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Finno-Ugric Peoples in a Global Context: human rights of speakers of endangered languages

Plenary paper at the 4th World Congress of the Finno-Ugric Peoples, August 15-19, 2004, Tallinn, Estonia

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75. Тове Скутнабб-Кангас. Финно-угорские народы в глобальном контексте: права человека, говорящего на находящемся под угрозой исчезновения языке // Андрес Хейнапуу, ред (2004), Всемирный конгресс финно-угорских народов, Таллинн, 15-19 августа 2004 г. Доклады и документы: НДО "Учреждение Фенно-Угриа", сс.69-121 [Finno-Ugric Peoples in a Global Context: human rights of speakers of endangered languages". Plenary paper at the 4th World Congress of the Finno-Ugric Peoples, August 15-19, 2004, Tallinn, Estonia. In Russian; I do not know where it was published].

1. Introduction

Finno-Ugric peoples are in a global context demographically a very small part of humanity. Still, they/we show a remarkable amount of internal variation in terms of our spread of geographic location, our livelihoods and the relative status of our languages. In this paper I shall concentrate on linguistic human rights (LHRs) of Finno-Ugric peoples, and especially on the rights of those speakers of Finno-Ugric languages whose languages can be called endangered¹. And I shall mostly concentrate on educational LHRs, for two main reasons. Firstly, in societies where all children attend formal education, these are the most important LHRs if a minority or an indigenous people wants to reproduce itself as a minority. Secondly, "education tends to be the single most important channel of government intervention in the sphere of language", also in terms of expenditure, even if there are others too (administration, judiciary, support to media and arts, etc; Grin 2003a: 25; see also

No single criterion can be used to assess a language's degree of endangerment (Brenzinger 2000, Wurm 2000). Language communities are complex and diverse; even assessing the number of actual speakers of a language is difficult¹. We propose using a variety of criteria to evaluate a language's state.

The most crucial dimension in evaluating the vitality of a language is whether or not it is being transmitted from one generation to the next (Fishman 1991). Endangerment can be ranked on a continuum from stability to extinction. Even "stable", however, does not guarantee language vitality, because at any time speakers may cease to pass on their language to the next generation.

¹ UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit's Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages (see Section 3 below) gives the following definition:

A language is endangered when it is facing extinction. Though the causes of language endangerment are complex, the definition is simple: A language is in danger of becoming extinct when its speakers cease to use it, and when there are no new speakers (adults or children).

The Group states:

other references to Grin in the bibliography). I shall discuss the issues not from a linguistic point of view, but more using concepts, theories and evidence from sociolinguistics, international human rights law, education, sociology, political science and ethnobiology. The titles of the sections and subsections illustrate and sum up the contents of this paper².

2. Basic background data about languages

We start with some basic background data about languages. First numbers. Most languages in the world are **demographically** very small, they have few speakers. The median number of speakers of a language is around 5-6,000 (Darrell Posey's 1999 estimate). 83-84% of the world's spoken languages are ENDEMIC: they exist in one country only. Please place your own group here too, in terms of numbers!

- There are 6-7,000 spoken languages (http://www.sil.org/ethnologue/), and maybe equally many Sign languages; we **do not** know exact numbers because of lack of resources for their study. And we **cannot** know the exact numbers because there are no other ways to determine what is a language and what is a dialect except using political criteria; those in power claim that what they speak is a language. What people with less power speak are by the power-holders labelled dialects or vernaculars (see below);
- Just under 80 languages have over 10 million users; how many does Hungarian, the largest Finno-Ugric language have?
- Over 95% of the world's spoken languages have fewer than 1 million native users. Fewer than 300 languages have over 1 million native users; how many Finno-Ugric languages are among these really big languages?
- Some 5,000 spoken languages have fewer than 100,000 users; most Finno-Ugric languages belong to this category.
- Of these, over 3,000 spoken languages have fewer than 10,000 users;
- Some 1,500 spoken languages and most of the Sign languages have fewer than 1,000 users;
- Some 500 languages had in 1999 fewer than 100 users; today many of them are extinct and others have taken their place; how many Finno-Ugric languages do we have in this group?

The whole concept of **language** is extremely vague, as we know and there is no other scientific way of defining it except analysing the power relations involved in whose definitions about the relative languageness or otherwise of various idioms prevail and why (see my discussion of what a language is, in Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, Chapter 1). This is a typical example of the borders of a concept being in the perceptions of the observer rather than in the characteristics of the observed (see Mühlhäusler 2003 and my review, in press c, of it). One example is the latest edition of the **Ethnologue**

² The paper draws heavily on most of my recent writings and several in press - see my home page for these.

(<u>http://www.sil.org/ethnologue/</u>), the best global source for languages. It lists some 6.800 languages, but some 41,000 names or labels for various languages.

Even if we knew what a language is, we certainly have extremely unreliable figures about the number of **speakers/users**³ for most of them, including the largest ones where the differences of estimates of the speakers of the same language may be tens of millions (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002a).

Where are the languages? If we leave out languages whose speakers have immigrated to Europe during the last 60 years and only count languages with older presence in Europe (see, e.g. Glanville Price's edited 2000 Encyclopedia of the languages of Europe), the result is that Europe⁴ only has around 3 percent of the world's spoken languages. On the basis of population figures we should have more. The Ethnologue (14th edition http://www.ethnologue.com/ethno_docs/distribution.asp, downloaded 23-01-02), gives the following figures and distribution: Europe 230 languages, 3%, the Americas (South, Central and North) have 1,013, 15%, Africa 2,058, 30%, Asia 2,197, 32%, and the Pacific 1,311, 19% (Table 1). Again, no count has been done for Sign languages.

Table 1. The distribution of languages (The Ethnologue, 14th ed.)

Area	Number of	Percentage of
	languages?	world total
Europe	230	3%
The Americas (South, Central, North)	1,013	15%
Africa	2,058	30%
Asia	2,197	32%
The Pacific	1,311	19%

Languages are in most cases both known best and transmitted to the next generation by **native speakers/users**⁵ or **mother tongue**⁶ **speakers/users** of those languages. But we are likewise using contested concepts here: distinguishing mother tongue speakers or native speakers from those who have learned some language only later and for whom it is not their primary means of communication in childhood (or one of them, in case of childhood bilinguals or multilinguals) is extremely tricky.

If we could define language and native speaker, we might then measure the **relative linguistic diversity** of geographical units, for instance countries, through the number of languages spoken natively in the country. The most linguistically diverse countries would then be the ones which have most languages. Papua New Guinea, with its over 850 languages would be the un-detested world champion (Table 2).

³ I use the double form to indicate that Signers, representing a large number of the world's languages, do not "speak" Sign languages; they sign them. In all instances when I use "speaker", I mean "speaker/signer", and when I use "language", I include Sign languages.

⁴ "Europe" is itself a dubious category - see Price's (2000) discussion about how to define it, and my discussion of Fortress Europe, section 3.5.4, pp. 181-194 in Skutnabb-Kangas 2000).

⁶ See Skutnabb-Kangas 1984, 2000, for probably the most thorough existing systematisations of these definitions.

But this way of measuring **linguistic megadiversity** has also been contested. Clinton Robinson argues, for instance, that the most diverse country is not the one which has the largest number of languages, but the one where the largest linguistic group represents the lowest percentage of all linguistic groups (Robinson; 1993). We get a very big difference in the list of the world's linguistically most diverse countries, depending on which measure we use (Tables 2 and 3; source: Tables 1.1 and 1.3 in Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000: 36-37).

Table 2. Linguistic megadiversity: The countries with most languages in the world

OVER 500 LANGUAGES		OVER 200 LANGUAGES		OVER 100 LANGUAGES
1.Papua New Guinea	850	1.Nigeria	410	1.Philippines
2.Indonesia	670	2.India	380	2.Russia
		3.Cameroon	270	3.USA
Total	1.520	4.Australia	250	4.Malaysia
		5.Mexico	240	5.China
		6.Zaire	210	6.Sudan
		7.Brazil	210	7.Tanzania
				8.Ethiopia
		Total	1.970	9.Chad
		TOTAL for 9	3.490	10.Vanuatu
				11.Central African Republic
				12.Myanmar (Burma)
				13.Nepal

Based on figures given in Krauss 1992: 6.

Table 3. The ten most linguistically diverse countries, according to Robinson 1993

Country	Country popul. (millions)	No. of living languages	LLG	No. in LLG	LLG as % of popul.	Official languages
1.Papua New Guinea	3.6	867	Enga	164 750	5	English Tok Pisin Hiri Motu
2.Vanuatu	0.143	111	Hano	7 000	5	Bislama English French
3.Solomon Islands	0.3	66	Kwara'ae	21 000	7	English
4.Côte D'Ivoire	12.07	75	Baoule	1 620 100	13	French
5.Gabon	1.069	40	Fang	169 650	16	French
6.Uganda	17.593	43	Ganda	2 900 000	16	English
7.Cameroon	11.9	275	Beti	2 000 000	17	French

						English
8.Kenya	25.393	58	Gikuyu	4 356 000	17	Kiswahili English
9.Namibia	1.372	21	Ndonga	240 000	17	English
10.Zaire	35.33	219	Ciluba	6 300 000	18	Ciluba Kikongo Kiswahili Lingala French

LLG = Largest Language Group(adapted from Robinson, 1993: 55; based on figures in **Ethnologue**, 12th edition)

Measuring **cultural diversity** is even more difficult, regardless of how "culture" or "cultural traits" are defined (see, e.g., articles in Posey, ed., 1999, and Maffi, ed, 2001, for a good sampling), but often language and culture coincide even if there are many exceptions too. Some people claim that cultures and ethnic groups can survive even if the languages are no longer known or used (e.g. Eastman 1984, Khilkhanova& Khilkhanova 2004, May 2001, 2003, in press). De Swaan (2003) claims that "[t]here is hardly any connection between linguistic diversity and a sense of cultural diversity". Likewise, it is claimed that language is not necessarily important for ethnic identity; this can be maintained, it is claimed, even if one never uses and does not know the language that was or is used by the ethnic group in its "homeland". This language has just "transformed from a language of use" to an "associated language" (Eastman 1984: 264); the group can "retain their ethnic identity without active (instrumental) use of their language as long as they still have an association (or sentimental attachment) with it" (ibid.: 265), because "language knowledge and use do not affect our underlying or primordial identity" (ibid.: 274; emphasis added). See my refutation of these claims, Skutnabb-Kangas, in press a, b.

In any case, we in Europe⁷ are linguistically incredibly poor, compared to the rest of the world, just as we are very poor in terms of biodiversity.

3. The future of languages

What is happening today to the world's languages? Are they being maintained? NO. Optimistic estimates of what is happening suggest that at least 50% of today's spoken languages may be extinct or very seriously endangered ("dead" or "moribund") around the year 2100. This estimate, originating with Michael Krauss (1992) is also the one used by UNESCO (see, for instance

http://www.unesco.org/endangeredlanguages, the guidelines Education in a Multilingual World (UNESCO 2003c)

http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001297/129728e.pdf). Pessimistic but still completely realistic estimates claim that as many as 90-95% of them may be extinct

⁷ See Phillipson 2003 on the challenges in European language policy.

or very seriously endangered in less than a hundred years' time - this is Krauss' estimate today (e.g. Krauss 1992, 1995, 1996, 1997). UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit's Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages (see UNESCO 2003a; see also UNESCO 2003b, c) uses this more pessimistic figure in their report, Language Vitality and Endangerment

(http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/file_download.php/1a41d53cf46e10710298d3144 50b97dfLanguage+Vitality.doc). We may have only 3-600 oral languages left as unthreatened languages, transmitted by the parent generation to children; these would probably be those languages that today have more than one million speakers, and a few others. Still more pessimistic estimates suspect that only those 40-50 languages will remain in which you can, within the next few years, talk to your stove, fridge and coffee pot, i.e. those languages into which Microsoft software, Nokia mobile phone menus, etc., are being translated (Rannut 2003)⁸. Nobody has made predictions about the future of Sign languages, but the World Federation of the Deaf is worried about more powerful Sign languages in every country (and, especially the American Sign language also internationally) wiping out smaller Sign languages⁹. Table 4 gives the web addresses for some of the endangered languages.

Table 4. Red books for threatened languages

For languages, see

Europe: http://www.helsinki.fi/~tasalmin/europe_index.html

Northeast Asia: http://www.helsinki.fi/~tasalmin/nasia index.html>

Asia and the Pacific: http://www.tooyoo.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/redbook/asiapacific/asia-

index.html>

Africa: http://www.tooyoo.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/redbook/africa-index.html

Databanks for Endangered Finno-Ugric Languages:

http://www.helsinki.fi/~tasalmin/deful.html

http://www.suri.ee>

Russia: < http://www.eki.ee/books/redbook/>

South America: http://www.tooyoo.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/redbooks/Samerica/index.html

⁸ See Annex A for a few figures for Internet use - these may show some of the trends. On the other hand, indigenous peoples are actively demanding that their languages be developed for purposes of the information society so that they can be used for all aspects of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), including computer software, database portals, every possible type of digitising these languages, etc. See **World Summit on the Information Society, The Report of the Global Forum of Indigenous Peoples and the Information Society**, 8-11 December 2003, Geneva, UN, ECOSOC, E/23 December 2003 at

www.un.org/esa/socdev/pfii/PFII3/documents/FinalReportUNSPFII2003.pdf

⁹ "As the Deaf world increasingly becomes a small global village, dominant sign languages must not be allowed to destroy 'smaller' sign languages [...]" (from Resolution 2003:33). Of course cochlear implants and false expectations about them, as well as genetic engineering, may also participate in diminishing the number of Sign languages: "Strongly condemning the developments and potential use of biotechnology and genetic science that infringe on human rights and dignity and reduce human diversity [...]". (from Resolution 2003: 33) (see also the World Federation of the Deaf's new website, not yet available at the time of writing.

Languages are today being killed faster than ever before in human history, and English is today the world's most important killer language. If dominant languages are learned **subtractively**, at the expense of other often smaller dominated languages, the dominant languages become killer languages. "Being" a killer language is NOT a characteristic of a language. It is a relationship, a question of how a language functions in relation to other languages. ANY language can become a killer language in relation to some other language. Besides, "languages" do not kill each other. It is the power relations between the **speakers** of the languages that are the decisive factors behind the unequal relations between the languages which then cause people from dominated groups to learn other languages subtractively, at the cost of their own. Obviously other languages should (and can) be learned additively, in addition to one's own language(s), not instead of it or them. In **subtractive** teaching: minority children are taught through the medium of a dominant language which replaces their mother tongue. They learn the dominant language at the cost of the mother tongue. In additive teaching: minority children are taught through the medium of the mother tongue, with good teaching of the dominant language as a second language. It makes them high level bilingual or multilingual. They learn other languages in addition to their own language, and learn them all well.

It is these killer languages that pose serious threats towards the linguistic diversity of the world. As I said, English is today the world's most important killer language, but there are many others, large and smaller. Most official languages function as killer languages vis-à-vis non-official languages in the same state. In addition, ALL oral languages can, through enforced oralism, function as killer languages, in relation to Sign languages. In oralism, Deaf children are taught through spoken (and written language) only, and Sign languages have no place in their education. Official/national oral languages may be especially important killer languages vis-à-vis Sign languages. Big Sign languages, when learned subtractively, at the cost of small Sign languages, can also be killer languages. Usually a country makes only one Sign language official (if any). This may kill all other Sign languages in the country. The American Sign Language may pose serious threats towards all other Sign languages, if it is learned subtractively. It may be the worst killer language among Sign languages. Organisations of the Deaf everywhere are protesting forcefully against these violations¹⁰

One of the questions for this Congress is to identify those languages which function as killer languages in relation to Finno-Ugric languages. English and Russian are the most important ones, but there are others too. And some Finno-Ugric languages can themselves be killer languages vis-à-vis other Finno-Ugric languages, like the Finnish language has been and still is in relation to Saami¹¹. The next issues

¹⁰ See Resolution, 14th World Congress of the World Federation of the Deaf, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, 18-26 July

¹¹ See Aikio-Puoskari 2001, Aikio-Puoskari & Skutnabb-Kangas, in press, Magga & Skutnabb-Kangas 2003.

to analyse then are why and how dominated languages are being killed and what, if anything, can be done about it.

4. Why do languages die? Language death or language murder?

My next question is thus: why are languages disappearing? In studying causes for the disappearance of languages we find two explanatory paradigms: language death and language murder. The first one assumes that languages just die naturally, like everything in nature - they arise, blossom, and disappear. This is the "(natural) death" paradigm. The other paradigm asserts that languages do NOT just disappear naturally. Languages do NOT "commit suicide". In most cases, speakers do NOT leave them voluntarily, for instrumental reasons, and for their own good. Languages are "murdered". Most disappearing languages are victims of linguistic genocide. This latter paradigm is the one I see as the likely one. One of the differences between them from an activist point of view is also that we cannot do anything about languages disappearing if we accept that it is natural and inevitable - this reasoning represents a misunderstood and misguided Darwinian "survival of the fittest" (see Harmon 2002 and Skutnabb-Kangas 2002a for a refutation). This is partly because there is no agent causing the disappearance of languages in this paradigm. In the language murder paradigm we can analyse agency, the forces behind the disappearance of languages, and we may be able to do something about it.

Obviously the **structural and ideological** direct and indirect agents behind the killing of languages are the same social, economic and political techno-military forces that promote corporate globalisation¹². But some of the most important **direct** agents confronted by most people are the educational systems and the media. These are both indirectly and directly homogenizing societies linguistically and culturally. And ideologically: they are, through their consent-manufacturing capacities (Herman & Chomsky 1988), making people accept the homogenizing processes as somehow necessary and even natural (see McMurtry's 2002 mind-blowing, sophisticated analysis of this; see also his 1999¹³).

As many researchers have noted, after Joshua Fishman, schools can in a couple of generations kill languages which had survived for centuries, even millennia, when their speakers were not exposed to formal education of present-day type. Schools can today participate in committing linguistic genocide through their choice of the medium of formal education - and they do.

8

¹² For various aspects, see e.g. Featherstone, ed. 1990, Hamelink 1994, 1995, 1997, McMurtry 2002, Monbiot 2000, 2003, Phillipson 1992, Roy 1999, Shiva 1991, 1993, 1997, Singer 2003, Stiglitz 2002.

¹³ Big thanks to Ian Martin for making me and my husband, Robert Phillipson, aware of McMurtry!

5. Linguistic genocide? Definitions and examples

When I speak about linguistic genocide¹⁴ in education, many people protest and say: the term genocide is too strong; it diminishes the REAL genocide. They are only thinking of physical destruction of groups. They say: Is it not watering down the whole concept of genocide to use it about languages and cultures, rather than about physical atrocities (e.g. Levy 2001; "overstating the case", Boran 2003: 198). I don't think so. I use the definitions of genocide from The United Nations International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (E793, 1948). It has five definitions of genocide. Two of them fit most of today's indigenous and minority education:

Article II(e): 'forcibly transferring children of the group to another group'; and Article II(b): 'causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group'; (emphasis added).

A few examples from various studies follow – all of them show either the forcible transfer of children from a linguistic group to another linguistic group, or serious mental harm caused to children through submersion education. The examples will only be mentioned and summed up in a sentence of two - interested colleagues should go to the sources.

EUROPE, Sweden, Pirjo Janulf (1998)

Janulf did a longitudinal study, with 971 children in lower secondary school, and several hundred controls. After 15 years, she went back to several of those Finnish immigrant minority members in Sweden who had had Swedish-medium education. **Not one of them spoke any Finnish to their own children**. Even if they themselves might not have forgotten their Finnish completely, their children were certainly forcibly transferred to the majority group, at least linguistically. Assimilationist education is genocidal.

USA, John Baugh (2000)

John Baugh from Stanford University draws in his article 'Educational Malpractice and the Miseducation of Language Minority Students', a parallel between how physicians may maltreat patients and how minority students (including students who do not have mainstream US English as their first language, for instance speakers of Ebonics/Black English), are often treated in education in the USA. The harm caused to them by this maltreatment and miseducation also fits the UN definition of 'causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group'.

AFRICA 1, Zambia and Malawi, Edward Williams (1995)

¹⁴ See Skutnabb-Kangas in press g, an encyclopaedia entry about linguistic genocide.

Williams' study in Zambia and Malawi had 1,500 students in grades 1-7. Williams states that large numbers of Zambian pupils (who had had all education in English) 'have very weak or zero reading competence in two languages'. On the other hand, in Malawi, the children were taught in local languages, mostly their mother tongues, during the first 4 years, while studying English as a subject; English became the medium only in grade 5. The Malawi children had slightly better test results in the English language than the Zambian students. In addition, they knew how to read and write in their own languages. Williams' conclusion is that 'there is a clear risk that the policy of using English as a vehicular language may contribute to stunting, rather than promoting, academic and cognitive growth'. This fits the UN genocide definition of "causing serious mental harm".

AFRICA 2, South Africa, Zubeida Desai (2001)

Xhosa-speaking grade 4 and grade 7 learners in South Africa were given a set of pictures which they had to put in the right order and then describe, in both Xhosa and English. In Desai's words, it showed 'the rich vocabulary children have when they express themselves in Xhosa and the poor vocabulary they have when they express themselves in English'.

AFRICA 3, South Africa, Kathleen Heugh (2000)

This is a countrywide longitudinal statistical study of final exam results for "Black" students in South Africa. The percentage of "Black" students who passed their exams went down every time the number of years spent through the medium of the mother tongues decreased, meaning despite the apartheid education, the students did better when more of the education was through the medium of their own languages.

AUSTRALIA, Anne Lowell & Brian Devlin (1999)

The article describing the 'Miscommunication between Aboriginal Students and their Non-Aboriginal Teachers in a Bilingual School', clearly demonstrated that 'even by late primary school, children often did not comprehend classroom instructions in English'. Communication breakdowns occurred frequently between children and their non-Aboriginal teachers', with the result that 'the extent of miscommunication severely inhibited the children's education when English was the language of instruction and interaction'. Conclusions and recommendations: the use of a language of instruction in which the children do not have sufficient competence is the greatest barrier to successful classroom learning for Aboriginal Children'.

CANADA 1, Katherine Zozula & Simon Ford (1985)

The report 'Keewatin Perspective on Bilingual Education' tells about Canadian Inuit 'students who are neither fluent nor literate in either language' and presents statistics

showing that the students 'end up at only Grade 4 level of achievement after 9 years of schooling' (from Martin 2001a, see also Martin 2001b).

CANADA 2, The Canadian Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996 Report

The Report notes that 'submersion strategies which neither respect the child's first language nor help them gain fluency in the second language may result in impaired fluency in both languages' (from Martin 2001a).

CANADA 3, The Nunavut Language Policy Conference in March 1998 'in some individuals, neither language is firmly anchored' (from Martin 2001a).

CANADA 4, Mick Mallon and Alexina Kublu (1998)

'a significant number of young people are not fully fluent in their languages', and many students 'remain apathetic, often with minimal skills in both languages' (from Martin 2001a).

CANADA 5, report, Kitikmeot struggles to prevent death of Inuktitut (1998) 'teenagers cannot converse fluently with their grandparents' (from Martin 2001a).

USA, Wayne Wright (2004).

Cambodian-American refugee students, with little English competence, were placed in English-only classrooms, with teachers not certified to teach English as a Second Language. Students were interviewed as adults. "The result has been weaker primary language skills, without the full mastery of English. In addition, the participants described difficulties at home, at work, and in college, and problems with their self-identity as a consequence of English-only education. The findings provide evidence that English-only programmes fail to meet the linguistic and cultural needs of ELL students, and may lead to negative consequences for students in their adult lives."

DEAF STUDENTS, Branson & Miller, Jokinen, Ladd, Lane, etc, see bibliography

Assimilationist submersion education where Deaf students are taught orally only and sign languages have no place in the curriculum, often causes mental harm, including serious prevention or delay of cognitive growth potential.

For all of this to be genocidal according to the UN Genocide Convention, the outcome has to be intentional. Have the states known about the negative outcome? Of course official school policies do not say that the goal is to commit genocide. But the negative results of subtractive teaching have been known already at the end of the 1800s. States and educational authorities (including churches) have had the

knowledge. There are many examples from the Nordic countries (see descriptions and references in e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1989). The USA Board of Indian Commissioners (quoted from Francis & Reyhner 2002: 45-46) wrote in 1880:

...first teaching the children to read and write in their own language enables them to master English with more ease when they take up that study...a child beginning a four years' course with the study of Dakota would be further advanced in English at the end of the term than one who had not been instructed in Dakota (p. 77). ...it is true that by beginning in the Indian tongue and then putting the students into English studies our missionaries say that after three or four years their English is better than it would have been if they had begun entirely with English (p. 98).

"Modern" research results about how indigenous and minority education should be organised have been available for at least 50 years, since the UNESCO expert group summed them up in the seminal book **The use of the vernacular languages in education** (1953), on the basis of research, that the mother tongue was axiomatically the best medium of teaching. In today's schools, most indigenous and minority children and children from dominated groups are taught subtractively. We can ask ourselves what subtractive teaching often does and what it stands for (for a thorough treatment of these claims, see Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, a book of 818 pages)

- Subtractive teaching is genocidal, as we have seen, according to UN Genocide Convention's definitions of genocide;
- It replaces mother tongues and kills languages;
- It prevents profound literacy;
- It prevents students from gaining the knowledge and skills that would correspond to their innate capacities and would be needed for socio-economic mobility & democratic participation;
- It leads in most cases to forcible assimilation of the group.

If states, despite this, and despite the fact that study after study shows very positive results from properly conducted additive teaching, have continued and continue to offer subtractive education, with no alternatives, knowing that the results are likely to be negative and thus to 'forcibly transfer children of the group to another group'; and 'cause serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group', this must be seen as intentional. Indigenous and minority education is still organised against all scientific evidence. All education where the children's mother tongue is not the main medium of education, i.e. most indigenous and minority education in the world participates in committing linguistic and cultural genocide, according to the genocide definitions in the UN Genocide Convention.

The Big Contradiction is that many politicians and school authorities say that they want minority children to learn their mother tongues and, especially, the dominant language(s)... while in practice preventing it, today as much as earlier ("Despite the reported success of bilingual methods, the federal government reacted negatively and suppressed programs that included the use of an indigenous language in the 1880s", Francis & Reyhner 2002: 46, about USA).

Without earlier and present-day linguistic genocide, there would be little need today to revive indigenous and minority languages? Most of them would probably be healthy and unthreatened. But we are killing them as never before, and the global model for this killing through both education and mass media has its historical origins in Europe.

All the examples involve subtractive teaching through the medium of a foreign language, and lack of linguistic human rights¹⁵. Next we look at linguistic human rights.

6. The role of linguistic human rights in maintaining endangered languages

6.1. Linguistic Human Rights?

6.1.1. What are Linguistic Human Rights?

For many people, linguistic human rights (LHRs) is new relatively concept. What does it mean? It combines two much older concepts, language rights, which have existed even as formalized legal regulations for at least a couple of centuries, and human rights which were formalized with the League of Nations, after the First World War, and in their present form, by the United Nations, after the Second World War (see Capotorti 1979 for an overview). LHRs are those language-related rights which are seen as so inalienable, so fundamental for basic needs and a dignified life that no states (or other individuals/groups) are allowed to violate them. Thus all language rights are not linguistic human rights. So far, there is no concensus about which language rights should be seen as LHRs. The process of mapping them out has only started. It is clear, though, that LHRs should be both individual and collective. So far, no international human rights instruments exist that would concentrate on LHRs only, and the only proposal for one (see http://www.linguistic-declaration.org/) has met with massive criticism and has not progressed further in the United Nations system since it was handed over to UNESCO in Barcelona in 1996. The first regional human rights instrument which concentrates on language rights is the European

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¹⁵ It is not only **linguistic** human rights that are lacking but many of the simple rights to education in general, as shown by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education, Katarina Tomaševski; see references to her work in the bibliography.

Charter for Regional or Minority Languages from 1992, in force since 1998 see http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/EN/cadreprincipal.htm; its treaty number is 148). States ratifying it can choose both for which languages they ratify it and which paragraphs they want to choose from a "menu" - a minimum number and some other conditions are specified (see chapter 7 of Skutnabb-Kangas 2000 for details on LHRs). There are now at least a couple of dozens of books¹⁶ and hundreds of articles about LHRs, but the concept is still far from well defined. It is, though, a rapidly growing and extremely interesting new multidisciplinary area of research.

Linguistic Human Rights might be one way of

- preventing linguistic genocide;
- promoting integration and defending people against forced assimilation;
- promoting the maintenance of the world's linguistic diversity;
- promoting conflict prevention; and
- promoting self-determination.

I shall only touch upon several of these issues in this short paper; for more, see my 2000 book and my list of publications from recent years on my home page.

6.1.2. Language in human rights instruments

First we shall sum up what kind of LHRs exist in international law. I am here too most interested in LHRs in education. Language is one of the most important ones of those human characteristics on the basis of which people are not allowed to be discriminated against. Others are gender, "race" and religion. Still language often disappears in the educational paragraphs of binding HRs instruments. The **Universal Declaration of Human Rights** (1948): the paragraph on education (26) does not refer to language at all. Similarly, the **International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights** (adopted in 1966 and in force since 1976), having mentioned language on a par with race, colour, sex, religion, etc. in its general Article (2.2), does explicitly refer to 'racial, ethnic or religious groups' in its educational Article (13.1). However, here it omits reference to language or linguistic groups:

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¹⁶ Several book-length presentations of language rights have appeared in tandem with the increasing salience of language issues and ethnicity in many post-communist and post-colonial trouble spots (e.g. Kibbee 1998, 22 contributors; Guillorel & Koubi 1999, 18 contributors, Hamel 1997, 12 contributors, Benson et al. 1998, 10 contributors, Kontra et al. 1999, 15 contributors, Phillipson 2000, over 50 contributors). See also Frowein et al. 1994/95, Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1994, 1995, 1996, Skutnabb-Kangas 1996a,b, 1998, 1999, Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1994, 1997, 1998). In Canada the implementation of language rights has spawned a strong research tradition, not least among lawyers (see, e.g., the bilingual bulletin of the Centre Canadien des Droits Linguistiques of the University of Ottawa, and de Varennes 1996; see also de Varennes 1999). Specifically for indigenous rights, see Thornberry 2002.

... education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all **racial**, **ethnic or religious groups** ... (emphasis added).

Secondly, binding educational clauses of human rights instruments have more opt-outs, modifications, alternatives, etc than other Articles. One example is the **UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities**, 1992. I have added the emphases, 'obligating' and positive measures in *italics*, 'opt-outs' in **bold**). The twp paragraphs about identity (which in itself is a vague concept) make states fairly firm duty-holders whereas the paragraph about language in education is full of opt-outs.

- 1.1. States *shall protect* the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their respective territories, and *shall encourage* conditions for the *promotion* of that identity. 1.2. States *shall adopt* **appropriate** legislative *and other* measures *to achieve those ends*.
- 4.3. States **should** take **appropriate** measures so that, **wherever possible**, persons belonging to minorities have **adequate** opportunities to learn their mother tongue **or** to have instruction in their mother tongue.

Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities¹⁷ and The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages¹⁸, both in force since 1998, also have many of these modifications, alternatives and optouts:. An example is the Framework Convention's education article 11(3):

In areas inhabited by persons belonging to national minorities traditionally or in substantial numbers, if there is sufficient demand, the parties shall endeavour to ensure, as far as possible and within the framework of their education systems, that persons belonging to those minorities have adequate opportunities for being taught in the minority language or for receiving instruction in this language (emphases added).

The following list shows some of these expressions from Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages:

• 'as far as possible'

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¹⁷ See Skutnabb-Kangas in press d, Thornberry 1997, Thornberry & Gibbons 1997 and Wilson in press for some critical comments

¹⁸ See Grin 2003b for an analysis.

- 'within the framework of [the State's] education systems',
- 'appropriate measures'
- 'adequate opportunities'
- 'if there is sufficient demand'
- 'substantial numbers'
- 'pupils who so wish in a number considered sufficient'
- 'if the number of users of a regional or minority language justifies it'.

Without binding educational linguistic human rights most minorities have to accept **subtractive education** through the medium of a dominant/majority language. As we said earlier, this mostly leads to assimilation and prevents integration. I am interested in examining what kind of LHRs are needed to prevent forced assimilation and make integration possible.

6.2. Assimilation or Integration?

First I want to initially define the two concepts of assimilation and integration. We start with modified versions of Gouboglo and Drobizeva's old definitions because they have two important features. Partly, they differentiate between an objective part and a subjective part. Partly, they see integration as something mutual.

Assimilation is

- 1. disappearance of distinctive features, i.e. objectively the loss of specific elements of material and non-material culture and subjectively the loss of the feeling of belonging to a particular ethnic group;
- 2. simultaneously, objectively, adoption of traits belonging to another culture, which replace those of the former culture, accompanied by the subjective feeling of belonging to the second culture.

Integration is formation of a series of common features in an ethnically heterogeneous group.

Real integration presupposes mutuality; it is manifestly NOT a unidirectional process where only a non-dominant group changes and forms new features whereas the dominant group stays the same. ALL groups should contribute to norm-setting negotiations; there is no evolutionary continuum where some (namely the dominant group) are the "developed" norm that others, the non-dominant "less developed" group should emulate.

In my view, **assimilation is subtractive** whereas **integration is additive**. We can now redefine assimilation or integration again, using the concepts of subtractive and additive, and combining them with volition:

Assimilation is enforced subtractive 'learning' of another (dominant) culture by a (dominated) group. Assimilation means being forcibly transferred to another group.

Integration is characterized by voluntary mutual additive 'learning' of other cultures. Integration means a choice of inclusive group membership(s).

It seems to me that educational ideologies which result in assimilation, reflect research paradigms and knowledge systems where western and northern ideologies dominate¹⁹, unidirectionally setting the norms, seeing/treating themselves as being at the upper end of an evolutionary continuum, and resulting in a continuation of both the reproduction and the legitimation of domination and subalternity (see Spivak 1988 for this concept).

6.3. Dichotomies in Human Rights: which rights are necessary for integration?

When discussing human rights one often comes across several pairs of dichotomies. I want to look at these dichotomies in order to determine whether they are real dichotomies and which rights from each pair (or maybe both) are necessary so that indigenous peoples and minorities do not need to assimilate but can participate in mutual integration. The list of dichotomies to be discussed is as follows:

- Negative versus positive rights
- Toleration-oriented versus promotion-oriented rights
- Individual versus collective rights
- Territorial versus personal rights
- Rights in "hard law" versus "soft law"

Negative rights have been defined by Max van der Stoel as "the right to non-discrimination in the enjoyment of human rights" whereas positive rights have to do with "the right to the maintenance and development of identity through the freedom to practise or use those special and unique aspects of their minority life – typically culture, religion, and language". Negative rights must

ensure that minorities receive all of the other protections without regard to their ethnic, national, or religious status; they thus enjoy a number of linguistic rights that all persons in the state enjoy, such as freedom of expression and the right in criminal proceedings to be informed of the charge against them in a language they understand, if necessary through an interpreter provided free of charge. (van der Stoel 1999)

Positive rights are those

¹⁹ See, e.g., Odora-Hoppers, ed., 2002 and Tuhiwai Smith 1999, for analyses of research paradigms.

encompassing affirmative obligations beyond non-discrimination [...] include a number of rights pertinent to minorities simply by virtue of their minority status, such as the right to use their language. This pillar is necessary because a pure non-discrimination norm could have the effect of forcing people belonging to minorities to adhere to a majority language, effectively denying them their rights to identity. (ibid.).

My first claim is that for proper integration, **positive rights** are necessary. Negative rights are not sufficient and may lead to forced assimilation.

In a somewhat similar vain, I and Robert Phillipson have developed a grid to evaluate LHRs provisions in both national laws and regulations and in international human rights instruments (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1994; see Figure 1). It consist of two continua on which we then place the provisions. One continuum assesses the relative degree of overtness and covertness of the provisions whereas the other looks at the relative degree of promotion of LHRs. The second continuum starts from a situation where the use of a language is overtly **prohibited** (as, for instance, the use of Kurdish still is in Turkey, despite the Turkish government's claims to the opposite - see my 2002b analysis of this). The next stage on the continuum is toleration of a language. The first two stages are obviously negative and assimilation-oriented. The middle point prescribes that people should not be discriminated against on the basis of having a certain mother tongue (nondiscrimination prescription). Then follow positive more promotion-oriented rights, first with a **permission** to use the language and then **promotion** of it. All of these can be expressed more or less overly in the laws and regulations. We analysed, among others, the Indian Constitution with the help of the grid (see Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1994). In the Figure here (from Skutnabb-Kangas 2002b), the earlier position of Turkey (see Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak 1994), has been placed as number 1, in comparison with the situation after the Turkish Parliament passed an extensive reform package of laws in August 2002 (number 2 on the grid). Turkey claims that this new reform package of laws would fulfil the demands for European Union membership - which it doesn't.

If we had time, I would ask all of you to place the state policies towards your language on this grid, to see where you are, both in terms of legal protection of your languages, and, especially, the implementation in reality. In my view, for instance, the gap between legal protection and reality is close to maximal vis-á-vis the Mari language(s) in the Mari Republic: very good legal protection on paper and next to no rights in practice.

Figure 1. Language rights in education in Turkey before (1) and after (2) the August 2002 Reform Package

1 2 Prohibition Toleration Non-discrimination prescription Permission Promotion

covert

My second claim is that, for proper integration, positive **promotion-oriented rights** are necessary. Negative toleration-oriented rights are not sufficient and may lead to forced assimilation.

The following dichotomy is about **individual versus collective rights**. There were many collective rights in the human rights regime of the **League of Nations** between the two "World" Wars. In principle most minority rights should be collective rights. In the United Nations regime after 1945, it was claimed that no collective rights were necessary since every person was protected as an individual, by individual rights. The discussions about the need of collective rights has been a long-drawn-out one, characterised, admittedly in a somewhat simplified manner, by Western countries largely opposing them, African countries supporting many of them, and Asian countries standing so divided that the issue of them has been one of the major hurdles preventing an acceptance of regional Asian human rights instruments.

My third claim is that, for proper integration, **both individual and collective rights** are necessary. One or the other type alone is not sufficient. It is not a question of either/or, but both/and.

The fourth claim is that for proper integration, **both territorial and personal rights** are necessary. Territorial rights are here language rights that everybody living in a certain territory (e.g. a Swiss canton) has, regardless of their mother tongues, because of living in that specified territory. Personal rights are rights than an individual with a certain mother tongue (or fulfilling some other specified condition) has, regardless of where in a country the person lives. Personal rights are more

important for the Deaf, the Roma, immigrant minorities and other non-territorial minorities. They are also vital for dispersed people in diaspora outside the group's territory. In situations where many people from a group have been forcibly displaced, for instance deported, personal rights are also vital. Likewise, in a situation where dominant group people have moved into the group's territory in large numbers, like Chinese-speakers in Tibet or Russian-speakers in many parts of the Russian Federation and the earlier Soviet Union.

The last claim is that, for proper integration, **both traditional "hard law" rights and "soft law" rights** are necessary. Hard law instruments are binding instruments which a state has to follow if they have signed and ratified the instrument (typically Conventions, Covenants, Charters, etc). Soft law instruments are Declarations, Recommendations, etc, which states may have approved, but since there are no sanctions for violating them (except, maybe, shame in the eyes of the so called international community), a state may or may not follow it. High or Supreme court decisions which form a precedence are also part of soft law. Most hard law instruments reflect the phases directly after the Second World War, or the main decolonisation phase. They do not reflect present challenges.

6.4. Different rights for various groups

Various groups can be placed in a hierarchical order relative to how good their linguistic human rights protection is. The descending order is as follows:

- 1. Linguistic majorities / dominant language speakers, versus minority/dominated language speakers
- National (autochthonous) minorities;
- Indigenous peoples;
- •Immigrant minorities;
- Refugee minorities;

2. Speakers of oral languages versus users of Sign languages.

Speakers of oral languages have many more rights than users of Sign languages (even if users of Sign languages have some rights as a handicap group). An example would be Council of Europe's European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Signatures and ratifications of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages show not one single country has signed or ratified the European Charter for any Sign language so far (status in June 2004²⁰). Now it is perfectly legitimate for a ratifying country to exclude certain groups from specific human rights instruments, but then their exclusion should be legitimated explicitly

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²⁰ The latest news about the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages, and the Council of Europe's Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities, both in force since 1998 (http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/EN/cadreprincipal.htm; their treaty numbers are 148 and 158).

already initially, on principled grounds (like "dialects" or "languages of migrants" – these have been legitimately excluded from the European Charter already in the definitional part). But if members of a group have not been explicitly excluded, and if they do objectively fulfil the definitional criteria for inclusion, they should be included.

The diversity among the Finno-Ugric peoples can be seen in the fact that there are representatives of them in each of the groups. Hungarian speakers in Hungary and Finnish-speakers in Finland are examples of linguistic majorities / dominant language speakers. Their languages should not be threatened by any other languages except English, and they can do something about it if they recognize the threat. Some other Finno-Ugric groups are also either demographically or politically linguistic majorities but have politically very strong linguistic minorities; in this situation their languages may need the same support that minority languages normally need. Estonian-speakers in Estonia would be an example of this kind of minorized majority (see Skutnabb-Kangas 1994 for the concept); in Estonia Russian-speakers still represent a majorized minority.

Many are national (autochthonous) minorities and their languages need strong support. This exists in some cases but it is an exception. The Hungarians have been especially forthcoming in trying to negotiate and guarantee positive LHRs for Hungarian-speakers in other countries (see Kontra (series ed.) 1998-; see also Kontra (ed.) 2000). Many Finno-Ugric speakers represent indigenous peoples. Their linguistic human rights are still today almost non-existent in international law. If the United Nations draft **Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples** were to be accepted in its present form (i.e. the form it had when it was accepted by the UN Human Rights Committee's Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities²¹ over 9 years ago), they would get some more rights. But alas, not enough. The draft Declaration was supposed to be finally accepted before the end of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (a decision endorsed by 7 the UN Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1995/32). The Decade concludes in December 2004, but there is not a chance of the draft being finalized by then. And what will finally be accepted will be a very much watered down version²².

Many Finno-Ugric peoples live as immigrant minorities and some also as refugee minorities or displaced people in other countries; their LHRs are also more or less non-existent.

There are also Deaf users of the written forms of Finno-Ugric languages in many of the contexts I have mentioned. Their mother tongues, even if they may be called "Finnish Sign language" or "Hungarian Sign language" are Sign languages,

²¹ Now called the Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights.

²² It is easy to see from the reports of the working group negotiating the draft which states notoriously demand changes and suggest alternatives to this effect and are in disagreement with all the indigenous representatives. The reports are listed at http://www.unhchr.ch/indigenous/documents.htm - wkgrd.

though. Sign languages are completely independent languages which have nothing to do with the spoken languages Finno-Ugric languages, in this case Finnish or Hungarian. It would be imperative for all Finno-Ugric peoples to show solidarity towards users of Sign languages and support them in their demands for at least basic LHRs.

The conclusion from a short overview of educational LHRs thus is that the process of developing them is only at its beginning. Still, work with them is important for several reasons, and one might hope that people succeed in keeping up their languages despite the lack of LHRs until the situation is better. After all, according to human rights lawyer Katarina Tomaševski, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education (1996: 104), "the purpose of international human rights law is to act as correctives to the free market and to overrule the law of supply and demand and remove price-tags from people and from necessities for their survival". Linguistic (and cultural) rights in education are, as human rights, necessities for survival.

In order to work for LHRs, we need to find the positive arguments about why linguistic diversity should be maintained, and it is to these I now turn.

7. Why should the world's linguistic diversity be maintained?

In this section I formulate some arguments for maintaining the world's linguistic diversity. Are there other reasons, in addition to avoiding linguistic genocide? I shall leave the most common arguments about the common heritage of humankind, the importance of language for identity, etc., outside this paper - they are well known anyway (see, e.g. Wurm 2001). Instead, I shall mention two other reasons for maintaining all the world's languages.

7.1. Reason 1. In knowledge societies uniformity is a handicap. Creativity and new ideas are the main assets (cultural capital) in a knowledge society and a prerequisite for humankind to adapt to change and to find solutions to the catastrophes of our own making. Multilingualism enhances creativity, monolingualism and homogenisation kill it

Creativity, invention, investment, multilingualism and additive teaching belong together. Creativity and new ideas are the main assets (cultural capital) in a knowledge society and a prerequisite for humankind to adapt to change and to find solutions to the catastrophes of our own making. In an **industrial society**, the main products are **commodities** (clothes, food, books, fridges, cars, weapons, etc.). Those (individuals and countries) who control access to raw materials and own the other prerequisites and means of production, do well. In a **knowledge or information**

society, on the other hand, the main products are, in addition to commodities, **knowledge**, **ideas**. In these societies, those (individuals and countries) who have access to *diverse* knowledges, *diverse* information, *diverse* ideas: *creativity*, do well. In knowledge societies uniformity is a handicap. Some uniformity **might** have promoted aspects of industrialization. In post-industrial knowledge societies uniformity will be a definite handicap. We know now that creativity, innovation, investment are related, and can be results of additive teaching and multilingualism. This is, because

- 1. Creativity precedes innovation, also in commodity production.
- 2. Investment follows creativity.
- 3. Multilingualism may enhance creativity.
- 4. High-level multilinguals as a group have done better than corresponding monolinguals on tests measuring several aspects of 'intelligence', creativity, divergent thinking, cognitive flexibility, etc., and, finally,
- 5. Additive teaching can lead to high-level multilingualism.

This means, firstly, that countries should promote maximal LHRs for indigenous and minority children, not only because of ethical concerns but indeed in their own interest. But countries which want to do well in information societies cannot afford to leave their linguistic majority populations in monolingual stupidity either. Those linguistically rich societies/countries which teach all children, not only indigenous and minority children, additively, are likely to develop most linguistic and cultural capital of a kind that can be converted to other types of capital information/knowledge societies. Therefore, again, additive teaching of linguistic majority children is necessary, through the medium of indigenous and minority children's mother tongues (or though other minority languages, i.e. second languages, in immersion or two-way-immersion programmes - see Baetens Beardsmore 1995, Dolson & Lindholm 1995, Lindholm 1997, 2001, Skutnabb-Kangas 1996a, ed. 1995, Skutnabb-Kangas & García 1995, for presentations and comparisons of these), is necessary. No North American child would need to be taught through the medium of English - they could be taught mainly through Spanish, Cree, Navajo, Estonian, Armenian, or whichever language. No child in the Russian Federation would need to be taught through the medium of Russian - they could be taught mainly through the medium of any of the other languages. Indigenous and minority children would be taught through mainly the medium of their own languages, Russian-speakers through any of the minority languages. This would raise the level of both intelligence and creativity in both North America and in the Russian Federation.

7.2. Reason 2: Linguistic diversity is a prerequisite for maintaining biodiversity and life on the planet, because linguistic diversity and

biodiversity are correlationally and causally related; because knowledge about how to maintain biodiversity is encoded in small INDIGENOUS languages; and because through killing them we kill the prerequisites for maintaining biodiversity and thus life on our planet.

Today, linguistic diversity is disappearing much faster than biodiversity (Table 5; for more detail, see Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, 2002a, in press a).

Table 5. Prognoses for extinct or 'moribund' species and languages

Percentage estim-	PROGNOSES	Biological species	Languages
ated to be extinct or	'Optimistic realistic'	2%	50%
moribund around	'Pessimistic	20%	90%
the year 2100	realistic'		

A comparison of the estimates for extinct / 'moribund' biological species and languages around the year 2100 is as follows: according to optimistic estimates 2% of the biological species but 50% of the languages will have disappeared or are very seriously endangered. According to more pessimistic but still realistic estimates, the figures are 20% for biological species but 90-95% for languages. Knowledge about how to maintain biodiversity is encoded in the world's small languages. Through killing them we kill the prerequisites for maintaining biodiversity.

What do we know about the correlation between the various kinds of diversity? Where there are many **higher vertebrates** (mammals, birds, reptiles and amphibians), there are also often many languages: a high correlation. When comparing the lists of the top 25 countries with the highest numbers of endemic (=existing in one country only) languages and the highest numbers of higher vertebrates, we can see that 16 of the 25 countries are on both lists (David Harmon, 2002). We get the same type of correlation between languages and **flowering plants**: a region often has many of both, or few of both. Languages and **butterflies** also show a high correlation, and so do languages and **birds** (see www.terralingua.org for the relationships). Table 6 shows some of the correlations:

Table 6. Endemism in Languages Compared with Rankings of Biodiversity

		_	_	-	`	_	•
		Rank, Total Number of					
Country	Lan	demic guages Number		ndemic tebrates Iumber	Flowering Plants	Endemic Bird Areas (EBAs)	
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	1	847	13	203	18 ^t	6	yes
INDONESIA	2	655	4	673	7 ^t	1	yes
Nigeria	3	376					

INDIA	4	309	7	373	12	11	yes
AUSTRALIA	5	261	1	1,346	11	9	yes
MEXICO	6	230	2	761	4	2	yes
CAMEROON	7	201	23	105	24		-
BRAZIL	8	185	3	725	1	4	yes
DEM REP OF	9	158	18	134	17		yes
CONGO							
PHILIPPINES	10	153	6	437	25	11	yes
USA	11	143	11	284	9	15	yes
Vanuatu	12	105					
TANZANIA	13	101	21	113	19	14	
Sudan	14	97					
Malaysia	15	92			14		yes
ETHIOPIA	16	90	25	88			
CHINA	17	77	12	256	3	6	yes
PERU	18	75	8	332	13	3	yes
Chad	19	74					
Russia	20	71			6		
SOLOMON	21	69	24	101			
ISLANDS							
Nepal	22	68			22		
COLOMBIA	23	55	9	330	2	5	yes
CoÏte d'Ivoire	24	51					
Canada	25	47					

(source: Skutnabb-Kangas, Maffi & Harmon 2003: 41).

Recent research shows mounting evidence for the hypothesis that the correlational relationship may also be causal: the two types of diversities seem to mutually enforce and support each other (see Maffi 2000a). UNEP (United Nations Environmental Program), one of the organisers of the world summit on biodiversity in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (see its summary of our knowledge on biodiversity, Heywood, ed., 1995), published in December 1999 a mega-volume called Cultural and Spiritual Values of Biodiversity. A Complementary Contribution to the Global Biodiversity Assessment, edited by Darrell Posey (1999) summarising some of this evidence of causality. Likewise, articles in Luisa Maffi's (2001) edited volume On Biocultural Diversity. Linking Language, Knowledge and the Environment illustrates it. The strong correlation need in my view not indicate a direct causal relationship, in the sense that neither type of diversity should probably be seen directly as an **independent** variable in relation to the other. But linguistic and cultural diversity may be decisive mediating variables in sustaining biodiversity itself, and vice versa, as long as humans are on the earth. As soon as humans came into existence, we started to influence the rest of nature (see Diamond 1998 for a fascinating account on how). Today it is safe to say that there is no 'pristine nature' left - all landscapes have been and are influenced by human action, even those where untrained observers might not notice it immediately. All landscapes are cultural landscapes. It is interesting that even UNESCO now accepts this - that means that the concept of Terra nullius (= empty land) has finally been invalidated. Humans influence life conditions of animals and plants. The various ways that different peoples influence

their environments were and are filtered through their cultural patterns. Some examples:

- •Cultural attitudes to meat of cows, pigs, rats, dogs, as food influences the occurrence, spread and life conditions of these animals.
- •More than 40,000 edible plants were known to the Aboriginal inhabitants of South Australia; very few of them have found their way to the plates of the European invaders; the Europeans have neither lexicalised these items of food nor used them; this influences their disappearance ("weeds" etc). Likewise, local nature and people's detailed knowledge about it and use of it have influenced the cultures, languages and cosmo-visions of the people who have been dependent on it for their sustenance. An example: If the areas where people have lived for a long time have plenty of animal protein but little of plant protein as, for instance, in the Arctic areas, it is unlikely that religions which support vegetarianism could have developed - and they haven't. This relationship and mutual influence between all kinds of diversities is of course what most indigenous peoples have always known, and they describe their knowledge in several articles in the UNEP volume. The conservation traditions that promote the sustainable use of land and natural resources, expressed in the native languages, are, according to James Nations (2001: 470), "what Hazel Henderson called 'the cultural **DNA**' that can help us create sustainable economies in healthy ecosystems on this, the only planet we have (Gell-Mann 1994: 292)". We in Terralingua²³ suggest that if the long-lasting co-evolution which people have had with their environments from time immemorial is abruptly disrupted, without nature (and people) getting enough time to adjust and adapt (see Mühlhäusler, 1996), we can expect a catastrophe. The adjustment needed takes hundreds of years, not only decades (see Mühlhäusler, 1996, 2003). Two examples from different parts of the world: nuances in the knowledge about medicinal plants and their use disappear when indigenous youth in Mexico become bilingual without teaching in and through the medium of their own languages - the knowledge is not transferred to Spanish which does not have the vocabulary for these nuances or the discourses needed (see Luisa Maffi's doctoral dissertation, 1994; see also Nabhan 2001).

I was told a recent example by Pekka Aikio, the President of the Saami Parliament in Finland (29 November 2001). Finnish fish biologists had just "discovered" that salmon can use even extremely small rivulets leading to the river Teno, as spawning ground - earlier this was thought impossible. Pekka said that the Saami have always known this - the traditional Saami names of several of those rivulets often include the Saami word for "salmon spawning-bed". This is ecological knowledge inscribed in indigenous languages.

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²³ See the article on linguistic diversity in the UNEP volume, written by Luisa Maffi, and myself (Terralingua's President and Vice-president), with an insert by Jonah Andrianarivo, Maffi, et al. 1999; see also Maffi 2000b, Harmon 2002, articles in Maffi (ed.) 2001, and Skutnabb-Kangas, Maffi & Harmon 2003).

To sum up, "Ecological diversity is essential for long-term planetary survival. Diversity contains the potential for adaptation. Uniformity can endanger a species by providing inflexibility and unadaptability. As languages and cultures die, the testimony of human intellectual achievement is lessened. In the language of ecology, the strongest ecosystems are those that are the most diverse. Diversity is directly related to stability; variety is important for long-term survival. Our success on this planet has been due to an ability to adapt to different kinds of environment over thousands of years. Such ability is born out of diversity. Thus language and cultural diversity maximises chances of human success and adaptability" (from Colin Baker's (2001: 281) review of Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). This means that biocultural diversity (= biodiversity + linguistic diversity + cultural diversity) is essential for long-term planetary survival because it enhances creativity and adaptability and thus stability. Today we are killing biocultural diversity faster than ever before in human history.

Most of the world's mega-biodiversity is in areas under the management or guardianship of indigenous peoples. Most of the world's linguistic diversity resides in the small languages of indigenous peoples. Much of the detailed knowledge of how to maintain biodiversity is encoded in the languages of indigenous peoples. Thus indigenous peoples are/have the key to our planetary survival. Indigenous self-determination - something that the environmental rogue states like the USA, Canada, Australia, etc. are fighting to reject from the draft **Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples** - is a necessary prerequisite for the survival of the planet.

When you go home, ask your government: What are you doing to enable indigenous peoples, their languages, cultures and knowledges to survive, on their own lands, under their own control?

I shall finish with a couple of the most common economic arguments used against mother tongue medium teaching for indigenous and minority children.

8. The economic arguments for or against mother tongue medium teaching

8.1. Economic argument 1. "But surely we cannot afford education through the medium of hundreds of languages?"

Many people, including your governments, might say something along the lines: "yes, using the mother tongue to teach all or most subjects (mother tongue medium teaching, MTM teaching) is a good cause - but it is an idealistic dream. Be realistic! Surely sustainable education which leads to profound literacy, creativity, and high levels of multilingualism for the student, and maintenance of the world's languages is wonderful - but also completely impossible and certainly not economically viable."

I shall present just one counterexample. Papua New Guinea, with a population around 5 million, is the country with the highest number of languages in the world,

over 850. According to a study by David Klaus, from the World Bank (2003; see also Nagai & Lister 2003, Skutnabb-Kangas 2003), 380 languages were used as the media of education in preschool and the first two grades, and another 90 languages were to be added in 2002, making it altogether 470 languages. Some of the results are as follows:

- Children become literate more quickly and easily;
- They learn English more quickly and easily than their siblings did under the old English-medium system;
- Children, including girls, stay in school;
- Grade 6 exams in the 3 provinces that started mother tongue medium teaching in 1993 were much higher than in provinces which still teach through the medium of English from Day One.

It is perfectly possible to organise education so that it does not participate in committing linguistic genocide but respects basic linguistic human rights.

8.2. Economic argument 2. What is the cost when states make irrational choices vis-á-vis the medium of education?

If we believe in rational theory as an explanation for how both individuals and states act, we have to ask ourselves the question: do states act in a rational way in their linguistic educational planning so that they at least do not harm children and so that they try to achieve common aggregate welfare with sensible means, also economically? Since indigenous and minority children have a mother tongue which is different from that of the linguistic majority, and since it is necessary for them to know the dominant language in order to be able to participate in the labour market and in democratic processes, minority children have to become minimally bilingual through their formal education.

Bilingual education of all kinds is a very specialised and sensitive area of both research and policy-making. However, detailed knowledge of it is a prerequisite for being able to make recommendations. An important complicating issue is that some of the **scientifically sound and practically proven principles** of how to enable children to become high-level multilingual with the support of the educational system are in fact counter-intuitive: they **go against common sense**. If indigenous or minority children who speak their mother tongue at home, are to become bilingual, and learn the dominant/majority language well, one might, with a **common sense approach**, imagine that the principles of early start with and maximum exposure to the dominant language would be good ideas, like they are for learning many other things - practice makes perfect. In fact, both are **false**. What we have is an **early start fallacy**, and a **maximum exposure fallacy**. In fact, **sound research** shows that the longer indigenous and minority children in a low-status position have their own language as the main medium of teaching, the better they also become in the

dominant language, provided, of course, that they have good teaching in it, preferably given by bilingual teachers, just as the **Hague Recommendations on the Educational Rights of National Minorities** (http://www.osce.org/hcnm/) and the UNESCO guidelines (UNESCO 2003c) recommend.

I shall give two examples of recent very large-scale longitudinal and methodologically extremely careful studies from the United States, Ramirez et al. (1991) and Thomas & Collier (1997, 2002; see also other references to both of them in the bibliography).

The Ramirez et al.'s 1991 study, with 2352 students, compared three groups of Spanish-speaking minority students (see Table 7). The first group were taught through the medium of **English only** (but even these students had bilingual teachers and many were taught Spanish as a subject, something that is very unusual in submersion programmes); the second one, **early-exit** students, had one or two years of Spanish-medium education and were then transferred to English-medium, and the third group, **late-exit** students, had 4-6 years of Spanish-medium education before being transferred to English-medium.

Table 7. Ramirez et al. study, 1991, 2,352 students

GROUP	MEDIUM OF	RESULTS
	EDUCATION	
English-Only	English	Low levels of English and
		school achievement; likely
		never to catch up
Early-exit transitional	Spanish 1-2 years, then all	Fairly low levels of English
	English	and school achievement;
		not likely to catch up
Late-exit transitional	Spanish 4-6 years, then all	Best results; likely to catch
	English	up with native speakers of
		English

Now the common sense approach would suggest that the ones who started early and had most exposure to English, the English-only students, would have the best results in English, and in mathematics and in educational achievement in general, and that the late-exit students who started late with English-medium education and consequently had least exposure to English, would do worst in English etc.

In fact the results were exactly the opposite. **The late-exit students got the best results**, and they were the only ones who had a chance to achieve native levels of English later on, whereas the other two groups were, after an initial boost, falling more and more behind, and were judged as probably never being able to catch up to native English-speaking peers in English or general school achievement.

The Thomas & Collier study (see bibliography under both names), the largest longitudinal study in the world on the education of minority students, with altogether over 210,000 students, including in-depth studies in both urban and rural settings in the USA, included full immersion programmes in a minority language, dual-medium or two-way bilingual programmes, where both a minority and majority language (mainly Spanish and English) were used as medium of instruction, transitional bilingual education programmes, ESL (English as a second language) programmes, and so-called mainstream (i.e. English-only submersion) programmes. Across **all** the models, those students who reached the highest levels of both bilingualism and school achievement were the ones where the children's mother tongue was the main medium of education for the most extended period of time. This length of education in the L1 (language 1, first language), was the strongest predictor of both the children's competence and gains in L2, English, and of their school achievement. Thomas & Collier state (2002: 7):

the strongest predictor of L2 student achievement is the amount of formal L1 schooling. The more L1 grade-level schooling, the higher L2 achievement.

The length of mother tongue medium education was in both Ramirez' and Thomas & Collier's studies more important than any other factor (and many were included) in predicting the educational success of bilingual students. It was also much more important than **socio-economic status**, something extremely vital when reflecting on the socio-economic status of many Finno-Ugric minorities and most Finno-Ugric indigenous peoples²⁴ (only the Saami in all three Nordic countries are an exception²⁵). The worst results, including high percentages of push-outs²⁶) in both Ramirez and Thomas & Collier studies were with students in regular submersion programmes where the students' mother tongues (L1s) were either not supported at all or where they only had some mother-tongue-as-a-subject instruction. There are hundreds of smaller studies from all over the world which show similar results²⁷. A typical

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²⁴ See, for instance, the pretty horrifying figures for environmental destruction and pollution, health and education for all indigenous peoples in Russia, in the Russian report to the third session (May 10-21.2004, New York) of the PFII (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues). An example: In a large-scale ("10,000 pupils from 142 schools in 8 northern territories, including the Amur region, the Komi-Perm, Khanty-Mansi, and Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Areas, the Tyva, Altai and Sakha (Yakutia) Republics, and also the Krasnoyarsk Territory", were examined during the 2001-2002 school year. "The monitoring indicated various health anomalies already among 40 to 70 per cent of first class pupils, ranging from functional to chronic diseases. The low initial level of health among the children in the first class has a most unfavourable effect on their adaptation to the school workload... and is the reason for the further deterioration of their state of health. By the tenth class, the number of healthy pupils is no more than 10 to 12 percent." (United Nations... Russian Federation. E/C.19/2004/5/Add.3: 6-7).

²⁵ see Aikio-Puoskari 2001, Aikio-Puoskari & Pentikäinen 2001, Aikio-Puoskari & Skutnabb-Kangas, in press, Skutnabb-Kangas & Aikio-Puoskari 2003.

²⁶ These are called "drop-outs" in deficiency-based theories which blame the students, their characteristics, their parents and their culture for lack of school achievement.

²⁷ See summaries and references in, e.g., Baker 1993, Baker & Prys Jones 1998, references to Cummins in the bibliography, Dolson & Lindholm 1995, Huss 1999, Huss et al. 2002, Leontiev 1995, May & Hill 2003, May et al. 2003,

example would be my own small-scale study among Finnish working class immigrant minorities in metropolitan Stockholm in Sweden (Skutnabb-Kangas 1987). The students in my study were in Finnish-medium classes, and I had Swedish control groups in the parallel classes in the same schools. For their Swedish competence, I used a difficult Swedish language test, of the type where normally middle-class children do better than working class children (see Table 8). After 9 years of mainly Finnish-medium education, and good teaching of Swedish as a second language, these working-class Finnish students got somewhat better results in the Swedish language than the Swedish mainly middle-class control groups. In addition, their Finnish was almost as good as the Finnish of Finnish control groups in Finland.

Table 8. Swedish test results and subjects' own assessment of their Swedish competence

		RESULT -13)	OWN ASSESSMENT (1-5)		
	M	sd	M	sd	
Swedish control group	5.42	2.23	4.83	0.26	
Finnish co-researchers	5.68	1.86	4.50	0.41	

M = mean; sd = standard deviation

Finnish working class immigrant minority youngsters in Sweden, after 9 years of mainly Finnish-medium education; Swedish control group: mainly middle class youngsters in parallel classes in the same schools; Swedish test: decontextualised, CALP-type test where middle-class subjects can be expected to perform better. (Skutnabb-Kangas 1987)

Another extremely well controlled study is Saikia & Mohanty's (2004) study of indigenous/tribal Bodo children in Assam, India. After strong campaigning they have just managed to get mother tongue medium education going. Saikia and Mohanty compared three Grade 4 groups, with 45 children in each group, on a number of measures of language and mathematics achievement. "The three groups were matched in respect of their socio-economic status, the quality of schooling and the ecological conditions of their villages." Group BB, Bodo children, taught through the medium of the Bodo language, performed significantly better on ALL tests than group BA, the indigenous Bodo children taught through the medium of Assamese. Group BA did worst on all the tests. Group AA, Assamese mother tongue children taught through the medium of Assamese, performed best on two of the three mathematics measures. There was no difference between groups BB and AA in the

Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, in press f, ed. 1995, and the 8-volume series **Encyclopedia of Language and Education**, especially Cummins & Corson, eds, 1997.

language measures. "The findings are interpreted as showing the positive role of MT medium schooling for the Bodo children."

The conclusion from a very thorough research summary for the Māori section of the Ministry of Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand " (May & Hill 2003: 14) is that **English-only submersion programmes** "are widely attested as the **least effective** educationally for minority language students".

Still, it is this kind of submersion education most states organise for indigenous and minority students. They follow common sense rather than research results, even if they ought to know that their recommendations are bound to lead to very negative results. Knowingly working towards solutions which have been shown to lead to negative results, and not recommending or even advising against solutions which would very likely show positive results, is tantamount to intentionally causing serious mental harm to the children. But in addition, it is economically enormously costly both for the individuals concerned and for the states to under-educate or mis-educate children, to prevent them from reaching the potential that they have. Quite apart from moral and ethical human rights arguments (which are compelling), this wastage is what states should be concerned about if they follow any kind of economic rationality.

8.3. Economic argument 3: Everybody needs English; English is enough

Many states and also many indigenous parents seem to reason today along the lines where the goal of the education is, for instance in Russia, "with regard to the small indigenous minorities of the North... to train and shape a generation of leaders, specialists and workers capable of adapting to new life conditions"... meaning "to adapt them to the conditions of a market economy"." (United Nations... Russian Federation. E/C.19/2004/5/Add.3: 12). And since English competence is often seen as central for success in market economies, and indigenous and minority children also need to learn properly the dominant language in the country where they live, the mother tongue is often sacrificed in terms of economic efficiency and rationality. Therefore it is important to look at the arguments for to what extent knowing English is enough.

The Financial Times, 3.12.2001 reports about a survey, undertaken for the Community of European Management Schools, an alliance of academia and multinational corporations. It concludes that a company's inability to speak a client's language can lead to failure to win business because it indicates lack of effort. The British newspaper *The Independent* (31.5.2001) reports that graduates with foreign language skills earn more than those who only know English. **Nuffield Languages Enquiry** (2000) concludes: "English is not enough. We are fortunate to speak a global language but, in a smart and competitive world, exclusive reliance on English leaves the UK vulnerable and dependent on the linguistic competence and the goodwill of others ... Young people from the UK are at a growing disadvantage in

the recruitment market". Professor Tariq Rahman, Pakistan (personal communication, 2002; see also references to him in the bibliography), states: "English-medium schools tend to produce snobs completely alienated from their culture and languages ... We are mentally colonialized and alienated from our cultures if all we know is in English."

'Good' English will be like literacy yesterday or computer skills today: employers see it as self-evident and necessary but not sufficient for good jobs. We can use ordinary economic theories to illustrate this. Supply and demand theories predict that when many people possess what earlier was a scarce commodity (nearnative English), the price goes down. The value of 'perfect' English skills as a financial incentive decreases substantially when a high proportion of a country's or a region's or the world's population know English well (Grin, 2000). In Figure 2 (from a 2003: 26), supply "is defined as the willingness by producers to offer a certain quantity of a certain good or service at a certain unit price over a certain period. Demand is defined as the willingness by consumers to buy a certain quantity of that good or service at a certain unit price over a certain period. Normally, supply is an increasing function of price, while demand is a decreasing function of price. Hence, the supply curve and the demand curve will intersect in a two-dimensional {pricequantity space, determining an *equilibrium* level both for quantity (q*) and price (p*), as shown in Figure [2]." (a 2003: 26). In Figure 3, I have applied this to high levels of English competence. My estimate is that the supply (i.e. the number of people with near-native competence in English) may still today be lower than the demand; hence this competence still fetches a high price on the labour market; all else equal, people with good English get the nice jobs in many areas. And this is what many parents are thinking of when they are fooled into "investing" in an education that they think leads to "good" English for their children, even when it happens at the cost of their mother tongues. But my prediction is that once the equilibrium is passed so that the supply of people with "good" English is higher than the demand (or when this characteristics has been "naturalised" so that almost everybody has it, the price goes down. I have placed this situation some 15 years from now - this is of course a complete "educated guess". I think both state educational authorities and parents should be aware of this when planning language choices in education.

Place Figure 2 and Figure 3 here

9. "To devise a pattern of relationships which permit [the West/you] to maintain this position of disparity"?

Globalisation is, according to Pierre Bourdieu (2001) "a pseudo-concept that ... incarnates the most accomplished form of *the imperialism of the universal*, which consists of one society (USA) universalising its own particularity covertly as a universal model.". Thinking of the development from the Bretton Woods instruments (mainly the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, IMF) through GATT to WTO, we should remind ourselves of the words of the main USA Bretton Woods negotiator, George Kennan. He formulated at the negotiations in 1948 the guidelines for USA foreign policy as follows: "We have 50% of the world's wealth, but only 6,3% of its population. In this situation, our real job in the coming period is to devise a pattern of relationships which permit us to maintain this position of disparity. To do so, we have to dispense with all sentimentality ... we should cease thinking about human rights, the raising of living standards, and democratisation" (quoted in Pilger 1998: 59). It is easy to show that the same sentiments guide today's USA foreign policy too (see Skutnabb-Kangas 2002a for the links).

My first question is to the representatives of governments and elites of the world: Is there a risk that some of you in your policies are following these same guidelines: "to devise a pattern of relationships which permit [you] to maintain this position of disparity"? The disparity in question is not only between states, but also between various groupings within each state. Are you following irrational and economically disastrous policies which invite and produce conflict and in the end make the planet uninhabitable for humans?

My second question to all of you who participate is: When your grandchild asks: "what did you do for my planet's survival", what will you say? I hope I know what to say to MY grandson...

My third question especially to you who participate and who represent minorities or indigenous peoples is: When your grandchild asks: "did you do EVERYTHING you could to follow the words of the Maliseet Honour Code, written by Imelda Perley, Cree from Manitoba, what will you say?

Grandmothers and Grandfathers
Thank you for our language
that you have saved for us.
It is now our turn to save it
for the ones who are not yet born.

May that be the truth.

Words of the Maliseet Honour Code, written by Imelda Perley, Cree from Manitoba, quoted in Kirkness 2002: 23

If you want to read more, you might want to look at my latest book (Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove (2000). Linguistic genocide in education – or worldwide diversity and human rights? Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 818 pages. The detailed list of contents is on my home page (http://akira.ruc.dk/~tovesk/). If you want this presentation emailed to you as an attachment, email me (skutnabb-kangas@mail.dk). If you want to have it on your organisation's home page (obviously for non-commercial purposes only), you are welcome to post it – but tell me please. With all good wishes of solidarity and power, Tove

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Annex A. **Internet Statistics on language usage in 2003.** According to the latest statistics of the marketing communications consultancy *Global Reach*, there are 649 million people online today, making use of the following languages:

Global Internet Statistics by Language: evolution since 1996, in millions (source: Global Reach)

(end of year)	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Spanish	0	1	2	13	21	35	50	60
Japanese	2	7	9	20	39	48	61	74
German	1	4	6	14	22	37	43	53
French	0	2	3	10	17	18	23	31
Chinese	0	1	2	10	31	48	78	120
Scandinavian	2	2	3	8	9	11	16	15
Italian	0	1	2	10	12	20	24	30
Dutch	0	1	2	6	7	11	13	12
Korean	0	0	1	5	17	25	28	35
Portuguese	0	0	1	4	11	14	19	26
Other Non-English	: :	11	15	6.4	29	41	64	81
English	40	72	91	148	192	231	234	260
Total Non- English:	10	45	71	109	211	307	418	540
TOTAL*:	50	117	151	245	391	529	627	782

Chart of Web content, by language				
English	68,4%			
Japanese	5,9%			
German	5,8%			
Chinese	3,9%			
French	3,0%			
Spanish	2,4%			
Russian	1,9%			
Italian	1,6%			
Portuguese	1,4%			
Korean	1,3%			
Other	4,6%			

For more information, see the Global Reach website at http://global-reach.biz/globstats/index.php3.