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Hegemonic Multilingualism in/of the EU Institutions: An Inside-Outside Perspective on European Language Policies and Practices

1 Introduction

This paper outlines first results of the research conducted within the EU Sixth-Framework Research Project DYLAN (Language Dynamics and Management of Diversity[1]) which investigates language policies and practices in EU-institutions, enterprises and education sectors of the post-Enlargement European Union. Our special focus in this project is devoted to the European Union Institutions, and in particular to their role in shaping new forms and conceptions of multilingualism in the rapidly-changing European context, be it at the supranational and/or national level.

Located at the cross-section of discourse studies (the so-called 'discourse-historical approach' in CDA [DHA], cf. Reisigl / Wodak, 2009), of research on EU-institutions (cf. inter alia Krzyżanowski / Oberhuber 2007; Muntigl / Weiss / Wodak 2000; Wodak 2009) as well as on language policy, language planning and language ideologies in European contexts (cf. below) our research is interdisciplinary in nature. It analyzes how diverse ideologies and conceptions of multilingualism are shaped in both policies and everyday language practices of reforming and transforming EU institutions. Here, we apply a novel inside-

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[1] DYLAN (Language Dynamics and Management of Diversity) is an Integrated Project carried out under EU Sixth Framework Programme between 2006 and 2011 (www.dylan-project.org, see Seidlhofer, this volume). The present chapter reports on the research carried out in Workpackage 2 coordinated by Lancaster University and devoted to the study of policies and practices of multilingualism in post-Enlargement EU institutions. In Workpackage 2, Lancaster University researchers (Research Task 2.3.) study visions and ideologies of multilingualism as constructed in EU internal and external language policies and as practiced in everyday interactions in EU institutions such as the European Parliament and the European Commission. (For a somewhat related work on EU institutions carried out within the LINEE-Network, cf. Chapter by Dorostkar / Flubacher, this volume).

outside perspective which explores relations between the 'inside' (i.e. the key EU institutions) and the 'outside' (broader EU understood as its constitutive member states). In this way we attempt at discovering different perceptions of multilingualism and its diversified roles in different social, political and institutional contexts. Moreover, we focus on the interplay between 'the supra-national' and 'the national' by looking at how these two different levels – understood as different 'sites of production and reception of discourse' (Van Dijk 1988) – shape different forms and perceptions of Europe's multilingualism.

Previous research on the 'outside perspective' (cf. Krzyżanowski 2009 and forthcoming; Krzyżanowski / Wodak 2007, for details) illustrated in detail how the multilingual character of the EU institutions is received in the European Public Sphere in general and in the national media of selected European countries in particular. A clear discrepancy exists between, on the one hand, positive descriptions of languages / multilingualism as elements of the wider European (mainly cultural) space and, on the other hand, the rather negative perception of the increased multilingualism of/in the EU institutions (particularly after the 2004/07 EU Enlargement). This '*Europe vs. EU discrepancy*' was reflected in the general picture of different language ideologies which are/were inscribed into several language-ideological debates, the most salient one being, we claim, the so-called *hegemonic multilingualism* (HM) (cf. also below). This ideology implies that only selected 'core' languages will (and should) remain the de-facto 'working languages' of the political organism of the EU institutions. However, it was acknowledged that even those 'core languages' are often in a state of 'language conflicts' or 'language wars'.[2] At the level of discourse, HM was realised by diverse arguments and *topoi* such as those pertaining to the *costs and inefficiency* of the full multilingualism or to its *imminent dangers* ('Babel tower') which, unless coped with, will soon cause the EU-institutional system to come to halt or even collapse (*topoi of costs and of danger*).

Here, we present our research within the 'inside perspective' which looks at definitions of, as well as arguments in favour or against, multilingualism and related notions in salient EU-documents of the last decade[3]. The aim of the analysis is to assess the broad picture of the EU-institutions' discourse on multilingualism by looking at how the latter is defined in the analysed documents. As

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[2] Cf. also Ammon (2006), Van Els (2001, 2005) or Wright (2000, 2004) for related observations on competition of languages in the EU.

[3] Our 'inside' exploration of multilingualism in the EU institutions also includes extensive research on every day practices in institutions like the European Parliament or the European Commission. Within this research we are investigating, by means of fieldwork, ethnography and related methods, how the post-EU-Enlargement institutions actually practice multilingualism and apply its new meanings to the 'inside'. The research is currently in progress and first preliminary results are expected in 2010.

we want to emphasise through our diachronic analysis of EU documents, the tipping point which triggered the Union's interest in multilingualism and related issues was the 2000 Lisbon Strategy (European Council 2000) which put languages among a set of crucial skills to be fostered throughout the EU member states if the Union is to become one of the world's most competitive knowledge-based economies. We also wanted to test if our findings on HM from previous stages of our research converge with our current explorations of the forms, conceptions, and ideas of multilingualism shaped and promoted by the EU institutions.

2 Defining Hegemonic Multilingualism (HM)

The key interpretative concept of our study is that of *hegemonic multilingualism* (HM, cf. Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2007, 2008). It derives its meaning from the understanding of *hegemony* according to Gramsci (1971) who distinguished between 'power' (a rigid and simple system of control via e.g. state and govern-ment system) and 'hegemony' (a more refined yet all-embracing system of control exercised throughout the state system and other layers of the society).

Hence, in line with Gramsci[4], we define hegemony along several dimensions:

(a) It is usually a strategic project which embraces several or all areas of social action (incl. politics, economy, education, etc.);
(b) It entails a combination of domination (power) and intellectual and moral leadership. In line with the latter reproduction of hegemony in/through discourse, HM usually entails references to values, axiology/-ies and other ethically-charged notions;
(c) It emphasises the role of ideologies (in our case mainly language ideologies, cf. below) in shaping the social and political order which is legitimised via different hegemonic and strategic projects.

Based on such an understanding of *hegemony*, our concept of *hegemonic multi-lingualism* (HM) allows to grasp the multiple and somewhat ambivalent roles played by multilingualism in EU policies of recent years. It allows showing how multilingualism has become an instrumental part of larger ideological (and, by now, rather unsuccessful) EU projects such as, in particular, the 2000 *Lisbon Strategy on European Knowledge Based Economy* (cf. also Fairclough / Wodak 2008; Wodak / Fairclough 2010; Wodak 2008; and below). It also illustrates how the traditional ways of perceiving linguistic repertoires – e.g. via idealised forms of mono- or multilingualism widespread in the academia – prove inade-

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[4] Cf. Laclau / Mouffe (1985), Glynos / Howarth (2007) or Norval (2007) for related accounts.

quate when approaching linguistic ideologies and repertoires in complex organisational systems such as the EU institutions. The latter, we claim, necessitate a view on multilingualism which recognises a large degree of differentiation and hybridity among macro-level language policies (subsumed to even larger political-ideological strategies) as well as micro-level linguistic practices.

Our take on HM also entails a specific understanding of *ideology* of which *language ideologies* are central to our study (e.g., Van Dijk 1998): *Language ideologies* are defined here mainly in line with Blommaert (1999: 1) who sees them as "the socio-culturally motivated ideas, perceptions and expectations of language, manifested in all sorts of language use". However, while allowing for the importance of values and axiologies in constructing HM (cf. below), we further endorse the view that language ideologies are "values, practices and beliefs associated with language use" (Blackledge 2005: 32). Thus, language ideologies are always produced and reproduced in and by means of various discourses (ibid.) which provide for diverse language-ideological debates "in which language is central as a topic, a motif, a target, and in which language ideologies are being articulated" (Blommaert 1999: 1)[5]. It is within such debates that the main arguments for or against different language policies are put forward and further debated in politics, the public spheres and among the society (cf. Shohamy 2006, Spolsky 2004).

3 The EU and its Multilingualism Policy between Democracy and Knowledge-Based Economy

Spanning over the decade between 1997 and late 2007, our analysis of EU documents falls into a period of rapid change and radical developments within the EU institutions as well as the Union's member states. Constructed through the analysed documents, the EU multilingualism policy must be located at the cross-section of two salient debates of the late 1990s and 2000s (cf. Krzyżanowski 2008): on Europe's Knowledge Based Economy (KBE) on the one hand, and on the Union's Democracy and Closeness to the Unions' Citizens on the other.

The first debate links to the introduction and implementation of the Lisbon Strategy agreed by the European Council in March 2000 and aiming at setting "a

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[5] For different approaches to language ideologies and language-ideological debates in Europe/EU, cf. Ammon (2006); De Cillia, Krumm / Wodak (2003); Gal (1998, 2005); Krzyżanowski (2009); Mar-Molinero / Stevenson (2006); Phillipson (2003); Silverstein (1998); van Els (2001, 2005); Wright (2000, 2004); Wodak (2005, 2008); Wodak / Krzyżanowski (2010); Wodak / Wright (2006, 2007).

new strategic goal for the Union in order to strengthen employment, economic reform and social cohesion as part of a knowledge-based economy" (European Council 2000: 1). As the Lisbon Strategy also stipulated that foreign languages will become one of the "new basic skills to be provided through lifelong learning" (ibid: 26), the strategy effectively renewed EU-policy interest in issues of linguistic diversity and language learning/teaching (cf. also Fairclough / Wodak 2008). It must be borne in mind that the EU's discourse on the KBE is rooted in the earlier EU-originating discourses of the 1990s. Among them, one should mention the *rhetoric of global competitiveness* – manifested in the EU's 1997 Employment Agenda (cf. Wodak 2000a and 2000b, for details).

The second salient debate relates to the Union's Constitutional and Institutional Reform (cf. Krzyżanowski / Oberhuber 2007) which aims at bringing the European Union 'closer to its citizens' as well as at diminishing the widely-disputed 'democratic deficit' of the EU institutions (cf. Majone 1994, 1998 and 2005; Moravcsik 1998; Weiler / Begg / Peterson 2003; Follesdal / Hix, 2006). Marked by diverse institutional developments – incl. *inter alia* the development and failure of the *Union's Constitutional Treaty* in the first half of 2000s, and the subsequent development and still unresolved fate of the so-called *Reform Treaty* – the institutional and constitutional reform are perceived as necessary precondition if the EU (currently consisting of 27 member states) is to retain its institutional, political and otherwise understood efficiency. Frequently based on not only political-organisational but also on identity and value-related arguments (cf. Wodak / Weiss 2004, Weiss 2002), the 'democracy discourse' has dominated EU political debates since the early 2000s when public support for the European integration started to decrease and when debates about its so-called 'finality' became prevalent. In policy terms, the democracy discourse has recently become particularly salient in the *EU's Communication Policy* and in the related search for transnational modes of communication via the so-called *European Public Sphere* (cf. Krzyżanowski; Triandafyllidou / Wodak 2009).

Obviously, it must also be taken into consideration that these two debates were initiated, accelerated and implemented upon the unprecedented 2004 EU Enlargement. The latter must be interpreted as a moment of crucial political change of the EU: it has transformed the Union into a supranational political organism which also incorporates several Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC) and their diverse linguistic landscapes (cf. Besters-Dilger et al. 2003). The Enlargement must equally be considered as a pivotal institutional change for the EU organism: from May 1st, 2004, the EU institutions also incorporate representatives of the new CEEC member-states (within, e.g., all three core EU-institutions, i.e. the Council of the EU, the European Commission and the European parliament) which implied new rules for the everyday practices of the EU institutions. That, in turn, has been of huge importance for the intra-institutional

linguistic repertoire of the EU institutions and for the emergence of new forms of language planning regulating those practices. Obviously the extra-institutional EU policy on multilingualism also accelerated in that period and followed new developments in internal language regulations, both before and after the 2004 Enlargement.

4 Analysis

4.1 Analytical Background

Our 'inside' analysis of HM covers the years 1997-2007 when multilingualism strongly entered EU language policies. The key policy-relevant developments of that period include (cf. Krzyżanowski 2009, for further details, cf. also Kelly and Quince 2009):

- 1997: Adoption of the 'European Council Resolution on Early Teaching and Learning of EU Languages' – the first EU Document dealing with 'external' language policy related to the Union's member states

- 2000: Adoption of the Lisbon Strategy on the European Knowledge Based Economy which emphasised (foreign) language skills among its basic features.

- 2001: 'European Year of Languages' celebrated throughout EU and candidate states

- 2002-03: European Commission's Consultation and Adoption of the Action Plan on "Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity (2004 - 2006)".

- 2004-06: Multilingualism tied with Education and Culture Portfolio of the European Commission under J. Figel. Very active period in the Union's multilingualism policy including adoption of "The New Framework Strategy on Multilingualism" (2005) and initiation of the "High Level Group on Multilingualism"(2006).

- Since 2007: Separate Commission's Portfolio on Multilingualism created under L. Orban. Longer period of consultation and eventual adoption of a (General) Action Plan "Multilingualism: An Asset for Europe and a Shared Commitment" (2008).

Our analysis covers 22 key EU-documents (366 pages in total and an average of ca. 8000 words in length) on multilingualism and related issues (incl. language learning and teaching, etc.). All analysed documents (cf. Table 1 for overview ofkey genres) were obtained in electronic form by means of extensive web-search, mainly in databases of the EU such as the *Official Journal of the European Communities* (http://eur-lex.europa.eu).

Genres	*Institutions*[6]	*Number*
Speeches/Statements	CEC	3
Codes of Conduct / Rules of Procedure	EP	1
Survey Results / Summaries	Eurobarometer, CEC	2
Resolutions (with/without Recommendations)	EC, EC/EP	4
Presidency Conclusions	EC	2
Decisions	EP/EC	1
Community Action Plans (incl. Framework Strategies)	CEC	3
Recommendations	EP/EC	1
Reports / Interim Reports (with/without Recommendations)	CEC, EP	3
Other[7]	CEC	2
TOTAL		22

Table 1: Genres of the Key EU-Documents on Multilingualism (1997-2007)

The present analysis summarises the results of the qualitative examination (cf. Wodak / Krzyżanowski forthcoming, for a detailed structural and contextual analysis of the analysed corpus of documents). The analysis in the discourse-historical tradition of Critical Discourse Analysis (cf. Wodak 2001; Wodak / Krzyżanowski 2008; Reisigl / Wodak 2009), operates at two levels: the entry-level and the in-depth examination. The first analysis maps the key themes or to-

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[6] Abbreviations in Table 1: EC = Council of the EU, EP = European Parliament, CEC = the European Commission, ESC = Economic and Social Committee, CoR = Committee of the Regions.
[7] Includes such documents as: European Indicator of Language Competence (2005, Doc. No. 13) and Framework for the European Survey of Language Competences (2007, Doc. No. 21).

pics of discourse (cf. Van Dijk 1984, 1988) and explores the general contents of the data. On the other hand, the second stage analyses definitions of multilingualism and related notions by scrutinising arguments (and topoi) in favour or against multilingualism and looks for different linguistic-pragmatic means of realisation of the arguments. The in-depth analysis is guided by the notion of *semantic fields*, which, derived from a conceptual history approach[8], explores the discursive relationships of different meanings related to our key concept, i.e. multilingualism.

4.2 Results of the Entry-Level Analysis

Topic	*Contents*	*No. Docs*
Topic 1	Teaching and Learning of EU languages (or of foreign languages in the EU, incl. EU-funded actions)	7
Topic 2	Lisbon strategy and EU as a a Knowledge Based Economy (incl. language-related actions)	2
Topic 3	2001 European year of languages (incl. planning / results / implementation)	1
Topic 4	Europeans (EU) and languages	2
Topic 5	Minority, regional and lesser-used languages in the EU	3
Topic 6	Language regulations in EU institutions	1
Topic 7	Multilingualism in the EU (incl. learning/teaching, multilingual society and economy) and pro-multilingualism EU-actions (incl. life-long learning)	6
	TOTAL	**22**

Table 2: Key Topics in the Key EU Documents on Multilingualism (1997-2007)

Table 2 presents the results of our entry-level analysis of key topics in the EU documents on language- and multilingualism-policy (1997 - 2007). The results point to the fact that the EU Lisbon Strategy has had a decisive role in shaping the EU's interest in the issues of languages, multilingualism and linguistic diver-

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[8] Cf. Koselleck (1979, 2002), Åkerstrøm-Andersen (2003) and Ifversen (1997), for further details.

sity. The four most frequently represented topics of the analysed texts (Topic 1, 2, 3 and 7 in 16 of the 22 analysed documents) directly or indirectly refer to Lisbon. While Lisbon is discussed explicitly in only one document (describing the 2001 European Year of Languages), the Lisbon-related matters of (foreign) language learning/teaching (Topic 1) are discussed in the majority (13) of documents. Hence, Lisbon tends to be implemented mainly via its instrumental policies and policy-areas, such as language learning/teaching, life-long learning, etc. As Topic 5 illustrates, the EU has recently revived its interest in minority and lesser-used languages which were rarely in the Union's scope of activity before the early 2000s. This move to take over policy areas specific for CoE stems from the political motivation of the EU to collect (apparently in line with Lisbon) all language-related issues within EU policy areas.

4.3 Results of the In-Depth Analysis

Our in-depth analysis distinguishes three periods in which the EU's discourse about multilingualism and related issues shifted and underwent substantial change.

The first period encompasses EU multilingualism policy between 1997 and 2004. Here we witness an intense conceptualisation of issues related to multilingualism (such as, e.g., language learning and teaching, linguistic diversity, language skills, etc.), whereas multilingualism as such is not actually debated. Documents of that period mainly focus on emphasising and profiling Europe's linguistic diversity – usually on the basis of statistics (e.g. via special Eurobarometer surveys, etc.) – and aim to delineate diverse language-related policy fields to be developed in the following years.

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

Within the first period of the EU language policy we also encounter – albeit still in relation to languages (and not multilingualism) – the first arguments which depart from the strictly economic frames and thus view linguistic diversity in terms of e.g. Europe's culture and civilisation:

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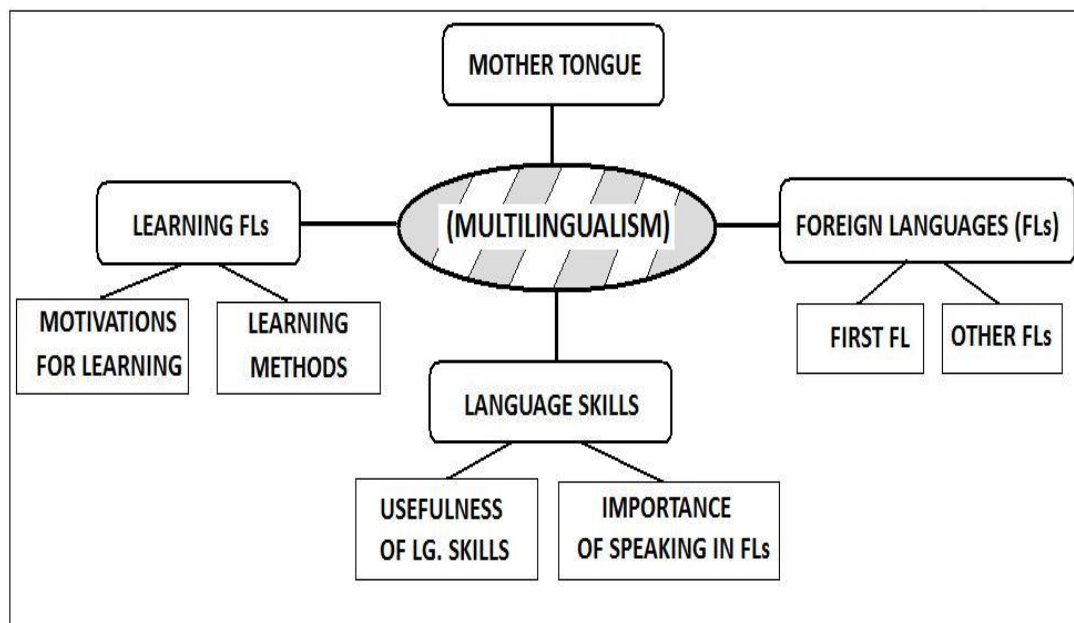
Figure 1: Semantic Field of Multilingualism in EU Documents in 2000

The second period of EU policy discourse on multilingualism takes place between 2005 and 2007. It includes the stage when the EU recognised the importance and policy-relevance of multilingualism by, e.g., adding a multilingualism portfolio to the remit of responsibilities of the Union's Commissioner on Education and Culture. The growing importance of multilingualism was also reflected in the policy documents of the period which, unlike before, talked explicitly about multilingual aspects of Europe and about ways of forging multilingualism throughout the Union's member states.

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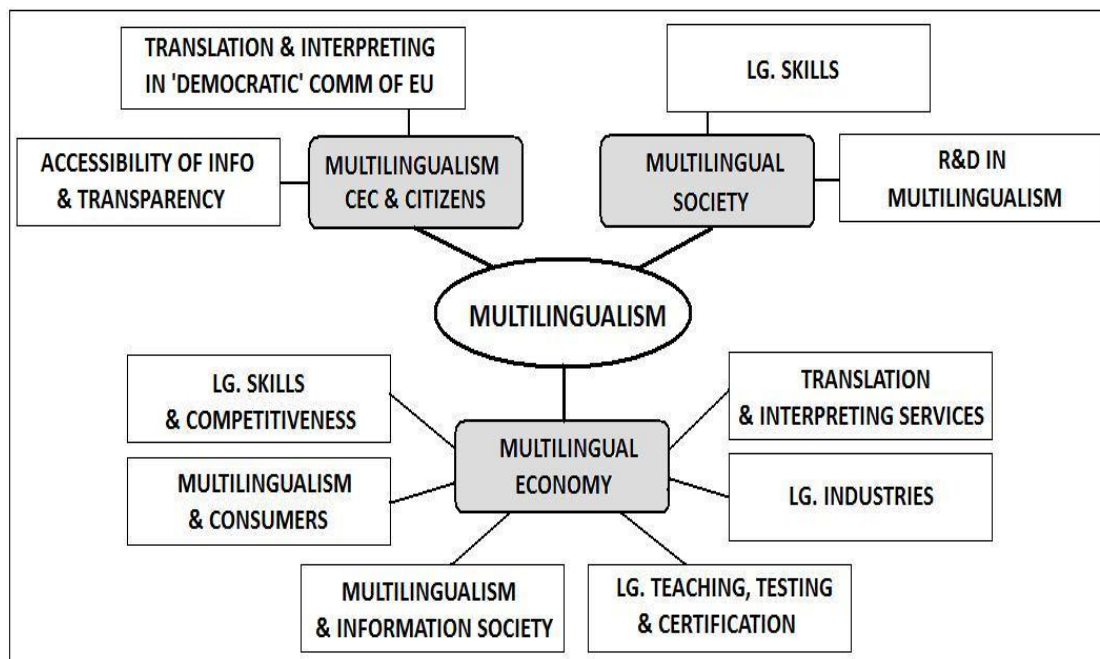
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Figure 2: Semantic Field of Multilingualism in EU Documents in 2005

In the same period the EU also proposes – for the first time – a policy-relevant definition of multilingualism. It closely resembles academic distinctions between 'personal' and 'social' multilingualism and argues that "multilingualism refers to both a person's ability to use several languages and the co-existence of different language communities in one geographical area" (ibid: 3). This definition allows directing the argumentation towards a rather abstract discourse of identities and values (i.e. ideational and standardising dimensions of EU identity discourses, cf. Wodak / Weiss 2004; Weiss 2002) typical of the mid-2000s. Hence, it is argued that:

> the Commission considers that the situation can and must improve and therefore urges Member States to take additional measures to promote widespread individual multilingualism and to foster a society that respects all citizens' linguistic identities. (European Commission 2005: 15)

However, it is particularly the discourse about values which comes to the fore while providing a background for arguments of *competition* (typical for KBE-related economic discourses):

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

Competition is mainly constructed along the implicit reference to the USA (the use of the metaphor of 'melting pot' traditionally describing ethnic and cultural diversity in the US) which is portrayed as different to Europe (metaphor of a

'common home') whose key distinctive features include linguistic diversity (Wodak / Weiss 2004).

The third period – dating since the creation of a separate Commission portfolio for Multilingualism in 2007 – provides a clearly different discourse. It seems to be limited mostly to economic arguments (virtually only to the bottom area of the semantic field in Figure 2, above) and, quasi contrary to the second period, returns to framing multilingualism from the point of view of the Lisbon Strategy: For example, it is described in terms of economic competitiveness which previously was perceived from the perspective of values and identity:

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

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

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

In any case, such a clear return to Lisbon-oriented argumentation marks a clear departure from the democracy oriented discourse of the EU of the late 1990s and 2000s. Instead, multilingualism is yet again pictured in a way which limits its understanding to (foreign) language skills and competences viewed only from their economic – and not e.g. social – importance.

5 Conclusions

The research within the 'inside' perspective (extensive in-depth analysis of EU documents) points to the ways in which multilingualism and related notions (e.g. language learning and teaching, linguistic diversity, etc.) have become one of the key tools in the implementation of the EU's hegemonic project of the 2000 Lisbon Strategy.

With the arrival of the Lisbon project we encounter the acceleration of KBE related changes within the multilingualism- and language-related documents and activities of the EU. Topics pertaining to teaching and learning of languages (i.e. to the acquisition of language skills favoured by Lisbon), to the multilingual character of the EU (incl. multilingual society and economy, etc.), or to the implementation of Lisbon itself, were among the most frequently debated issues. Likewise, our in-depth analysis of documents also reveals that arguments pertaining to, *inter alia*, the 'contribution' of linguistic diversity and language

learning to European KBE (or to the implementation of Lisbon as such) or to the role of diverse language skills and competences were indeed salient. Several of the analysed documents also displayed the typical *'hybridity'* of discourses on KBE (cf. Fairclough / Wodak 2008) and was characterised by the duality between (a) value-laden arguments (in favour of Europe's multilingualism, democracy, social Europe, etc.) and (b) KBE-related arguments (on globalisation, competitiveness, etc.). Importantly, the majority of EU-originating language policies (initiated under Lisbon) concern areas of EU member states while largely ignoring the emerging and growing multilingual problems within EU institutions as such (cf. 'EU-Europe discrepancy', above).

Our research points to the fundamental role of *hegemonic multilingualism*. On the one hand, viewed from the outside perspective, HM is a language ideology which describes (and sustains) inequality between different languages in EU-institutional settings. On the other hand, re-/produced inside the EU institutions, HM points to how multilingualism becomes a very prominent tool in a hegemonic project of the 2000 EU Lisbon Strategy on KBE and Society. Evident within both 'outside' and 'inside' perspectives, key features of HM include:

(a) *Ideological Foundation* – HM is either an overt language ideology or a part of larger highly-ideological project;
(b) *Duality* – HM is ideologically and discursively based on constructing dichotomies and binary oppositions (e.g. 'EU vs. Europe discrepancy' prevalent in both 'inside' and 'outside' perspective);
(c) *Hybridity* – HM is constructed as a hybrid language ideology (neither mono- nor multilingualism) or is based on hybridity of discourses (on KBE, democracy, values, etc.);
(d) *Flexibility* – HM is present in different discourses and contexts (media vs. political/ institutional discourses, inside vs. outside of EU institutions).

Our research so far provides a critical perspective on how language ideologies (representations) related to multilingualism are coped with in EU language policies constructed in supranational contexts (EU institutions) and in their communication with national milieus (national public spheres, EU member states). While, at the general level, our key findings on HM point to the ideological role played by multilingualism in the EU policy-making in recent years, they also reveal an obvious mismatch between visions/conceptions of multilingualism within EU member states (outside) and within EU institutions (inside). Whereas the former perspective reveals a widespread perception of unequal multilingualism in the EU institutions and its obvious divergence from the growing linguistic and cultural diversity of a broader EU-ropean space, the inside perspective on HM in EU institutions emphasises the EU's will to make wider EU-rope multilingual while in fact retaining a limited multilingualism within its institutions.

In a broader perspective, both our inside and outside findings point to the persistent incoherence of multilingualism policies in the EU. Creating coherent policies would imply that multilingualism could become a key element of (a) an inclusive construction of social EU-rope (and not only of the EU-based KBE directed at EU-internal or -external competitiveness) and (b) democratising Europe. Perceived in such terms multilingualism could – in line with the aims of the DYLAN project – also become a true asset for the democratic construction of the European Union's social, political and institutional space, rather than just a mere advantage viewed in strictly economic terms.

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