Review of *The MIME Vademecum: Mobility and Inclusion in Multilingual Europe*
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There is inconsistency between linguistic diversity on the ground and how this diversity is understood, managed and encouraged – or not – at the various scales of policy formation. This is a pressing and perennial concern for sociolinguists of mobility with an interest in language policy, and one which this interesting volume attempts to address in practice.

The *Mobility and Inclusion in Multilingual Europe* (MIME) research programme ran from 2014 to 2018 under the European Union's 7th Framework funding scheme, responding to the question of how language policy can support the twin and potentially conflicting goals of mobility and social inclusion. *The MIME Vademecum* is its main public-facing output. Multilingualism, as the book stresses, enriches individuals and societies. Yet it is so often viewed as a source of insecurity, division and conflict, and is associated with a corresponding undervaluing of the concomitant migration and mobility. The general and non-academic readership for whom this book is written includes those charged with making and implementing policies that are centrally or peripherally concerned with language, who might support the development of multilingualism, and who might also be attempting to understand and communicate its relevance to the sweep of social issues upon which it impinges. Readers are given a positive steer: François Grin, Director of the MIME programme and General Editor of the book, notes in his introduction that constructive policy responses to individual and societal multilingualism 'yield material and symbolic benefits that exceed their costs, and are conducive to more fairness in society' (p.26). States that encourage multilingualism – he maintains – are likely also to be promoting a fairer distribution of economic resources, political equity, societal well-being, and engagement with the breadth of cultural life.

The MIME Vademecum is a summary of findings from the case studies that comprised the MIME programme, written for practitioners (e.g. language policy civil servants), presented in 72 short two-page chapters, and framed in the introduction as a *toolkit*. All the chapters speak in some way to the central arguments of MIME, that both mobility and social inclusion are desirable; that these conditions are in tension (mobility compromises inclusion, while too much attention on inclusion and social cohesion can impair mobility); and that given the right conditions a harmonious balance can be struck.

The tension which this book explores relates to the general concern that despite mobility being the normal paradigm, the response of national governments to the growth of linguistically diverse populations has been inconsistent and paradoxical. Writing as I am in the UK in the summer of 2019, and experiencing at first hand the Brexit vote and its chaotic aftermath, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that both mobility and inclusion have been rejected by political leaders in some of Europe's nation states in favour of a strengthening of borders and control. The current UK experience, together with the rise of populist nationalist movements across the continent, demonstrate that the European Union 'needs to re-engage with the meaning of Europe as a collective project,' as Grin says (p.21). The delicate handling of sensitive issues concerning linguistic diversity (e.g. the promotion of

minority language rights, access to minority languages for migrants, home language maintenance) and of broader issues of belonging, integration and social cohesion is rejected in my own home country. Here an ever-widening ideological space has emerged, first for an explicit policy of hostility towards newcomers, then for the Brexit referendum, then for the leave vote and its ensuing turmoil. Delicacy and sensitivity are not currently on the agenda.

The contention of the MIME programme is that the 'multilingual challenge for the European citizen' is to achieve a balance between mobility and inclusion. The questions it asks (p.15) are:
- How can Europeans balance the requirements of mobility in a modern, integrated and technologically advanced society with the need to maintain and take advantage of Europe's linguistic and cultural diversity?
- What does this challenge imply in terms of communication practices, language use and language rights, language teaching and learning?
- How does this translate into policies regarding national languages, minority languages, and immigrant or heritage languages?

'Mobility' here is understood both broadly and narrowly. Its definition captures the multiplicity of motivations for movement, including work, leisure, study and retirement. MIME is however concerned primarily with mobility within the EU. The orientation is towards Europe and not the planet as a whole, and towards 'a strongly integrated union whose citizens can freely move between member states' (p.18). This European project requires easy communication between people from different linguistic backgrounds, and hence the imperative to embrace multilingualism.

Mobility raises issues of inclusion, understood by MIME as a sense of belonging to and connection with one's place of residence. In this respect the programme distinguishes between newcomers and the people who are already there, those who are in a position to 'extend inclusion'. Social cohesion can only happen if the concerns of residents are taken into account: 'Their sense of place must not be threatened, but enriched by the arrival of mobile, and linguistically and culturally different, European fellow citizens' (p.20-21). Residents need to feel confident in their sense of sociolinguistic identity, their sense of linguistic place: if this is challenged, the risk is that the walls go up.

This cautious position on the equilibrium between mobility and inclusion fails to recognise a number of things. First, much European mobility is not between EU member states but involves migration from outside the EU, and for all kinds of reasons, including escape from war, poverty and political unrest. The concerns of refugees and their settlement, though, are largely absent from this book. Moreover, the notion of an outsider minority group attempting to be integrated into an insider society no longer pertains in many of the heavily linguistically diverse spaces and places of Europe's towns and cities. What is more, the work does not quite recognise the extent of the linguistic and cultural diversity that pertains when many languages and cultures come into contact. While some abstraction is necessary for language description (for language teaching, for instance), language use in the world's superdiverse spaces does not follow a pattern of outsider speakers of language

A attempting to integrate with an insider group of speakers of language B. Perhaps because the chapters are so short, or because of the imperative to make the work accessible for non-experts: the result is a tendency in some (but by no means all) chapters to revert to a discourse of parallel monolingualisms and standard varieties of named languages, and avoidance of the mention of repertoires, or of mixing and blending as normal linguistic behaviour. This is despite the explicitly integrated approach outlined in the introduction. This approach recognises that policy makers are confronted with diverse local conditions, and certainly rejects one-size-fits-all formulations for language policy, in favour of considering the inter-relatedness of language issues and the system that they form, and the role of policy in influencing that system.

So to the detail of the book, intended to be read by people involved in language policy formation, and by stakeholders with a broader remit but where language issues impinge. After the substantive introduction come the 72 chapters, each one a short analysis of a language issue or a policy-oriented tool that users might adapt to their contexts. Chapters are organised in six sections: Language policy analysis; Minorities, majorities and language rights; Linguistic diversity, mobility, and integration; Language education, teaching, and learning; Translation, language technologies, and alternative strategies; and Special topics. Chapter titles are framed as questions, presumably the types of questions that the intended readership might be posing.

All the chapters are interesting, but what of their utility? Suppose that you are a local government bureaucrat charged with administering a language-related policy, perhaps how best to cater for the educational needs of migrant children in your region who are not yet users of the dominant language. Would this book help? Having looked for, but not found, an index, you might scan the list of sections. Some of the thirteen chapters in the section 'Language education, teaching, and learning' appear promising. How about Chapter 41, 'How can inclusive school systems best manage linguistic diversity?' Or Chapter 46, 'What teacher abilities are most needed in order to address language differences in inclusive schools?' Or Chapter 51, 'How can migrants' existing language skills be used to help them learn the host country language?'

Chapter 41 is by Gabriele Iannàccaro of Università di Milano-Bicocca, one of 22 institutions in 16 countries involved in the MIME programme. He begins by explaining the EU definition of 'inclusive schooling', then summarises broad-brush research on language diversity in schools, including the OECD report (2015) on the limitations of the normal pattern of restricting or discouraging the use of other languages by language minority students. There follows a summary of the MIME research in this area, whose focus has been to identify the components of more inclusive models. There is reference to the 'trade-off' between mobility and inclusion, echoing the central theme of the introduction. The policy implications are laid out, in terms of a framework for inclusive schooling at macro (i.e. state), meso (local and regional) and micro (teacher education) levels. There is no doubt that the chapter is helpful in a general orienting way. It would however require massive action, and an ideological shift in some if not all national governments, to implement the commendable recommendations. For example, the implication at macro level is for 'universal mandates, backed up by funding guarantees, to ensure access to the national

language while offering recognition of and instruction in home languages, with implementation delegated to more local levels of school administration.' Chapter 46, also by Iannàccaro, focuses on teacher abilities, and includes a table summarising the attitudes and beliefs, the knowledge and understanding, and the skills and abilities needed to address four broad areas – valuing learner diversity, supporting all learners, working with others, and personal professional development. These would form the basis of a laudable teacher education programme, but again the difficulty would be uptake. Chapter 51, by Sabine Fiedler and Cyril Brosch of Universität Leipzig, boils down to 'how can L2 English support the learning of L3 German?' Here the policy implications (take prior language knowledge into account when putting together language courses; take learners' repertoires, including English, into account when developing materials) are pulling in the right direction but suffer from a generality that borders on vagueness.

There are issues with this book, beyond its Eurocentricity, its over-focus on the macro at the expense of the recognition of complexity in actual language use, and its inaccessible title (a *vademecum* is a user's manual or reference book). Without an index it is difficult to navigate, and one could question aspects of the organisation: some topics should perhaps be in different sections. It is also unclear where to go to read the original MIME research, though the MIME website has links to summaries. This is nonetheless a worthwhile volume. Its chapters are intrinsically interesting. Its stakeholder readership will be informed about some major concerns relating to language policy formation across sectors. It promotes social equity for those on the move. However, the responsibility for managing the complex linguistic challenges of contemporary European life demands thoughtful leadership and an open-ness to recognising the benefits of multilingualism. In some if not all of the states that make up the EU, such leadership is sorely lacking. The casual, crass monolingualism of those at the top of many political heaps demonstrate the difficulty of enabling the positive messages of MIME to gain traction. Witness the words of the British politician Boris Johnson in 2015: 'I don't want to be hostile to speakers of other languages. Other languages are beautiful things, but this is a country that happens to speak English.'

References and resources
More detail on MIME is on the website (https://www.mime-project.org/vademecum/) and in the report to the Seventh Framework Programme
https://cordis.europa.eu/project/rcn/111402/reporting/en
The MIME Vademecum is available to download at https://www.mime-project.org/vademecum/