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Language and motility of migrant communities in Europe

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Chapter 2

MIGRATION THEORY, MOBILITY AND MOTILITY

Since the end of the nineteenth century, scholars have identified different factors to explain internal and international migration. Different explanations, which vary greatly with respect to the level of analysis (macro/meso/micro) and scientific disciplines (economics, psychology, demography, among others) have been presented over the last century. Current migration theory has however paid relatively little attention to a potentially important set of explanatory factors: namely language, language skills and language policy. According to Itkonen (2008) we need to distinguish between the socially constructed basis of languages and their mental-cognitive representation. The latter primarily refers to a language's identifiable core values, such as a lexicon and a common grammar. By 'socially constructed basis' he primarily refers to the place of language in society, and especially the importance of the interaction between its speakers. Whether the socially constructed basis or the mental-cognitive representation is the most important characteristic of a language, is the subject of extensive socio-linguistic debate. For the purposes of this research, the definition of language as suggested by Marácz (2018) is accepted. He argues,

> The fact that languages or some of its modules are socially constructed does not mean however that they lack a basic core, a prototypical grammatical and lexical system derived from the Universal Grammar that is represented on the cognitive mind-state level (Chomsky 2002: 8-9). A particular grammar is then a stable state that has been derived from the Universal Grammar and might vary from its initial state due to parametric setting (Chomsky 2008: 233). As a result, the English language character of a dictionary of English is common to or shared by all native speakers of English. So, languages, or some of its modules, although socially constructed possess identifiable core features. (Marácz 2018: 226).

Marácz's position, which recognises the importance of language as a social phenomenon and its core identifiable characteristics, is well suited for research on the interaction between language policy, inclusion and mobility. Language policies for immigrants focus primarily on language acquisition, i.e. transmitting certain languages based on the identifiable lexicon and grammar structures. Marácz contends, 'this interpretation of 'languages' facilitates the politics of language, i.e. the intervention of political power into language regimes.' (Marácz 2018: 226). However, especially when analysing the role of language from the perspective of its speakers, there is also an obvious social dimension at work. Language is not exclusively a tool for communication, although that

is obviously one of its main functions, but also a means to identification (Mamadouh 1999, May 2012). Language shapes the way we perceive the world around us, which is arguably also an important aspect of identification (Bauböck 2003). Language policies, which often determine which language is taught to which people, can thus influence the identification processes of different groups in society. It is not unsurprising that states, even though the actual policies are mostly based around the mental-cognitive aspects of language, also strongly consider the impact of their policies on the identification of minorities. A third function of language, next to communication and identification, is its role as an instrument of power. Imposing one's own language on others can be the result of, or perpetuate, political or economic domination, creating a linguistic hegemony – as is seen for example in the discussions on English as a lingua franca by Phillipson (1992) and Korshunova and Marácz (2012). These different functions of language can all directly or indirectly affect the movement of people. If we consider the role of language as a communication tool, it seems a plausible hypothesis that having more language skills will positively influence an individual's mobility options, since the transition from one country to another is smoother in the absence of language barriers. 'Linguistic capital' (Bourdieu 1977, De Swaan 2001) facilitates access to mobility capital. The role of language as a means of identification is also important in the formation of transnational identities. The presence of an ethnic and linguistic network in the country of destination could expand an individual's mobility options.

When considering the role of language in questions of mobility and inclusion, there are several conceptual topics that need to be addressed. Firstly, we should take a closer look at the state of the field in migration theory, and then especially on the role of language therein as an explaining factor. Language is a relatively understudied concept in the field of migration, meaning that there is very little empirical material to draw upon for these reflections. Instead, we will briefly look at the main features of several major migration theories, and then determine where language would or could fit in, based on the already existing theoretical work. Secondly, we will define several key concepts of the dissertation, which can be grouped into two different sets. The first set concerns concepts related to migration, i.e. migration, mobility, motility, transnationalism. The second set consists of notions related to integration, i.e. 'assimilation, integration, segregation, inclusion, and, again, transnationalism. These conceptual reflections will result in a clear distinction between the concepts mentioned, and will explain extensively which ones will be used in the ensuing parts of the dissertation.

[2] This section draws heavily upon a paper published by the present author, namely: Houtkamp, C. (2014). Integrating language in theories on long-distance movement: migration vs mobility and the concept of motility. A'dam Multiling, 1(1), 16-26.

Language and mobility: perspectives from international migration theory[2]

In the nineteenth century, migration research was primarily conducted by social geographers who used factors such as population size to explain international mobility. The breach with this social geography centred approach occurred in the second half of the twentieth century, when economists attempted to explain migration through existing economic models, be they neo-classical or Marxist. Since that time, various migration theories have been designed, which now encompass many different kinds of explanations (e.g. socio-cultural, psychological, networks) and also differ in their level of analysis, ranging from the individual level to the macro-level. A 'grand theory of migration' which synthesises the different theoretical perspectives has not been formulated yet (Massey et al. 2008).

Even though many migration theories exist at the present time, they seldom explicitly mention 'language' as an explanatory factor. This section will attempt to fit language into already existing frameworks of migration theory. First the premises of several major theories, or groups of theories, will be briefly outlined. Subsequently, the possibility of fitting in 'language' as an explanatory factor will be considered. Our analysis focusses solely on theories regarding voluntary migration, as opposed to forced migration. Whilst forced migration is obviously relevant when discussing migration from third countries (i.e. non-EU Member States) to the EU, its relevance diminishes considerably in the case of intra-EU mobility.

Neo-classical economics[3]

The neo-classical approach is among the oldest and best known of international migration theories. It is largely based on models that were originally developed to study international labour migration (Massey et al. 2008). Neo-classical economics argues that international migration is mainly caused by geographical differences in the supply of and demand for labour (Todaro and Maruszko 1987). Countries with a large supply of labour relative to the amount of capital will have low equilibrium market wages and vice versa (Massey et al. 2008). The differences in wages will incite workers to move from the low-wage or labour-surplus countries to high-wage or labour-scarce countries. This leads to a decrease in the labour supply and a rise of the wage levels in the capital-poor nations, and vice versa in the capital-rich nations, which eventually leads to an economic equilibrium, and thus to a dampening of the migration flows.

[3] Neo-classical theory has had many 'successors', such as 'new economics of migration' and 'dual labour market theory'. Even though these theories are clearly different from neo-classicism in many aspects, they still share some key basic principles. Since those principles are precisely the ones that make neo-classicism interesting to study migration from a linguistic perspective, we will treat neo-classicism and its variants such as 'the new economics of migration' as equals, and will thus not further discuss the latter category.

The version of neo-classicism mentioned above is a macro-theory that focusses on larger units of people and is, despite being predominantly focussed on the agency of individuals, also very much interested in the structural factors that cause migration. Other neo-classical economists, such as Sjaastad, prefer an individual-based approach. Sjaastad argues that immigrants have reflected thoroughly on the costs and benefits of their immigration plans (Sjaastad 1962). Immigration is thus in Sjaastad's view purely a rational choice, which is influenced by 'push' and 'pull' factors. Push factors include demographic growth, lack of economic opportunities in the country of origin and low living standards, whilst pull factors include demand for labour, availability of land, good economic opportunities and political freedoms (Castles & Miller 2009).

Neo-classical theory, both at the micro and at the macro-level, assumes that potential migrants have perfect, accurate knowledge of all these 'push-pull factors' and that migration decisions are overwhelmingly based on rational economic motivations. Migration is thus mostly the result of the individual 'agency' of the migrant. 'Constraining factors' such as government regulation are treated as a distortion of the rational market. Borjas claims that neo-classical migration theory leads to a clear and empirically testable categorisation of the types of immigration flows that arise in a world where individuals search for the 'best' country (Borjas 1989). Economic differences between countries suffice to generate migration flows. Eventually, after a long period of migration, wages and conditions in underdeveloped and developed regions are equalised. This, again, leads to an economic equilibrium in the longer term.

Fitting in language as an explanatory factor might seem difficult in this economics-centred theoretical framework. However, it should be considered that the notion of 'human capital' is a key concept in neo-classical theory. Human capital refers to the stock of competences, social skills and personality attributes each individual possesses. Especially the theorists who focus on the individual level assume each individual migrant would pick the destination where he/she can make maximum use of his/her acquired human capital. For example, a skilled auto-technician would preferably migrate to a country where there is a shortage of auto-technicians. The concept of human capital in general has been criticised heavily, most notably by Pierre Bourdieu, who offers a conceptual alternative by making a distinction between cultural capital, that also certainly includes language, social capital, economic capital and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1986). However, our initial goal is to fit language within the framework of the existing migration theories, thus at this stage we will use the definitions of human capital that are prevalent within the framework of neo-classicism. It can be assumed that language knowledge is also a form of human capital (see for example Bourdieu 1991), even though this is not explicitly mentioned by neo-classical theorists. Having a fair possession of the first, or at least the second language spoken within the country of destination, would improve the migrant's economic perspectives and allow him/her to make better use of his/her other skills. Finding work and/or housing and making contact

with the autochthonous population or the people from one's own ethnic community is facilitated if the immigrant speaks the languages appropriate for the situation. Thus, if this premise of language as human capital is accepted, learning more widely spoken languages would generate a form of human capital that can be used in a large portion of EU territory, thus also expanding the mobility options of the immigrant. In contrast, if a government's language policy only offers a limited number of languages, or just relatively small languages, that might be a 'constraining factor', hereby limiting mobility.

Structural migration theories

Historical-structuralist theories argue that economic and political dynamics are more significant to understanding migration than individual agency, the latter being the focus of neo-classical theories. Historical structuralism has its roots in Marxism and argues that because political power is unequally distributed among the different nations, the expansion of global capitalism worsened global inequalities. Poor countries were in effect unable to escape their poverty trap, due to their disadvantageous position in the geopolitical structure (Massey et al. 2008). In turn, the poor economic situation in disadvantaged countries causes an increase in emigration.

In the 1970s Immanuel Wallerstein developed a new branch of historical structuralism, which he coined 'world systems theory' (Wallerstein 1974). He analysed the expansion of global capitalism. Wallerstein classified countries according to their dependency on the dominant capitalist powers (the 'core' nations), with peripheral being the most dependent and semi-peripheral having a certain degree of independence. World systems theory argues that migration is mainly a way of mobilising cheap labour for capital. Initially they tended to focus on internal migration, but after the mid 1970s, when the vital role of labour migrants in the Western countries became more apparent, the world systems theorists analysed international labour as one of the ways in which relations of domination were forged between the core countries and the underdeveloped periphery (Castles & Miller 2009). World systems theory argues that the penetration of capitalist economic relations into non-capitalist or pre-capitalist societies creates a mobile population that is prone to migrate (Massey et al. 2008). Always looking for higher profits, multinationals in core countries 'invade' the poorer nations in the periphery, looking for land, raw materials, labour and consumer markets. International migration emerges thus as a natural outgrowth of disruptions and dislocations that occur in the process of capitalist development (ibid.). World systems theorists claim that as land, raw materials and labour within peripheral regions come under the influence of global markets, at the cost of the local communities or national bureaucracies, migration flows are generated, both national and international (ibid.).

Not all the structural approaches have been inspired by Marxism. There are scholars such as R. Skeldon (1997) who, inspired by Rostovian modernism, developed the 'transitional migration approach'. Skeldon argued that a country's migration pattern is linked to its 'development stage'. Skeldon distinguishes five stages of development, as summarised succinctly by De Haas:

> the (1) old and (2) new core countries (e.g., Western Europe, North America, Japan) characterised by immigration and internal decentralisation; (3) the expanding core (e.g., eastern China, South-Africa, eastern Europe), where we find both immigration and out-migration and internal centralisation (i.e., urbanisation and rural-to-urban migration); (4) the labour frontier (e.g., Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, Mexico, the Philippines (...) which are dominated by out-migration and internal centralisation; and the so-called (5) "resource niche" (e.g., many sub-Saharan African countries, parts of central Asia and Latin America), with variable, often weaker forms of migration. (Skeldon 1997 in De Haas 2010a: 8).

Skeldon's theory is in a sense the Rostovian alternative to world systems theory: it categorises different nations according to their development level, but does not assume that these different regions have a problematic economic relationship. World systems theory argues that the so-called 'core' is impeding the development of the 'peripheries', whereas transitional migration adopts a more optimistic approach, claiming that countries are fully capable of climbing the development ladder.

These structural theories very much differ in their interpretation of migration as a phenomenon. However, they share one principle that is most relevant in the analysis of whether language or language policy are factors in migration: migration occurs with relatively little agency involved and is mostly reliant on the global economic structure. Furthermore in the case of world systems theory, the assumed capitalist 'penetration' of the periphery countries by the core-countries is crucial for the analysis. To start with the latter: it could be argued that this relationship exists in the EU context, with the West European countries taking on the role of the 'core' that attracts immigrants, and East European ones fulfilling the role of the periphery, with much (temporary) emigration to the core. Turkey, as a non-EU country, would be in the periphery as well. In addition, world systems theory can be applied when departing from the notion of 'nations', and instead categorising the global system using 'language regions'. English, due to the fact the last two centuries have been dominated by two English-speaking superpowers (the U.K. and the U.S.), is 'penetrating' the non-English speaking countries and forcing them to adapt to their linguistic standards. This argument is similar to a socio-linguistic tradition that analyses the role of English and its increased dominance (e.g. Sosonis 2005, Phillipson 2008, Korshunova and Marácz 2012, Ricento 2015). The consequences for the migration system would be that each immigrant is forced to learn at least English

if he/she wants to expand his/her mobility options, given the fact that English is now by far the most spoken first or second language in the EU (Eurobarometer 2012, see Figure 2.1 here). Figure 2.1 compares self-reported second-language proficiency of EU citizens between 2005 and 2012. However, this statement does not necessarily offer us an alternative explanation compared to neo-classical economics. The hypotheses would be similar: learning 'bigger' languages expands one's mobility options. What differs is the evaluation of this development: world systems theorists consider the system oppressive whilst neo-classical economists have a much more positive interpretation.

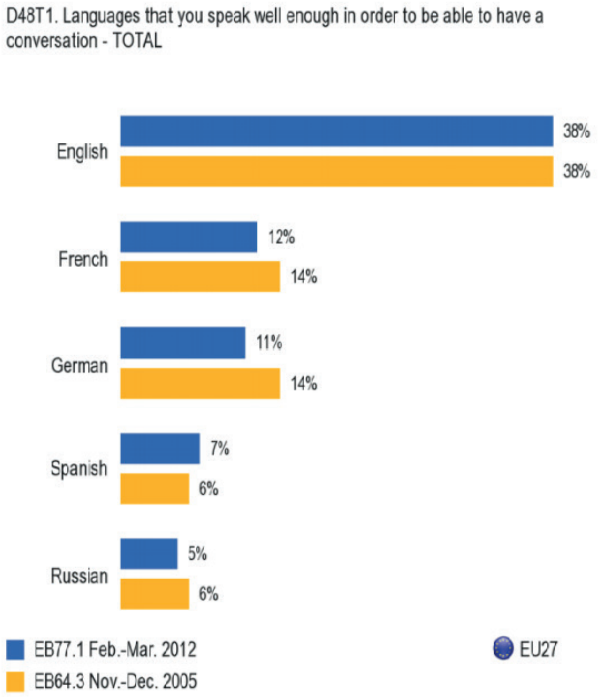

Figure 2.1. Second-language skills EU citizens
Source: Eurobarometer 2012: 19.

Migration systems theory, transnationalism and social networks

From the 1980s the economic theories of migration were confronted with increasing amounts of criticism (Castles & Miller 2009). It was argued that these approaches did not succeed in explaining the complexity of migration processes, because of their sole focus on economic variables such as wage differences and risk management. Out of such critiques various new approaches emerged, such as migration systems theory, transnationalism and social network theory, which seek to provide a basis for an interdisciplinary approach (ibid.). Migration systems theory argues that migration flows arise usually from prior links between sending and receiving nations, for example by colonisation, political influence, trade, investment or cultural-historical ties (ibid.). Examples include the migration ties

between Algeria and France, or between Germany and Turkey, which was a result of labour recruitment by Germany in the 1960s and 1970s.

The key principle of the migration systems theory is that migration flows can be explained by analysing interacting macro and micro-structures (Castles & Miller 2009). Macro-structures are global-scale institutional factors, such as the developments in the world market, relationships between states, and the judicial framework of both sending and receiving nations to control migration. Scholars of migration systems theory share the view of the formerly mentioned structural approaches that the increased integration of the world economy has heavily influenced the scope and nature of immigration movements. Micro-structures refer to the social networks that are developed by migrants themselves, to cope with migration and settlement (ibid.). Social networks often provide financial, cultural and social capital which make immigration possible. The presence of social networks presents newly arrived immigrants with the opportunity to 'bond' within their own ethnic niche, before 'bridging' towards wider society (Putnam 2007). Migration systems theory claims that migratory chains are usually initiated by an external factor, but that afterwards the migrants follow beaten paths (Stahl 1993) and are helped by family and friends who are already living in the receiving country.

This process of transnationalism, in which immigrants remain in touch with their friends and family in their country of origin, is essential to understanding migration and integration in the twenty-first century. Migration in its classical meaning refers to an act of 'uprooting' during which immigrants largely cut their ties with their economic and social networks in the country of origin. Furthermore, it seemed inevitable that every migrant would go through various stages of 'assimilation' to the host culture, which ends with complete adaptation (Alba and Nee 2003, Gordon 1964). Due to the advancement of communication and travel technology it is easier than a few decades ago to stay in touch with friends and family left behind, rendering the assimilation theory outdated. Acculturation and transnationalism can seemingly co-exist; however according to some scholars, particularly the most affluent and well-educated immigrants can take part in transnational activities (Portes 2011). The question is whether this observation is still applicable in the case of immigrants in the West in 2019. The internet, a very important catalyst for the growing relevance of transnationalism, is relatively affordable for most socio-economic classes.

Social networks, which reflect the existence of transnationalism, make migration easier and safer, thus providing an extra incentive for potential immigrants. Therefore migratory movements, once started, become self-sustaining social processes (Castles & Miller 2009). Massey et al. coined the term cumulative causation to explain this development, which entails that all acts of migration change the social context in which later migration decisions are made. Usually this leads to increasing migration flows (Massey et al. 2008).

That all 'network members' possess similar multilingual and communication skills is evidently an important condition for the network to function. Migration systems theory, social network theory and transnationalism are in practice mostly concerned with the links between communities within Western countries and their families/friends in the countries of origin. However, just looking at the EU context, these theoretical perspectives offer interesting explanations about intra-EU mobility, and the role of language therein. In Europe, many migrant communities are spread out over different countries. For example, Germany and the Netherlands both have a sizeable Turkish community. If we assume that transnational links not only, potentially, exist between the Dutch and German Turkish communities and Turkey, but also mutually between the two communities, then we could derive interesting hypotheses related to motility from this group of theories regarding the effects of multilingual policy on mobility. Teaching Turkish at school to the Turkish children may sow the seeds for later transnational contacts with 'foreign' Turkish communities, hereby building upon the inherent knowledge of Turkish already present in the families. This in turn could then lead to increased mobility between them, which would perpetuate over time, as argued within the migration systems theory.

Migration psychology

Migration psychology theories, as the name implies, seek to explain migration using psychological factors. Similar to neo-classicism, migration psychology emerged as a reaction to social geography, which exclusively viewed migration as an aggregate phenomenon instead of from the perspective of the individual. However, migration psychologists object to the sole economic focus of neo-classicism: according to them there are many, non-financial factors that play a significant role when one decides to migrate.

One of the core texts in this field was written by De Jong and Fawcett in 1981. They proposed to study migration using a 'value-expectancy research model', which consists of seven potential motivations to migrate (De Jong and Fawcett 1981). 'Wealth' includes a wide range of factors that are related to individual economic gain, such as higher wages, lower living costs, good welfare provisions, availability of jobs, etc. Secondly, 'status' encompasses factors that are tied to social standing and prestige, such as occupation and education. Even though status and wealth could be closely linked, the former can also be a separate factor. For example, living a more modern and sophisticated life or having a diploma can in themselves boost one's status. Thirdly, 'comfort' can be seen as the goal to achieve better working and/or living conditions. Fourthly, 'stimulation' refers to exposure to pleasurable activities, such as entertainment and recreation. Fifthly, 'autonomy' encompasses many dimensions which refer to personal freedom. Sixthly, 'affiliation' refers to the importance of being with other persons, such as getting married, accompanying a spouse or joining close friends and/or relatives. Lastly, 'morality' relates to deeply held value-systems that prescribe good and bad ways of living such as religious belief systems. Usually the morality dimension is expressed negatively,

meaning that individuals tend to 'flee' from places which have a wholly different moral system from their own.

When trying to fit language into this value-expectancy model, we should focus mostly on the policy level and the linguistic climate that certain policies might promote. The possible effects of language policies are best captured within the 'comfort' and 'autonomy' categories: a political and policy climate favouring multilingualism would render immigrants feeling comfortable and autonomous, and thus negatively impact their mobility. On the other hand, making it difficult for them to use their own language and pass it on onto their children may be a reason to be more mobile, in the search of an environment which is more prone to accept their language. This is a classic hypothesis that fits into the dilemma of mobility vs. inclusion: being linguistically included, by having access to policies catering to both the host society and mother tongue, would dis-incentify migrants to migrate, and vice versa.

Mobility vs. migration in the twenty-first century

Migration is certainly not a new phenomenon. It has become equally apparent however, especially when discussing the migration systems theory and the role of transnationalism, that its character has changed and will continue to change fundamentally. Revolutionary technological developments, infrastructural developments and the incorporation across the world of regions and countries into global capitalism have all significantly influenced the nature and size of migration flows. The great advances in transport and communication technology in the second half of the twentieth century further facilitated globalisation, and subsequently the international migration process. Transport and communication costs have been sharply reduced. These developments increased the interdependence of countries and peoples, accelerating the breaking down of barriers that in the past hindered the flows of capital, goods, services, ideas and people (Stiglitz 2002). Advanced communication and transport technologies enable migrants to keep in touch easily with their relatives in their country of origin, meaning that they will develop so-called transnational identities (De Haas 2010b).

The classic notion of 'migration' is thus becoming more and more problematic over time. A new concept better capturing the complexity of contemporary international movement is therefore needed. In that respect the so-called 'mobilities' paradigm gives us an interesting perspective, as developed by scholars such as Urry (2002) and Cresswell (2011). This approach provides a broader analytical lens than most migration theories: it studies the movement of people and ideas, analysing the broader social implications of these movements.

The mobilities paradigm offers interesting venues to integrate language (policy) into current theories. Its preoccupation with how mobility can shape and/or create identities is evidently connected to language. Language is naturally essential for communication

purposes, but is also instrumental in the formation of identities (Mamadouh 1999).
Urry (2002) distinguishes three broad categories of mobility: 'corporeal', 'virtual' and 'imaginative' mobility. Corporeal mobility refers to the actual movement of people, virtual mobility to long-distance communication via electronic means (e.g. the internet) and lastly, imaginative mobility implies 'transportation' through images or television. We will only discuss the first two categories, since the relevance of imaginative mobility for the study of mobility and language does not seem evident.

It can hardly be denied that the importance of virtual mobility has increased considerably over the last few decades, primarily due to the developments surrounding the internet. Virtual mobility is in that sense closely connected to theories on transnationalism and migration networks. The concept emphasises the importance of internet developments for the covering of distance, which could before only be traversed corporeally.

It is evident that language in its role as communication tool is crucial for virtual mobility. In that sense, language policy can greatly influence virtual mobility opportunities. Older migration theories, such as neo-classical economics and migration psychology theory, understandably did not account for the rise of the internet in the twenty-first century. The concept of virtual mobility can potentially amend these established theories. Another advantage of distinguishing virtual from corporeal mobility is that it allows us to look conceptually at the interplay between the two.Virtual mobility might lead to corporeal mobility and vice versa, due to the transnational ties that can easily be maintained using the former.

However, one of the mobilities paradigm's main strengths, namely its broad conception of movement and its implications, is paradoxically also a potential weakness. The paradigm succeeds in describing the complex reality of many forms of mobility, but does not yet seem fit to provide a concrete explanation for the movement of people. It is not the goal of the mobilities paradigm to provide an all-encompassing explanation for people's movement. It rather raises important questions and proposes a new methodology (Sheller and Urry 2006).

Motility

Another limitation of both mobility and migration is that in the end they are both predominantly focussed on actual movement. Most mobility and migration studies limit their scope by only analysing past and actual fluidity and have relatively little attention for potential movement. The latter is arguably very important when evaluating the effect of language (policy) on movement: language skills might not be only related to actual mobility, they can also influence the range of one's mobility options. For this reason we argue in favour of the concept of 'motility'.
As we have seen, the concept was taken from its roots in biology and elaborated upon from a sociological perspective by Kaufmann et al. (2004), and has in the core

retained its biological definition: it is used to analyse the potential rather than the actual movement.

Influenced by the work of Bourdieu (1986), it analyses mobility as a form of capital which is intertwined with other forms, like social and financial capital. If considered as such, the obvious question can be raised how motility is or should be distributed across the society. Motility has consequently a connection with the fields of mobility justice (Sheller 2013). Some individuals have more opportunities for mobility than others, the latter category being sometimes referred to as the 'mobility poor' (Cresswell 2008). The question of social justice and mobility is most often discussed in when analysing the effect of natural disasters on the poor – e.g. Sheller discusses the earthquakes on Haiti, while Cresswell analyses the effects of the hurricane Katrina in New Orleans (Sheller 2013). This issue is however also relevant to the field we are interested in, namely voluntary mobility. Motility is a form of capital, similar to economic and social capital, and the question of how equally this capital is distributed is a relevant question for academics and policy makers alike. Regarding motility, Kaufmann et al. (2004) identify three main factors:

> Access refers to the range of possible mobilities according to place, time and other contextual constraints, and may be influenced by networks and dynamics within territories. (...) Obviously, access depends on the spatial distribution of the population and infrastructure (e.g. towns and cities provide a different range of choices of goods and services), sedimentation of spatial policies (e.g. transportation and accessibility), and socio-economic position (e.g. purchasing power, position in a hierarchy or social network).
>
> Competence includes skills and abilities that may directly or indirectly relate to access and appropriation. Three aspects are central to the competence component of motility: physical ability, e.g. the ability to transfer an entity from one place to another within given constraints; acquired skills relating to rules and regulations of movement, e.g. licenses, permits, specific knowledge of the terrain or codes; and organizational skills, e.g. planning and synchronizing activities including the acquisition of information, abilities and skills. Competence is multifaceted and interdependent with access and appropriation.
>
> Appropriation refers to how agents (including individuals, groups, networks, or institutions) interpret and act upon perceived or real access and skills. Appropriation is shaped by needs, plans, aspirations and understandings of agents, and it relates to strategies, motives, values and habits. Appropriation describes how agents consider, deem appropriate, and select specific options. It is also the means by which skills and decisions are evaluated. (Kaufmann et al. 2004: 750).

Looking at these three broad characteristics on the one hand, and our ambition to integrate language in mobility theory on the other, it seems all three factors are relevant for our thinking. Firstly, 'access' refers to contextual possibilities and constraints that determine each individual's range of mobility options. These constraints and possibilities are both of a technological and social nature. Language is obviously essential for communication. In order to even have the option to build up a network, it is paramount to speak the appropriate language. We can thus easily tie the 'access' component of motility to discussions on transnationalism, migration networks and virtual mobility. Kaufmann et al. (2004) emphasise in addition the importance of transport infrastructure. In our case we should consider the linguistic infrastructure. The latter refers to the opportunities (or lack thereof) a state and civil society offer to immigrants to learn its language. For instance, in Western Europe citizenship courses, advanced language courses and the education system are part of the linguistic infrastructure.

Secondly, 'competence' refers to skills that determine an individual's capability to make use effectively of the other two factors. Kaufmann et al. also mention international English as a useful skill, but much more can be said about language in relation to competence. Naturally, already having a solid command of several languages is a sign of competence. However, the aptitude of the potential migrant to learn new languages is also of great importance. It determines if one can use the existing linguistic infrastructure to its maximum effectiveness. In other words: we have to consider the potential migrants' linguistic competence and performance.

Thirdly, 'appropriation' describes how potential migrants perceive their own skills and whether they actually have the desire to move. Some of the factors of appropriation which are connected with 'values' and 'motives' can be indirectly connected to language policy. For example, the type of language policy can influence an individual's sense of inclusion in his/her home society. Oppressive language policies in which minorities have few options to cultivate their own language can be perceived as discriminatory, which can incite a desire to move away from an unfavourable political climate. These types of explanations have some affinity with the migration psychology theory. In addition, appropriation can also refer to the migrant's motivation to learn a new language and thus his/her willingness to make full use of the linguistic infrastructure and competence. Having no desire to learn another language can decrease motivation to be mobile.

Motility thus, due to its main characteristics, offers migration research interesting venues to integrate language within its theoretical framework. This is not the only reason to favour this concept. One of the main arguments supporting the use of motility lies in the word 'potential'. The fact that motility does not compel us to limit our analyses to the actual mobility of people, but also allows us to study their mobility options, opens a new field of research. Especially when considering the effect of language policies on mobility, it is much more likely that they affect one's motility rather than one's mobility.

Hypothesising that, for instance, acquiring more language skills directly influences mobility seems rather far-fetched. It is on the other hand a reasonable assumption that these skills expand an individual's mobility *potential*, in other words, his/her motility. Motility (i.e. mobility capital) and linguistic capital are thus intrinsically linked.

Motility and socio-linguistics: EGIDS[4]

Because it focusses on *potential* rather than *actual* mobility, motility is a potential bridge between the fields of migration theory and socio-linguistics. Motility has value at least in one specific area of socio-linguistics: namely the study of language shift (Houtkamp 2018). Language shift is an especially important concept for this dissertation for two main reasons. Firstly, it nuances the importance of government policy, and especially education, when it comes to the survival of languages. In Fishman's (1991) GIDS (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale), intergenerational transmission of language is essential. If parents consider it valuable to transfer their linguistic knowledge to their children, there is a good chance that language will survive. The reverse applies as well: if parents fail to see the value of language transmission, that language might eventually become extinct. Intergenerational transmission is thus of key importance in GIDS, but the scale is based on many other political-societal factors as well. The second reason is that the GIDS is quite flexible. New factors can relatively easily be integrated into the existing scale, allowing for it to be adapted to modern times and new insights.

Lewis and Simon (2010) have already expanded upon Fishman's theory and developed the so-called EGIDS (Expanded GIDS) by making a first attempt to add an international level '0' to the scale. EGIDS thus includes an international component in Fishman's original model, which is needed in the current era of ever-increasing globalisation. Fishman's GIDS was originally just designed to analyse the status of minority languages (e.g. Catalan and Welsh). Other scholars (e.g. Gobbo 2015) have also argued in favour of studying the global level in addition to the local and national ones, which should play a more prominent role than in the current iteration of EGIDS. Linguistic issues have to be studied in a global context, since due to the aforementioned great advancements in transportation and communication technology, foreign influences are closer to home than ever. In this section it will be attempted to add an additional component to the international aspect of EGIDS, by assessing the influence of motility. As we have seen, the connection between language as an explaining factor on the one hand, and processes of migration/mobility on the other, has long been understudied both in socio-linguistic and migration literature. It has been argued that the concept of 'motility' is essential in understanding how language and language policy can (in)directly cause migration (Houtkamp 2014).

[4] This section draws upon an earlier published paper by the present author, namely: Houtkamp, C. (2018). The relevance of motility in language shift research. Language Problems & Language Planning, 41(1), 1-15.

However, here it will be argued that 'motility' is not only important when attempting to understand how language potentially influences migration, but also when looking at processes of language shift and language maintenance. Motility can, given the trend of ever further internationalisation, play an important role for instance in the intergenerational transmission of language. Parents might have different considerations (i.e. the perceived status and the economic value of the heritage language) when determining their language behaviour towards their children. The changing international context may play an additional important role for parents when deciding whether to transmit their heritage language.

The (E)GIDS scale and motility

(E)GIDS is a scale designed by Lewis and Simon (2010) to code the survivability of languages, based on institutional and societal factors and, most importantly, the language behaviour of parents towards their children. The interaction of the institutional and social context with individual parents' decision-making largely determines the vitality of a language, and its place on the EGIDS scale.

A language's perceived status is influenced by several factors, many of them mentioned by Fishman (1991). When attempting to answer the question why language shift occurs, he distinguishes between three types of 'dislocation': physical and demographic dislocation, social dislocation and cultural dislocation. These three types are not mutually exclusive. For instance, Fishman argues that recent immigrants, who are thus physically dislocated, are also quite often in a socially disadvantageous position. For the purposes of this argument, the emphasis will be on physical and demographic dislocation, due to its clear connection with motility-related questions. Physical and demographic dislocation refers to population transfer and voluntary or involuntary in-out migration. Fishman argues that at the ethno-cultural level these processes of mobility are one of the major physical threats to intergenerational language-in-culture continuity. He claims that continuing mobility weakens the linguistic group, either by its members moving out of the community or through a significant number of 'foreigners' moving in. Furthermore, concerning the 'emigrants', he argues that they are in an even more difficult position. In most cases they will form a minority in their new destination, meaning that they cannot take it for granted that their linguistic rights will be respected. In short, according to Fishman, both the parents who have stayed within the now weakened linguistic community, and especially those who have themselves emigrated, will see less and less value in transmitting their heritage language (Fishman 1991).

Motility can offer a new perspective on Fishman's analysis, being both a potential catalyst of language shift and, paradoxically, a potential contributor for language maintenance. A key concept to understand this paradox is the notion of 'speech communities' or social networks. The relationship between language and social networks, or 'speech communities', is a major part of socio-linguistic literature (e.g. Milroy 1980, Fishman

1991, Holmes et al. 1993, Stoessel 2002, Milroy 2002). Social networks in general have their own distinct codes and sets of implicit rules (Bourdieu 1986), a principle that also extends to the linguistic domain. Knowing how to speak the right language, both in terms of possessing the necessary linguistic skills (e.g. English, French, German) and using the language in the 'correct' way (i.e. speaking with the appropriate accent, using appropriate vocabulary) can determine whether an individual will gain access to certain social networks. In general, having access to more social capital is a powerful commodity, which makes the study of language and speech communities interesting from a socio-political and socio-linguistic perspective.

Linguistic skills obviously grant more motility when they are spoken by more speech communities across the globe, and/or by high-status speech communities. A language such as English is an obvious example of this phenomenon, granting its speakers access to many international social networks. English would thus fall in the EGIDS scale level 0, which contains the few vehicular languages that have a wide global reach. It needs to be noted however, that international English, or to be more precise, English as a lingua franca (ELF) knows a high degree of hybridisation (Hülmbauer, Böhringer and Seidlhofer 2008, Gobbo 2015). This might be, to varying degrees, a characteristic of most 'level 0 languages'. The attraction of English and similarly powerful languages (e.g. Spanish, Chinese) is a major reason why motility can be a potential catalyst for language shift. These languages will grant such a significant amount of mobility potential that linguistic minorities living in countries where one of these languages is dominant may see little value in maintaining their heritage language. In other words: in these cases motility may be an additional argument for parents in favour of teaching children of minority groups the dominant language at the expense of the heritage language.

However, specifically concerning migrants, or to put it in Fishman's terms, 'physically and demographically dislocated communities', motility can also be a strong argument to transmit the heritage language, even if that heritage language is not at the highest level in the (E)GIDS scale. In other words: motility can also contribute to language maintenance. This would concern in particular those migrant communities that have spread across many different countries. The notion of transnationalism is of key importance to understanding this process. Strong transnational ties between migrant communities in different countries would give the heritage language a higher status, since it can contribute to mobility to many different countries. For instance, the Turkish migrant group is spread all over Europe, having large communities in countries such as Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and France. Turkish migrants are known for their high level of ethnic organisation, which facilitates the retention of their heritage culture and language. In such a context, learning Turkish may grant the second and third-generation of migrants a considerable amount of motility. If a Dutch-Turk wishes to move to Germany, he/she would have the opportunity to contact German-Turkish communities, which can ease the migration process, without initially having a solid command of German. An important remark to make, though, is that the Turkish language is supported

by an economically relatively strong kinstate (i.e. the country of origin of themselves or their ancestors), with a large population. On the other hand, the Turkish migrant community does not have a particularly high status in most of its host countries (Arends-Toth and Van de Vijver 2003, De Vroome, Verkuyten and Martinovic 2014, Çelik 2015) and their language is sparsely supported by the host countries' governments.

Summarising, it can be said that a desire to increase motility could incentivise the emigrants to continue transmitting their language. At the same time it might also affect the decision-making of the 'remainers'. Social networks are often cited as one of the main explanations for migration processes (Stahl 1993, Massey et al. 2008, Castles & Miller 2009). Similar to the relationship between different emigrant communities, the transnational connection between 'remainers' and the emigrant community is a key factor. The presence of a migrant community is a magnet for new additional migrants from the same country or region, since the support of ethnic peers can help ease in the recently arrived in their new host country. For this reason, migrants tend to follow the 'beaten paths'. Parents who are part of a dwindling community in the country of origin may, even though their linguistic group is demographically dislocated, nonetheless have a compelling reason to transmit their heritage language. Knowledge of the heritage language will grant their children easier access to their ethnic peers abroad.

It can thus be argued that motility can shed a new light on the debate around language shift and language maintenance in the context of globalisation in general and migration in particular**.** In order to understand the precise relationship between motility on the one hand, and socio-linguistic themes on the other, it is useful to examine Lewis and Simon's (2010) clear decision tree on determining the EGIDS level of languages. The three main features of motility, 'access', 'competence' and 'appropriation', fit quite logically in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2. shows how the different identity functions of language affect a language's status in the linguistic landscape. For example, a language that is primarily spoken at home and has no official status is for its survival completely dependent on the willingness of parents to transmit the language to their children.

When discussing *access* the two most important questions of the diagram are the level of official use, and the literacy status. The answer to these two questions will probably determine the *linguistic infrastructure*, i.e. the language facilities offered by the state to its various populations.

It has to be noted that regarding the institutional status of the language, and in particular its place in the educational system, it is not only important to consider whether a language is institutionalised, but also *how*. The quality of education is also of crucial importance. For instance, in the Netherlands in the 1980s, several migrant languages had an official status in the Dutch education system, within the so-called OALT (Onderwijs

in Allochtone Levende Talen/Education in Allochthonous Living Languages) policy. Recently, in November 2016, two of the most influential Dutch governmental research institutes, the WRR (Scientific Council for Government Policy) and the CBS (Central Bureau for Statistics) decided to abolish the term of 'Allochtoon' altogether (Volkskrant 2016). The concepts are deemed inaccurate and stigmatising. This recent development stems from a longer tradition, in which the Dutch government has struggled over how to name its ethnic minorities.

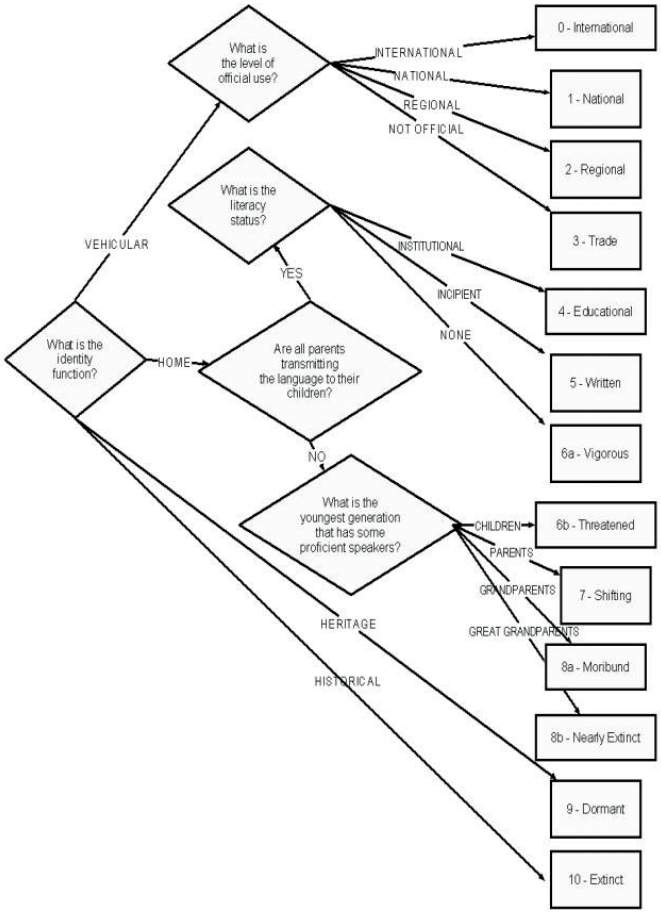

Figure 2.2. The (E)GIDS scale of Lewis and Simon
Source: Lewis and Simon 2010: 114.

The Dutch situation would at first glance tick both 'competence' related questions in the decision tree. A majority of migrant parents transmitted their language to their children, and this language was institutionalised in the Netherlands. However, there was a clear

difference in education between the teaching of European languages such as English, French and German on the one hand, and a migrant language like Turkish on the other. Many different government reports show that teaching of Turkish was inadequately organised (WRR 1989, Turkenburg 2001). One can wonder whether the institutionalisation of the Turkish language has significantly improved the linguistic competence of the children who have been taught Turkish at school. Furthermore, it is questionable whether OALT has made a big contribution to either the motility of Turkish citizens or the survivability of the Turkish language in the Netherlands. It can be argued two additional factors should be included in Lewis and Simon's decision tree: the level of education offered in the language in question (i.e. are the courses offered in primary school, secondary school and/or in higher education) and a comparison between the facilities offered to all languages within the education system (i.e. do the 'bigger' languages receive significantly more institutional support than the 'minority' languages).

Appropriation is particularly important when analysing whether parents transmit their language to their children. One of the possible considerations for parents could be whether the children would gain any material or cultural benefits from speaking their heritage language. These decisions are not purely based on objective factors, but are also largely influenced by the perception of parents. This perception is strongly affected by the other two features of motility, 'access' and 'competence'. With respect to the relationship between parental behaviour regarding language to their children and the institutional landscape, Lewis and Simon state the following:

> The GIDS not only takes into account that intergenerational transmission is an individual decision made by parents, but also that societal and institutional choices are crucial in influencing the parental decisions regarding their language behavior in regard to their children. These social spaces are what Fishman and others have identified as 'domains of use' each constituting a constellation of participants, location, and topic that is closely associated with a particular language. (Lewis and Simon 2010: 105).

The relationship between individual decisions and the societal context in which these decisions take place are both important when analysing processes of motility and categorising language in (E)GIDS. Some societal factors, in particular the effect of migration on language shift and motility, have been discussed previously. It needs to be noted in addition that the 'domains of use' (i.e. whether the language is spoken at home, or is used 'transnationally' via for example the internet, or in the public space) may in the case of migrant communities be widely international. 'Location' related to language shift is transforming into an international concept, in a time where via the internet long-distance communication is readily available at an affordable price, or free of charge. The 'domains of use' have an ever more international character in a globalising world.