intellectual capacity of immaterial labour can be harnessed, but this requires a new stress on education, the nationalisation of knowledge through Intellectual Property Rights, etc. This raises issues about the nationalisation of education and - a point well presented in Bradley's paper - the role of language regulation in the economy. The function of the enterprise is one of producing (or manipulating) the world

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LABOUR MARKET

Unregulated

Split labour market:

               Global

               State

               Regional

Language in split labour market – diglossia

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that the consumer, the producer and the product inhabit - so communication and the linguistic product are important. Language is a productive force. Labour must operate through networks of communication.

While not directly addressing the issue of the KE five of the papers did focus upon the influence of globalisation: those by Grin, Strubell, Gudauner, Tinsley and Novak. Grin presented an overview of language economics stressing first, how the effects of globalisation are being confronted, and second, the effect of macro-level language dynamics on issues of linguistic hegemony. Strubell provided the empirical results of a study of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in Catalonia which replicated the ELAN study (CILT, 2006). The latter has been widely criticised for its lack of representativity, and for limitations that derive from its statistical process. These limitations were eliminated in the Catalan study. A central hypothesis was that firms which have formalised language strategies are more sensitive to issues of linguistic diversity, and tend to use Catalan in their operations. Presumably the obverse would also be true. The main conclusion was that, apart from the specifics of the firms' consolidated markets, a knowledge of English tended

MANY STUDIES DETECT A TENDENCY OF FIRMS TO EXTERNALISE THE COSTS OF LANGUAGE LEARNING, WHILE THE LABOUR MARKET DEMANDS EMPLOYEES SKILLED IN A WIDE RANGE OF LANGUAGES.

to be regarded as sufficient for the global context. Gudauner's paper explored the results of a study of the labour market in South Tyrol. Similar to the results of the Catalan study it uncovered a general willingness to use the local languages of German and Italian, while firms with export activities resorted to English as the language for these activities. In contrast to the Catalan study he argued that it is simply market forces rather than any political agenda that determines a firm's orientation to language. In line with other studies, he identifies a tendency for firms to externalise the costs of language learning. The paper by Tinsley drew on the work of the EU's 'Language for Jobs' working group. This group made the expected observations that the labour market increasingly demanded plurilingual employees involving a wide range of languages, and that this linguistic knowledge was additional to other skills. They criticised the absence of work-related learning and how this reflected on the educators. They sought an

enhanced dialogue between business and education. In this respect Vogel's claim that the global economy demands individuals capable of communicating beyond their native language and culture was stressed. Novak found that for individuals a command of languages is advantageous in securing better paid employment, while the choice of language in company management and the choice of language upon entry into a new market relate to the business success of the company. She argued that the link to specific languages, and the choice of languages in employment and the workplace, are constantly changing as the relationship between the global and the local changes.

The emphasis shifts to maximising higher education for as many of the population as possible. A new "mass intellectuality" has come into being, and this raises the question of how to transform the University into a learning organisation. The knowledge economy demands not merely highly educated personnel, but people who have been educated in a particular way that focuses upon the importance of reflexivity. This leads to a new debate about the nature of skills, and about the associated metrics. It emphasises organisational learning, involving group or systems-related working, learning, and participation within 'new production concepts'. This leads to the argument that enhancing the competence basis of individual learners links with promoting organisational learning cultures or sub-cultures, and with improving collective work performance and the collective mastery of the production processes. The learning organisation is a key concept here. New learning partnerships that focus upon work processes, and new modes of network-based co-operation, can provide new possibilities for developing the didactic space for broader contextual issues. The centrality of this argument for Universities is that, as most of us know, Universities are far from being learning organisations.

In this context Bradley's paper stressed how the orthodox model of innovation tends to be linear, with basic research leading to commercialisation through technology transfer. In his paper Jorna reminded us that, despite knowledge being expressed in and through language, knowledge transfer rarely discusses language. A central question involves how knowledge constitution varies across language. He argued that at the individual

KNOWLEDGE IS EXPRESSED IN AND THROUGH LANGUAGE, YET KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER RARELY DISCUSSES LANGUAGE; MOREOVER, CULTURE INTERVENES IN THE CONSTITUTION OF DISCOURSE AND THEREBY OF KNOWLEDGE.

level the same knowledge can be expressed in different languages. On the other hand Glyn Williams' paper claimed that culture intervenes in the constitution of discourse and thereby of knowledge.

iv. The Triple Helix: If the labour process is subject to a change that relates to the social and its constitution, then there should be a parallel response on the part of the enterprise. This partly involves a new sense of corporate responsibility. In part it is a measure of the Triple Helix as a feature of new business environments. It underlines the enterprise's engagement with the locality, even if its productive capacity is global in scope. Furthermore, enterprises become more effective. This is claimed to occur through collecting, sharing, disseminating and enhancing corporate knowledge that leads to better products and services, and customer-centric business processes.

The Triple Helix was taken up in Muursepp's paper which argues that the universal need for diversity as the basis for self-organisation and development must incorporate the openness and flexibility required by the Knowledge Economy. Linguistic diversity is therefore essential. He argued for the University as a structurally stable system. It is flexible while retaining its basic structure. He claimed that state-organised higher education stills focuses on the state language, while increasingly acknowledging the global language. The third component that is accom-

modated in his vision is the regional language. This structure, he argues, should be extended to the other two components of the Triple Helix. This issue is taken up in Gibson's paper, which emphasised that for many academic staff their involvement in the orthodox approach that focused on academic research and quality teaching was sufficient. Most disciplines are not embedding enterprise in the curriculum. Most business schools focus on the delivery of knowledge through a customised curriculum and ignore the development of the person. It is not

FOR LANGUAGE STUDENTS THE 'YEAR ABROAD' PROVIDES THE IDEAL CONTEXT FOR DEVELOPING ENTERPRISE QUALITIES AND AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THEM TO INNOVATE.

sufficient to simply provide 'bolt on' solutions to existing modules, or the provision of activities unrelated to any module. The innovative skills to be taught should be used to teach students to innovate, to negotiate through selling enterprise education to a generally negative audience. It involves a marketing approach that focuses on the needs and concerns of each disciplinary area and how they link with recent professional developments. It results in a customised approach, associated with developing a reflexive exercise that leads to skills development. For language students the 'year abroad' provided the context for the challenge of developing enterprise qualities.

The emphasis on learning by doing and lifelong learning brings a renewed interest in the apprenticeships referred to in Böttger's paper. Such apprenticeships should involve periods attached to all three components of the Triple Helix. Enterprises are increasingly looking to Universities for language training for work. This must involve collaboration between language teachers, applied linguists, sociologists and economists. This much is clear from her paper, which stressed how companies are increasingly turning to Universities for the provision of research-based foreign language modules to sensitise their employees for the complexity of communication in multilingual working environments. The central question of her paper involves how empirically-based education can address different pragmatic uses of English across the range of culturally-determined varieties of that language. While she underlined knowledge-transfer teams involving HE-industry partnerships, the contextualisation of language and the knowledge economy affords an even broader scenario. Thus Bradley's paper stressed that creativity and innovation have the greatest potential if the learning environment fosters a strong sense of place, while the diversity that encompasses the global and the local language plays an important role. His paper focussed on the kind of language learning that makes the employee sensitive to the complexity of interaction within multilingual working environments based on team working. Similarly, Glyn Williams argued that learning partnerships that focus on work processes, and new modes of network-based co-operation, can provide new possibilities for developing the didactic space for broader contextual issues.

In his paper Jorna investigated the relationship between multi-knowledge management and language. He does not construct either knowledge or language as product, a process, or

THOUGH CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY (CSR) STRATEGIES STILL SYSTEMATICALLY EXCLUDE LANGUAGE ISSUES, MANAGING MULTILINGUALISM THROUGH CSR CAN BE AN INNOVATIVE WAY OF CREATING VALUE FOR ALL STAKEHOLDERS INVOLVED IN THE PRODUCTIVE PROCESS.

a service, and in this respect the lack of tangibility refutes the construction of either by reference to the assumptions of neo-classical economics. He notes that the notion of knowledge management involves the company's organisation of knowledge by reference to the organisation of staff, something that sets constraints on working processes.

Such views are consistent with Bradley's argument that corporate value is increasingly tied to intangible assets such as customer relationships and brands, and that

the nurturing of meaning, stimulating identity and delivering experiences assume importance, while the internet makes intangibles more mobile and tradable. This approach to management contrasts with the account of corporate social responsibility (CSR) provided in the paper by Canyelles. He underlined how language is systematically excluded from this aspect of management. He argues that managing multilingualism through CSR provides an innovative way of creating value for all stakeholders involved in the productive process. What stands out in the comparison of the two papers is the different way in which "language" and "multilingualism" are constructed within the respective discourses. For Bradley, multilingualism has a pliable, dynamic and constructive quality, whereas for Canyelles it is a fixed resource that requires management in order to minimise conflict. These two constructions are not simply a manifestation of the disciplinary emphases of the respective authors, but also of the cultural and political contexts within which they operate.

Given that the main players in the knowledge economy are increasingly recruiting their employees on a global basis, the focus on Triple Helix relationships, and competition between Universities over lucrative fee-paying 'foreign' students, the future University may well increasingly involve cost-sharing across the Triple Helix. If this is the case, education will increasingly have to be tailored to the needs of the main knowledge economy enterprises, bearing in mind how these enterprises relate to government. However, given what we have previously noted about the loss of sovereignty and the opening of education and enterprise to the world, it will be a new form of government, not necessarily related to a sense of place.

The new pedagogies aim to assist learners in the construction of their own meaning maps, while providing them with the experience and skills to manage their own learning. This is evident in the concept of the 'reflexive practitioner', in how skills and knowledge are developed among and through 'communities of practitioners' (Lave and Wenger, 1991), and in how knowledge is shared in organisations (Nonaka and Konno, 1998) or practice-based distributed networks (Brown and Duguid, 1998). Reflexivity involves constantly questioning why things are done the way they are and seeking alternative ways of operating. Bradley extends this to show that thinking is systemic rather than linear, integrative rather than fragmentary, that process is more of a cause-effect process, and that, therefore, there is a need for an intensification of interdisciplinarity. However, knowledge in higher education is structured into disciplines. Bradley stresses that, by making value in the form of linking the social and the cultural, a guiding principle will implicate the local roots of the productive context while simultaneously fostering the global context.

One of the consequences of globalisation is that the state is no longer able to control its labour markets as effectively as previously. Labour markets are being churned on a global scale. The enhanced movement of financial capital is accompanied by a movement of human capital. Population movements become commonplace, raising a range of issues for those nation-states that remain grounded in the principles of modernity. Among these issues is the role of translation in the multi-ethnic knowledge society. Balibar (2004) argues that the future language of Europe will not be English, but translation. Certainly, translation becomes an essential feature of being for the majority of people in the world. This point was stressed in Johnston's paper, that underlined how translation intervenes in the relationship between self and other. In this respect he argued that the intensification of multi-ethnic relationship means that both intercultural standards and cosmopolitanism achieve a heightened sense of relevance.

6. SYMPOSIUM E: E-LEARNING, ICT AND LANGUAGES

The internationalization of training and the economy, studying and working in Europe, require greater mobility, flexibility and expertise. ICT can play a very important part in preparing for this. The fields of transmission and storage capacity constantly improve; the development of Learning Management Systems and of Authoring Systems can help increase learning performance. E-learning can make language learning more effective and more efficient when the technical platforms perform and when implemented contents and training systems are appropriately adapted.

The key issues of technology-enhanced language and culture learning and multilingualism were discussed. What are the educational, value-added dimensions of the available technology and the methods based on this technology? How, for instance, can online communication or online intercultural exchanges best be used for enhancing language learning and teaching? By analyzing existing e-learning systems and their didactic implementation, we hoped to define parameters to evaluate them and to make recommendations: which technologies are complementary and could be integrated, which training concepts can be adapted, which gaps still exist? The European Commission could then define its core domains for further phases of the LLP.

Above we have implied that the New Economy exists side by side with industrial age economy. In making the transition from one to the other there will be examples of technologies and socio-economic systems that are 'locked in' to relatively constrained paths of development, what is referred to as 'path dependency'. The new technologies play a central role in articulating the

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NEW TECHNOLOGY

Coordinates the economy

Networks communities

Transforms economic practices/organisation

Accesses materials – include mobile technology

Understood as social construction but pliable

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new economy with the old. They provide new possibilities, not simply for a range of activities, but also for their commercial exploitation. They lie at the heart of the new economy.

In simple terms it can be argued that what the new technologies achieve is firstly the networking of individuals and organisations across space in a way that was hitherto limited, and secondly the opening of possibilities of assembling and accessing digital materials that can be used in new ways. Evidently, such simple pronouncements conceal a complexity of possibilities and exploitable opportunities. The new technology transforms time-space relationships, allowing transactions over great distances to be completed rapidly. Inevitably, it also contributes to a reconfiguration of the relationship between time, person and place. It simultaneously integrates a vast number of people into aggregates that link with specific functions and activities. It has the potential for creating new forms of communities that do not require the face-to-face interaction associated with the orthodox sociological understanding of 'community'. The focus of the Barcelona symposium was on two predominant themes – the use of the new technology for learning, and the integration of language technology with the cultural industry. We begin with the first theme.

i. Technology and learning: Pachler's paper reminded us that the use of the new technology for learning raises a number of issues, including how we understand learning, the relevance of

culture for the learning process, the mediating processes associated with language and communication, and the issue of whether there is anything particular associated with learning language and culture. Some of these issues are highlighted in a new way when the new technology is brought to bear on them. The strength of his paper lay in how he integrated the notion of mobile learning with the sociological framework referred to above within which the individual assumes responsibility for her learning. Knowledge is distributed across people, communities and institutions that are involved in the open exchange of knowledge in forging new knowledge. He reminded us that a central issue involves the selection of the relevant device for the desired impact.

MOBILE TECHNOLOGY LINKS UP WITH A SOCIOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH INDIVIDUALS ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR LEARNING.

This paper dovetailed neatly with that by Prats and Serra which focused on the Language Services section at the Autonomous University, Barcelona. They stressed the need for the section to adapt in line with new technological developments, and explained how different technologies can be merged. They recognised that partnerships and networks are becoming increasingly important in developing and delivering online language teaching.

The more orthodox learning platforms involving the use of storage and retrieval technologies, interactive sites, and novel discussion spaces were discussed by Hegedus and Pšenakova; Gelan; Vall-Llovera and Puigdevall; Van der Meer; and Dokus. Some of these papers, including those by Rehbein, Vall-Llovera and Puigdevall, and Gelan, specifically addressed the relationship between language issues and distance education. These tools are now being augmented by mobile platforms which stress the ubiquity of recent advantages in third and fourth generation mobile technology. They help overcome the problem that traditional schooling practices are based on de-contextualized information, indirect and abstract knowledge, and second-hand experiences confined to classroom contexts. Learning can now be integrated into daily life with a focus on contextualised, situated interaction that can include the personal as well as the expertise and experience of those participating. This has a particular resonance for intercultural communication, in that it allows participants to understand how others, located in different global contexts, perceive, analyse and produce situated knowledge. It can promote the skills to negotiate linguistic and cultural differences across disparate groups, thereby enhancing intercultural communicative competence. Similarly, Van de Meer stressed that social media can encourage minority language speakers to extend their repertoire of language practices.

Mobile technology becomes particularly relevant once we accept, in line with the thesis on the shift from modernity to reflexive modernity, that responsibilities for meaning construction and risk management have been transferred from the state and its institutions to the individual, who has become a consumer of services provided by a global market. The current changes in the authority in and over education, changes to consumption and production, as well as current characteristics of the media landscape, such as participation, distribution, local and global content, ubiquity and multi-modality, are central for conceptualising mobile learning. Learning is now understood as the process of 'coming to know', and 'being able to operate successfully in and across' new and ever-changing contexts and learning spaces. It is socio-culturally bound and contingent in terms of a range of factors. In line with the understanding of how dialogism stresses the constantly changing nature of meaning, the interactive process is a persistent learning process. The heightened sense of reflexivity allows the mundane world to become learning contexts that are enhanced by mobile technology. The learner can access the signification process in all its richness and complexity in striving to construct meaning.

Teaching is no longer a process of delivery, but becomes far more variable and richer. Again we encounter ways in which the relationship between technology and social activity involves a persistent modification of a range of social processes.

It is perhaps inevitable that the use of the new technology articulates with the creation of learning environments that draw upon notions not directly related to such technology. Thus the use of the notions of 'learning by doing' and 'communities of practice' were discussed by Dooly in her paper on technology for teacher training. These two notions focus upon the creation of working environments that stress the linked processes of community creation and work as a social practice. The orthodox context for the two notions, involving as they do a sense of working in situ and the learning of working practices as social practices based on the transformation of work as a consciously mediated process, into a process that involves a link between tacit knowledge and social practice, is augmented by the use of the notion and associated tools of 'virtual worlds'. To what extent such notions can serve as the basis for on-line working environments that use language technology to transcend the need to operate monolingually remains an open question.

By the same token one encounters the use of social media tools not created directly for language learning. Thus, for example, the use of three dimensional virtual worlds such as Second Life is claimed to be particularly useful for overcoming the lack of confidence on the part of the learner when it is used for role play that focuses upon specific contexts. The paper by Swanstrom and Rontu showed that the technology was used very effectively in creating safe, playful, yet authentic environments for learners.

IN A SENSE TECHNOLOGY IS A SOCIAL CONSTRUCT AND CONSTITUTES A FORM OF DISCOURSE WHICH SETS CONSTRAINTS ON WHAT CAN BE DONE, WHAT CAN BE SAID AND HOW IT MUST BE SAID.

This leads to the question of the relationship between the social context of learning or working, and the notion of technology as simply a tool that is devoid of any such meaningful existence. While it is clear that it is this context that underlies the orthodox use of the new technology there remains a sense in which the technology itself is a social construct. That is, as products of human activity there is a sense in which the technology constitutes a form of discourse. The discursive content certainly sets constraints on what can be done, what can be said and how it must be said. Similarly it sets limits on the same processes. To this extent it conditions the degree of 'openness' of the relevant environments and platforms.

ii. Cultural industries: The second theme of the symposium focused on the potential of cultural industries and the role of language in its structuring. The new structures of enterprises and work of the new economy demand a total reorientation of relationships. This takes two forms. First, the relationship between institutions and enterprises changes, leading to new networks and relationships. To a certain extent it involves each institution or enterprise relinquishing the kind of autonomy they held within the industrial age economy. The subsequent changes require considerable work. Second, the new context also involves restructuring and reorganising the entire work process in order to take advantage of the potential for knowledge generation. New workflows are developed. These workflows not only integrate the disparate features that merge within the new convergence of activities and institutions, but can also help to meet the need for integrating work and knowledge generation. The workflows should operate around new ways of working, involving new relationship structures and new learning environments. The new technology lies at the heart of these developments as an overview of the multi-media sector clarifies.

The convergence of forms of media into multi-media lends itself to the exploitation of materials that, hitherto, were not considered as economically exploitable. Furthermore, it affords a

range of different ways in which these materials can be exploited. Many regions have their broadcasting production and distribution institutions. They also often have their heritage archives in the form of museums, galleries and related institutions where various aspects of the region's material culture are housed. These have tended to be treated as public assets that often absorb considerable sums of money in their conservation and expansion. They are also sometimes treated as valuable educational resources, yet tend not to be thought of as valuable commercial assets, capable of being exploited as a feature of the regional economy. This is rapidly changing as the potential of merging the skills of the new media with these cultural resources becomes apparent.

The commodification of culture means that something belonging to the public domain has been bounded, redefined and incorporated into the private sphere of commerce. This, in turn, implies working on pre-existing forms in order to develop new works. These observations have particular resonance for the way culture is commodified. When considered in a broader historical context, the term "public domain" has a set of denotative and connotative meanings that transform the artistic, intellectual and informational public domain into a geographically separate place, portions of which are presumptively eligible for privatization. Yet, if we view culture from a different perspective, we can conclude that its specificity is determined by its distributed nature across social space. Whichever is the case, already existing cultural forms are constantly recycled.

The synthesis of many fields of expertise links with IT capabilities and stimulates content and services production. This provides considerable opportunity for economic growth. There are already opportunities for the creation of new systems of entertainment that can reach a global market at relatively low cost. The key involves the link between product and process innovation (Williams and Kentz, 2003).

This content industry involves new processes in the development of contents as products. This includes the commodification of assets which hitherto were regarded as of limited value. Thus, museum materials can now be digitised, the rushes of film or television productions receive the same treatment. Together, these materials constitute the assets of large multi-media archives that serve as the resources for the development of new content. This recycling can have numerous functions. The potential of such materials for certain regional economies is significant. Already standardisation and preliminary work is leading towards the creation of a vast Europe-wide archive of cultural materials. This can overcome limitations imposed by the restricted range of materials available within any single European region.

VALUE-ADDED PARTNERSHIPS, WITHIN WHICH EACH PLAYER IN THE VALUE-ADDED CHAIN HAS A STAKE IN THE OTHER'S SUCCESS, ARE WELL PLACED TO COMPETE SUCCESSFULLY IN THE KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY.

Value-added partnerships insist upon two components: the constant flow of information across the partnership, and a strong sense of mutual respect and confidence. It also replaces vertical integration. Thus, it does not place an essential emphasis upon spatial proximity. The value-added chain involves the various steps a good or service goes through from raw material to final consumption.

Economics customarily envisaged the transactions between links in the chain as being arm's length relationships, or hierarchies of common ownership. Value-added partnerships are an alternative to these two types of relationship. There is a heavy onus on partnerships within which each player in the value-added chain has a stake in the other's success. In this respect there is a strong argument for focusing Knowledge Economy developments on such a concept.

iii. Language, technology and culture: Two issues emerge – the need for on-line working environments and the integration of working groups into a coherent whole across space. Both of

these rely heavily on language. It can be argued that some digital products enter a market that is structured by language in the sense that they involve products that apply only to speakers of a particular language. Clearly, using translation tools, together with cultural sensitivity opens the reach of this market. We have already said that the new technology provides the basis for the creation of a new notion of community. The question remains of whether language translation alone is sufficient to create such a social entity. How does it become possible to articulate language and culture in such a process? The same observation applies to on-line working environments. It has been argued that the relevance of language for creativity relies on the accessibility of precisely such a sensitivity. Consequently, much will be lost by the use of linguae francae within the relevant communities of practice.

Beyond this concern with multilingual communication for working with archives of material culture is the issue of cultural behaviour, or how culture relates to shared meaning construction. It is an issue that was broached in the opening symposium, and to a lesser extent in the Belfast symposium. It was revisited in Linnar Viik's paper. He stressed that using the same language and the same technology does not guarantee that similar meanings will be shared. He implied that different kinds of practices may well lead to specific meanings being interpreted differently, even within the same culture. If this is correct it opens a Pandora's box as regards how key elements of on-line interaction operate, even though most practitioners appear to be unaware of the centrality of culture for their operations. It stresses an understanding of culture as, on the one hand, how a social group presents itself and, on the other, how members of a wider group understood as a community share both a historic narrative and features that mediate in meaning construction. He also stressed the need to develop long-term organisational strategies that accommodate the limited span of technology life-cycles.

There is a need to transform this vision of media asset management and the development of a digital value chain into concrete business and technical strategies. The product of the transformation must encompass the value of the various resources as regional resources without excluding regional enterprises from using these resources on cost-effective grounds. Regional digital assets can be sold or they can be used to create further value in the form of new content. By merging the translation industry with the multi-media sector and by linking regional nodes, the potential can become a reality.

This issue was the main thrust of the paper by Pawlowsky which discussed the relationship between the Catalan initiative for the creation of a regional digital cultural archive. This is in place and has been linked with the 'Language Industries Cluster', an association of 25 companies that will service the content production with the requisite language tools. This could well serve as a major platform for EUNOM's future work in that it becomes possible to further trans-regional Triple Helix structures for this particular sector.

A TRIPLE HELIX APPROACH TO EMERGING REGIONAL CLUSTERS OF LANGUAGE INDUSTRIES COULD BOOST LOCAL LABOUR MARKETS AND ECONOMIES.

7. CONCLUSION

The series of symposia has allowed a process of continuous reflections that relate to key issues by reference to language and culture in society. This process has been assisted by the extended time over which the project has been unwinding. The construction of language is changing – from a form determined by the institutional constraints of state systems, to a much more loosely conditioned basis for communication. Similarly, higher education is changing from a process of enlightenment for a limited proportion of a national population, to the basis for integration with a global economy, managed by both companies and the nation state. The preceding analysis implies that a process is in progress that demands a series of changes that directly involve higher education. These changes involve intensifying the link with business and government; an enhanced attention to language for creativity; ensuring that new management derives from the demands of the global economy and the changing role of language within it (without forgetting the demands of individuals and the wider society, as regards their immaterial wellbeing); recognising how ICT obliges changes while also demanding a creativity by reference to its role and functions; and the new turns in learning we have outlined. These changes and developments help determine and contextualise the scope and direction of future research. The desired changes will not be easy in that they involve step changes in the orthodox thinking of higher education, they involve changes premised on disciplinary bases, on business and its focus on productivity and profit at the expense of an understanding of the new economy, on teachers whose careers have been premised on the old way of thinking, and so on. It is this realignment that informs the following recommendations.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. More research is needed on language process in creativity and the associated skills.

2. There is a need to integrate Tripe Helix partnerships and get them to take significance of language both as an explicit tool and as a subjective process on board.

3. There is a need to enhance the educational process in such partnerships.

4. There is a need to change the nature of employability to encompass the knowledge economy and its relationship to language as a process skill.

5. There is a need to enhance the process whereby employers can come to terms with the inherent role of language and their business and how they can enter a dialogue with higher education to furnish them.

6. There is a need to break down the disciplinary nature of higher education knowledge management, while making sure that the role of language is enhanced.

7. There is a need to undertake research to explore relationship between multilingual group dynamics, meaning construction and innovation.

8. There is a need to bring together leading specialists in order to redirect language learning and teaching in the light of societal and global changes.

9. There is a need to develop and elaborate on-line multilingual, learning environments.

10. There is a need to encourage openness in language management systems based on principles of justice, instead of considering simply European and/or state languages.

11. There is a need to embed enterprise into higher education, both for the University itself and in relationship with business. This will by its very nature enhance awareness of language issues.

12. There is a need for HE institutions to bear in mind the needs and wants of people working in the humanities, of researchers, of undergraduates, etc., when assessing and redesigning multilingual policies and plurilingual practices within Universities.

13. For on-line working environments there is a need to set the goal of elaborating the technology that would allow work to proceed in any language but using a few or one lingua franca that will ensure compatibility of meaning.

14. There is a need to undertake research to establish a typology of models of multilingualism in higher education institutions.

15. There is a need for postgraduate courses in higher education institutions on managing multilingualism and multiculturalism, and for existing courses to liaise and develop joint projects.

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APPENDIX

Papers delivered at the five thematic symposia

SYMPOSIUM 1 on "Language teachers: Training for a New Paradigm" (Udine, September 7-8, 2010)

1. Prof Tullio di Mauro (Università "La Sapienza", Roma) Le lingue dell' insegnamento: qualche nota preliminare.

2. Dr Michael Kelly (University of Southampton) Towards a pluralist paradigm for language teacher education.

3. Dr Lucija Čok (Primorska U. Koper) La dimensione interculturale nell' insegnamento delle lingue/ The Intercultural Dimension of Language Teaching. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_ in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/COK_EN.pdf (English); http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/COK_IT.pdf

4. Dr Eugene McKendry (School of Education, Queen's University Belfast, Northern Ireland) The Challenge of the new paradigm of Curriculum Review. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/ export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/Eugene_McKendry_The_ Challenge_of_the_new_paradigm_of_Curriculum_Review.pdf

5. Dr Norman Pachler (Institute of Education, University of London) Preparing to Teach in Multilingual / Multicultural / Ethnically Diverse Contexts.

6. Dr Karen Risager (Department of Culture and Identity, Roskilde University, Denmark) The Language Teacher Facing Transnationality. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/export/sites/in3/ webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/Karen_Risager_The_Language_Teacher_ Facing_Transnationality_posted.pdf

7. Dr Tünde Dökus (Corvinus University of Budapest) The Right Balance Integrating ICT into Traditional Teaching. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/opencms/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/Tunde_Dokus_Abstract_Udine.rtf

8. Dr Sònia Prats (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) Multiculturalism and the Lingua Franca in Language Teaching. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/opencms/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/Sonia_Prats_Udine.rtf

9. Dr June Eyckmans (Department of Applied Linguistics, Erasmus University College Brussels, Belgium) Innovation in language teacher education: fostering learner autonomy through phrasal awareness. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/opencms/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_ resources/documents/June_Eyckmans_EUNoM_Udines_paper.rtf

10. Dr Encarnación Carrasco Perea (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) Le mot de la fin: rappels et questionnements. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/opencms/webs/projectes/ EUNOM/_resources/documents/Regard_E_CarrascoUdine2010.rtf

11. Dr Joseph Sheils (Language Policy Division, Council of Europe) Greetings and invitation. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/opencms/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/100730_Joseph_Sheils_Council_of_Europexs_contribution_to_Udine.rtf

Rapporteur's summary: Dr. Glyn Williams (Centre for European Research, Wales) http://in3.uoc. edu/opencms_in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/RAPPORTEUR_WILLIAMS.pdf

SYMPOSIUM 2 on "Higher education and research on multilingualism: challenge or opportunity?" (Ljouwert, Friesland, The Netherlands, November 18-19, 2010)

The relation between the regional and the global level. The possible impact of universities / research on society with regard to multilingualism

1. Prof. Jochen Rehbein (Middle East Technical University, Ankara) Multilingualism through community languages – challenge or opportunity of Higher Education. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/opencms/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/Abstract.Leeuwarden.Rehbein.final.pdf

2. Alastair Walker (Department of Frisian Studies / North Frisian Dictionary Centre, Universität Kiel) Multilingualism, the University Department and Minority Languages. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/opencms/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/Alastair_Walker_to_publish.rtf

3. Professor Mitja Žagar (Institute for Ethnic Studies, University of Ljubljana) Diversity Management: A Tool for Development of Inclusive Collective Identities and Adequate Framework for Multilingual and Multicultural Societies. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/opencms/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/Mitja_Zagar_to_publish.rtf

The possible contribution of universities/EUNoM to language policy development within Europe

4. Dr. Jeroen Darquennes (Facultés Universitaires Notre-Dame de la Paix, Namur, Belgium) From subject to object of transdisciplinary study. Reflections on the contribution of language(s) in higher education on the development and the implementation of European language policy initiatives. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/opencms/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/Jeroen_Darquennes_adaptat_per_autor.rtf

5. Dr. Rita Temmerman (Erasmushogeschool Brussel, Belgium) Plurilinguistic terminological competences in specialized domains: a competitive advantage? http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/opencms/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/Rita_Temmermanx_Erasmushogeschool_Brussel.rtf

6. Dr. Alex Riemersma (Mercator Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning, Ljouwert, Fryslan, The Netherlands) Multilingualism for all: How to implement European Language Policy Development through Universities and Teacher Training to Primary and Secondary Education. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/opencms/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/Dr._Alex_Riemersma_Mercator.rtf

The multilingual university: language policy at the level of the institution

7. Prof. Robert Dunbar (Senior Researcher Professor and Director, "Soillse" Sabhal Mòr Ostaig/UHIMI) A Unilingual Minority Language College in a Multilingual University: Sabhal Mòr Ostaig. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/opencms/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/R_Dunbar_Abstract_09_11_10_to_publish.rtf

8. Dr. Irina Chongarova-Aron and Dr. Nadya Cherneva (University of Plovdiv, Bulgaria) Multilingualism and Exclusion? A case study of international academic staff mobility. http://www.uoc.edu/opencms/opencms/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/Dr._Irina_Chongarova-Aronx_Dr._Nadya_Chernevax_University_of_Plovdivx_Bulgaria.rtf

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SYMPOSIUM 3 on "Managing multilingual and multiethnic societies and institutions" (Koper, Slovenia on June 20-21 2011).

Multilingual policies in contact areas: gaps and issues of national and international language policies at the local levels; demands in global scale and responses, local dimension of language use

1. Paolo E. Balboni (University Ca' Foscari, Venice, Italy): The quality of multilingual policy in contact areas. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/c01_BALBONI_to_publish.pdf

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3. Kristin Tytgat (Erasmushogeschool Brussel (Belgium): Language Policy in higher education in Flanders (Belgium): English in an academic context. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/c03_Tytgat.pdf

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5. Helen Kesonen (Tartu University, South-Estonian Language and Culture Research Centre, Estonia): Influence of Language Policy to the Local Languages. The Case of the Võru Language. Abstractr: http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/Managing_multilingual_and_multiethnic_societies_and_institutions._abstracts.pdf, p. 6.

Managing language diversity at work: global economy and local dimension of language use

6. Lid King (National Director for Languages, The Languages Company, UK): New models for Multilingualism in Europe. Abstract: http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/Managing_multilingual_and_multiethnic_societies_and_institutions._abstracts.pdf, p. 7.

7. Roxana-Maria Gâz (Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania): Foreign Languages for Economic Development: An overview of the Romanian labour market. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/c07_Gaz_to_publish.pdf

8. Peter Weber (University of München, Germany): Economic decisions for language diversity at work. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/c08_Weber_to_publish.pdf

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New spaces for language and identity. Multiple identities within global vision of political, social and cultural cooperation. Migration and cooperation

10. Colin H Williams (School of Welsh, Cardiff University, Wales, UK): New Spaces, Old Truths: Problematic Applications. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/c10_Williams_to_publish.pdf

11. Tomasz Wicherkiewicz: New languages, new identities… Language policy and development of new (?) ethnolects in Central Europe. Abstract: http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/Managing_multilingual_and_multiethnic_societies_and_institutions._abstracts.pdf, p. 13.

12. Juliane House: English as a global lingua franca: A Threat to Multilingualism? Abstract: http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/Managing_multilingual_and_multiethnic_societies_and_institutions._abstracts.pdf, p. 14.

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3. Finbarr Bradley (Smurfit Business School, UCD, IE), Nurturing innovation: Language Diversity as Advantage, pp. 16-26. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/opencms/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/BELFAST_ABSTRACTS_AND_PAPERS_7.rtf

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9. Josep-Maria Canyelles (Director, Responsabilitat Global, ES), Linguistic Diversity within a Cor-porate Social Responsibility approach. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/10_CANYELLES_EN.pdf (English), http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/docu-ments/10_CANYELLES_Cat.pdf (català).

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16. Sarah Cartwright (Education Consultant, UK), From Ivory Towers to the Workplace: New Paradigms confronting Old Prejudice, pp. 15-16. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/openc-ms/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/BELFAST_ABSTRACTS_AND_PAPERS_7.rtf (abstract)

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SYMPOSIUM 5 on "E-Learning, ICT and Languages" (Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain, 14-15 May 2012).

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2. Norbert Pachler (Institute of Education, University of London, England, UK): Mobile-assisted language learning. http://www.slideshare.net/servusuk/mall-12938307

3. Tünde Dökus (Bölcsészettudományi Kar, Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem / Faculty of Humanities and Social Science, Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Piliscsaba, HU): Information and Communication Technologies in Language Teaching. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_ in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/paper_Dokus.pdf

4. Cor van der Meer (Mercator Research Centre / Fryske Akademy, Ljouwert, Fryslān, NL): New Media for Multilingualism: Practice and Research Questions. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_ in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/VANDERMEER.pdf

5. Sònia Prats & Enric Serra (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Catalonia, ES): Adapting to e-learning: The experience of the Language Service at the UAB. http://in3.uoc.edu/ opencms_in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/Presentation_PRATS_EUNOM_BCN.ppt

6. Montse Vall-llovera & Maite Puigdevall (Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Barcelona, Catalonia, ES): Multilingualism in distance learning: the case of the U.O.C. Some multilingual experiences in the virtual classroom.

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8. Melinda Dooly (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Catalonia, ES): I can even kite-surf!: Student-Teachers Engaged in 'Network Learning' / Puc fins i tot fer kite-surf: Professorat en Formació Participen en 'Aprenentatge a la Xarxa'. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/paper_Dooly.pdf

9. Taija Swanström & Heidi Rontu (Teknillinen korkeakoulu / Aalto University School of Science & Technology, FI): Using Virtual Worlds in Language Learning. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_ in3/opencms/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/Presentation_Swanstrom_ Rontu.pptx

10. Orsolya Hegedüs & Ildiko Pšenáková Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre / Constantine the Philosopher University, Nitra, SK): Using ICT in foreign language training for future teachers in linguistically mixed areas / Využitie IKT vo vyuČovaní cudzích jazykov pre budúcich uČiteľov na jazykovo zmiešanom území/Az IKT lehetőségeinek felhasználása a leendő tanárok idegen nyelvi képzésében a nyelvileg vegyes területeken. http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/ export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EUNOM/_resources/documents/paper_Psenakova.pdf

11. Tenesoya Pawlowsky (Digitalent / Clúster d'Indústries de la Llengua, Catalonia, ES): «Clústerlingua». Abstract: http://in3.uoc.edu/opencms_in3/export/sites/in3/webs/projectes/EU-NOM/_resources/documents/BARCELONA_ABSTRACTS_FIN.pdf, p. 8-9.

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