Language policy and planning:
From theory to practice

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Abstract

This paper is the introduction to the Routledge Handbook of Language Policy and Planning (forthcoming). The handbook approaches language policy and planning (LPP) from an innovative and interdisciplinary angle focusing on language policy as a form of public policy. It is designed for readers that include not only scholars from a wide range of disciplines spanning the social sciences and humanities, but also practitioners and concerned citizens. We begin by locating language policy and planning first and foremost as a responsibility of governments (at the national, regional or local level) and relevant bodies across all areas of public policy. We then discuss how language policy and planning takes form using a five-stage public policy cycle adapted from public policy studies. The characteristics of the LPP approach discussed in this volume, particularly its theoretical framing and interpretation as well as translation into practice, contribute to its distinctiveness from most other published works in the field.

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Résumé

Cet article constitue l'introduction du Routledge Handbook of Language Policy and Planning (À paraître). Ce manuel aborde la politique et l'aménagement linguistiques sous un angle novateur et interdisciplinaire, en se concentrant sur la politique linguistique en tant que forme de politique publique. Il s'adresse à des lecteurs qui comprennent non seulement des chercheurs issus d'un large éventail de disciplines des sciences sociales et humaines, mais aussi des praticiens et des citoyens concernés. Nous commençons par situer la politique et l'aménagement linguistiques avant tout comme une responsabilité des gouvernements (au niveau national, régional ou local) et des organismes concernés dans tous les domaines de la politique publique. Nous examinons ensuite comment la politique et la planification linguistiques prennent forme à l'aide d'un cycle de politique publique en cinq étapes, adapté des études sur les politiques publiques. Les caractéristiques de l'approche de la politique linguistique discutée dans ce volume, notamment son cadrage et son interprétation théoriques ainsi que sa mise en pratique, contribuent à la distinguer de la plupart des autres travaux publiés dans le domaine.

This handbook approaches language policy and planning (LPP) from an innovative and interdisciplinary angle focusing on language policy as a form of public policy. It is designed for readers that include not only scholars from a wide range of disciplines spanning the social sciences and humanities, but also practitioners and concerned citizens.

We begin by locating language policy and planning first and foremost as a responsibility of governments (at the national, regional or local level) and relevant bodies across all areas of public policy. We then discuss how language policy and planning takes form using a five-stage public policy cycle adapted from public policy studies. The characteristics of the LPP approach discussed in this volume, particularly its theoretical framing and interpretation as well as translation into practice, contribute to its distinctiveness from most other published works in the field.

We offer a brief guide to the structure of the volume and introduce the authors and their chapters. Our intention in bringing this volume to fruition is to offer readers a coherent and extensive coverage of the most important issues, debates and tools for analysing and informing language policy choices, development, implementation and evaluation. We conclude this chapter with a brief overview of the volume and future prospects for research in the field of LPP.

1 SURVEYING THE LPP LANDSCAPE

Since the turn of the millennium, the number of scholarly contributions with titles referring to "language policy", "language planning", "language management", or terms pointing to similar endeavours has grown considerably.

No integrated bibliography of language policy and planning is available,[1] let alone one that would straddle disciplinary boundaries. However, the number of handbooks and reference books is substantial, whether they chiefly originate in the language disciplines[2] or explicitly foreground the combination (in varying proportions) of perspectives from sociolinguistics and other disciplines in the social sciences[3]. In parallel, several international journals, including in particular *Current Issues in Language Planning*, the *European Journal of Language Policy*, *Glottopol*, *Language Policy*, *Language Problems and Language Planning*, are chiefly devoted to LPP, while numerous journals, though not centered on LPP, regularly carry scholarly articles about it. The net could be cast even wider to encompass journals

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[1] For a historical anthology, see Ricento 2015b.

[2] For example, in chronological order, Calvet 2002; Dell'Aquila & Iannàccaro 2004; Spolsky 2004; May & Hornberger 2008; Spolsky 2009; McCarty 2011; Chapelle 2012; Spolsky 2012; Bayley, Cameron & Lucas 2013 (Chapters 26 to 33); Johnson 2013; Narvaja de Arnoux & Nothstein 2013; Beacco 2016; Marten 2016; Tollefson & Perez-Milans 2018; Kimura & Fairbrother 2020.

[3] For example van Parijs 2004; Ricento 2006; Arzoz 2008; Ginsburgh & Weber 2011; van Parijs 2011; Cardinal & Sonntag 2015; Vila & Bretxa 2015; Ricento 2015a; Gazzola & Wickström 2016; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 2016; Ginsburgh & Weber 2016; Beacco *et al*, 2017; González Núñez & Meylaerts 2017; Lane-Mercier, Merkle & Koustas 2018; Kraus & Grin 2018; Gazzola, Templin & Wickström 2018; Oakes & Peled 2018; Grin, Marácz & Pokorn 2022; Lewis & McLeod 2022; McLeod, Dunbar, Jones & Walsh 2022; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2023; Gazzola, Gobbo, Johnson, Leoni 2023; Albaugh, Cardinal and Léger, *forthcoming*.

addressing, either occasionally or as their core area of interest, language policy issues with a national or regional focus. This evolution echoes the attention that LPP is receiving in the research community and bears witness to the importance of linguistic diversity in contemporary societies.

This could lead us to surmise that, in line with this robust publishing activity, considerable progress is being made in our understanding of language policy issues. These issues are numerous and varied. They encompass the type of interventions on and about language that societies (in the broadest sense, including the state) engage in, the social and political tensions that give rise to such interventions and contribute to shaping them, and the processes through which concerns about language in society at large eventually result in the adoption of language policies. This range of issues also extends to the arbitration of diverging interests, particularly with respect to the goals pursued by such policies, the ways in which these policies operate, and the resources and means of various kinds they require. Further, these issues include how such resources are mobilised by states and governments, and the actual consequences of those policies for languages communities big or small, the individual users of the languages concerned, as well as these languages themselves.

Beyond the reference to language that characterises LPP, these are standard questions that arise whenever one examines matters of public policy, namely, the deliberate interventions that societies undertake to address and handle language-related issues. Putting it in plainer terms, some of the inescapable questions of public policy, including about language, are how policy choices are made, how they originate and unfold, and then what measures ought to be adopted in order to reach what goals, through which means and what lessons are learned for further developments. This set of questions is broad enough to embrace the complexity of the social, political, economic, cultural processes in which action is deployed in LPP.

Language policy and planning can pan out very differently, depending in particular on whether it is deployed in democratic or undemocratic contexts. Moreover, even in the former, respect for democracy may be found wanting. While fully aware of the existence of non-democratic manifestations of language policy, our chief concern, in this handbook, is to survey and discuss the processes which inform language policy choices as well as the tools used by actors to formulate, adopt, implement, and evaluate language policies in accordance with democratic processes. Typically, societies entrust the formulation, adoption, and implementation of public policies (such as language policy) to their organised arm, that is, a political system structured with a public apparatus at different levels of organisation, from the central state to local authorities (Howlett, Ramesh & Perl 2020). As just noted, not all states are democratic, and dictatorships implement policies too, including around language. But because of their intrinsically arbitrary nature, they are only marginally the subject of this book, which is essentially concerned with how democratic societies can best go about addressing the challenges listed above (more on this below).

An examination of the main strands of literature in sociolinguistics addressing matters of language policy, exemplified by edited volumes and scholarly journals in applied linguistics (including some with explicit references to "language policy" in their title) reveals,

however, that many of the issues at hand tend to be addressed only peripherally. Instead, in much of the contemporary literature, the focus is chiefly placed on how language matters crystallize, reveal, and reflect diverging interests and differential positions of power, possibly resulting in unjust situations, while the policy process, as well as the identification and selection of appropriate measures to achieve certain goals, are currently receiving far less attention. Of course, issues of power and justice are crucial dimensions of LPP, and many of the chapters in this book propose ways to deal with them in order to develop socially just language policies. However, it is strongly advised that the question of justice in LPP be combined with (or, in an epistemologically converging move, integrated in) the examination of the full policy process. This includes the question of "what works, how, and under what conditions" in order not only to analyse, understand, and criticise the various types of LPP that societies need, but also to propose guidance and point to best practices in discussing their formulation, adoption and implementation. Providing such an integrated approach is the chief goal of this volume.

In this handbook, LPP is approached as an inherently interdisciplinary enterprise, in the perspective of "interdisciplinarity by combination" (Coenen-Huther 1989), which emphasises the complementarity and inclusion of different epistemological perspectives. Therefore, it is intended to 'speak to' readers from a wide range of disciplines in the social sciences and humanities. The main anchoring of LPP as a field of specialisation remains in the language disciplines, more specifically sociolinguistics, also referred to as the sociology of language. It has also been claimed as of interest in applied linguistics. Fundamentally LPP has been interdisciplinary since its origins (see, among others, Rubin & Jernudd 1971, Fishman 1974, Lo Bianco 1987, Cooper 1989, Fishman 1991). However, some of the most exciting developments in LPP have emerged over the past three decades from an increasingly sustained dialogue with other disciplines, including (though not restricted to) anthropology, communication sciences, cultural studies, economics, education, law, political philosophy, political science, psychology, and sociology. Inputs from these disciplines have progressively been incorporated into the specialty, calling for an interdisciplinary perspective when drafting, calibrating and implementing actual language policy plans (Lo Bianco 1987; Bamgbose 2000; Grin 2003; Heugh, 2003; Ricento 2006, Grin, Marácz and Pokorn 2022). Because language transcends so many, if not all aspects of the life of human societies, LPP necessarily touches upon a great variety of areas and domains.

This handbook takes account of this disciplinary diversity and celebrates it (a dozen academic disciplines is represented in this volume). However, it deliberately avoids the pattern of a succession of isolated chapters on different aspects of LPP, or that of a collection of case studies on language policy in different parts of the world (although it draws on illustrative examples from specific countries or regions in many of its chapters). The novelty of this handbook is that it adopts a public policy approach to offer an analytical view of the different stages in a process leading from political debate, whether it is taking place in institutions like parliaments or in informal discussions in the public at large, to the formulation, adoption, implementation, and evaluation of language policies. It also contributes to re-establishing and strengthening theoretical and methodological links

between LPP and public policy studies that have gradually weakened following the 'critical turn' in LPP (see Section 3).

In this way, it is intended to be a resource for different categories of readership, including practitioners and scholars of language policy, as well as citizens concerned with their linguistic environment. It deliberately emphasises policy and theories of policy, while the politics of language is discussed in so far as it is relevant for the language policy process. This distinction between "politics" and "policy" is analytically crucial, even if both are closely intertwined in reality, and these interconnections are addressed in this volume. In addition, approaching language policy as a process offers further advantages, in particular that it can then be analysed using a range of concepts and methods similar to those with which well-established forms of public policy are approached in areas such as the environment, transport, education or healthcare.

A public policy approach is applicable to a wide range of questions, language being just one of them. Is should not be misunderstood as a straitjacket but, quite the contrary, as an approach that encourages cross-fertilization between disciplines involved in LPP, while at the same time integrating the micro, 'meso' and macro levels, as shown in Part II of this handbook.

The rest of this introduction is devoted to a general overview of what this handbook offers. In the following section (2), we present the analytical framework provided by public policy studies, recalling its basic principles, and describing the real-world needs that it is intended to address. In Section 3, we explain in what ways this handbook differs from much the mainstream literature, both in terms of emphasis and epistemological priorities; throughout these two sections, however, we show how these different perspectives may nonetheless be made to work together to develop efficient and fair language policies. Section 4 proposes a brief overview of the chapters that follow, while Section 5 concludes and presents some perspectives for future research.
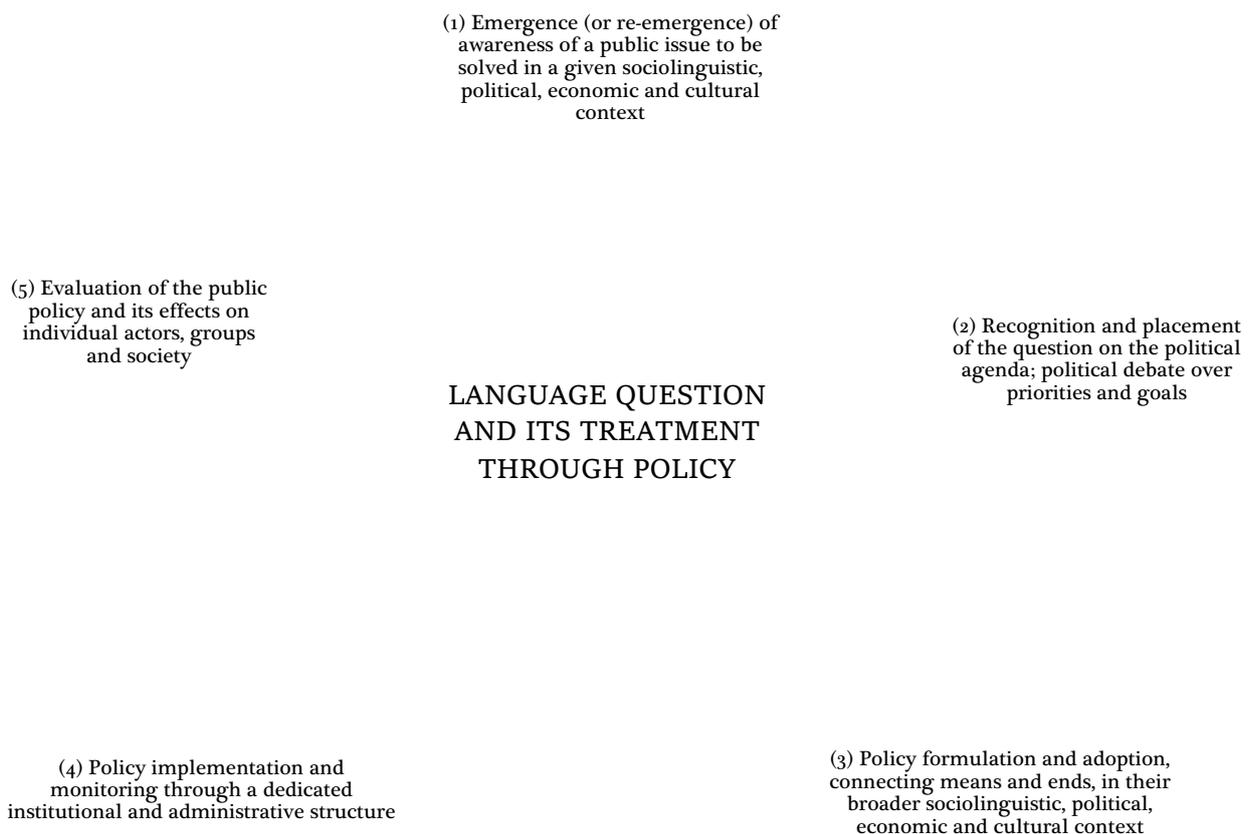
2. THE POLICY CYCLE FRAMEWORK: BACKGROUND AND BASIC PRINCIPLES

It is necessary to study language policies in their contextual and organisational aspects, within a consistent framework that allows the integration of different epistemological traditions and contributions. Public policy studies provide such a framework. In this perspective, a language policy is defined as a public policy aimed at addressing a social, economic, political, or organisational issue related to the management of linguistic diversity in a given territory.

Language policy is both a process and the final outcome of that process, which typically results in decisions. It is therefore a phenomenon that needs to be studied in its various stages and articulations. Studying a language policy as a whole means understanding its origins, development, mode of implementation, and finally the evaluation of its effects. A key feature of the public policy approach is to present public policy as a cycle comprising several steps. This handbook adapts and applies the standard framework of the policy cycle (Knoepfel, Larrue, Varone & Hill 2007; Howlett *et al.* 2020) to the case of language policy.

The policy cycle framework presents policies as sequential parts or stages that correspond to applied problem-solving (see Figure 1). These stages are (1) the emergence of a language issue, (2) agenda setting, (3) policy formulation and adoption, (4) implementation, and (5) evaluation of what has been done, and the results obtained. The feedback provided by evaluation can lead to the successful conclusion of a policy if the issue has been solved, to a redefinition and improvement of the policy, or to its eventual abandonment. The language policy cycle is visualised as a circular flow chart (See Figure 1 below).

Figure 1. The language policy cycle framework

(1) Emergence (or re-emergence) of awareness of a public issue to be solved in a given sociolinguistic, political, economic and cultural context

(5) Evaluation of the public policy and its effects on individual actors, groups and society

(2) Recognition and placement of the question on the political agenda; political debate over priorities and goals

LANGUAGE QUESTION AND ITS TREATMENT THROUGH POLICY

(4) Policy implementation and monitoring through a dedicated institutional and administrative structure

(3) Policy formulation and adoption, connecting means and ends, in their broader sociolinguistic, political, economic and cultural context

The language policy cycle framework can be used both as a positive tool to analyse and interpret reality, to provide guidance in the making of language policies. Both procedural and substantive aspects of public policy can be studied through the cycle. The language policy cycle framework provides a pragmatic and comprehensive tool straddling different levels of the complex processes at hand, which facilitates a deeply inclusive complementarity among disciplines.

Before presenting the policy cycle and its application to LPP, some clarifications are necessary. Since language policy is viewed here as a particular form of public policy, the centre of gravity of this approach is the study of collective choices regarding languages. Those choices are made by the state and in particular by governments. Max Weber, in his

classic definition of the state, says that it has the monopoly of legitimate physical coercion. The state, therefore, has the power and the legitimacy to impose its rules over a population living in a given territory. The state includes institutions which play an important role in the development, implementation and evaluation of public policies such as the bureaucracy. The courts, the policy, the military and the systems of allocation or distribution are also components of the state. Governments implement state power and traditions through their decisions. They refer to the institutional processes through which collective (and usually binding) decisions are made and implemented (Heywood 2019).

Considering that the state is a central actor in public policy, of course, does not mean that other individual or institutional private actors do not have important roles and functions. This helps us to make another distinction between the public policy approach to LPP on the one hand, and the treatment of LPP in some areas of sociolinguistics on the other (see Bell 2014 for a systematic presentation of the different strands of sociolinguistics). The term 'language policy' is often used in such a broad sense that it encompasses practically everything that individuals, families, as well as private and public organisations decide to do with languages (see Kaplan & Baldauf 1997; Spolsky 2004. For a discussion and critique, see Gazzola, Gobbo, Johnson & Leoni 2023, Chapter 3). As Fairbrother and Kimura (2020: 10) note, in LPP research "more recent tendencies have made efforts to integrate LPP into practice but have expanded language policy so much that it can mean everything". The term has therefore become imprecise, as it does not allow for a clear distinction between 'policy' proper and people's 'practices', or between the roles and decisions of different actors in the policy process.

In this handbook, this distinction is made explicit. Individuals and families do not make 'language policies'; they make decisions resulting in language practices, and these practices are a key object of study in several branches of both sociolinguistics and applied linguistics By contrast, a government's decisions affecting languages result in language policies, which are precisely the object of LPP. The connection between policy and practice is obviously a very close one, because public policy is also intended to influence, among other things, the behaviour and attitudes of individuals. It is important therefore to study and understand them. Moreover, the habits and beliefs of individuals are formed within a political and institutional framework that influences policy choices. It is however advisable important to recognise habits and beliefs as conceptually distinct from policy.

This brings us to a second point. The content of any public policy consists of a deliberate selection of goals and means to achieve them, given certain technical and political constraints. This implies that the relationship between goals and means is a central dimension in the study of language policy, something that was already well understood in the early days of the emergence of LPP as field of study in its own right but has been partly lost following the 'critical turn' in both applied linguistics and sociolinguistics – a point we come back to in Section 3. The study of the relationship between a public issue and the means to address it remains central in the study of public policy, even in situations in which limited information is available. Most social issues, including those that have to do with language, can be approached as social constructs, which implies that their meaning is almost necessarily contested. At some stage, however, the urgencies of reality require action; it is

essential that policy makers weigh the relative advantages and disadvantages of alternative options and anticipate the consequences of government intervention. This requires a reasoned, rational approach to the weighing of alternative options.

The associated definition of rationality, however, needs to be clarified. Rationality should not be understood as an intrinsic feature of any given choice; it resides in the procedure applied when addressing an issue. Contrary to a few very technical problems, societal issues do not have a 'mechanical', 'technocratic' or unique solution that necessarily emerges from careful thinking, as was often believed in the 1950s or 1960s; however, it is hard to defend the point of view that public decisions can always be made on a completely *irrational* basis (Howlett *et al.* 2020). A more balanced definition of rationality is based on the observation that the process leading up to a choice is affected by the quantity and quality of the information available as well as by the analytical competences of decision-makers. This means that in the real world and most of the time, we operate under what is known as 'bounded rationality' (Simon 1986). The crucial point, however, remains that this process relies on rational reasoning, including some form of assessment of the resources available, the political, institutional and ideological constraints, and the evaluation of the potential or actual effectiveness of policy instruments. It is worth emphasising this point once again: rationality in public policy is procedural, not teleological; what makes a choice rational is the way in which the decision-making operates, not the nature of the choice made. It may be seen as a form of consequentialism, because its focus is less on 'what we do' than on 'how we go about deciding what we will do'.

Let us now turn to the description of the phases of the policy cycle.[4] Its starting point is usually the emergence of an issue to be addressed about which people have different (and possibly diverging or even opposing) views. The issue is then turned into a public problem that requires collective decisions. In this handbook, as shown in Part I, the general context within which issues emerge that are relevant to language policy is characterised by multilingualism and language contact (see Edwards; Templin-Wickström, both in *this volume*).[5] Language contact can lead to the expansion of one language and the simultaneous decline of another. This can be seen as a public issue worth addressing, for example through measures to protect and promote a minority language. At the same time, the transnational mobility of people and the international integration of national economies can create new situations of contact between languages that need to be understood, arbitrated, and managed, for example by supporting the linguistic integration of immigrants and the teaching of second languages in the public education system. Understanding the origin of a language policy implies grasping the major underlying issues that have given rise to it, and triggering a public debate. Given the ubiquity of languages in human life, these issues present many dimensions. These may be political and ideological (Léger, *this volume*),

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[4] The public policy cycle framework should not be confused with the management process model used in Language Management Theory (LMT), in which the process refers to the behaviour towards language (Kimura and Fairbrother, 2020). On LMT, see also Nekvapil (2016).

[5] This is not to say that issues internal to a specific language such as conventions on the use of gender-sensitive pronouns in public documents are not relevant for language policy, but they belong to a class of their own, and they mostly pertain to corpus-planning issues.

historical and identity-based (Kraus, *this volume*), economic (Grenier & Zhang; Wickström & Gazzola, both in *this volume*), cultural and social (Heugh, *this volume*), territorial (Mamadouh, *this volume*), or psychological-cognitive (Sorace & Vernice, *this volume*).

In the study of language policies, it is crucial to provide a detailed account of the situation in which language becomes an issue giving rise to a public debate. This debate takes place upstream of the formulation, adoption, implementation, and evaluation of language policies, which in turn provide feedback to the public debate. Although public policies (and language policies) usually have a top-down component at some point in the process, they can be initiated by citizens and organisations in civil society who contribute to raising awareness of a specific language issue. Put differently, what is referred to as 'bottom-up' language policy (Heugh, *this volume*) actually corresponds to public policies initiated by citizens and organisations in civil society, such as interest groups, journalists, commentators and other public intellectuals, extra-parliamentary political groups, citizens' associations and the private media. The study of this preliminary phase of language policies (phase 1 of the policy cycle) benefits from the contribution of several academic disciplines, including sociolinguistics, history, philosophy, political science, economics, psychology, geography, and law.

Not every issue that is publicly debated and discussed, however, becomes an object of public policy. The life of a public policy proper begins when key actors in the statal sphere give it consideration, i.e., when an issue is accepted among those deserving attention and inclusion in the government's agenda. This phase is called 'agenda-setting' in the strict sense (phase 2 of the policy cycle). It is a mechanism for filtering the various requests for action aimed at the government. Public authorities then get involved in the debate and outline potential solutions to the language question raised. This is perhaps the most critical stage in the policy cycle. How public authorities recognise, frame, define, interpret and articulate an issue has an impact on all the subsequent stages, e.g., on the formulation of solutions and how they are implemented. It is therefore an eminently political phase in which different ideologies, state traditions and values confront each other (Sonntag, *this volume*), and prevailing attitudes towards linguistic diversity become manifest (Fürst, *this volume*). Different and often conflicting discourses are elaborated and disseminated through the media (Sheyholislami and Vassey, *this volume*). The study of this phase requires answers to complex questions: how and why are language issues framed in a certain way so as to be placed on the agenda of 'issues to be addressed by society and government' for policy decisions? Whose values and interests are manifested, overtly and covertly? What perspective on citizenship does it reflect and support? To what extent, and how, can specific contexts, events and organisations influence the process of language policy formulation? What are the different normative, institutional, and administrative traditions that influence the policy positions underpinning language policy? What concepts and notions have been used, or possibly created, in this debate? At this stage, the study of political ideologies, representations or ideas about language and discourse provide indispensable contributions to the understanding of the agenda-setting phase of a language policy.

The next stage of the policy cycle (3) is the formulation of possible plans for addressing the language issue that has entered the government's agenda, and the subsequent selection and

adoption of the preferred option (including doing nothing, i.e., maintaining the status quo). In contrast to phases 1 and 2 of the cycle, which bring together a wide variety of actors, the formulation and decision-making phase involves a small group of actors, typically advisors, experts, senior civil servants and, of course, public decision-makers. The formulation of language policy options at this point can follow different modes, ranging from the deliberate and conscious design of a public policy intervention ('policy design' in the narrow sense) to the opposite end of the spectrum, where options are the result of improvised ideas or electoral opportunism (Howlett 2019). In this handbook, we focus on policy design in the narrow sense. This phase is the very core of language policy. First of all, it involves defining and setting the objectives of language policy (that is, its goals) and clarifying the resources and means available (the inputs). It also involves explaining how and why the resources invested should make it possible to achieve the goals set. This requires the development of theoretical models laying out causal relationships between inputs and outcomes (Grin, *this volume*). The planning of a language policy thus presupposes the definition of a 'programme theory' (or theory of change) that explains how the means employed and the resources invested, given certain constraints, enable the goals of the language policy to be achieved, i.e., how they address the issue defined in the agenda-setting phase. Furthermore, the policy design phase requires identifying, on the one hand, the material and symbolic costs and benefits of the various language policy options, and, on the other hand, the groups to whom the benefits and costs accrue (Vaillancourt, *this volume*). The policy design phase also requires, just as importantly, the identification of the concrete instruments of language policy to be used in the implementation of LPP, be they regulatory, monetary, organisational or informational (Cardinal, *this volume*). The study of phase 3 of the policy cycle cannot dispense with an understanding of the regulatory frameworks and main legal principles underlying language planning (Medda-Windischer and Constantin, *this volume*), because they obviously influence the legal instruments adopted. This phase in the policy cycle ends with the choice of an option. The study of this phase requires the contribution of several disciplines in the social sciences and humanities in order to formulate relevant alternatives and identify appropriate policy instruments to achieve the policy objectives, under a certain set of constraints.

The fourth phase of the policy cycle is its implementation, that is, the execution of the language policy. It is the set of processes that, after planning, aim to achieve the objectives of the language policy. This phase concerns the practical conditions of implementation and operation. It entails particular attention to the issues of organisation and implementation (Gaspard, *this volume*). This encompasses the concrete ways in which resources (inputs) are transformed into direct products of public action (outputs) – e.g., teacher training or the organisation of teaching – and how these, in turn, translate into results (outcomes), that is, the actual effects of the language policy on the target population – e.g., children actually learning a minority language at school. There is a need to identify these components of effective language policies in a rigorous and consistent manner, which requires an appropriate set of measurement and monitoring tools, typically in the form of indicators (Gazzola & Iannàccaro, *this volume*). It is mistaken to take implementation for granted and to view it as a mechanical phase in which those on the ground (such as civil servants, local

government officers, teachers, doctors) simply carry out instructions from above. The relationships between structure and agency in LPP are complex (Johnson 2018; Gazzola, Gobbo, Johnson & Leoni 2023, Chapter 2). The persons who actually implement the language policy benefit from a certain discretion in its concrete implementation, and they may appropriate official language policies in different ways. In some cases, there may be resistance and consequently, a language policy may not be fully implemented (see e.g. ; Akinnaso 1991; Bamgbose 2000; Heugh, 2003; 2013; Gaspard 2019). For this reason, it is essential to study the administrative principles and governance mechanisms that guide the implementation of the various language policy instruments (Godenhjelm, *this volume*).

The fifth and final step in the language policy cycle is retrospective (also known as "ex-post evaluation"; prospective evaluation, also known as *ex-ante*, is part of phase 3). Evaluation refers to the processes through which we determine whether the policy has achieved its goals, and what the effects of language policy have been at various levels. For example, this could mean the extent to which macro-level policy results in changing the practices and attitudes of various target groups and the corresponding changes relating to of the vitality, use and visibility of a language in society at large. Except if it is completely ignored, evaluation, as already noted above, can provide feedback to the public debate and it may result in the reconceptualisation of problems, the revision of the policy measures, the continuation of an essentially unchanged policy, or, on the contrary, its abandonment. Using the data collected during monitoring as well as, possibly, other external sources, evaluation provides a judgement on the policy based on certain criteria, and can help identify best practices in a particular context (see Cardinal and Williams 2021). The most important criteria are the effectiveness, efficiency, and fairness of the measures taken and the process followed, as well as their relevance for addressing the original problem. Evaluation can combine different approaches and techniques, i.e., quantitative (Di Paolo, *this volume*) and qualitative (McCarty & Kyle Halle-Erby, *this volume*).

The five phases of the (language) policy cycle are summarised in Figure 1. The chapters in Part II of this handbook are organised around each phase, while the chapters in Part III present the different areas and contexts of language policy in which the language policy cycle framework can be tested.

The policy cycle framework is presented in different ways in the literature on public policy studies. Figure 1 adopts and adapts to LPP the five-phase presentation in Knoepfel *et al.* (2007) because it is particularly suitable for the purposes of this handbook. The reader, however, should be aware that the literature in public policy studies also proposes other variants of the cycle (see, among others, Howlett *et al.* 2020; Araral, Fritzen, Howlett, Ramesh & Wu, 2013). Some authors divide phase 3 (formulation and adoption) into two distinct phases, i.e., policy formulation and decision-making. However, we prefer to keep them together because, as Jann and Wegrich note, "a clear-cut separation between formulation and decision-making is very often impossible" (Jann & Wegrich, 2007: 48). Moreover, in various representations of the policy cycle, phase 1 is actually merged with phase 2. This, however, requires introducing a difference between a public (or systemic) agenda, that is, the set of issues debated in the public sphere in general, and an institutional (or formal) agenda, which instead is the policy agenda of the government in the narrow

sense (Jann & Wegrich, 2007). In order to relabel these stages 1 and 2 as one, the term 'policy initiation' is sometimes used (Heywood, 2019).

The use of the policy cycle framework for the study of language policies has advantages and limitations. A first advantage is epistemological. It provides a systematic way to organise and generate knowledge about the different aspects of language policy; within this framework, the disciplines involved in LPP and different research methods can complement and fertilise each other. It also allows research in LPP to restore the links with public policy studies and its massive literature. These are links that have faded during various phases of the 'critical turn' first noted in linguistics by the late 1970s (see for example, Fowler and Kress 2018), and frequently associated with growing prominence of 'critical applied linguistics' (Pennycook 2001) and 'critical discourse analysis' in sociolinguistics (Fairclough 2013). The intention in this volume is therefore to recover the practical and pragmatic vocation that was present at the origins of LPP in the sociology of language and sociolinguistics back in the 1960sand 1970s (Oakes, *this volume*), as well as to contribute to the advancement of the discipline. This enables us to move beyond the micro-level study of idiosyncratic practices in specific policy cases, and to embrace a broader and more inclusive analytical framework capable of articulating the macro, the 'meso' and the micro dimensions of LPP.

The second advantage is of a theoretical nature. The use of the policy cycle framework offers a systematic view of the different stages of the process, leading from public political debate to the formulation, implementation, and evaluation of language policy. The policy cycle framework, therefore, "facilitates an understanding of a multidimensional process by disaggregating the complexity of the process into any number of stages and sub-stages, each of which can be investigated alone or in terms of its relationship to any or all the other stages of the cycle" (Howlett *et al.*, 2020: 12). It is also versatile, since it can be used to organise knowledge about a particular stage of the cycle, or to investigate the relationships between different stages. Furthermore, it can be applied at different levels of policymaking, from the local to the international level. Both features facilitate comparative analysis.

A third advantage is that it makes for a richer, more comprehensive, and more articulate representation of language policy processes. Although the central actor is the government, the framework is inclusive because the role of very different private and institutional actors involved in the various stages of a language policy are taken into account. No restrictions whatsoever are placed on the range of concerns, or the identity of the stakeholders considered.

Finally, the study of the language policy cycle can provide guidance to decision-makers in actual policy exercises by clarifying the stages and challenges of LPP. In this perspective, the framework can be used as a practical guide, particularly in the design, implementation, and evaluation phases of language policies.

The language policy cycle also has its limitations; in its application to LPP, such limitations are the same as those already highlighted in the more general policy studies literature (see Jann & Wegrich, 2007 for a review). First, while it presents an ideal description of the policy process, public decision-makers in the real world do not necessarily address and solve public

issues in a systematic and linear manner, and they may skip or mix some steps. For instance, some decisions are never implemented, and many policies are never evaluated. In some cases, choices may be made before the debate or agenda-setting stage. Second, the policy cycle is not a causal model, in the sense of explaining why a policy should move smoothly from one stage to another. The policy cycle, therefore, should not be used rigidly. Indeed, it is often presented in the literature as a 'framework' or 'heuristic tool' for organising knowledge and structuring the study of public policy. This is the way in which it is applied in this volume.

In summing up the main points made in this section and introducing the next one, it is useful to highlight four aspects that characterize this handbook.

- o First, it differs from much of the recent literature on LPP found in both applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, because the latter only peripherally addresses policy proper, emphasizing ideologies and discourse on policy instead. The emphasis on ideologies and discourse implies a focus on phases (1) and (2), and partly phase (4). It may reflect the analytical priorities in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics' approaches; but while such approaches are indisputably essential to the study of phases (1) and (2) of the policy cycle, and provide relevant contributions to the understanding of actual practices in policy implementation (phase 4), they are not sufficient to address the issues raised in policy formulation (phase 3), policy implementation (phase 4) and evaluation (phase 5). Therefore, they cannot fully address the needs of policy makers, who want to know what works, for what reasons, under what conditions, at what cost, with what effects, and for whom, and who also need stable, consistent criteria for comparing alternative language policy options and choosing among them.
- o Second, developing a broad, integrated view of the LPP process encompassing phases 1 through 5 allows for the simultaneous development of applied, empirical research (whether qualitative or quantitative) and of a fundamental theoretical perspective. Any of the phenomena involved in the study of LPP may be approached from these two perspectives. The policy cycle framework presented here offers a way to combine and mutually position various research inputs in a structured fashion.
- o Third, the policy analysis template makes for a highly inclusive research programme, since it underscores the need for the inputs from a large number of disciplines – any discipline, in fact, that has something to say about language issues and responses through policy. Different disciplines, in turn, are also better placed to relay the different types of concerns about language found in different social, political, economic, linguistic, ethnic and cultural constituencies.

- o Finally, a policy analysis framework proposes a convenient typology for the identification and formulation of future research projects inspired by the questions addressed in this handbook.

As pointed out in Section 1, the type of approach that provides the structuring rationale for this book is designed with democratic states in mind. By 'democratic states', we mean those of which it can reasonably be said that, despite the presence of non-converging interests

between different groups in society, three conditions are met. The first one is the existence of democratic institutions allowing different sets of opinions, preferences, and values to be voiced and heard. The second is a general respect (by the state apparatus, political parties, pressure groups and citizens at large) for the rule of law, as opposed to the arbitrariness that characterizes, to varying degrees, oligarchic regimes and dictatorships. The third condition is a measure of social consensus to the effect that what ultimately justifies public policies is the search for the common good, which itself presupposes a *bone fide* effort to establish what the common good is. The policy cycle framework, therefore, is not intended to describe language planning aimed at eradicating a regional or minority language or erasing another language and culture. Of course, non-democratic planning may include a phase in which some planning issues become part of the authorities' agenda; it is then followed by the design, implementation and possibly the evaluation of the measures adopted. In other words, some technical components of the policy cycle framework could be used for this purpose, just as any form of knowledge can be used for worthy as well as criminal goals. But this is precisely why we insist on thinking in terms of the full policy cycle, including the initial stage of public and open debate and the feedback of evaluation to such as debate. The public policy cycle, in this perspective, can be seen as a tool for the promotion of democracy, social justice (including human rights) and social progress. As Schneider notes, "from a normative perspective, public policy in a democracy is charged with the task of creating democratic institutions; encouraging and promoting an active, engaged, and informed citizenry; promoting justice as fairness for all people; and solving collective problems in ways that are efficient and effective" (2013: 222). The systematic study of the various stages of public policy, therefore, helps to understand whether these objectives have been achieved, i.e. whether the public debate preceding a policy is actually open; whether the arenas for discourse are free; whether the social construction of the objectives of a public policy actually reflects the orientation and identity of the citizens; whether the implementation of public policy meets certain standards of transparency and fairness; whether resources have been used in an effective way, and the government is transparent and accountable for its actions (see Ingram & Schneider, 2006).

3. On politics, policy and practice: more ways in which this handbook is different

This handbook aims to fill a gap and wants to be a resource for scholars, decision-makers and citizens at large. It provides analytical concepts, empirical methods and meaningful examples that can assist readers in understanding language policy processes, in participating in language policy debates in a better-informed way, as well as in designing, implementing, and evaluating language policy plans of various types.

It means to do so by foregrounding some questions that are central to any policy; these have been discussed in the preceding sections. Although such questions remain just as urgent today as they ever were, they are often overlooked in some orientations of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics research, which has turned the gaze in other directions and taken what some authors have called a 'critical turn'.

As noted by Oakes (*this volume*), 'critical' approaches to LPP have helped to deepen the perspectives opened by earlier approaches. However, it is now becoming essential to move the field forward, because the emphasis on the critical legacy has entailed a degree of isolation from recent developments in various strands of the social sciences, in particular – but not only – in policy studies, and, as noted above, a gradual separation from the practical and theoretical concerns of practitioners involved in actual LPP.

The application of critical approaches to LPP has already been criticized because of their arguably insufficient attention to agency (see e.g. Johnson 2018 for a review). However, additional reasons that may explain this gap with actual LPP have to do with the ways in which the term 'critical' has been used and interpreted (Tollefson, 2006). First, the adjective may refer to the need to include proper consideration of the power issues involved in language policies. This necessity is undisputed, and it is a natural part of the questions addressed when applying the policy cycle. Nevertheless, the 'critical' stance often appears to be accompanied by the assumption that other strands of LPP development and scholarship do not sufficiently take these power issues into account, and that a focus on those issues should supersede all the other questions that turn up in the adoption, implementation and evaluation of public policies. Heller, for example, considers "the central question to be how LPP … has been understood at various junctures to be connected to both political and economic interests, or why language has been understood as a significant, or at least useful, terrain for working out political and economic concerns" (Heller 2018: 36). Second, a critical perspective may refer to a robust awareness of the possible limitations (logical, conceptual, theoretical, empirical, etc.) of researchers' tools and methods, first and foremost their own. This is a normal precaution in all sound scientific research. However, the sense in which the term 'critical' has often been used since the so-called 'critical turn' (and hence the meaning of adopting a 'critical' stance) is a different one. It frequently takes the form of an *a priori* suspicion of the intentions or consequences of official language policies, whether as actual implementation or as discourse enshrined in policy documents. A recurring trope found in certain strands of critical approaches in LPP is the questioning (or even the dismissal) of public policy measures in general, on the grounds that these measures are primarily a tool for the promotion of sectoral interests or the reproduction of social inequality. For example, Tollefson (1991: 136) states that "Language planning-policy means the institutionalization of language as a basis for distinctions among social groups (classes). That is, language policy is one mechanism for locating language within social structure so that language determines who has access to political power and economic resources. Language policy is one mechanism by which dominant groups establish hegemony in language use". In a similar vein, Martin-Jones and Da Costa Cabral note that "the term *critical* signals several interconnected goals for research [on LPP]: first, that of shedding light on the way in which language practices, discourses, and ideologies contribute to the reproduction of power asymmetries" (2018: 86, italics in the original).

Such diagnoses may of course result from very cogent arguments, although one might query the implicit reduction of the political process to interest-based politics that pit (often unduly essentialized) groups against each other. However, independently of whether the case made

is compelling or not, a direct consequence of such an emphasis is that the discussion drifts towards ideological and political claims instead of the examination of actual policies (Cardinal & Sonntag 2015). These ideological and political dimensions, however (and as shown in Section 2) are only *part* of what LPP is about, and they are heavily focused on just one the phases of LPP, namely agenda-setting.

Addressing the questions that actors face when they debate, advocate, campaign for, design, adopt, implement, appropriate, evaluate, or reform language policies, certainly requires analyses that embrace the *political* questions favoured by some strands of current research; but this does not, for that matter, foreclose the rigorous, systematic and comparative examination, assessment and evaluation of *public policy* plans and measures, whether when they are first designed or after they have been implemented. Such analyses are useful and even indispensable for civil servants, elected officials, professionals in various sectors, scholars, the media, and, ultimately, citizens at large, in order to engage in meaningful democratic debate.

Alongside a focus on agenda-setting, significant tracts of current research devote much attention to discourses about language policies as distinct from language policies themselves (for an overview, see Reisigl, 2013). As Johnson aptly notes, "a lot of language policy analysis is, essentially, discourse analysis, since it involves looking at various texts (both spoken and written) and analyzing policy discourses that are instantiated within or engendered by the policy texts" (2013: 152). This, however, creates a risk of neglecting other forms of knowledge that actors also need. Providing such knowledge requires us to engage in the demanding task of identifying and measuring complex real-world processes, striving for a clear vision of the relationships between them, and using various types of hard data, ranging from the qualitative to the quantitative, to back up our accounts of such processes (see several chapters in Hult & Johnson, 2015). This is also a necessary condition for assessing the extent to which the claims made can be generalised.

The challenge of identifying and measuring these complex processes is one that requires a suitable combination of concepts and methods. Some of these concepts and methods originate in the strand of research often called 'ethnographic' (see McCarty and Halle-Erby, *this volume*). This term should not be primarily taken in the classical dictionary sense of "the study and systematic recording of human cultures". Rather, it refers to a detailed observation of practices (for example regarding the ways in which actors use various languages in their daily life), with a strong emphasis on shedding light on the meaning that actors themselves assign to their language practices. Ethnographic approaches are numerous, but they frequently focus on conversation analytical work or ethnomethodology (Seedhouse, 2013) in the study of multilingual interaction in various settings such as the workplace (Makaki et al., 2013) or universities (Nussbaum et al., 2013). The knowledge generated by ethnographic approaches is relevant to the policy cycle because of their high degree of granularity, which helps to identify and interpret language-related processes in greater depth (Hornberger & Johnson 2007; Johnson 2013). The challenge then remains how to generalise from what are often qualitative case studies in specific settings, in order to design policies that can be expected to meet criteria of efficiency and fairness at the level

of a jurisdiction – which is the level at which language policies are adopted and implemented.

Of course, this immediately confronts us with the full range of the classical challenges of the social sciences: how do we know that *X* influences *Y*? On what grounds can we reasonably expect that adopting a particular measure will deliver certain results, not just in a specific case, but more generally? What are the conditions needed for this connection to be observed? How can causes, effects and surrounding conditions be properly identified and reliably measured? When such questions are applied to something as complex, multifaceted, and ubiquitous as language, they are particularly daunting. But apart from being inescapable, the challenge is well worth confronting. Engaging with these questions is what makes it possible, for example, to show that moving from a unilingual to a bilingual education system in order to serve the needs of a linguistic minority, far from involving an unsustainable cost, requires the education system to increase its expenditure by only about 3.5% -- or less (Grin 2005). Results of this kind, illustrate the fact that far from being "about how things 'ought to be'" and hence in opposition to "what 'is'" (Canagarajah, 2006: 153), the public policy approach to LPP is rooted in reality, and often crucial to the public debate about language policy.

At this point, it is also useful to pre-empt some widely shared misconceptions surrounding the approach presented in this handbook.

First, nothing in our public policy approach implies that the only actor taken into account in LPP should be the government – quite the contrary, as several contributions in this book amply demonstrate. It important to steer clear of the simplistic opposition between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' policy development. Language policy, as with all public policy, is the responsibility of government, but is also depends on the initiative, involvement, participation and feedback of individual and collective agents in civil society. Many of the chapters in this handbook examine the interplay between different groups of actors, including state and non-state actors.

Second, as a direct consequence of the preceding point, the tools and methods presented in the following chapters allow for a wide range of theoretical and empirical inputs to be included in our thinking about policy. A more dynamic understanding of the policy cycle makes it clear that it would be preposterous to associate this tool with a technocratic, *a-political* perspective. Using these tools and methods does not discount the possibility or reality of conflict and injustice, nor does it imply that issues of power are ignored. Quite the contrary, they are designed to take such phenomena in stride, precisely through the systematic identification and measurement of the material and symbolic elements that constitute language policies. This does not only aim at efficiency or serve to understand what policies work better than others. It is also essential in the perspective of social justice, because these tools and methods serve to establish who gains, who loses, and how much; they also help to assess whether such outcomes, as they result from the adoption and implementation of various policies, are ethically acceptable. Being able to identify and measure such dimensions of language policies is an absolute prerequisite for well-informed democratic debate, whether our concerns are primarily positive, or normative, or both.

Third, the literature in public policy studies shows that the policy cycle framework is not wedded to any particular ideology or political orientation (Howlett *et al.* 2020). Applying this framework and using some criteria for evaluation simply presupposes respect for the principles that normally animate a liberal democracy, as opposed to dictatorships of any stripe. Not a single additional assumption is made regarding the desirable social and political climate, or the nature of policy outcomes. Relatedly, it is essential to recall that liberal democracy and 'neoliberalism' are two different things, even though some contributions in the LPP literature appear to confuse them; the analytical tools presented here are equally relevant to democracies where left-of-centre or right-of-centre opinions prevail. Some politically-induced differences may of course arise between politically different jurisdictions in the practical application of various tools to the formulation, adoption, implementation or evaluation of particular policies. Nevertheless, the tools themselves remain the same. As to the values that underpin the use of the analytical instruments presented in this volume, they are aligned with the standard interpretation of human rights as understood in major international instruments and their application to language (Medda, *this volume*) and also with various contributions in the volumes on linguistic human rights edited by Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2016, 2023).

The foregoing probably explains why some of the recurring themes discussed in both 'critical' applied linguistics and sociolinguistics in matters relating to LPP are not addressed in this handbook. The reader may notice the absence of entries about 'superdiversity', 'languaging' or 'commodification', for example. This absence is deliberate, and the reasons for it have been addressed elsewhere (for more detailed discussions, see Edwards 2012; Grin 2018, 2021, 2022b; Jaspers 2018; May 2022; McSwan 2017; Pavlenko 2017; Spolsky 2022). The mission of this handbook is to offer citizens, elected officials, civil servants, media people, and scholars a number of instruments that are useful in the theory and practice of LPP. These instruments encompass concepts, methods, analyses and data that can help them understand and take part, in their various capacities, in the different stages of the policy cycle. Becoming aware and voicing one's concerns about language issues, taking part in political debates in an informed way, formulating and weighing policy responses, implementing them in a structured fashion, and evaluating them properly calls for an eminently pragmatic and theoretically sound perspective. Such a perspective should take at its starting point the actual language issues that societies are confronted with, and propose tools designed to deal with these issues.

4. The contents of this Handbook

In this section, we provide an overview of what the reader may expect in each chapter in the three parts of this volume. A key feature of this handbook is that all chapters by and large follow the same template. Although there is some – unavoidable – variation among chapters, the general template is the following: each chapter includes an introduction, then a section about key issues, concepts and definitions, followed by a section presenting the development of the literature on the topic examined. This is followed by a section on theory and methods, which are then discussed in selected applications. The chapters contain a

concluding section about challenges, debates and perspectives, and finally suggestions for further readings. This template allows readers to quickly find the information they seek.

Part I – Foundations of language policy and planning (LPP)

This part includes three chapters. We begin with an introduction to the history and the main conceptual, analytical, and theoretical tools used in LPP. These are ones that the editors and authors of the handbook regard as essential for researchers, policymakers and public officials. A purpose of this section is to familiarise the reader with key terminology and tools frequently used in public-sector LPP contexts, and the linguistic environments in which LPP operates. It is important for policymakers and those interested in LPP to be able to recognise the dynamics of language change in any environment in which LPP occurs. Language change may occur in relation to status, practices, or use; it may be affected by any one of multiple socio-economic, political, or educational circumstances. Understanding these dynamics is necessary in the process of articulating appropriate policy and its implementation.

In Chapter 2, *The historical development of language policy and planning,* Leigh Oakes provides an overview of the historical development of LPP as a field of study. The author traces theoretical changes in the field, including recent critical and ethnographic approaches. Importantly, Oakes argues that the pragmatic and interdisciplinary origins of the field are ones that have greatest practical relevance for policymakers.

John Edwards, in Chapter 3, *Language policy and planning: terms of engagement,* provides a detailed discussion of the foundations of LPP with an explanation of many of the key concepts and terminology used in the volume. These include concepts that relate to the intersection between language policy and power, and the linguistic (language) ecology within which LPP is undertaken. Edwards draws attention to terms that concern language change, contact, and variation, including code-switching. He also emphasises three sub-fields of language planning, namely acquisition planning, corpus planning, and status planning.

Chapter 4, *Language competition models,* by Torsten Templin and Bengt-Arne Wickström, offers a theoretical explanation of the dynamics of change relating to language status, skills, and practices. The authors detail two types of formal models that are used to explain the evolution of the use and vitality of minority languages, and therefore the variables that are relevant for policies aimed at promoting their survival and revitalisation. The first (macro) type includes models in which the transmission of languages from one generation to the next occurs mainly in the family. The second (micro) type of model explains language change as the result of imitation during random encounters of single individuals. The authors introduce a third type of model, which is a hybrid of the two.

Part II – The language policy cycle

The pragmatic and interdisciplinary approach taken in this handbook enables us to provide a multi-disciplinary set of chapters that are relevant and useful for researchers and policymakers at each stage of the policy cycle. Our intention is to provide a methodological approach together with conceptual and analytical tools, and relevant high-quality expertise

that help to analyse, discuss, and understand LPP processes and outcomes across the five stages of the language policy cycle, and to guide policymakers in the making of language policy. The 20 chapters in Part II cover the central aspects of the five stages of the language policy cycle.

Stage 1 – The emergence of language-related issues

The history and analysis of LPP indicates that it is crucial to offer a comprehensive account of political, social, and economic contexts, in order to understand how a language question becomes an issue and is experienced and recognised as one, and what motivations inspire relevant actors (for example, nationalism, human capital creation, identity, inequality, migration) to justify a language policy intervention. How the language question or issue enters the public sphere and how it becomes both a public and social debate occurs ahead of actual language policy formulation, adoption, implementation, and evaluation. While public policies (and language policies) follow top-down processes, they can be initiated and influenced by private actors who contribute to raise awareness about a specific language question. What is called "bottom-up" language policy usually corresponds to public policies inspired by private actors. In most instances, we expect to find a mix of public-sector language policy that is influenced to some degree by civil society or private sector agents.

Seven chapters (Chapters 5-11) refer to Stage 1 of the policy cycle, and they offer a series of circumstances and contexts in which language-related issues surface for attention in the public sphere for LPP intervention.

In Chapter 5, *Language policy and planning and the role of the state*, Rémi Léger discusses how two dominant theoretical positions, liberal and Marxist, influence state power and policy. The author provides an overview of the main issues and approaches taken to address issues from these positions, paying particular attention to normative frameworks that can guide actors involved in public (state) policy development.

Chapter 6, *Language, belonging and citizenship*, by Peter Kraus, brings attention to the relationship between linguistic identity and political power within a framework intended to support nationalism and a nation-state identity within civil society. Challenges to the historical link between language and the nation-state have increased during the 21st century owing to widespread migration and increase in diversity. Kraus points out that state authorities need to adjust nation-state linked policies to the expansion of societal multilingualism and the potential for multilingual citizenship.

Chapter 7, *Language policy and planning and mobilisation in post-colonial civil societies,* by Kathleen Heugh, provides an overview of civil society engagement with public sector LPP in former colonial states in Africa, Asia, and the Americas characterized by high levels of societal multilingualism. Heugh suggests civil society can and does make significant contributions at various stages of the policy cycle, but clearly government is responsible for legislation and effecting implementation. She also argues that policies intended to achieve equality and justice need to be informed by reliable evidence-based data rather than ideological, often well-meaning but evidence-poor, advice provided by influential agents and interest groups in both civil society and the public sector.

Chapter 8, *Language and territory*, by Virginie Mamadouh, introduces the relationship between territories, languages and LPP, emphasising the sociological and cultural dimensions of this relationship (which may also be approached from a legal perspective through the concept of territoriality). Key issues and concepts regarding the territorial character of LPP interventions are highlighted, illustrating how these are influenced by differing conceptions and understanding of territory and of the relationship between territory and language, extending to actors' perceptions of their own place in this space.

In Chapter 9, *Language, the labour market and trade*, Gilles Grenier and Weiguo Zhang bring an economic analysis of the role of language skills in the labour market and international trade. The authors investigate the economic value of language, which can be approached from a variety of angles, including communication, culture, and human capital. Although the rationale for LPP is often focussed on the dominant language or lingua franca for purposes of labour and trade, it may neglect the cultural and human value of minority languages. Policymakers are advised to pay attention to civil society's desire to protect and preserve linguistic diversity.

Bengt-Arne Wickström and Michele Gazzola, in Chapter 10, *The economics of language policy and planning*, explain under which conditions government LPP is motivated and justified by problems of market failure (inefficiencies) in a *laisser-faire* situation as well as by a wish for equity and fairness between different individuals. They discuss how a reference to cost-effectiveness and the use of cost-benefit analysis can help address practical decision-making problems in language planning and analyse the policy implications of differences in the cost structures of different language-planning measures.

Chapter 11, *More than one language: cognitive perspectives and implications for language policy*, by Mirta Vernice and Antonella Sorace, provides insight into the cognitive linguistic benefits of bilingualism across the lifespan. In so doing, the authors emphasise the importance for education and decision-makers to consider how and why the provision or denial of bilingual education has lifelong implications for vulnerable and minority communities.

Stage 2 – The politics of language and agenda-setting

A public problem can only be identified as such once it is included in a political agenda. Political parties, the executive, and public organisations therefore need to participate in identifying, debating, and proposing solutions to a language issue at this stage. The agenda-setting process includes media coverage, and internal and external mobilisation of political and para-political actors. This section, therefore, is devoted to the politics of language and competition for power. It includes the analysis of discourse about language policy.

In Chapter 12, *Power and the politics of language*, Selma Sonntag examines how power and politics affect LPP through three approaches: the rational, ideological, and institutional. The limitations and challenges of each of these approaches are then further explored to offer guidance to policymakers on how to frame language policy agendas.

Chapter 13, *Language policy and discourse in the public sphere: the discursive construction of language and multilingualism as policy objects* by Jaffer Sheyholislami and Rachelle

Vassey, introduces the concepts of discourse and discourse analysis, which proposes methodological approaches to understand how language is used to influence human behaviour and thinking in the fields of applied linguistics and sociolinguistics over the last two to three decades. The analysis of the discursive aspects of LPP are important to understand how the policy agenda is determined.

In Chapter 14, *Inter-group relations and attitudes: Conceptualization, measurement and relevance for Language policy and planning*, Guillaume Fürst, using the tools of social psychology, presents a quantitative (measurement) methodology for identifying inter-group relations and attitudes towards languages and multilingualism at various stages of the policy cycle.

Stage 3 – Policy formulation and adoption

In this third phase, the decision-maker undertakes several procedures. These include setting the regulatory means considered necessary to implement the language policy (e.g., the legal basis), setting the goals of the policy, defining the methods of operation, proposing alternative solutions to tackle the problem, defining causal models of intervention, identifying the resources to mobilise policy (inputs), identifying expected outputs and outcomes, identifying the relevant actors (target group, stakeholders), and setting timeframes. This is the core business of language policy. It requires a robust theory of how specific measures deliver certain effects, under what conditions, at what (material and symbolic) cost, with benefits and costs accruing to whom. It explores the policy instruments available to language policy makers, as well as the issues that arise when designing a multi-level language policy. These instruments are meant to ensure that the most important and relevant techniques that characterise and reveal the advantages and drawbacks of language policies are available to policymakers.

In Chapter 15, *Language policy design and programme theory*, François Grin, presents the concept of programme theory, which is central to policy design. Its function is to spell out the causal relationships between the resources invested in a policy (the inputs), the direct effects of a policy (the outputs), and its consequences in terms of the variables that a policy is intended to change (the outcomes). Spelling out and understanding how these relationships are influenced by surrounding conditions and events also helps to explain why a policy "does what it does" and provides an indispensable reality check.

Chapter 16, *Language policy instruments*, by Linda Cardinal, introduces the theory and practice of language policy instruments (LPI). These include language action plans, censuses, information campaigns, and specific tools for service delivery that go beyond legal instruments (legislation) set out to articulate official policy. It suggests that these instruments can be debated at each stage of the policy cycle, and the advantages of LPI analysis for decision-makers and practitioners are explained.

In Chapter 17, *Costs and benefits of language policy: how to measure them*, François Vaillancourt presents methods commonly used by economists to estimate the costs and the benefits of public policies. He provides five practical examples of application, namely, acquisition planning aimed at providing schooling in the native language of a minority group; acquisition planning aimed at teaching a second language; public provision of

services in a minority language; state-regulated private provision of services in a given language; and public provision of minority-language signage.

Chapter 18, *Governance, complexity and multi-level language policy and planning*, by Huw Lewis and Elin Royles, focusses on the development of language policy by actors at different levels of policy and decision-making. A multi-level and multi-actor framework is provided to help decision makers understand how actors at different levels and areas of responsibility interact, and how these interactions affect policy development.

In Chapter 19, *Language rights and protection of linguistic minorities: International legal instruments, their development and implementation*, Roberta Medda and Sergiu Constantin explain normative frameworks and legal principles for LPP in relation to language rights and linguistic minorities. They distinguish between 'hard law' legally binding instruments, and 'soft law' documents that are not legally binding but exert political influence on policy.

Stage 4 – Implementation and monitoring

Implementation is the carrying out of language policy. Implementation involves the set of processes realised to achieve the aims of language policy, while monitoring refers to the tools and procedures to assess the progress of implementation. Concrete instruments for steering and managing language policy are clearly spelled out to identify who should do what, when and how. Implementation produces outputs (deliverables) and outcomes, monitored through data collected for indicators designed to track and measure implementation. The chapters below address the practical conditions and difficulties in implementing language policy in different contexts and domains, and well as tools for monitoring.

Chapter 20, *Principles for language policy implementation*, by Helaina Gaspard, presents a four-part framework (resources or inputs, interim yields or outputs, end results or outcomes, and socio-institutional context) for guiding the implementation of language policy. The author illustrates how to use the framework to identify the strengths and weaknesses of implementation measures, and she presents the example of the official languages policy of Canada.

In Chapter 21, *Language policy implementation from an interactive governance perspective,* Sebastian Godenhjelm draws attention to the complexity in the process of implementing policy. This includes the process of increasing interaction between hard law and soft law policy instruments and interactive governance mechanisms. The intention is to illustrate actual decision-making processes and the material and non-material determinants of the process.

In Chapter 22, *Indicators in language policy and planning,* Michele Gazzola and Gabriele Iannàccaro explain the central role of indicators in policy implementation and monitoring. In so doing, they explain the concepts of indicators, indicator systems and information systems in policy implementation and monitoring. They also explain a methodology for deconstructing complex concepts into their constitutive parts and then how to link these to quantifiable indicators. The role of sociolinguistic surveys in populating an indicator

system is also explored. The authors use examples of LPP indicators to evaluate minority language vitality to demonstrate the properties of a good indicator and indicator system.

Stage 5 – Evaluation

Evaluation is the final stage of the policy cycle. In this stage, data collected during the monitoring stage (and possibly from other external sources) are used to form a judgement on the policy based on criteria such as effectiveness, efficiency, and fairness. The design for and protocols for the collection of these data need to conform to rigorous controls regarding quality, validity, and reliability. Evaluation is an important stage in which feedback and accountability to the public debate is provided. This section contains chapters of a rather technical nature in which the reader can find a toolkit of quantitative and qualitative techniques used in the evaluation of language policies.

Chapter 23, *Quantitative methods in language policy and planning: Statistical measurement and identification of causal patterns*, by Antonio di Paolo, relates the statistical evaluation of the broad impact of language policies to recent findings in the econometrics of impact evaluation. The chapter includes several empirical strategies that can be adopted, depending on the type of intervention and data availability (distinguishing between experimental and non-experimental data), to achieve causal estimates of the impact of language policies. The chapter includes a brief discussion of recent studies that apply different econometric methodologies.

In Chapter 24, *Qualitative methods in language policy and planning: Ethnographic Monitoring,* Teresa McCarty and Kyle Halle-Erby, introduce the methodology of ethnographic assessment as one that includes participant and nonparticipant observation, in-depth interviews, document collection, and analysis in collaboration with stakeholders. The authors explore the utility of ethnographic methods for a critical qualitative evaluation of LPP. They argue that ethnographic methods of analysis sit at the intersection of description, interpretation, and evaluation, where evaluation refers not to causal impact assessment, but to a form of valuing in which researchers and stakeholders collaborate to determine a policy's worth.

Part III – Contexts of language policy and planning

Part III provides examples in fifteen chapters (Chapters 25-39) to illustrate the real-world applications of LPP in different contexts and at different levels. For this reason, there is greater attention to particular cases and contexts. These chapters cover many of the classic topics of LPP, from the protection and promotion of minority languages to the management of multilingualism in officially multilingual countries and the linguistic integration of immigrants. They describe contexts in which language policies can be studied through the language policy cycle framework.

Chapter 25, *Official multilingualism*, by Nenad Stojanović, provides a comparative assessment of regimes or contexts in which multilingualism is designated official policy. In such cases, two or more languages are legally recognised as the language of a polity, meaning that documents, services, and official communication should be provided in more than one language. The chapter offers a conceptual roadmap and an overview of scholarly discussions

of the rationale for official policies of multilingualism. The author identifies three approaches (parity, minority enhancement, proportionality) that support the principle of equality in multilingual policies, and he explains the territoriality and personality principles in the administration of multilingualism.

In Chapter 26, *Minority language protection and promotion*, by Brian Ó Curnáin and Conchúr Ó Giollagáin*, examine LPP challenges relating to regional and minority languages. Referring to language protection and promotion for minority languages in LPP as (MINLPP), the authors consider the role of public debate and symbiotic (macro- and micro-level) policy, planning and implementation interventions that are necessary to ensure language acquisition, vitality, and the sustainability of minority languages to support ethnolinguistic cohesion and practical benefits across society.

Chapter 27, *Reclaiming indigenous languages*, by Carlos Sánchez Avendaño, focuses on the reclamation or revitalization of languages associated with Aboriginal, ancestral, autochthonous, First Nations, and Indigenous peoples. Using a 'language displacement framework', the author discusses the process of conceptualising and scoping the methods, practices, movements, and initiatives for language revitalisation. Challenges for language planning that take account of community interests and perspectives and intra-community factors are analysed in terms of how they influence the design and implementation of language revitalisation efforts.

In Chapter 28, *International and supra-national organisations*, Lisa McEntee-Atalianis examines language regimes in an international and a supra-national multilingual organisations, that is, the United Nations and the European Union. The focus is on balancing economic pragmatism and expediency with protection of democratic rights and linguistic diversity. Limitations of current language regimes are identified along with suggestions for review and reform. Theoretical perspectives, including the need for empirical studies to support the policy analysis of alternative options are considered. Allocative and distributive considerations are distinguished from moral or rights-based arguments.

Chapter 29, *Multilingual cities*, by Ingrid Gogolin and Sarah McMonagle, focuses on language policies in cities increasingly characterised by highly diverse, migrant, and multilingual populations. Currently, no systematic research is available about the formulation of, effects of language policy, and consequences for policy of linguistic diversity in cities. The authors provide examples of research methodologies that could be used to inform LPP for cities, illustrating these with descriptions and linguistic land- and-soundscapes in Berlin.

In Chapter 30, *Language education policies: The role of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, Cinzia Colaiuda reviews foreign language teaching and bilingual education based on policies and frameworks established by the Council of Europe with particular attention to the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR). The author discusses language education policy instruments, how the CEFR is used in Europe, its influence beyond Europe, and its use for language assessment.

Chapter 31, *Language policy, literacy and multilingualism*, authored by Joseph (Joe) Lo Bianco, brings an analysis of language and literacy policy in multilingual post-colonial

and /or low-income countries in the Asia-Pacific. These are settings that often rely on bilateral or multilateral assistance, exposing domestic policymaking to influence or even full dependency on external agencies. Lo Bianco explains how to reconcile divergent interests in framing and implementing language policies, and why awareness of the power differentials and interests of different actors is critical in analysing LPP.

Chapter 32, *Language policy in higher education*, by Maria Teresa Zanola, addresses the management of linguistic diversity in academic teaching and research. Key challenges and concerns for language policies in higher education are identified through an extensive literature review and analysis of theoretical and practical considerations found in this literature.

In Chapter 33, Reine Meylaerts addresses *Public services and translation policy.* In today's multilingual world, democratic principles of equal access to public services necessitate the inclusion of translation and interpreting services in LPP to facilitate communication between individuals and authorities. Prototypical translation policies and real-world applications in selected settings are presented. Meylaerts draws connections between these policies and linguistic justice, social cohesion, integration and non-discrimination of Indigenous people, territorial minorities, migrants, and refugees.

Chapter 34, *Language policy and regulation in the old and new media*, by Tarlach McGonagle and Tom Moring, highlights the relationship between media and LPP policies, and the implications of digital media for LPP. Whereas LPP in media fell under national LPP in the past, digitalization has unsettled this association and previously used policy instruments are no longer adequate. There is therefore a need for legal and policy change, including in international instruments that encourage states and global actors to upgrade LPP to promote and protect endangered languages in the context of multi-media and multi-stakeholder concerns.

Stefaan van der Jeught, in Chapter 35, *Language policy and linguistic landscape*, argues that government needs to regulate the commercial and public sector use of language in the 'linguistic landscape'. Legal concepts of state sovereignty, territoriality and individual linguistic freedom are defined. Differences between regulatory official and private language use, where the principle of individual freedom of language choice and use is upheld, are considered together with the rights of historical minorities. Specific jurisdictions in Canada (Quebec), France, Belgium and Italy are examined to illustrate the application of commonly used legal principles.

Chapter 36, *Sign languages and language policy*, by Timothy Reagan, brings an overview of the nature and characteristics of language policy for sign languages and compares these with policy for spoken languages. LPP based on deficit understandings of deafness and sign languages results in significant differences from LPP developed for spoken languages. Reagan argues for positive and proactive rather than deficit policy.

In Chapter 37, *Planned languages*, Sabine Fiedler discusses deliberately planned and constructed languages designed for international communication as an 'extreme case' of language planning. She provides an historical overview of different kinds of planned languages, including Volapük, Latino sine flexione, Ido, Occidental, Basic English, and

Interlingua. The main focus is on Esperanto, an autonomous system with a diverse and productive speech community, and how language planning functions within this planned language.

Chapter 38 by Ekkehard Wolff, *Transnational agencies and national language policy and planning in Africa*, addresses the influence of various international and transnational agencies, some with colonial histories, on LPP in African countries. Colonial administrations, to some extent, have been replaced by agencies operating under the umbrella of cultural diplomacy, often pursuing the promotion of languages of former or present-day colonial states or powerful agencies located beyond African state nations. Attention is given to these as well as to African institutions and independent agencies with LPP interests.

Katalin Buzási, in Chapter 39, *Language policies and integration in the labour market and society in Europe*, focusses on conceptualising and evaluating the effects of language policy on the socio-economic integration of migrants. Despite positive evidence of language training, inclusive education and citizenship, and integration policies for migrants in Europe, results are often context-dependent and not robust. Convincing evidence requires studies that: (1) explore causal impacts using policy impact evaluation methods, (2) attempt to identify the role of languages in these policies and (3) use data science, machine learning techniques, and social media data to mitigate limited data availability.

5. Conclusions and Perspectives for future research

Language policies play an important role in regulating private and public usages. They allow governments and other organisations to attain policy goals in a wide range of areas: communication, education, international affairs, economics, special needs, indigenous peoples, and linguistic minorities. Explaining how language policies are adopted, planned, promoted, implemented, and evaluated is the main goal of this handbook. Our intention is to propose key concepts, theories, methodologies, and tools to make better sense of the "policy component" of the language policy debate.

Our point of departure for this handbook is our commitment to a pragmatic and interdisciplinary approach to language policy and planning. A multiplicity of lenses is needed to do justice to the complexity and different angles (normative, political, economic, social, cultural) from which language issues raised by citizens, groups, businesses make their way into government's agendas and are turned into language policies.

What this handbook brings into the normative discussion on language policies is twofold. First, it rests on the view that the state is central to the governance of linguistic diversity. More specifically, it reminds us that language policies are public policies, i.e., that language is a public issue, not only a matter of personal preferences. States and governments determine which languages are the object of policies and not others.

Secondly, language policies are not only the product of interest-based politics. They are the result of processes of policy-making. As suggested by Peters and Zittoun (2016), much of the work in public policy is about the processes of policy-making. The handbook analyses

and discusses the different stages of the policy process in order to provide detailed information of the different steps involved in the course of developing language policies.

That said, there is a wide panoply of approaches to study the policy cycle or certain aspects of it, including descriptive, rational choice, institutional, political sociology, and critical public policy. The handbook does not endorse one approach in particular. Taken as a whole, it sets the stage for a more comprehensive view of the processes of language policy-making, looking more specifically at the different stages of the policy cycle. The chapters of this handbook serve to highlight and understand each phase of the cycle, as well as present the most important contexts of LPP. They also provide valuable information and help draw lessons for further research.

This leads us to the discussion of the potential future uses of this handbook; several avenues can be mentioned, of which two will be sketched briefly here.

First, the approach developed throughout these 39 chapters lends itself to the study of language policy processes and outcomes in a comparative perspective. The policy cycle framework can be applied across countries and sectors. The main question from a comparative perspective is that of the similarities and differences between processes of language policy-making between one context and another. Let us recall that comparing public policies does not mean making a simple juxtaposition of different cases involving a description of similarities and differences between them (Dodds 2018; Lanzalaco and Prontera 2012). The comparison of public policies requires the use of a common analytical framework that defines the criteria and the parameters used in studying different cases and countries, in order to derive some general or at least generalisable conclusions.[6] The language policy framework presented in this handbook can facilitate comparative studies in LPP. Although the application of the comparative method to LPP is not entirely new,[7] it has not been done systematically using the policy cycle framework.

According to Heidenheimer, Heclo and Adams (2005: 13-14) there are several reasons that explain why a systematic comparison of public policies can be useful. Firstly, through a comparison of the policy processes in different countries or regions, we can improve our understanding of how the state operates, and how governments deal with concrete issues. Secondly, public policies in different countries display increasing interdependence with those in other countries. Thirdly, comparing public policies dealing with similar issues in different countries can provide guidance in designing better policies. The concept of best practices, in this respect, is a central concept informed by the comparative method in LPP. (Cardinal and Williams 2020). Recall that the concept of best practice only makes sense with a comparative approach; that fact that a practice has been successful does not mean per se that it is the best solution, unless it is has been thoroughly compared with others.

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[6] In political science, for example, the comparative method has traditionally been used to test the validity of theoretical hypotheses or to formulate general empirical statements on the relationships between different political variables, and it has been seen as complementary to other methods of scientific inquiry such the experimental and the statistical/econometric method (see Lijphart 1971, Sartori 1990, and Collier 1993 for a discussion).

[7] See for example Laitin and Ramachandran (2016), Turgeon and Gagnon (2015), Liu (2015), and Morris (2010). See Gazzola and Grin (2017) for an overview.

The search for best practices, i.e. standards or guidelines – in particular for the design of policy – has been championed by many scholars (Ó Flatharta, Sandberg and Williams 2014; Cardinal and Williams, 2020).[8] However, identifying best practices raises the question of the extent to which it is possible to export practices from one country to the other. For example, looking for best practices in countries with international languages and assessing whether these could be applied to regions where the languages used are confined to a specific territory amounts to adding a further level of complexity. That said, research on best practices can be beneficial to policy-makers, keeping in mind that here are many variables at play in LPP and that best practices vary from one jurisdiction to another (Cairney, 2016; Grin, Marácz and Pokorn, 2022).[9]

Second, the policy cycle approach proposes theory-based, yet also operational ways to deal with the plurality of dimensions of our linguistic environments. This plurality of dimensions unavoidably characterises the choices advocated by social actors as solutions to the challenges of linguistic diversity. Relatedly, the solutions put forward by different actors may also be very different, particularly with respect to the non-material or symbolic implications of language policies. The policy cycle approach can help to overcome stalemates in this area – as it happens, one of the perennial problems of LPP. More specifically, it offers a consistent framework within which we can organise the joint consideration of the material and symbolic issues at stake. Language policy and planning involves material and non-material questions, market and non-market values, financial and symbolic implications. This duality turns up at every stage of the policy cycle, from the initial debates over a language issue to the ex-post evaluation of a policy.

The identification and operationalisation of non-market values has been the object of substantial research in areas like cultural and environmental policy (see e.g. Throsby, 2000; Wheelan, 2011). It sometimes uses the technique of contingent valuation (Diamond & Hausman, 1994). Approaches to non-market value have occasionally been suggested in LPP, drawing on the parallels that can be made between language policy and environmental policy (Grin, 1994; Wickström, Templin, and Gazzola 2018). Others highlight, under the label of 'disenfranchisement', the negative implications of excluding certain languages from the operations of international organisations (Ginsburgh and Weber, 2011).

Still, much works remains to be done in order to take the full measure of the different dimensions of language policy options. This concerns, in particular, assessing the importance that social actors assign to various linguistic features of their environment that cannot be measured in monetary terms (contrary to, for example, language-related wage differentials). In addition, aiming for a broader, more inclusive approach to the dimensions

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[8] In his work, Williams has called for detailed evidence of language policy development and implementation in different contexts to help determine what is an innovative and appropriate language policy design (Cardinal and Llewellyn, 2022).

[9] Building on these lessons, comparative LPP can be useful to identify differences and similarities in the processes of language policy-making, looking at the role of contexts and institutions or values and culture. It is a key feature of comparative public policy that policy-making takes place in particular contexts and environments. (March and Olsen, 1989; Rayner and Howlett 2009).

of LPP highlights the importance of studying its implications for language rights and linguistic justice, with its rapidly growing body of research.[10]

As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, such developments are crucial for moving from acknowledgements of principle to operational procedures in the development of democratic language policies. These are policies in which the principles of social justice, human rights and fairness are likely to be best secured through robust and systematic planning. Since the implications of LPP reach across civil society and the public sector, interdisciplinarity is indispensable to achieve democratic LPP. Not only has it been our purpose to restore a clarity of perspective on the role and functions of LPP proper in this volume, it is also to strengthen the field and terrain of LPP across disciplines. We hope that this handbook, in addition to being of service to scholars and practitioners of language policy, and to citizens at large with an interest in language policy and planning, can also open up new avenues to inspire renewed research agendas.

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[10] On linguistic justice, see, in particular, Shorten 2017; and Carey 2019, and collective volumes edited by De Schutter and Robichaud 2015; Peled, Ives, and Ricento 2015, Léger and Lewis 2017, Bonotti and Mac Giolla Chríost 2019. See Alcalde 2018, Morales-Gálvez and Riera-Gil 2019.

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