

**LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY, LANGUAGE RIGHTS AND
LANGUAGE ECOLOGY**

Plenary paper at

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Who are the ITM children?

ITM =

Indigenous/ **T**ribal,
Minority (including immigrant
minority and Deaf children) and
Minoritised children

ITM children and languages

ITM = *Indigenous/tribal, minority*
(autochthonous/national/Deaf/immigrant/
refugee/asylum seeker minorities) *and*
minoritised (not necessarily minorities in
terms of numbers/demography, but
minorities in terms of power relations).

In some cases children who speak a non-
dominant “dialect” can be educationally
compared with ITM-children. E.g.
Brazilian vs Portugal Portuguese...

Definitions: Linguicism

LINGUICISM: 'ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, regulate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language' (Skutnabb-Kangas 1988: 13). Most education systems worldwide for Indigenous/tribal peoples, minorities, and minoritised groups (ITMs) reflect linguicism (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar 2010).

Definitions - linguistic diversity

General definitions: “the range of variation exhibited by human languages,” or “the variety and richness of languages in human societies.”

Mainly three types of more specific definitions:

The most linguistically diverse state is

1. the one with the largest number of languages (based on, e.g. the Ethnologue)
2. the one with the highest probability that any two people of the country selected at random would have different mother tongues

Definitions - linguistic diversity

3. Clinton Robinson, 1993: 54 suggests:

“a ranking of degree of linguistic diversity should not be based on the absolute number of languages in a country, but rather on the percentage of the population speaking any single language. Thus **the country where the largest language group represents the smallest proportion of the population would be deemed as the most linguistically diverse**, since all the other language groups would represent yet smaller percentages”.

We have to differentiate between countries 1. with a definite linguistic majority and one or many minorities, and 2. countries consisting of 'minorities' only, without a 'majority'. The first type is prevalent in Europe/neo-Europes, whereas the second type is more common in the rest of the world, even if there are many exceptions.

Monolingual reductionism

Attitudes which see monolingualism as something normal, desirable, sufficient, and unavoidable. These do not support linguistic diversity.

Definitions - linguistic diversity

See Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove (2000). *Linguistic genocide in education - or worldwide diversity and human rights?* Mahwah, NJ & London, UK: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 818 pp. South Asian updated edition in 2008, Delhi: Orient Longman.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove (2014). *Linguistic Diversity*. In Philips, Denis (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Educational Theory and Philosophy*. Volume 1. London: Sage, 484-486.

Definitions - language rights/ linguistic human rights

***Language* rights (LRs) are all those rights that are connected to languages and their speakers or signers.**

Linguistic *human* rights (LHRs) are only those language rights that are so fundamental that every individual has them because that individual is a human being, so inalienable that no state is allowed to violate them, and which are necessary for individuals and groups to live a dignified life.

Definitions: Instrumental language rights - enrichment-oriented

Other language rights may be enrichment-oriented (e.g. necessary for good jobs, mobility, etc). These are sometimes called instrumental language rights.

**These are sociological not legal definition.
For different definitions, including legal
definitions, see
Tiersma, Peter M. and Solan, Lawrence M.
(eds)(2016). *Oxford Handbook of Language
and Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press**

**My article in the book presents various
definitions and discusses differences
between them.**

Challenges with the definitions:

1. the meaning of both “language” and “rights” have been and are endlessly debated. Some postmodernists even deny the existence of languages as countable phenomena (e.g. Blommaert, Pennycook). Many Indian sociolinguists discuss fluid borders between languages (e.g. Mohanty).
2. the borders between “languages”, “dialects”, “sociolects”, “varieties” etc. cannot be “decided” on linguistic grounds. The labelling is always a hierarchising sociopolitical act, deeply embedded in power relations.
3. neither lawyers nor political scientists, philosophers and others who have discussed LRs (or even LHRs) agree on what these should be, or even how the existing ones should be interpreted.

Concept definitions

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove & McCarty, Teresa (2008). Clarification, ideological/epistemological underpinnings and implications of some concepts in bilingual education. In Volume 5, **Bilingual Education**, eds Jim Cummins and Nancy H. Hornberger. **Encyclopedia of Language and Education**, 2nd edition. New York: Springer, 3-17.

The most important Linguistic Human Right (LHR) in education for ITMs, if they want to reproduce themselves as peoples/minorities, is an unconditional right to mainly mother tongue medium multilingual education (mother-tongue-based multilingual education) in non-fee state schools.

This would also support the maintenance of the world's linguistic diversity. Today this support hardly exists.

Instead of LHRs, what is happening in the educational systems in relation to most ITMs is linguistic and cultural genocide. This genocide, both historically and today, is also the main reason why why linguistic diversity disappears and why revitalisation is needed.

Genocide?

Is the term not too strong?

Many people use the term
loosely.

We must define it properly
every time we use it!

UN International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (E793, 1948), **final Draft**, Article III, had definitions of linguistic and cultural genocide and saw them also as crimes against humanity. **Article III was voted down by 16 states in the UN General Assembly, and is NOT part of the final Convention.** But all states then members of the UN agreed about the definition.

Therefore, we can still use this definition too

UN International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (E793, 1948). Final draft, 1948.

'Prohibiting the use of the language of the group in daily intercourse or in schools, or the printing and circulation of publications in the language of the group'.

*Article III was voted down in the UN General Assembly by 16 states in 1948 and is thus **NOT** part of the final Genocide Convention*

The present United Nations
International Convention on the
Prevention and Punishment of
the Crime of Genocide
(E793, 1948)
has five definitions of genocide.

Article 2

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed **with intent to destroy**, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such
[emphasis added]:

ARTICLE 2

- (a) Killing members of the group;
 - (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;**
 - (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
 - (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
 - (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.**
- [emphases added]:

C and d have been relevant for many minorities and, especially, indigenous peoples. At least c is still relevant for many; d for fewer.

Genocide is...

- 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).



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2. Linguistic genocide in education

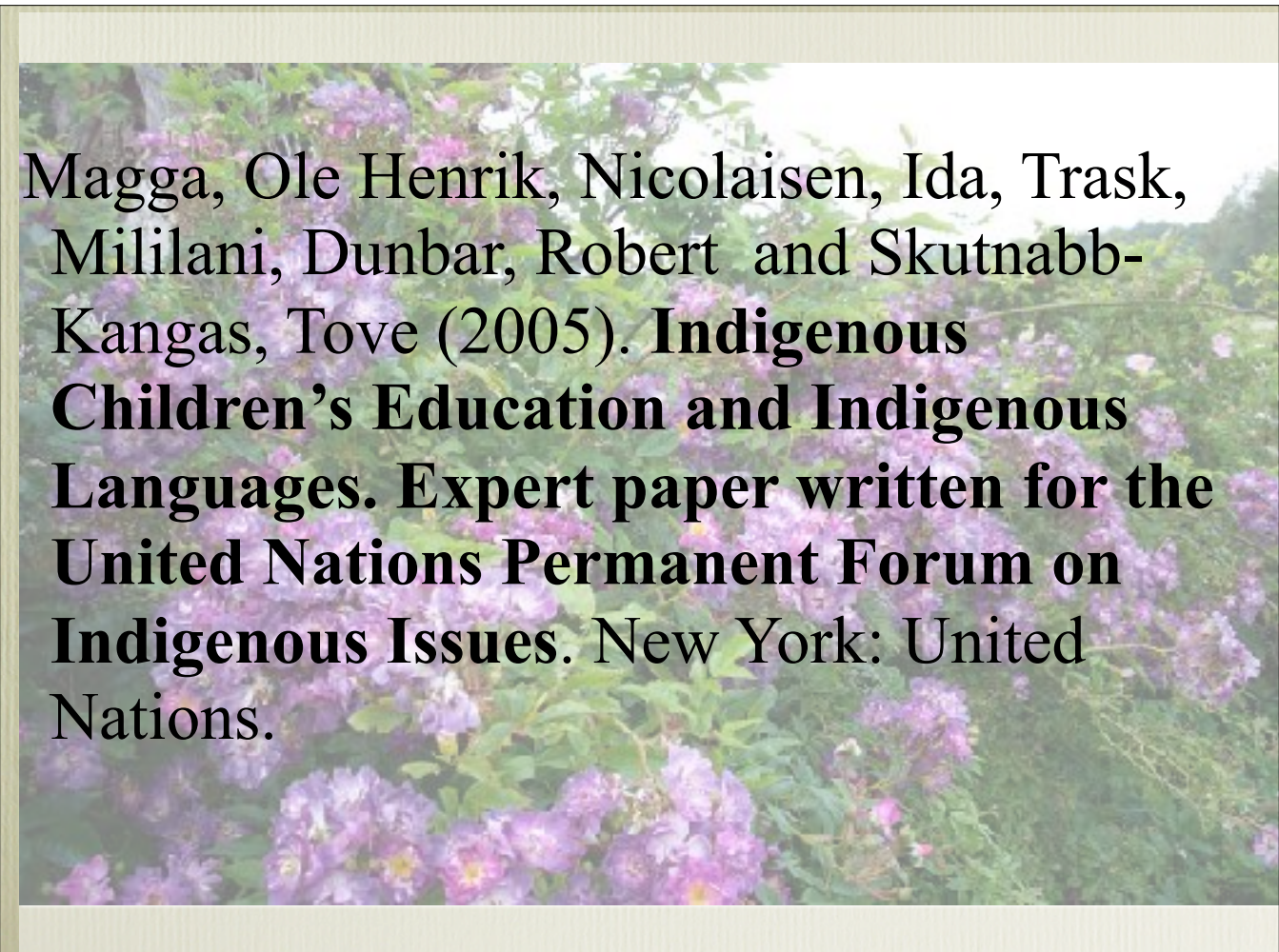
3. Subtractive education, as capability deprivation (Amartya Sen), leads to poverty

What happens in most educational systems in the world in relation to ITM children? These systems are **supporting**

- 1. violations of the right to education**
- 2. linguistic genocide and**
- 3. crimes against humanity, and**
- 4. the reproduction of poverty through capability deprivation**

Submersion education uses the dominant language (e.g. English in the USA, Australia, Aotearoa/New Zealand, and many African and Asian countries) as the main teaching language for ITM children. It is **subtractive** - it subtracts from the children's linguistic repertoire; the dominant language displaces or replaces the children's own language.

Instead, education should **ADD** to the repertoire; children should learn the MT AND a dominant language and other languages.

The background of the slide is a photograph of a dense cluster of purple flowers, possibly lilacs, with green foliage. The image is slightly blurred and has a soft, naturalistic feel. The text is overlaid on the left side of this image.

Magga, Ole Henrik, Nicolaisen, Ida, Trask, Mililani, Dunbar, Robert and Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove (2005). **Indigenous Children's Education and Indigenous Languages. Expert paper written for the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues.** New York: United Nations.

In an Expert paper that we (mainly Robert Dunbar and TSK) wrote for the **United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues** (Magga et al. 2005), we looked at violations of the (human) right to education. The report contains sociological and legal argumentation where we show that to educate ITM children through a dominant language in a **submersion** (or even early-exit transitional) programme **violates their human right to education.**

Subtractive dominant-language medium education for ITM children

- prevents access to education, because of the linguistic, pedagogical and psychological barriers it creates. Thus it violates the right to education.

The background of the slide features a dense cluster of small, light purple flowers with yellow centers, likely Aster or similar, growing on green foliage. The image is slightly blurred, giving it a soft, artistic feel. The text is overlaid on this image in a bold, black, sans-serif font.

This right to education is encoded in many international human rights documents, also in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Art. 29). The Convention has been ratified by ALL other UN member states except one: the USA...

In addition, most ITM education in the world can be claimed to participate in committing linguistic and cultural genocide, according to the genocide definitions in the UN Genocide Convention. It can be also seen as a crime against humanity.

Robert Dunbar (human rights lawyer) and I have explored these questions in several publications.

**Subtractive dominant-language
medium education for ITM
children**



**can forcibly transfer
children to another
group**

Genocide is...

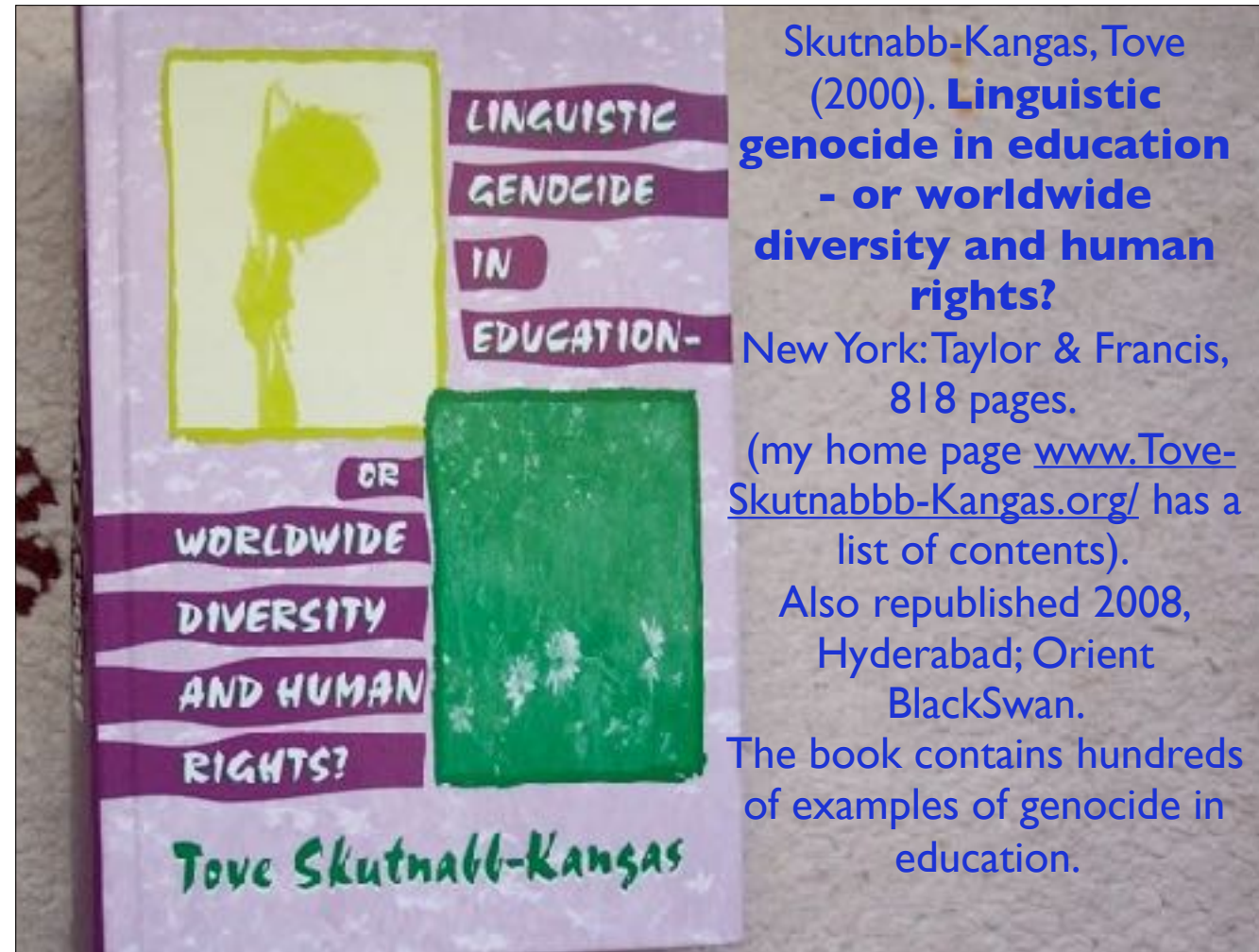
- Article II(e): '*forcibly transferring children of the group to another group*'; and
- Article II(b): '*causing serious bodily **or mental** harm to members of the group*'; (emphasis added).

EUROPE, Pirjo Janulf, 1998

Janulf (longitudinal study): of those Finnish immigrant minority members in Sweden who had had Swedish-medium education,

NOT ONE 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.



Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove
(2000). **Linguistic
genocide in education
- or worldwide
diversity and human
rights?**

New York: Taylor & Francis,
818 pages.

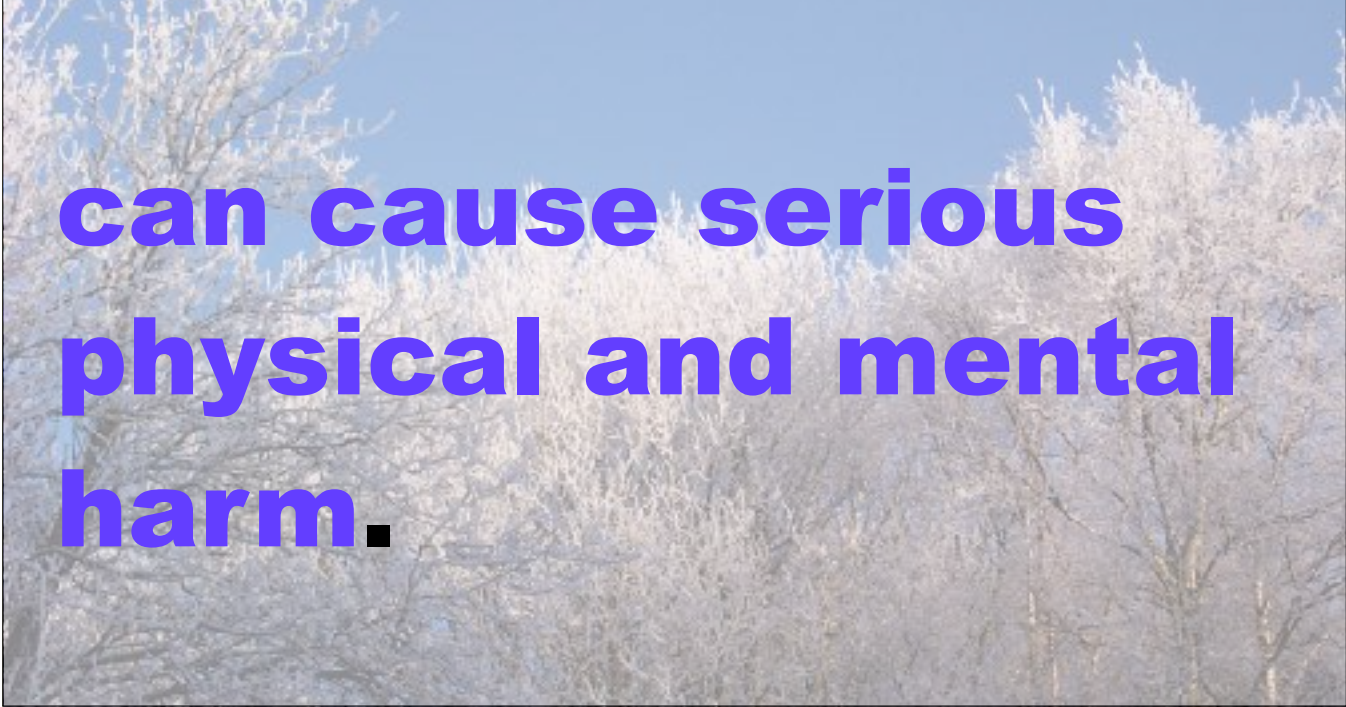
(my home page www.Tove-Skutnabb-Kangas.org/ has a
list of contents).

Also republished 2008,
Hyderabad; Orient
BlackSwan.

The book contains hundreds
of examples of genocide in
education.

**Subtractive dominant-language
medium education for ITM
children**

**can cause serious
physical and mental
harm.**

A photograph of a dense forest of bare trees with a blue sky in the background. The trees are mostly without leaves, showing intricate branch structures. The sky is a clear, pale blue. The overall tone is somewhat somber and wintry.

AFRICA, Edward Williams, 1995

Zambia and Malawi, 1,500 students, grades 1-7

Zambian pupils had all education in English) 'Large numbers of them have very weak or zero reading competence in two languages'.

The Malawi children were taught in local languages during the first 4 years, with English as a subject). They had slightly better test results in the English language than the Zambian students. In addition they read and wrote their own languages.

Conclusion: '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 mental harm".

CANADA, Katherine Zozula & Simon Ford, 1985

- Report 'Keewatin Perspective on Bilingual Education'
- tells about Canadian Inuit 'students (taught in English) 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'**.
- **Causing serious mental harm?**

Australia - Education in English “severely inhibited the children’s education”

Anne Lowell and Brian Devlin (1999) in an article called “Miscommunication between Aboriginal students and their non-Aboriginal teachers in a bilingual school”, demonstrate that education through the dominant language, English, “severely inhibited the children’s education” (p. 137)) and was “the greatest barrier to successful classroom learning for Aboriginal children” (156).

Causing serious mental harm?

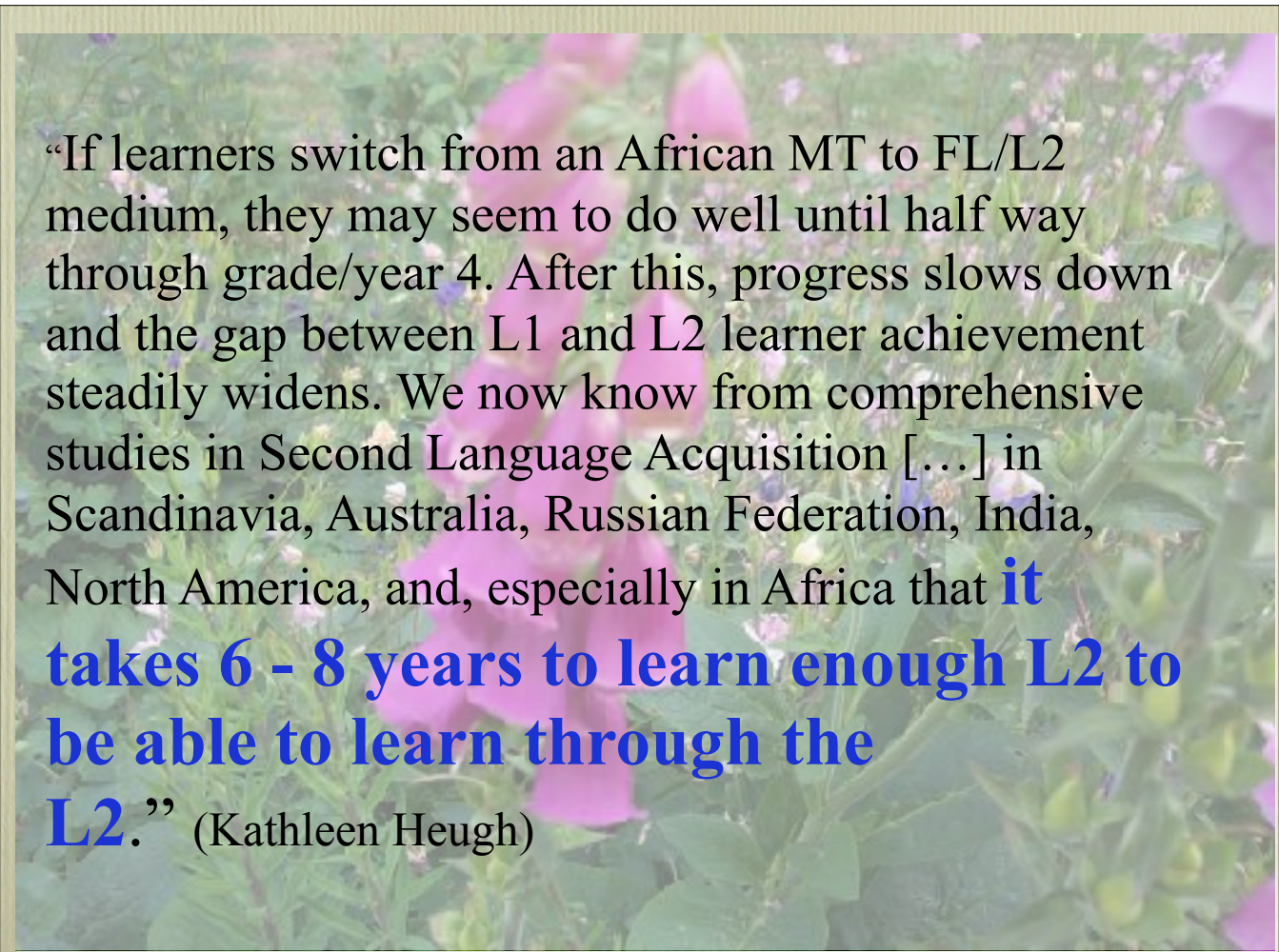
Early transition [i.e. early-exit transitional programmes] to the international language of wider communication across Africa [i.e. English, French, Portuguese]

is accompanied by:

- **Poor literacy** in L1 and L2
 - SACMEQ 11 2005; UIE-ADEA study 2006; HSRC studies in S Africa 2007
- **Poor numeracy/mathematics & science**
 - HSRC 2005; 2007
- **High failure and drop-out rates**
 - Obanya 1999; Bamgbose 2000
- **High costs/ wastage of expenditure**
 - Alidou et al 2006

(from Heugh, Kathleen, 2009)





“If learners switch from an African MT to FL/L2 medium, they may seem to do well until half way through grade/year 4. After this, progress slows down and the gap between L1 and L2 learner achievement steadily widens. We now know from comprehensive studies in Second Language Acquisition [...] in Scandinavia, Australia, Russian Federation, India, North America, and, especially in Africa that **it takes 6 - 8 years to learn enough L2 to be able to learn through the L2.**” (Kathleen Heugh)

***Peace: Building sustainable peace
and global citizenship
through education.***

***Unesco Global Education Monitoring
Report 2016 (GEM Report)***

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002474/247430e.pdf>

de Alvis, Akshan, UN Correspondent (20 Feb 2017).

Language Rights Need to be at the Center of Global Policy

<http://www.diplomaticourier.com/language-rights-need-center-global-policy/>

According to a new paper by UNESCO's Global Education Monitoring Report (GEM Report), **40% of the global population** – the combined population of China, India and the United States – **does not access education in a language they understand.**

Economic linguists – those that study the economics associated with language policy – have noted that **the immediate and long term economic benefits of mother tongue education out-weigh the cost when compared to not implementing mother tongue education policy.**

de Alvis, Akshan, UN Correspondent (20 Feb 2017).

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<http://www.diplomaticourier.com/language-rights-need-center-global-policy/>

In **Côte d'Ivoire**, for example, 55% of grade 5 students who speak the test language at home learned the basics in reading in 2008, compared with only 25% of those who speak another language.

In **Iran**, 80% of grade 4 students who did not speak Farsi at home reached the basics in reading, compared with over 95% of Farsi speakers.

In **Honduras**, in 2011, 94% of grade 6 students who spoke the language of instruction at home learned the basics in reading compared to 62% of those who did not.

de Alvis, Akshan, UN Correspondent (20 Feb 2017).

Language Rights Need to be at the Center of Global Policy

<http://www.diplomaticourier.com/language-rights-need-center-global-policy/>

In **Turkey** in 2012, around 50% of poor non-Turkish speaking 15 year olds achieved minimum benchmarks in reading, against the national average of 80%.

In multi-ethnic societies, including **Turkey, Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Guatemala**, the paper shows that imposing a dominant language through a school system – while sometimes a choice of necessity – has frequently been a source of grievance linked to wider issues of social and cultural inequality.

de Alvis, Akshan, UN Correspondent (20 Feb 2017).

Language Rights Need to be at the Center of Global Policy

<http://www.diplomaticourier.com/language-rights-need-center-global-policy/>

UNESCO also points out that more than 50 per cent of about 7,000 languages spoken in the world are likely to die out within a few generations, and 6,720 of these languages are spoken by a mere 4 per cent or 296 million, slightly less than the population of Indonesia. **"Only a few hundred languages have genuinely been given a place in education systems and the public domain, and less than a hundred are used in the digital world,"** says UNESCO.

The GEM Report titled 'If you don't understand, how can you learn?' argues that **being taught in a language other than their own can negatively impact children's learning, especially for those living in poverty.**

Subtractive dominant-language medium education for ITM children can have harmful consequences

socially, psychologically, economically, politically. It can (and often does) cause:

- very serious **mental** harm: social dislocation, psychological, cognitive, linguistic and educational harm, and, partially through this, also economic, social and political marginalization
- often also serious **physical** harm, e.g. in residential schools, and as a long-term result of marginalization - e.g. alcoholism, suicides, incest, violence. Indigenous peoples are overrepresented on all.

Subtractive dominant-language medium education for ITM children

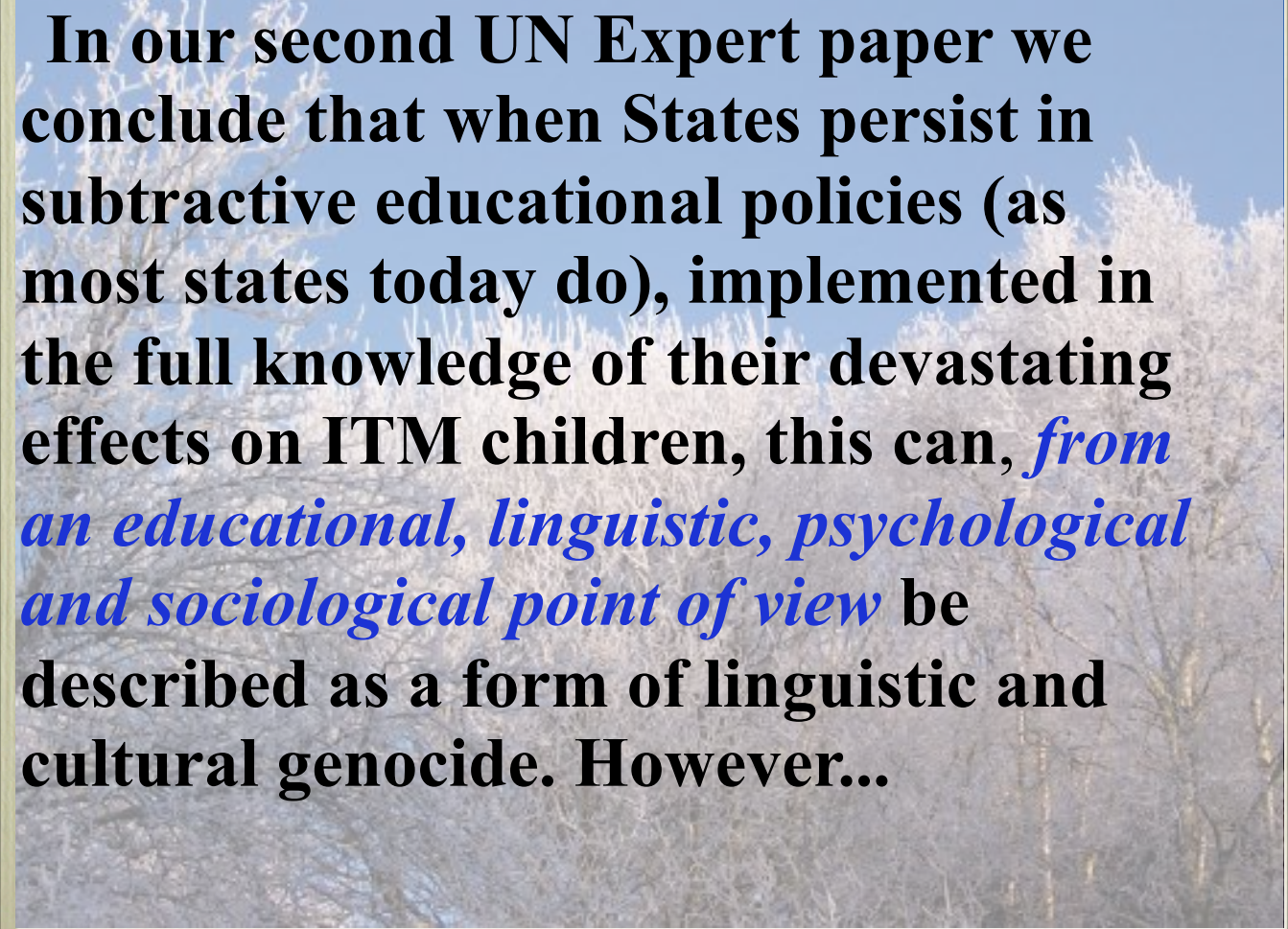
is organized **against solid research evidence** about how best to reach high levels of bilingualism or multilingualism and how to enable these children to achieve academically in school.

UN Expert paper (2008):

Robert Dunbar & Tove Skutnabb-Kangas

Forms of Education of Indigenous Children as Crimes Against Humanity?

[In the UN system: Expert paper for the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, presented by Lars-Anders Baer, in collaboration with Robert Dunbar, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas & Ole-Henrik Magga]. New York: United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. 2008.



In our second UN Expert paper we conclude that when States persist in subtractive educational policies (as most states today do), implemented in the full knowledge of their devastating effects on ITM children, this can, *from an educational, linguistic, psychological and sociological point of view* be described as a form of linguistic and cultural genocide. However...

... to claim **also legally** that this education is genocide, we need some more court cases to ascertain the precise interpretations of some concepts (e.g. “intent”) in the Genocide Convention’s definitions.

But there are several recent examples already where lawyers conclude that the “intent” need not be expressed directly and openly. (No state says: we intend to harm children). Instead, it can be deduced from the results, i.e. if the state organizes educational structures which are known to lead to negative results, this can be seen as “intent” in the sense of Art. 2.

From ‘evil motive discrimination’ to ‘effects discrimination’

Lawyer Päivi Gynther (2003: 48) traces the development in laws about racism from a concern with ‘evil motive discrimination’ (actions *intended* to have a harmful effect on minority group members) to ‘effects’ discrimination (actions *have* a harmful effect whatever their motivation) (Gynther, 2003: 48; emphasis added).

From evil motive discrimination to effects discrimination

When discrimination and racism [including linguisticism] 'permeates society not only at the individual but also at the institutional level, covertly and overtly ... racial control has become so well institutionalized that the individual generally does not have to exercise a choice to operate in a racist manner. Individuals merely have to conform to the operating norms of the organization, and *the institution will do the discrimination for them*' (Gynther, 2003: 47; emphasis added).

So, *nice* teachers can participate in institutional linguistic and cultural genocide...

Court cases needed

**When those needed court cases,
clarifying the concepts further, start,
education authorities will have a
serious problem...**

**Education of immigrant/refugee
minorities, in the USA and in most EU
countries today is also submersion...**



GÁLDU ČÁLA

Journal of Indigenous Peoples Rights No. 1/2010

**Indigenous Children's Education
as Linguistic Genocide and a
Crime Against Humanity?
A Global View**

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Dunbar



Our book Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove & Dunbar, Robert (2010)

**Indigenous
Children's Education
as Linguistic
Genocide and a
Crime Against
Humanity? A Global
View** ([http://www.e-](http://www.e-pages.dk/grusweb/55/)

[pages.dk/grusweb/55/](http://www.e-pages.dk/grusweb/55/)) has

many examples of
education that violates
children's right to
education.



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3. Subtractive education, as capability deprivation (Amartya Sen), leads to poverty

Eminent welfare economist and economics Nobel Prize laureate Amartya Sen (1985) conceptualises poverty as “capability deprivation”

“Even the relevance of low incomes, meagre possessions, and other aspects of what are standardly seen as economic poverty relates ultimately to their role in curtailing capabilities (that is, their role in severely restricting the choices people have) ... Poverty is, thus, ultimately a matter of ‘capability deprivation’ and ‘unfreedom’ “

(Dreze & Sen 1996: 10-11).

“Poverty is capability deprivation”
(Amartya Sen, Nobel laureate in economics)

**Capabilities can be fully
developed in formal education.**

OR NOT.

**Formal education can also
PREVENT children from
developing their capabilities.**

Poverty as capability deprivation

It is necessary to *identify both capability INPUTS, and OBSTACLES to the realization of capabilities* (Robeyns 2006).

Formal education, which plays a crucial enabling role in Sen's view of economic development, can be seen as a major capability INPUT.

The wrong medium of education is a serious OBSTACLE to the realization of capabilities.

Poverty as capability deprivation

The central question in reducing poverty is: ‘What is the most critical (and cost-effective) input to change the conditions of poverty, or rather, to expand human capabilities? (Mohanty & Mishra 2000). There is ‘a general consensus among the economists, psychologists and other social scientists that **education is perhaps the most crucial input’ (ibid.).**

Mohanty, Ajit K. & Misra, Girishwar (eds) (2000). *Psychology of Poverty and Disadvantage*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing

Educational language policy is central to capability development. The wrong teaching language violates human rights in education, and can lead to capability deprivation. Linguistic human rights in education are central for equality and social justice.

Thus *if* poverty is understood as “both a set of contextual conditions as well as certain processes which together give rise to typical performance of the poor and the disadvantaged” in school, and *if* of “all different aspects of such performance, **cognitive and intellectual functions** have been held in high priority as these happen to be closely associated with upward socio-economic mobility of the poor” (Misra & Mohanty 2000b: 135-136), *then* we have to look for the type of division of labour between both/all languages in education that guarantees the best possible development of these “cognitive and intellectual functions” which enhance children’s “human capabilities” (Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar 2010: 68-69). **This is where mother-tongue-based multilingual education, MLE, for ITM children comes in.**

**Dominant-language-only
submersion programmes “are
widely attested as the **least
effective educationally** for
minority language students”**

**(May & Hill 2003: 14, study commissioned
by the Māori Section of the Aotearoa/New
Zealand Ministry of Education).**

<http://www.minedu.govt.nz/>

Submersion education of ITM children today is not enhancing but rather curtailing these cognitive functions needed for capability development. Thus it deprives children of the choices and freedom that are associated with the necessary capabilities. **Today's ITM education represents capability deprivation, including identity deprivation.** Submersion education generally leads to low levels of achievement in content learning AND languages learning.

What about groups that HAVE succeeded? E.g. several Asian groups in Canada and the USA?

It is fair to say that they have succeeded NOT because of the way their formal education has been organised, but DESPITE it. Extra hard work, after-school and summer mother tongue classes, continued immigration with new speakers, etc etc.

Education should not be organised so that only those with extra resources can succeed. It should be organised so that everybody has a fair chance.

Subtractive dominant-language medium education for ITM children

often curtails the development of the children's capabilities (causing mental harm), and perpetuates thus poverty (Amartya Sen) (causing physical harm), i.e. it fulfils the requirements in the Genocide Convention.

Education is planned language shift

- “More than most other authoritative specialists, **the authorities of the educational system are deeply implicated in planned language shift... Education [is] a very useful and highly irreversible language shift mechanism...** The usual postmodern critique ... misses the boat completely” (Fishman 2006: 320).

International criminal responsibility?

In our 2010 book (Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar) we also consider the extent to which the various forms of submersion education practiced both earlier and today by States could be considered to give rise to *international criminal responsibility*.

The term ‘crime against humanity’, first used in the modern context in respect of the massacres of Ottoman Turkey’s Armenians of 1915, was translated into international legal principle in 1945.

International criminal responsibility?

The most complete description of what constitute “crimes against humanity” is now set out in the *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court* of 17 July, 1998 (the “ICC Statute”)

(<http://untreaty.un.org/cod/icc/statute/romefra.htm>).

International criminal responsibility?

Although long associated with armed conflict, it is now accepted that they can also be perpetrated in times of peace; this can now be seen as part of customary international law. We look at four common features that apply to both war-time and peace-time crimes against humanity, using Cassese's definitions and interpretations (2008, 98-101).



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4. Can educational LRs in international and regional Charters/Conventions support ITM language maintenance (and thus the world's linguistic diversity), and prevent language endangerment?

5. Why are linguistic diversity and language rights important for the maintenance of biodiversity and thus a healthy ecosystem?

Who/what can “have” LRs/LHRs?

Individuals, collectivities, and languages can “have” LHRs.

LHRs can be *individual*, as in (Art. 30 in) the *UN Convention on the Rights of **the Child*** or in the *UN Declaration on the Rights of **Persons** Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities* (emphases added).

Who/what can “have” LRs/LHRs?

LHRs can also be *collective*, as in the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP) and *Council of Europe’s Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (even if both are constantly jumping between individual and collective levels) (emphases added).

Who/what can “have” LRs/LHRs?

Finally, *languages themselves* (rather than speakers/signers) can also be granted rights, as in the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (emphasis added).

**Today, *binding*
educational LHRs
are more or less
non-existent.**

LANGUAGE in human rights instruments

- 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.

Language disappears in binding educational paragraphs in human rights instruments 2

The **International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights** (1966) mentions language on a par with race, colour, sex, religion, etc. in its general Article (2.2).

Its education Article (13.1) explicitly refers to 'racial, ethnic or religious groups' but **omits here reference to language or linguistic groups**:

... 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)

**Binding educational clauses of
human rights instruments have
more opt-outs, modifications,
alternatives, claw-backs, etc. than
other Articles**

UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, 1992

- 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. (emphases added, '*obligating*' and positive measures in blue *italics*, '**opt-outs**' in red **bold**).
- 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 Minorities and
The European Charter for Regional
or Minority Languages,**
both in force since 1998.

The latest news about them are at [http://conventions.coe.int/
treaty/EN/cadreprincipal.htm](http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/EN/cadreprincipal.htm)
and their treaty numbers are 148 and 158.

Council of Europe's **Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities**

- 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).

Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages:

- **‘as far as possible’**
- **‘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’.**

**European Charter for Regional or Minority
Languages. Part III, Education Art. 8**

The opt-outs and alternatives in the Charter permit a reluctant state to meet the requirements in a minimalist way, which it can legitimate by claiming that a provision was not ‘possible’ or ‘appropriate’, or that numbers were not ‘sufficient’ or did not ‘justify’ a provision, or that it ‘allowed’ the minority to organise teaching of their language as a subject, at their own cost.

Linguistic Human Rights - read more

A thorough presentation of the most important language rights in education from human rights documents can be read online in Chapter 2 of Skutnabb-Kangas and Dunbar (2010), at <http://www.e-pages.dk/grusweb/55/> - it is the main source of legal issues in education in this presentation.

The maintenance of diversity is counteracted by the increasing dominance of English (Phillipson 2008) and other killer languages. These are often learned subtractively, at the cost of the mother tongues (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty 2008), instead of additively, in addition to mother tongues.



Contents 2

4. Can educational LRs in international and regional Charters/Conventions support ITM language maintenance (and thus the world's linguistic diversity), and prevent language endangerment?

5. Why are linguistic diversity and language rights important for the maintenance of biodiversity and thus a healthy ecosystem?

Education and mass media are the most important *direct* causal factors in the disappearance of the world's languages; structural political, economic, social and military factors, today connected to neoliberal globalisation are behind them.

**Globalisation =
standardisation =
homogenisation
are enemies of all
diversities**

**Linguistic globalisation, e.g. more
subtractive English (or subtractive
Spanish in Latin America or subtractive
Russian in Russia) leads to linguistic
homogenisation (DESPITE dialectal and
other - multilingual - hybridisation!)**

**It also often leads to cultural
homogenisation, called
“monocultures of the mind” by
Vandana Shiva.**

These are enemies of linguistic diversity!

**Homogenisation,
human greed and
growthism
are enemies of all
diversities.**

What is Growthism

*The myth that economic
growth is necessary
and
the implementation of that
myth*

MÜHLHÄUSLER, P. (1996) Linguistic ecology. Language change and linguistic imperialism in the Pacific region. Routledge.
--- (2003) Language of Environment - Environment of Language. A Course in Ecolinguistics. Battlebridge. See page 132.

Global homogenised markets and growthism

“development of global markets, greater
efficiencies and profits; politically ... based
on neo-liberal values

and assumptions” (Bowers)

presuppose a belief in the **necessity of
economic growth** as a prerequisite
for global homogenised markets, i.e.
growthism.

Consumerism as part of growthism

Consumerism as part of **material growthism**, disastrous for the world, cannot continue in North America, most of Europe, Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, etc.

BUT *Linguistic Homogenisation*
through killer languages (e.g.
English, Spanish, Chinese, Hindi,
Portuguese, French, Arabic...) is
also an important factor in the
disappearance of biodiversity.

The role of indigenous/tribal peoples

- Most of the world's **megabiodiversity** is in areas under the management or guardianship of Indigenous/tribal peoples.
- Most of the world's **linguistic diversity** resides in the small languages of Indigenous/tribal peoples.
- Much of the detailed knowledge of how to maintain biodiversity is encoded in the languages of Indigenous/tribal peoples. This knowledge **is often more accurate and sophisticated than “western” “scientific” knowledge).**
- **If we continue as now, most of the world's Indigenous languages will be gone by 2100.**

If the corporate agenda (legitimated by some research) is not counteracted strongly and immediately, the estimate is that most languages to go would be Indigenous, and most of the world's Indigenous languages would no longer be learned by children in 2100 or they would be completely extinct. Since much of the knowledge about how to maintain the world's biodiversity is encoded in the small Indigenous and local languages, *with the disappearance of the languages this knowledge will also disappear.*

This means destroying many of the prerequisites for human life on earth.

Is this what we want?

Mother-tongue-based multilingual education for ITM children is a necessary but not sufficient part of social justice. Through developing ITM children's capabilities to the full, it enables them to understand and also be part of ecojustice.

It supports linguistic diversity, and, through this, maintenance of biodiversity

***Education plays an important role in
approaching ecojustice.***

***We have to think of the role of
education in general, and the role of
languages in the education of both
ITMs and dominant-language group
children.***

Enabling linguistic majority children to become high-level multilingual (and thus also raising their levels of awareness of the world's languages, cultures, and political systems), can/must be part the development towards ecojustice.

**Homogenisation, globalisation and
MATERIAL growthism - NO!
IMMATERIAL GROWTH - YES!!**

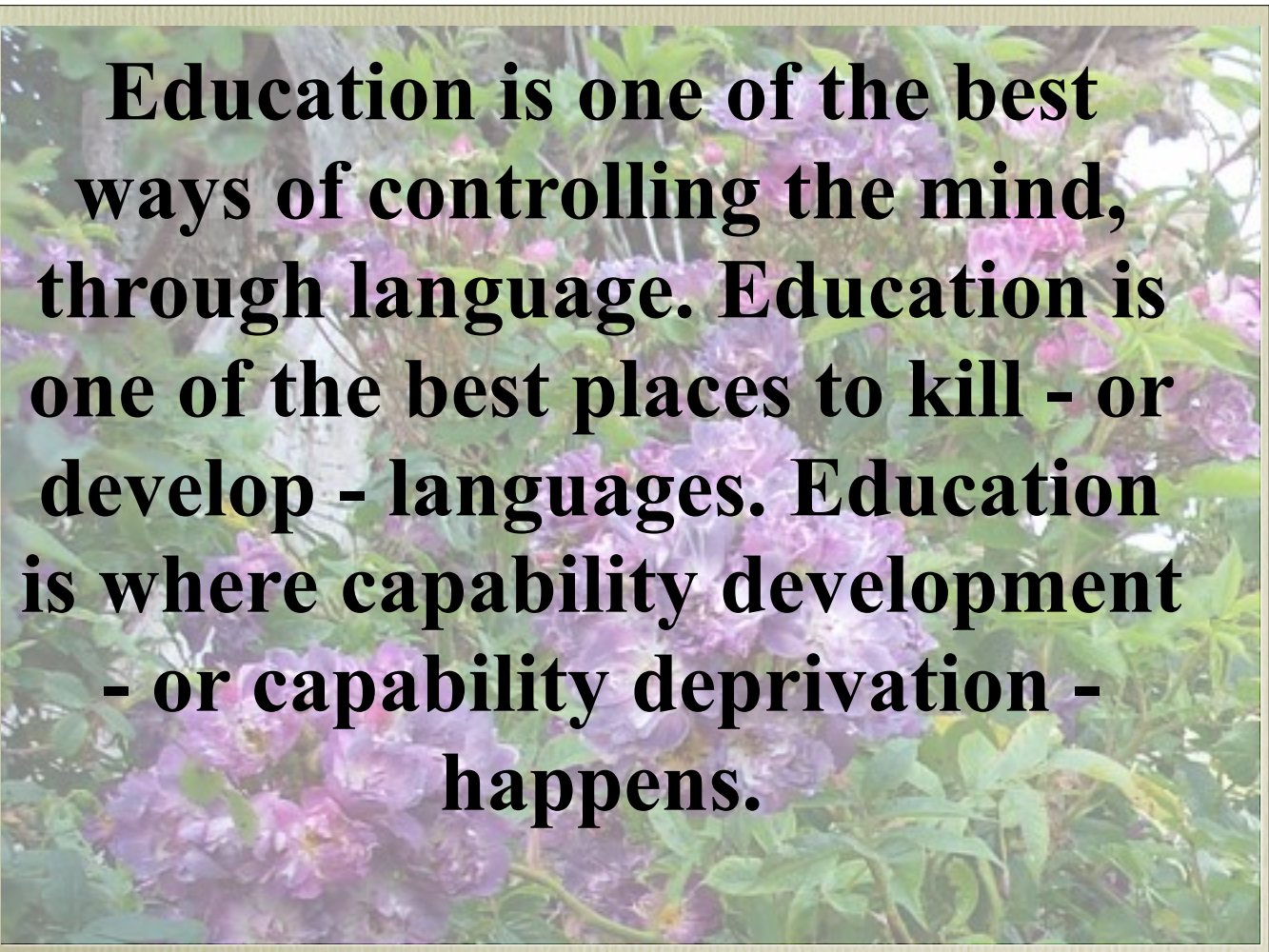
**Instead of homogenisation and
MATERIAL growthism through
globalisation,
we need immaterial growth: localisation,
diversities of knowledges, languages and
cultures, education. But we also need
EQUITY
and SOCIAL JUSTICE.**

Vandana Shiva 2008

“Ecological multiples are insurance. In any crisis, uniformity
is the worst way to respond; diversity is resilience”.

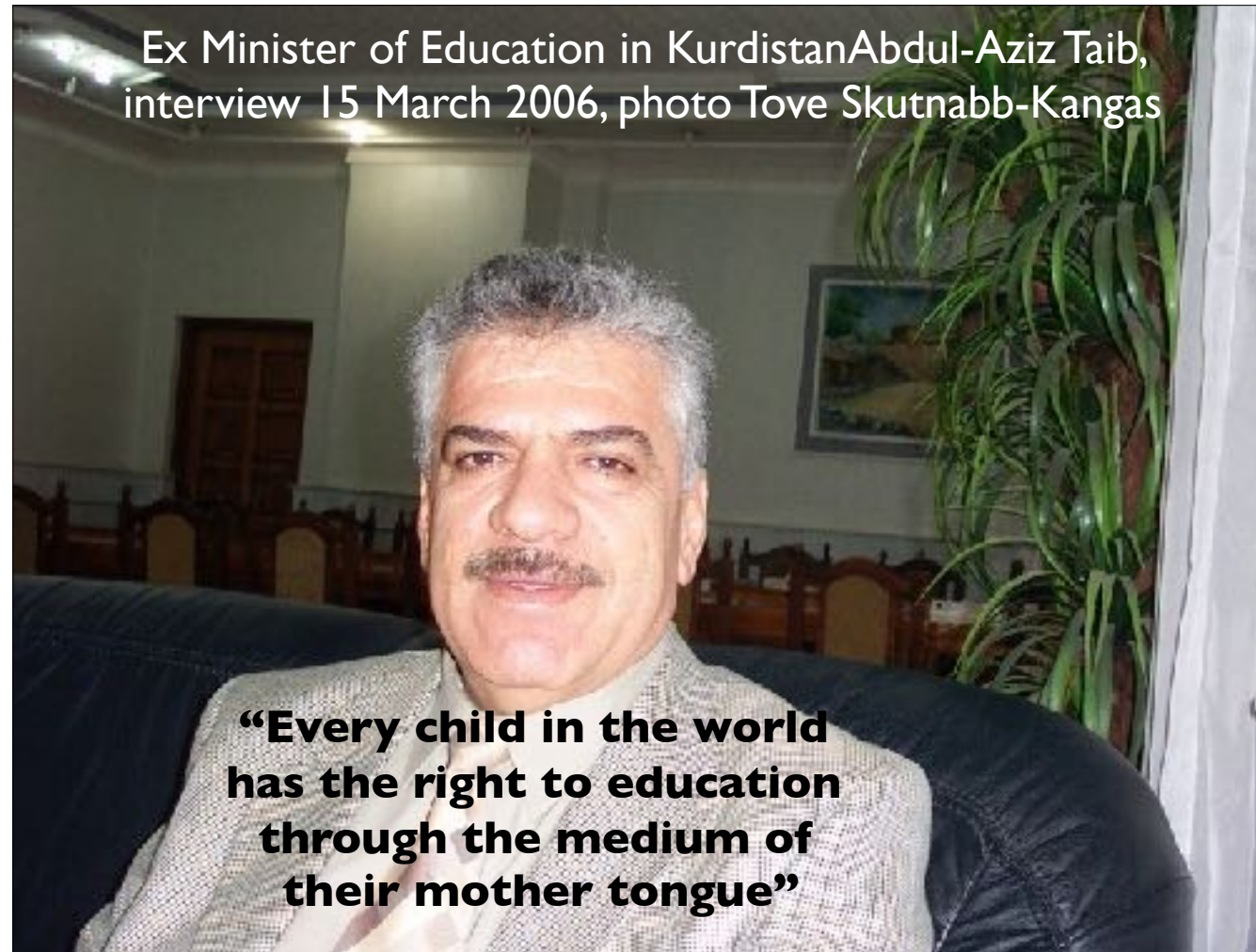
Shiva, Vandana (2008). Making Waves. Interview with Vandana
Shiva. Environmentalist extraordinaire. By Rowenna Davis.
New Internationalist, April 2008, p. 29.

This is true also of
linguistic uniformity
and linguistic diversity.



Education is one of the best ways of controlling the mind, through language. Education is one of the best places to kill - or develop - languages. Education is where capability development - or capability deprivation - happens.

Ex Minister of Education in Kurdistan Abdul-Aziz Taib,
interview 15 March 2006, photo Tove Skutnabb-Kangas

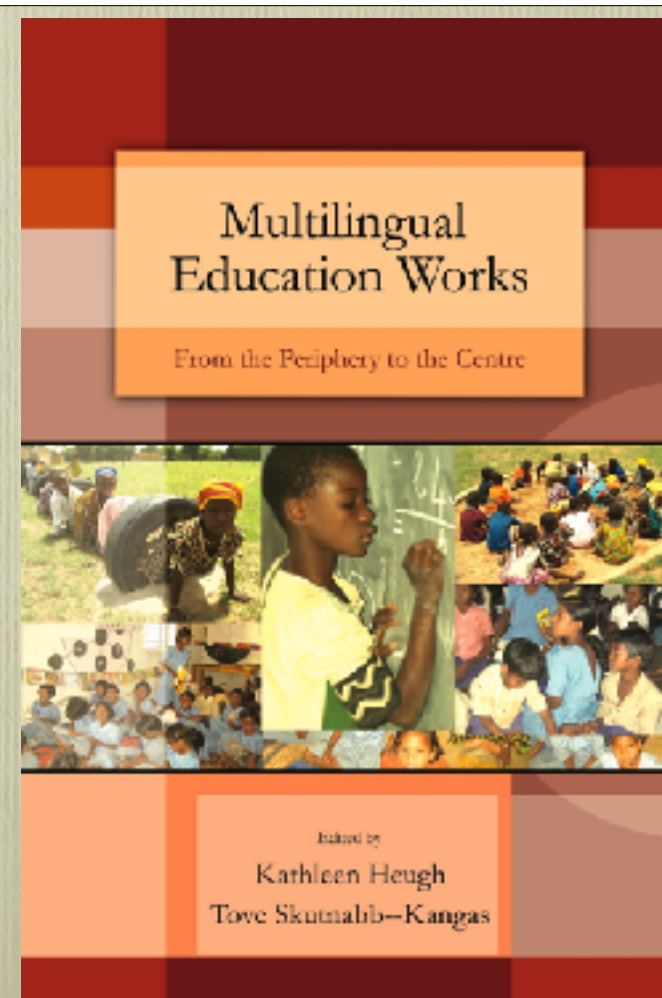


**“Every child in the world
has the right to education
through the medium of
their mother tongue”**



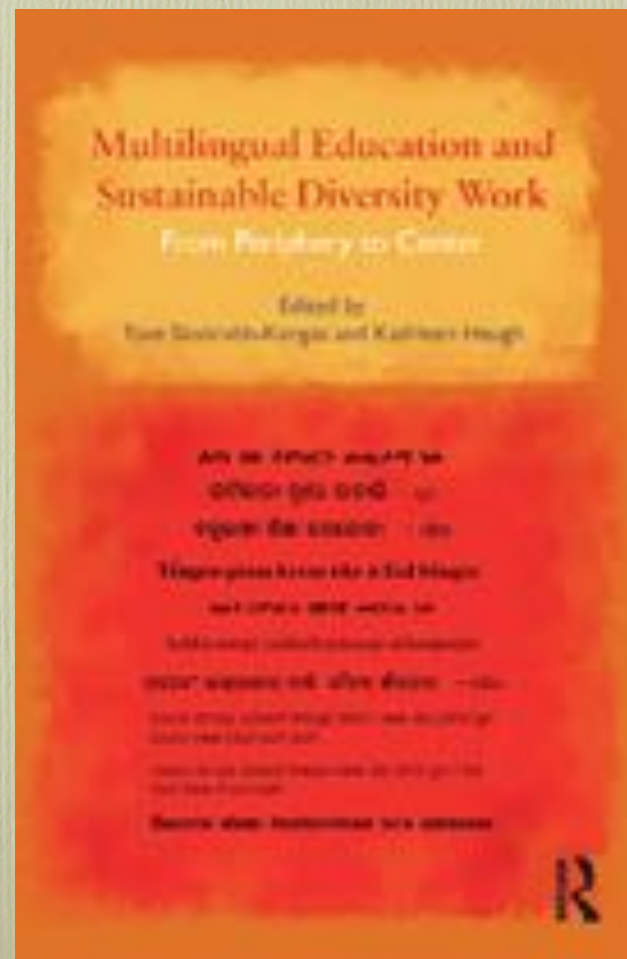
Programme	Submersion	Immersion	Lg maintenance
Child's language	MAJ+MIN	only MAJ	only MIN
Teaching lg	MAJ	MIN	MIN
Teacher	Monol. MAJ	Bilingual	Bilingual
Does child know teaching lg?	MAJ yes MIN no	NO	YES
Progr. chosen voluntarily?	NO	YES	YES
Are there alternatives?	NO	YES	YES
Results?	Poor	Good	Good

Programme	Revital. Imm. for MIN	Immersion for MAJ	Lg mainte- nance
Child's language	MIN?	only MAJ	only MIN
Teaching lg	MIN	MIN	MIN
Teacher	Bilingual	Bilingual	Bilingual
Does child know teaching lg?	No or a little	NO	YES
Progr. chosen voluntarily?	YES	YES	YES
Are there alternatives?	YES	YES	YES
Results?	Good	Good	Good

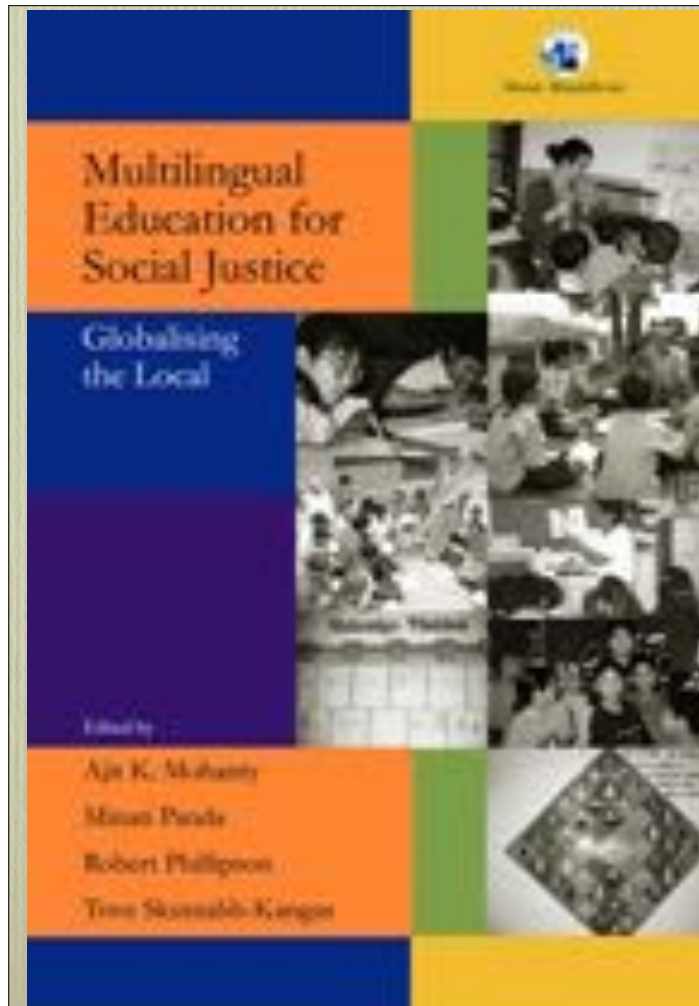


Heugh, Kathleen & Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove (eds). **Multilingual Education Works. From the Periphery to the Centre.**Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan (2010). For a list of contents, see www.Tove-Skutnabb-Kangas.org and go to “most recent publications”.

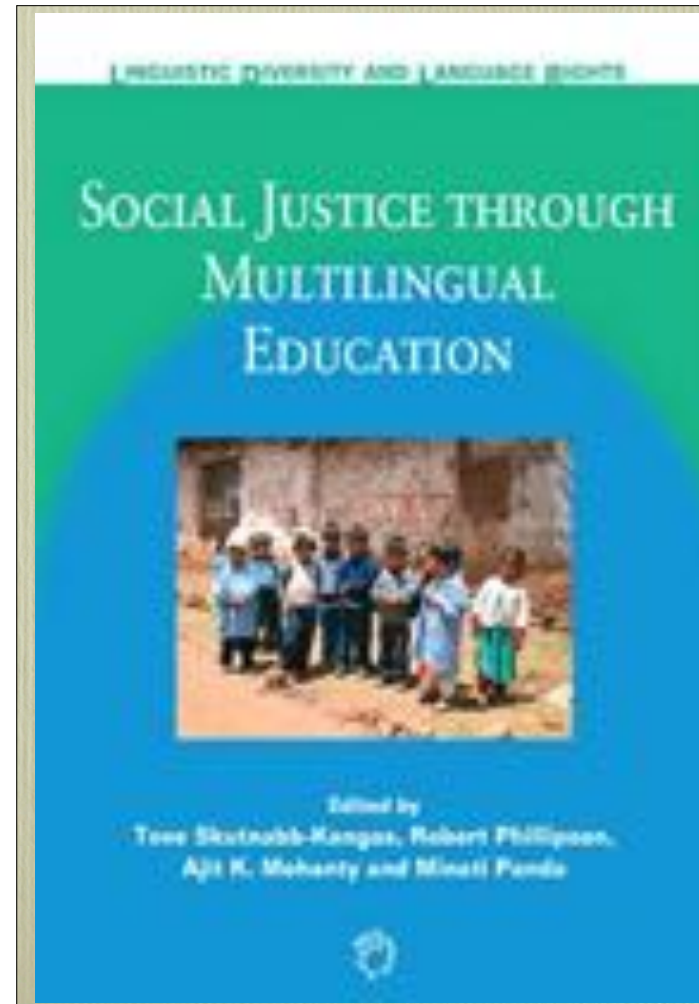
2010



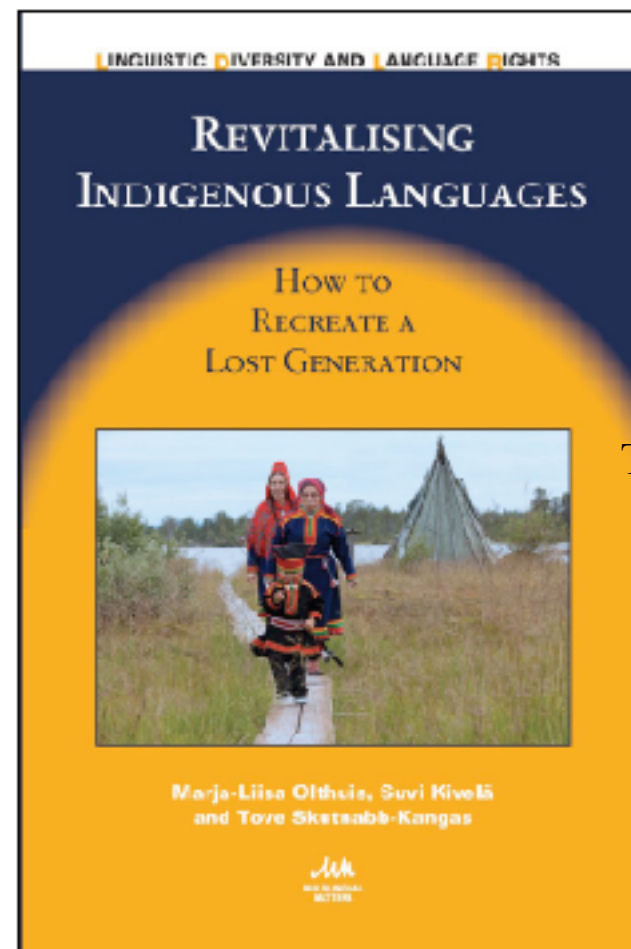
**Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove
& Heugh, Kathleen (eds)
(2012). Multilingual
Education and Sustainable
Diversity Work: From
Periphery to Centre. New
York: Routledge. For a list
of contents, see [www.Tove-
Skutnabb-Kangas.org](http://www.Tove-Skutnabb-Kangas.org) and
go to “most recent
publications”.**
2010



Many of the experiments and programmes mentioned are described in this book, published in India by Orient Black Swan for Southeast Asia; see <http://uri.fi/EO/>;



**Many articles about
these programmes
book werepublished
in 2009 by Multi-
lingual Matters in
UK in my series
Linguistic Diversity
and Language
Rights; see
<http://tiny.cc/6eRkp>**



Olthuis, Marja-Liisa, Kivelä, Suvi, and Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove (2013). *Revitalising Indigenous languages! How to recreate a lost generation*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters. Series Linguistic Diversity and Language Rights. See www.casle.fi

The picture shows one of the students, a Language Mistress, and Suvi's son, coming back from a fishing trip, where only Aanaar Saami was spoken.

I have fliers for this book here, with a considerable discount. It was published 7th February 2013.

Finally...

Documentary film

“Reborn”

Aanaar Saami revitalisation

by Suvi Kivelä

**[https://www.youtube.com/watch?
v=e0YcIkUoEhc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e0YcIkUoEhc)**

see also www.casle.fi