Multilingualism in Osijek
LUCIDE city report

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Abstract

This report aims to shed light on multilingualism and plurilingualism in Osijek and has been written in the frame of the LUCIDE project – Languages in Urban Communities – Integration and Diversity for Europe. In 5 spheres, namely those of education, economy, urban space, private and public life, we analyse how language-related challenges are addressed. In order to do so we conducted interviews with stakeholders and direct beneficiaries from all 5 spheres, but this report also draws on secondary data – primarily the census of 2011 and the multilingual research conducted earlier. The complexities of multilingualism in the city are expressed through accounts of positive practices and policies, but also an observation that many languages are only visible in the private sphere, which represents a challenge that deserves more attention and careful planning.
1. Introduction

This report has been written in the frame of the LLP “LUCIDE” project, funded by the European Commission: Languages in Urban communities, Integration and Diversity for Europe. The project involves 13 European cities from across Europe and one of its main objectives is to describe linguistic practices and policies of these cities. Furthermore, it also aims to provide policy suggestions for managing these multilingual urban communities.

To accomplish the goal of the project – depicting the reality of our multilingual city in order to develop policies that can manage challenges of the new 21st century cities, we conducted interviews with stakeholders from the following five spheres: education, the public sphere, the economic sphere the private sphere and urban spaces.

We talked to:

- 2 professionals from the Osijek Unit of the Education and Teacher Training Agency
- 3 professionals from The City and University Library Osijek, one of which is also a bilingual with Hungarian as a mother tongue
- Present (SDP) and former (HDSSB) Municipality representatives¹
- An NGO worker from Nansen Dialogue Centre Osijek
- A manager from Siemens, Osijek department
- A professional from The Croatian Chamber of Commerce
- An immigrant from Bosnia and Herzegovina, a former NGO worker, now a hotel owner in Osijek
- An economist in the Croatian Academic Research Network, a former NGO worker
- A sales representative in trading division from Žito d.o.o.
- A teacher of English and German language, a PhD student of linguistics.
- A history teacher from Tenja primary school (bilingual)
- Anonymous teacher from Tenja primary school (bilingual)
- Eight students from Poland, who are here on Erasmus exchange and who also took part in our study.
- A member of the German Association of Danube Schwaben
- A Labour party member

In addition to these interviews, earlier in 2012 we had also carried out a study on language practice and attitudes of bilingual Osijek children, and this data also presents a valuable source for the subsequent study conducted for the LUCIDE project so we thank a family from Hrastin, a Roma community member, a senior holocaust survivor and all bilingual pupils who took part in the previous study. We would like to thank all of our interviewees for being so kind to share their valuable time with us and in that way recognise the importance of multilingualism for the city of Osijek.

In order to depict the reality of a multilingual city, we have endeavoured to address 5 key topics: First, we wanted to find out more about “good practice” in language learning for immigrants, and also, in the case of Osijek, for minorities. We

¹ In May 2013 Osijek governing party changed. The first interview we conducted with the Municipality was during HDSSB’s rule (Croatian Democratic Alliance of Slavonia and Baranja, a regional right-wing party) while the May 2013 government is considered to be more liberal.
analysed how minorities and immigrants learn the language of the country and what kind of provision exists for them to maintain their own languages. Furthermore we were interested in finding out more about foreign languages spoken in Osijek and how communication occurred in the city.

The second issue we were interested in was that of linguistic support in social services, tourism and the city administration. We examined what the most popular and the most sought languages are in terms of translation and interpreting. As expected, English has emerged as the most important language, but through our interviewees’ answers, as will be described in the following sections, some other languages emerged as important but uncared for.

The report is also concerned with the “neighbouring languages”, which, in the context of Osijek also have official status (Hungarian and Serbian) and are preserved in Osijek through the educational system in A and C models, which will be explained in more detail in section 4.1.

We examined how city promotes intercultural dialogue and understanding by celebrating community cultures. The work of The University and City Library, especially by Suzana Biglabauer and Siniša Petković, described in more detail in Section 4, turned out to play an important role in establishing intercultural dialogue and in the development of mutual understanding.

And finally, we tried to address the issue of new trends in immigration. The PR office of the Osijek Police has been most helpful with the insights they provided in this respect. The booklet on teaching immigrant/non-native speakers of Croatian children the Croatian language published by the Croatian Education and Teacher Training Agency was also pertinent to the issue.

The information acquired through the interviews lies at the heart of this report. Nevertheless, we draw on some secondary research too. In the first part we provide a short history of multilingualism and plurilingualism in Osijek, especially in terms of various policies that have in one way or another shaped the attitudes and practices of the languages spoken in the city. History of multilingualism and plurilingualism in Croatia presented here was largely based on an article published by Leila Sočanac in Jezikoslovlje, which provided a detailed study of laws and regulations in the past which also affected the situation in Osijek.

In the next section, an account of the current situation, in both qualitative and quantitative terms is presented concerning the city demographics and linguistic practices (to what extent and in which situations languages are spoken). Here the data from the census 2011 and the Gfk study on foreign languages in Croatia were a valuable resource.

An account of the project in general is given in Section 4 with a more detailed analysis of each sphere being provided in the following subsections. In Discussion and Conclusion (Sections 5 and 6) we have tried to address the five key issues separately and then give a concise overview of the data obtained through the interviews. In the end we highlight the issues that deserve more attention in further analysis.

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2. Short history of language diversity in Osijek

First of all, it is important to say that there is a substantial lack of studies on multilingualism in Croatia, especially with regard to Eastern Slavonia, the region of which Osijek is the centre. The main reason for the lack of studies are perceived to be the wars that took place in these areas and dramatically changed the demographics of the region, namely the First (1914 – 1918) and the Second World War (1941 – 1945) and the more recent Homeland War (1991 – 1997), which consequently changed the linguistic landscape as well.7

The history of language diversity in Osijek begins before the official mention of the city in 1196. Ever since, due to its favourable transitory geographical position, Osijek has seen numerous changes of population, migrations and wars. As the population changed so did the (official and dominant) languages. In the early 16th century, the city was conquered by the Ottomans and their rule lasted for almost 200 years. Traces of the Ottoman influence are still visible in the Croatian language, particularly in the vocabulary of Eastern Slavonia, where the vocabulary of the Ottoman origin still represents the largest number of acquired foreign vocabulary to this day.9

The Ottoman rule lasted until the end of 17th century when Osijek was occupied by the Habsburg Empire. In the Empire, dominated by Austria and Hungary, Latin was the official language (until 1848 in Croatia), but the prestigious status of German was undeniable. Nevertheless, the right to use the mother tongue in primary schools and local administration was granted by numerous laws.10 In spite of the fact that there was strong pressure to make Hungarian more widely used, this was met with defiance in Croatia, and Hungarian was introduced as the official language only on railways.11 It is noteworthy that in the late 19th century Latin, Classical Greek, Croatian, German and French were subjects in grammar schools in Croatia (as well as the Latin, Cyrillic and Gothic scripts) to enable student mobility. In her illustrative diachronic study of language policies in Croatia Sočanac concludes:

…in spite of national tensions that Austria-Hungary (the empire) was unable to withstand, different normative documents, school statistics and curricula leave the impression of a well-organized state with liberal and tolerant language policies based on respect for different ethnic groups and languages.12

By the end of the 19th century Germans became the majority in Osijek, making up more than a half of the total Osijek population (10 020); at the same time 5 516 Croats, 1 602 Serbs, 1 378 Hungarians and others lived in Osijek. The economic growth of the 18th and 19th century was the cause of this massive immigration trend that marked the period as well as the Vienna’s stimulation of colonisation of this “uninhabited region”.13 At that time, with so many different languages present (from three different language families) a new language/dialect emerged, named after the city where it originated – Das Esseker Deutsch. This was not a language in a true sense of the word, but rather a mixture of

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7 Throughout history the following languages were spoken by either the majority of people in Osijek or were the official language at some point: Celtic, Latin, Croatian, Hungarian, Ottoman, German, Croatian and Serbian, Croatian.
8 This year is commemorated as the year in which the first mention of the city appeared in the form that we have today, but the history of the city is longer as the Roman Emperor Hadrian built a settlement known as Mursa (a name which is still kept alive in the city) and some historians argue that this name is even older than Roman times and is actually of the Celtic origin (Bösendorfer, 1910). Some of the city names which testify to this multilingual history (and present) are Ösek, Oesek, Eszek, Ezek, Essegg and Essec. Eszek is still Hungarian name for Osijek and Essegg German.
11 (Ibid: 302)
12 (Ibid: 309)
languages, in which no sentence was uttered without mixing all these different languages\textsuperscript{14}. The language had a German base and incorporated elements of Croatian, Serbian, Hungarian and Yiddish.

This domination of German in Osijek lasted until the 1920s, or, to be more precise – until the new Slav state, The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918) was established. With the rise of the new state, Germans started fleeing the city (ibid.) and this continued in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Not much data is available on the short period of the Independent State of Croatia (1941 – 1945)\textsuperscript{15}. Croatian and German were the official languages and many minority schools were banned and abolished. Leila Sočanac thereby writes: “All Serbian confessional primary schools were abolished, as well as all Czech schools and classes with Czech as the language of instruction.”\textsuperscript{16}. Croatian and German were official languages and the only foreign languages that were taught at Croatian schools were German and Italian\textsuperscript{17}. Cyrillic script was also forbidden.

The status of German was unquestionable at that time. One of our interviewees, a senior citizen of Yiddish origin, a Holocaust survivor, reported that \textit{Hochdeutsch} (the German of the then upper classes) had a prestigious status even among Jewish families before the War\textsuperscript{18}. On the basis of her extensive secondary research Sočanac writes about laws and regulations of that time regulating that company names had to indicate clearly if the owner was Jewish.

In 1943 the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia was established and the language policy that was employed was similar to the one from before WWII – The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and then later, Kingdom of Yugoslavia, aimed at a unifying policy making Croatian and Serbian one language. During the course of the 40 year-long communist system many issues were ignored (swept under carpet) including that of the destiny of the German population in Croatia, Osijek included, communist crimes against the critics of the system and repression\textsuperscript{19}. Those who spoke German as their mother tongue, and were not prosecuted or did not flee, either hid this fact and spoke it only at home or abandoned German altogether, a phenomenon witnessed by several interviewees (a senior Holocaust survivor, German minority member, a librarian). Thus German became a “secret” language and Essekiersch died out, with only some lexis surviving which is still in use in Osijek everyday language.\textsuperscript{20}


\textsuperscript{15} The Independent State of Croatia was established by the Axis powers in April 1941, after the fall of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. It aimed at ethnical cleansing of Jews, Roma and Serbs but also Croatians (and other nationalities including Germans as well) who joined the communist party and/or Partisans.

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid:312

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid:313

\textsuperscript{18} From an interview with a senior citizen, a holocaust survivor (October 2012).


\textsuperscript{20} Professor Velimir Petrović wrote extensively about Essekerisch, for more information about this dialect consult some of his numerous works on this unique phenomenon.
3. Contemporary perspectives

Prior to the Croatian War of Independence, the 1991 census recorded as total population of Osijek 129,792 citizens. According to the census of 2001, the total population of Osijek had dropped to 114,616. The 2011 census data was released in 2012, and they reveal even a further decrease in Osijek's population – 108,048 inhabitants were recorded in 2011.

We find it important to consider both Osijek and its neighbouring region as Osijek is a university and regional centre where many people from the neighbouring areas seek jobs, attend lectures, go to school or just come for the sake of shopping centres, cinemas or clubs.

In that case, figures are considerably different – the Osijek-Baranja County consists of 305,032 inhabitants of which 10 per cent speak some other language than Croatian as their mother tongue.

Figure 1. Population by mother tongue in the Osijek-Baranja County (image is taken from the Census 2011).

As we can observe, the major linguistic minority is Serbian (9,445), followed by Hungarian (6,687), Slovak (1,916), Roma (1,350), Albanian (494) and German (351). Other languages spoken in the region as mother tongues are Bulgarian, Montenegrin, Czech, Polish, Romanian, Russian, Ruthenian, Slovenian, Italian, Turkish, Ukrainian, a mixture of Croatian and Serbian, and there are also 151 records of “other languages”.

The data on the city of Osijek are somewhat different in terms of percentages. While the Serbian language amounts to 3.1% of the total population in the County, the percentages halve in the city area.

21 The detailed data are available online (in Croatian): http://www.dzs.hr/hrv/censuses/census2011/results/xls/Grad_05_HRFxls
According to The Croatian Bureau of Statistics between 2001 and 2011 the number of immigrants to Croatia fell by about two thirds. The data on the city of Osijek according to the Osijek Police are as follows:

a) the total number of foreign citizens in the Osijek area with the status of permanent residence is 194.

b) the total number of foreign citizens in the Osijek area with the status of temporary residence is 220.

c) currently, in the city of Osijek there are citizens with either permanent or temporary residence from the following countries:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Number of people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia and Herzegovina</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Czech Republic</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosovo</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macedonia</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The USA</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenia</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montenegro</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2. Population by mother tongue in the City of Osijek. The data are taken and the image adapted from the Census 2011.

The data were obtained in May 2013.
Switzerland 3
Ukraine 13
Other (one or two foreigners from a certain country) 33

Figure 3. The number of citizens with either permanent or temporary residence and the countries of origin.

Apparently, as the police source claims, the trend in the number of foreigners in the City of Osijek is hard to establish as the numbers are fluctuating\(^\text{23}\). At the beginning of the LUCIDE project we had expected to find out that the number of foreign workers was increasing, especially those from the Far East. This turned out to be only partly true. Recent data reveal that the number of these immigrants in Croatia is decreasing in most parts of Croatia\(^\text{24}\). We assume that the reasons for the decrease are complex and numerous. On the one hand Croatia has complicated administrative regulations for obtaining the residence permit while on the other, the recent economic crisis is further complicating the stay of immigrants as prices are increasing while the purchasing power of the citizens has significantly decreased\(^\text{25}\). As we have written earlier, the police data do not support the idea that the mobility of foreign citizens is in anyway on the rise.

With the recent mobility programs, in particular Erasmus, Osijek has also witnessed a rise in the number of foreign students. Polish Erasmus students also took part in our study and their answers shed a new light on the data we have as they provide an external view to the multilingual matters since most of our respondents are citizens of Osijek, and in spite of having a professional (trained linguists) or personal interest (minority languages speakers) in multilingual matters they all share excellent command of Croatian and have no direct knowledge of the problems and challenges one may encounter if he or she lacks fluency in the Croatian language.

Another topic that we wanted to address in this report, in addition to minority and immigrant language speakers, are foreign languages spoken in the city. The majority of Osijek’s citizens today can speak one foreign language. This is mainly due to the fact that a foreign language (in most cases English, but also German, French or Italian) has been a mandatory subject in both primary and secondary education for more than half a century in Croatia.

So a recent study carried out by the GfK group Croatia reveals that 79% of the Croatian population can speak at least one foreign language, which leaves 21% with no knowledge of foreign languages. Among those foreign languages the figures are as follows for the whole population: English is spoken by 81%, German by 49%, Italian by 24%, Spanish by 12%, Russian by 4% and other languages by 4% of the population. However, it is noteworthy that these findings refer only to the knowledge of foreign languages and not to the autochthonous minority (or immigrant) languages previously mentioned. Furthermore, this study was carried out on 1000 subjects older than 15. The data on the young population might be significantly different.

Furthermore, a European Commission study has shown that there are no pupils in Croatian higher education who are not learning at least one foreign language. One foreign language is learned by 10.1 % of the total pupil population, and two or more by 89.9%, which is significantly above the European average of 60.1% for the same element (learning two or more languages)\(^\text{26}\).

\(^{23}\) From a personal communication with a professional from the Osijek police, 6th May 2013.
\(^{25}\) ibid.
\(^{26}\) (STAT/09/137).
4. The LUCIDE network

The LUCIDE network (Languages in Urban Communities: Integration and Diversity for Europe) is composed of university and civic partners from thirteen European cities, along with research teams from Ottawa and Melbourne. The aims of our network are to depict how communication occurs in multilingual cities and to develop ideas about how to manage multilingual citizen communities. In LUCIDE's research activities, we are therefore interested in the real-life complexities faced by individuals in various spheres and aspects of city life. The five overarching topics we have set out to explore are:

1. **Good practice in the provision of language learning opportunities for immigrants and language minorities:** How do immigrants/minorities learn the language of the host country and how are they helped to maintain their own languages? What happens in schools and also in adult education?

2. **Social inclusion:** How do cities support social inclusion through linguistic support in social services, health etc. and what kind of training is desirable in these areas? What happens about translation and interpreting?

3. **Neighbouring languages:** How do cities provide for communication and cultural exchange with “neighbouring languages”? What do we mean by neighbouring languages in a city context?

4. **Intercultural dialogue:** How do cities promote intercultural dialogue and understanding by celebrating community cultures in common spaces? What is the culture of a multilingual city?

5. **New patterns of migration:** Do particular challenges confront cities in countries that have traditionally been countries of emigration but are now receiving many immigrants? How do they respond to this changed perspective and what is the impact on civil society?

In defining what our network understands to be “multilingualism”, the distinction drawn by the work of the Council of Europe\(^{27}\) is helpful. We therefore employ the terms “multilingualism” and “plurilingualism” to distinguish between societal and individual multilingualism. Multilingualism refers to societal multilingualism: the co-existence of many languages, for the purposes of this study, within a city. Plurilingualism refers to an individual’s repertoire of languages, or “the capacity of individuals to use more than one language in social communication whatever their command of those languages”\(^{28}\).

Our approach to researching multilingualism and plurilingualism in our cities considers language in its communicative processes and practice rather than from a more static perspective (e.g. counting people/languages). These communicative processes and practices may be understood within a typology of language use:

- **Symbolic/representational use of language** (bottom-up, realities of everyday life – how we use language to send messages)

- **Transactional/communicative** (e.g. pragmatic use/unofficial acceptance of ML/PL by authorities on the ground, for communicative efficiency)

- **Authoritative/directive** (official, uni-directional, tends towards monolingualism)

Our network is involved in secondary data collection and primary data collection. These two phases of data collection were designed to feed into the content development of our network: *inter alia*, its seminars, workshops and city reports. We present these two phases of our research activities below.

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Secondary data collection

LUCIDE partners conducted meta-surveys of recent secondary data on multilingualism/plurilingualism in the network’s cities. The aim of this phase of our research was to help create a multiplicity of up-to-date narratives on the multi/plurilingual realities of the cities in our network, referring to data related to multilingual practices, processes and products in local contexts, and to develop original research questions for the next phase of primary research. As well as the more traditional academic or policy documents on multilingualism, we were also interested in examples of multilingualism. These varied in each sphere, but included artefacts (printed/visual/digital) which illustrated the multilingual reality of the city, like websites, advertising campaigns, public or private documents (biographies, diaries, official correspondence).

When surveying pre-existing data, we took a broad rather than a narrow approach when deciding what could be included in the first phase of our research. In this phase of our research activities, we focused on recent data, published in 2010 and onwards, or the most recent possible, in order to ensure that we created up-to-date and fresh narratives of languages in each city, and to help formulate valid research questions for the primary data collection phase. In collecting secondary data, we distinguished between:

(a) data on/about multilingualism/plurilingualism (censuses, academic reports, civic studies, etc., employing a wide variety of methodologies). These tended to be narrative documents, although are not necessarily official or academic.

(b) manifestations/examples of multilingualism/plurilingualism present in (or available from) each city. These visual examples were found in printed images and graphic design, TV/film, computer/software design, Internet, digital multimedia, advertising in all media, fine art and photography, fashion, architecture, design, and urban design.

Five key spheres were delineated in order to provide for a comprehensive and systematic exploration of how languages are encountered, used and learned in city life. These spheres included the public sphere, economic life, the private lives of citizens, and urban spaces or the ‘cityscape’. It was decided to examine education as an individual sphere, given the focus of our network on language learning, although often it falls within the public remit. Below, we define each sphere, and outline the type of data collected by partners.

1. The **public sphere** includes:
   - Local government/municipality/city council
   - Public services (health, transport, tourism)
   - Media (television, newspapers, digital media)
   - Civic events and festivals paid from public funds

Types of data collected in this sphere included census reports, population, language and employment statistics, provision of public services, translation/interpretation services, and public broadcasting. It was a happy coincidence that the data on mother tongues in Croatia from the Census 2011 have been recently published. However, official data on immigrants are still awaited. Good examples here come from the media, where we have a long tradition of news and programmes in the minority languages.

The **educational sphere** includes:

- Data on L1s (mother tongues) or home languages of students, students’ place of birth/nationality/ethnicity, languages of education in the ‘official’ school sector, languages of education in the private school sector e.g. international schools/complementary schools, national curriculum information.
The **economic sphere** includes:

- Large local/national companies and multinationals
- Industries and manufacturing
- SMEs
- Service providers (professional services)
- Financial transactions

Types of data collected in this sphere included information from chambers of commerce and employers’ associations, labour market studies, on official/unofficial languages in companies, languages in training and in internal & external communications.

3. The **private sphere** includes:

- Activities related to family, friends and social networks
- Local or city-wide activities (such as festivals) that are not initiated by the public sphere (although they may receive public funding) but organized instead by local community groups
- Services that are offered by local communities (including volunteer activities)
- Local support networks
- Religious activities and organisations/structures

Types of data in this sphere included examples of privately organized festivals, religious activities, networks of migrant groups, support groups, clubs, meeting points, meet-up groups, sports, and other cultural activities (theatre, music, etc.).

4. **Urban spaces** encompass all publicly visible and audible aspects of a city, and include:

- Public signage (shops, offices, public buildings, street signs)
- Advertising (billboards, leaflets, in public transport etc.)
- Graffiti and unofficial street art
- Monuments, art, sculptures (public art)
- Instructions on vending machines, noticeboards, other publically visible interfaces
- Announcements delivered via loudspeaker/other types of ‘audio’ announcements

Types of data collected in this sphere included studies of the city's linguistic landscape and visual culture, official signposting at airports, train stations, in public transport, digital media, and advertising languages.

Reporting templates were deployed in order to simplify data recording and sharing in each of the spheres. These templates captured concise information from data on/about multilingualism and plurilingualism (narrative studies/reports etc.), and examples of multilingualism and plurilingualism. Templates collected information on (a) bibliographic information, content overview, methodology and key outcomes of empirical studies and research reports, and (b) on the authors/creators of examples and artefacts, a description of the example and its place of creation/observation. Secondary data was collected and shared via an online city survey. The data generated from this phase of the network’s
research activities was employed to generate overarching research questions for the primary data collection phase (semi-structured interviews), and to feed into the content development of LUCIDE’s reports, seminars, workshops and city reports. This phase of secondary research yielded a considerable quantity of data which allowed us to generate a relevant set of research questions arising from the key areas identified in a content analysis of the recent studies and examples provided by city partners. We articulated the following research hypotheses, on language visibility (audibility), affordances and challenges:

1. Visibility
   • We hypothesize that some languages are more visible than others in city life, and that this visibility/invisibility is meaningful (Which languages are most/least visible/invisible? Why? How do we figure out which languages are invisible?)
   • We hypothesize that sometimes, when languages are visible, the visibility operates at a symbolic level. This symbolism is seen and understood by some, and largely ignored by others. Languages which are highly visible may not be the languages in which the various transactions and policies of city life are enacted.

2. Affordances at the level of governance/policy
   • We hypothesize that when cities want to encourage multilingualism/plurilingualism, meaningful linguistic diversity (projects, examples of languages in use) will emerge (e.g. diversity of public library projects)

3. Challenges/obstacles
   • We hypothesize that costs/inconvenience/lack of political will/prejudices can inhibit good communication between people in multilingual cities
   • We hypothesize that there is sometimes a mismatch between policy (as it is ‘promised’, and practice or daily reality)
   • We hypothesize that language is sometimes understood to represent cultural/economic capital; we also hypothesize that there may be contradictions in some cases (e.g. an indigenous language which is important culturally but may not seem to be important economically, or vice versa)

Primary data collection

In the second phase of our research, we sought to question city respondents about the reality of multi/plurilingualism in their city, about language policy/practice, visibility, affordances and challenges. A qualitative research design was deemed the most appropriate model, given the diversity of research sites, and the importance of gathering input from key stakeholders. A semi-standardised research design based on stakeholder interviewers was created to support primary data collection in each partner city. This phase involved the targeted questioning of selected individuals in the different spheres. Interviews were administered in a variety of modes: face-to-face, over the telephone/Skype, and via email. In the case of face-to-face and telephone interviews, these were recorded and transcribed.

The types of respondents in each sphere included, where possible, two types of individuals: (i) policy-maker/influencer, and (ii) policy-implementer/user-client-recipient. Sample templates of respondent types (role, place of work etc.) were provided from two cities as guides for partners. We asked that each city attempt to interview a similar type of respondent. The semi-standardised model did not specify a minimum or maximum sample size, but indicated a target of two respondents per sphere.

A template of interview questions was provided for each research team, to be adapted according to the local context and to the background of the interviewees. Interviewers were encouraged to try to ask for specific examples rather than general statements where possible, and to try to focus on comments and reflections related to respondents’ own areas of expertise.
The core interview questions included:

- Do you think that the issue of multilingualism is a sensitive matter in this city?

- We’ve noticed in our study of different examples of multilingualism that some languages are more visible than others in the city. In your area of work, are there any particularly important or visible languages? Any neglected or less visible languages?

- The co-existence of multiple languages in a city brings with it some challenges and choices for local government and companies, for example in terms of policy decisions. Do you agree with the way that this city approaches the issue of multilingualism? Can you give an example of a recent approach that you agree or disagree with?

- There seem to be two main ways of handling language barriers when we encounter a language we don’t understand, by either using human translation/interpretation, or with language technology (in the past, dictionaries, and nowadays, with online translation for instance). In your area of expertise, how are translation/interpretation handled? Do you think it is handled well and appropriately?

- Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in Croatian language?

- Is there any one language you think deserves a boost in use or in visibility in this city?

- Sometimes, languages are used symbolically, but there isn’t really any in-depth provision for the speakers of that language. Have you any experience of this type of symbolic, ‘on the surface’ language use in your area of work/expertise?

- If you could change one thing [about languages] in your city …

Semi-structured interviews generally involve a set of questions that the researcher plans to ask, but they also allow for flexibility if new topics come up during conversation. The nature of semi-structured interviews (rather than fully structured interviews) is that researchers tend not to approach the interviewee with prepared, detailed questions in a strict order. Whilst a semi-standardised list of questions was provided for research teams, researchers could select to omit questions, adapt questions, change the order of questions, and talk about new issues during the interview. A training pack on conducting semi-structured interviews was provided for all interviewers in the network, including useful strategies for successful interviewing and guidelines on ethical research.

Informed consent was gained from all interviewees, consent given in the knowledge of the possible consequences of participating in the research. Participants were told they could withdraw from the study at any time, and did not need to give a reason, without any negative consequences for them. A short information leaflet and a letter of invitation for potential respondents were provided for participants, in order to give them time to think over whether they would like to participate or not. Empirical research that involves human subjects is subject to ethical scrutiny. LUCIDE partners committed to ensuring that their city project meets the standards for ethical research as set out by their own university/national bodies. Whilst the type of research involved in our project does not carry a high level of risk for participants, it was nevertheless important to ensure that the tenets of ethical research were fully adhered to: that a researcher should respect the people who provide the data (for example, their right to privacy), and avoid doing them any harm in the process of collecting, analysing and publishing data (for example, causing any disruptions or stress). One of the key issues considered was whether any risk, discomfort, stress or embarrassment to participants was posed by the proposed research. In cases where individuals may feel under undue pressure to participate in the proposed project (e.g. if the researcher has a close professional or personal relationship with the sample population), a gatekeeper was used as a buffer between researcher and participants, (e.g. school principal, programme coordinator).

Apart from the ethical requirement conditioning the interviews one also has to consider the specific historical situation of Croatia, namely, the Homeland War that took place in the 90s. Many answers obtained in the interviews should be analysed in this light. In historical terms this is still a recent war and it is only the very young population who do not
remember or have no direct experiences, whereas the lives of others have been shaped by it in many ways. As Osijek was bombarded by the Yugoslav army and Chetniks (Serbian paramilitary forces), many citizens of Osijek had to flee and were refugees and these memories still make an important part of the collective memory of the city.

4.1 Multilingualism & plurilingualism in education

With regard to multilingualism and plurilingualism in education this section aims to provide some basic information on children who attend minority education models and on examples of good practice for these children as well as the phenomena that present an obstacle in multilingual settings in education, namely the issues of segregation and of social inclusion.

4.1.1 Education in the minority language and script – education models

At the state level we see that The Constitution of the Republic of Croatia prescribes that members of national minorities have the right to education in their language and script. On the official pages of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports it is stated that members of national minorities have the right to education at all levels of education, from pre-school education to post-secondary education. Furthermore, it states that members of national minorities can effectuate their constitutional right via three basic models – A, B and C. The A model refers to classes in the language and script of the national minority, B refers to bilingual classes where natural sciences subjects are taught in Croatian, and humanities and social sciences subjects are taught in the minority language. The model C refers to nurturing of language and culture in up to 6 lessons a week. On the same page we find the following explanation:

**Education in the language and script of national minorities**

Members of national minorities are guaranteed the right to education in their language and script as defined by the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, constitutional law on the rights of national minorities and the law on education in the language and script of national minorities.

Members of national minorities have the opportunity to education in their mother tongue at all levels of education, from pre-school to post-secondary education.

Languages used in class can be categorized into two groups, so-called territorial or minority languages and non-territorial, in line with the European charter on regional or minority languages, as regards the decision to ratify the law confirming the European charter on regional or minority languages.

Members of national minorities can effectuate their constitutional right to education in their mother tongue and script via three basic models and specialized educational framework.

1. **MODEL A** – classes in the language and script of the national minority

2. **MODEL B** – bilingual classes

3. **MODEL C** – nurturing language and culture

4. **Class framework in which the language of the national minority is taught as the language of the social environment**

5. Special classes: summer school, winter classes, correspondence-consultative classes

6. Special programs for the inclusion of Roma students into the educational system

Members of national minorities propose and chose a model and program in line with existing legislation and their ability to complete the program.

_all models and frameworks are part of the regular educational system of the Republic of Croatia._
The Ministry of Science, Education and Sports is implementing the national program for the Roma within its domain. (Official web page of the Ministry of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports, 2013)

Both A and C model are implemented in Osijek schools and a number of these models seems to be increasing. A and C models are implemented in these primary schools:

- Sveta Ana – German (C model) and Albanian (C model)
- Fran Krsto Frankopan – Hungarian (C model)
- Franje Krežme (C model) – Hungarian (C model)
- Vijenac – Albanian (C model), Macedonian (C model)
- Višnjevac – Slovakian (C model)
- Vladimir Becić – Slovakian (C model)
- Tenja – Serbian (A model)
- Hungarian Cultural Centre29 – Hungarian (A model)

In 2012 we conducted a study using semi-structured interviews with children attending these models and most of them reported being pleased with the chance to receive education in their mother tongue. An exception was a girl from Vukovar, a Serbian minority member, where the A model is dominant and all schools are divided on the basis of ethnic origin (in Vukovar children attend either the regular Croatian programme or the Serbian A model). She strongly opposed this division. Interestingly, the interviewees from Tenja primary school (Osijek) were pleased to have the A model as it gave them a chance “to belong to two communities”30. Yet, the potential problematic of this division still remains open with all the implications it has for the community that is already divided by the war traumas.

Another emerging issue in these interviews is that Slovakian speaking children (a boy, 14, and a girl, 12) said that the reason why they had chosen the C model was to improve their final grades as the grades are the key to their success in the secondary-school enrolment procedure. This then raises the question of motivation – we may argue that any reason to nurture the language of the ancestors is a good reason, but the challenge is how to stimulate their motivation for nurturing the language and culture beyond the sheer pursuit of good grades. Furthermore, the boy also reported that no one in his class knew that he spoke Slovakian assuming no one needs to know about, further explaining “it would be the same as if I wanted to know if someone speaks Hungarian”31.

The third obstacle which may be encountered in implementation of these models is that of the available teaching staff (especially in the A and C Models). In a C model for one minority, the teacher is an engineer. He is probably not the only one in the system without a degree in education, but still, communities are happy to have someone to teach. These untrained teachers are expected to undergo education in the core educational subjects through one of the programmes for life-long learning if they are to maintain the post.

Another challenge concerns the German language. One of our interviewees, a member of the German Association of Danube Schwaben states that we lack a systematic policy in the city concerning foreign language learning and nurturing of the other-tongue in terms of vertical barriers. She gave an example of children starting to learn German in kindergarten but then not being offered German in primary school which they are obliged to attend32. This is also

29 In The Hungarian Cultural Centre secondary education in the Hungarian language is also provided
30 From an interview with an eighth grader attending the A model for the Serbian language in Tenja (April, 2012).
31 From an interview with an eighth grader attending C model for the Slovakian language in Osijek (April, 2012).
32 In Croatia children are obliged to attend the school which is closest to their residence address.
one of the issues that deserve careful planning. Both a German association member and a professional from The Education and Teacher Training Agency in Osijek, mentioned the problem of decreasing demand for German teachers; as the parents are allowed to choose which language their child is going to learn at the primary school enrolment procedure, the majority opts for the English language and demand for German is weakened, what creates fear among our interviewees that many German teachers will be made redundant, which renders the destiny of German teachers another challenge for the language education policy.

4.1.2 Non-native speakers of Croatian in Croatian school environment

Another interesting and a rather recent phenomenon regarding multilingualism in education is that of children who come to live in Croatia and cannot speak Croatian or are not completely fluent. Such children have the right to assistance, which is regulated by Primary and Secondary Education Act, Articles 43 – 46. These Articles state that children who are returnees and cannot speak Croatian or come from the EU countries have the right to assistance and individual and additional classes of the Croatian language. They also state that children should be given an opportunity to receive education to foster their mother tongues. In practice, in the interviews conducted in April 2012, three girls (not related) who came from Germany (where they were born in Croatian refugee families in the 1990s, but spoke German at home) stated that they had problems at the beginning when they returned to Croatia – it was difficult for them to follow classes, especially the Croatian language classes. Though they were aspiring, hard-working pupils, it had taken them a few years before they would start achieving excellent grades. However, they noted being very proud of assisting their German teachers.

More about this relatively new phenomenon in Croatian schools is covered by the above mentioned publication resulting from a two-year project about the involvement of children non-native speakers of Croatian in the Croatian education system. Non-native speakers of Croatian in Croatian school environment brings experiences from a number of educational professionals who have worked for two years on the Project of teaching and learning strategies for Croatian language as a foreign language. This project was organised by the Education and Teacher Training Agency in collaboration with KulturKontakt Austria project office in Zagreb. The purpose of the project was to provide professional development for teachers of the Croatian language, primary school teachers, professionals and head teachers who teach students Croatian as the second language.

Though the exact data on the number of immigrant children in Osijek schools is unavailable, our interviewees who are in position to have more information about the matter (professionals from the Teacher Training Agency and The City and University Library) spoke of Chinese children who, in their words, seem to adapt well to the new environment. One of our interviewees, a librarian from the City and University Library spoke of the incredibly short time it took for Chinese children to learn Croatian and she praised their use of the Slavonian dialect. However, one must bear in mind that these are personal impressions based on the experience of working with Osijek school children, and that further studies are needed to gain more data on these matters.

Due to the newness of the phenomenon many teachers (but also pedagogues, head teachers etc.) are still on their own when it comes to a new pupil who does not speak Croatian well or at all. In her class journal (published in the above mention publication) where she follows first months of teaching an immigrant girl in the first grade of primary school, a teacher Jadranka Valek writes:

Soon we, a colleague and me, realised that there was no one to help us; it was us and our own perception of the situation and solution finding, but nothing long-term.
These individual voices are congruent with large-scale quantitative studies. One such study, the latest MIPEX report for Croatia on the challenges that immigrants face, shows that the education of immigrant children is one of the most sensitive points:

Newcomers to Croatia lack many basic opportunities, such as targeted state support to find the right job, improve the education of their children, or participate in political life. Their children, even if born in the country, are not eligible to be citizens at birth and dual nationality is not accepted, which is contrary to the trend in the majority of MIPEX countries.39

The image taken from the official MIPEX web page clearly illustrates this as education receives the lowest score alongside certain elements of political participation.

Image 1: Migrant Integration Policy Index.40

In the same analysis education is further described as follows:

All legally residing migrant children in Croatia can enrol in compulsory education. Following the recent amendments of the Law on Education in Primary and Secondary School of 07/15/2013, undocumented pupils will now have limited access to primary education. Still, they will not be able to enrol in secondary school, as in nearly all MIPEX countries, and access higher education or vocational training, as in half of the MIPEX countries. Moreover, Croatian schools are required to provide very few integration measures for migrant pupils, as in most of the Balkan countries. Migrant children can benefit from official language support in primary and secondary education, but are not provided with an opportunity to learn their mother languages. Schools must integrate intercultural education throughout their curricula, which can be modified to reflect the diversity of the local population. However, they are missing out on the new opportunities that immigrants bring to the classroom. For comparison, most new immigration countries in Southern and Central Europe provide additional tuition to master the official language and immigrants’ home languages, specific funding or teachers for schools, and required teacher trainings on immigrants’ needs.41
4.1.3 Learning foreign languages in Osijek schools

For all children in the Republic of Croatia one foreign language is a mandatory subject beginning with the first year of primary school education, which, consequently, indicates that all Osijek children are, to an extent, plurilingual, as indeed the majority of their parents are.42

Many parents opt to have their children start learning a foreign language even earlier, in pre-school education. This can be seen at work in 6 bilingual kindergartens in Osijek, which are partly financed by the Municipality. In primary school children have 70 hours of foreign language a year (2 lessons a week), and the same number of lessons refers to both – the first foreign language and the second foreign language. The second foreign language has to be provided by each school in the Republic of Croatia from the fourth grade on as an elective subject. As we have mentioned in section 3, the European Commission study shows that there are no pupils in Croatian higher education who are not learning at least one foreign language. One foreign language is learned by 10.1% of the total pupil population, and two or more by 89.9% which is significantly above the European average of 60.1% for the same element (learning two or more languages)43.

The same research shows that the majority of children opt for learning more than one language in school. This option is normally available from the fourth grade of primary school (children aged 10). Languages traditionally taught in Osijek are English and German as these subjects were established in the 1970s at the former Faculty of Pedagogy, now the Faculty of Philosophy in Osijek. Since very recently students can also study the Hungarian Language. English teachers are also trained at the Faculty of Teacher Education where they are primarily educated to become teacher generalists, but have the module for English language and can teach in lower grades of primary school (age 7-10).

As can be perceived, if we are talking about foreign language learning or the mother tongue maintenance for minorities one may conclude that Osijek pupils and students tend to be plurilingual, or at least that plurilingualism is being stimulated in the educational sphere. However, one needs to realize that these are the overt policies and regulations (regarding foreign languages and minority languages), which is only one element of the discursive practice. In the public discourse and everyday community practice the models are often unheard of as is the case with the Slovak boy, who testifies that not even the closest school friends need to be aware that someone in their class speaks a minority language, let alone attends classes in it. As we have observed for the immigrant languages on the basis of IMPEX study, the education policy with respect to the maintenance of the mother tongue is basically non-existent.

4.2 Multilingualism & plurilingualism in the public sphere

4.2.1 Public authorities and municipality

Our first interview (via e-mail) with the Mayor’s office was conducted while the right-wing, regional party was in power (HDSSB) in November 2012 during the rule of the HDSSB’s mayor Krešimir Bubalo. In the meantime (spring 2013) the ruling party changed and the newly elected mayor ran as an independent representative. Both sets of answers were sent to us by a member of administrative staff, who works in the National Minorities Office, but, we were told, they had to be authorised by the Mayor’s office.

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42 Research by GfK from 2012 shows that 79% of the Croatian population speak at least one foreign language in addition to the mother tongue. Also, in Gumperzian terms, Croatia is a multilingual setting as dialects spoken in the country can vary to a significant extent from the standard Croatian language. In Slavonia, the region of which Osijek is the centre, štokavian dialect pervails.

43 (STAT/09/137).
In the first instance, the official reply to our questions was that the issue of multilingualism in The City of Osijek is not a sensitive matter. As with some other respondents (Library), the official attitude was that the visibility of a respective language depends on the activities of a particular national minority:

Frequency of use of a language is directly related to the activities of national minorities in the city of Osijek.44

When asked about the existence of language policy in the city, the answer was again very short and straightforward: "There is no significant language policy that would affect the multilingualism in Osijek." (from the same interview). The source further reported that the need for translation existed in the city and the languages most commonly asked for were English, German and Hungarian. The answer to one of our questions was that there was no particular language that deserved a boost in the city. Our interviewee also disagreed with the use of other languages on a symbolic level simply by stating the Law on the Use of a National Minority Language and Script in the Republic of Croatia (Narodne novine, br.51/00. and 33/12.) and listing all the schools in Osijek where classes were conducted in minority languages.

As written earlier, the ruling party changed in spring 2013, and the city elected the new mayor Ivica Vrkić. We therefore again asked for an interview and the answers obtained were somewhat different. The newly elected city government agrees that multilingualism is not a sensitive issue and confirms this answer by (again) stating schools in which the minority education models are implemented. It also agrees with the previous government that the visibility depends on the activities of the respective minority groups. While the previous government stated that there was no language policy in Municipality, the new government reports about the previously mentioned education models and the financial support it provides for early language learning in Osijek kindergartens and the Language support in Matrix Croatica. Most of the communication in the Municipality in foreign languages is carried out in either English or German and if other languages are needed an official interpreter is hired. Hungarian and then Italian or French are most required. There is an extra need for the interpreters of the Hungarian, Italian and French language. Similar to the previous city government, the stance is that the use of other languages is not symbolic at all, which is again supported by referring to the educational models in Osijek and to laws on the rights of national minorities.

As we have already said, the laws mentioned cover only one aspect of prescribed and practised multilingualism. On the other hand, the aspect which needs further attention is the discourse of multilingual/national heritage of the city which is often employed in the formal addresses given by the public authorities and to some extent regulated through legislation, but which is, as is shown in the answers obtained from the private sphere, not part of the covert policies and practices that have a role with which covert policies can hardly commensurate in shaping sociolinguistic reality.45 46

4.2.2 Public transport

Osijek is not a big city (108 048 inhabitants) and it is somewhat easy to find one’s way around. Still, the web pages of the city transport (GPP – http://www.gpp-osijek.com/web/) are only in Croatian. In our interviews, a Polish Erasmus student reported having problems when trying to buy a ticket for the public transport. There are two tram lines but large chunks of the city are not covered by these lines, but by buses. This leads to a conclusion that information on Osijek’s public transport in foreign languages should be made available. If there are occurrences of multilingualism in the public transport, it is more a matter of chance than a planned policy. Some old German trams were given to Osijek twenty years ago and the instructions in the tram are still in German.

44 From an interview obtained from the Municipality (November, 2012)
46 The web pages of the Municipality are available in Croatian and English at http://www.osijek.hr/beta/index.php/eng/ and one can also find contacts of registered minority associations on these web pages.
4.2.3 Media

The most dominant language (other than Croatian) in the media is the English language. Dubbing is non-existent in Croatia and this enhances many people’s command of English. In school, many children report of learning the language through television. Children in Croatia are exposed to English to such extent that some scholars wonder if English should be regarded as a second and not a foreign language.\textsuperscript{47}

Concerning other languages (officially) spoken in the city (minorities’ languages), many have found their place in the local and national media. In the LUCIDE report on best practices (Appendix 1) a number of these have been presented (mostly from television and radio) but there are more than listed. It has been recorded that “national minorities printed and published around 50 journals in the Republic of Croatia, the purpose of which is in most of the cases to keep their minority members in Croatia informed.”\textsuperscript{48} Župarić-Ilijić gives an exhaustive list of 35 publications (journals, yearbooks) belonging to some of 22 registered Croatian national minorities (ibid.) but he has also pointed out the fact that many now use social media to communicate with respective minority members, using either blogs or Facebook.

For the purpose of the LUCIDE project, we have been following these pages and indeed some are written in the language of the respective minority such as that page of the Albanian association in Osijek. But some, for instance the page of the German-Austrian Association, are bilingual – some of the posts of the association are in Croatian and some in German. The Albanian Association of Osijek facebook pages are rarely active while the German-Austrian Association page has regular posts. These posts are normally concerned with events in the city that are either in German or are in some way associated with the German and Austrian culture.

4.2.4 Interpretation/translation arrangements

In the Osijek-Baranja County, court interpreters provide their services in 16 languages and these are (in alphabetic order): Albanian, Arabic, English, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, Russian, Slovakian, Slovene, Serbian, Spanish, Turkish and Ukrainian. Services for translations in and from English are provided by 95 offices, German follows with 88 (there is a significant overlapping of the providers, as most of those who offer English translations, offer German as well), and there are those who provide services for Serbian (12 court interpretations) and finally translations for Hungarian, Italian and French which are provided by 8, 7 and 6 interpreters respectively.

Most of our interviewees, from all spheres, stated that the languages most sought are English and German, which are then followed by Hungarian. Our respondents from the City and University Library reported difficulties in communication with their partners from Hungary. Other neighbouring languages are similar and everybody understands each other, but Hungarian belongs to a completely different language family, thus the differences may present an obstacle.\textsuperscript{49}

An issue which also emerged in the interviews is that the services of translation are reported to be rather expensive and that many people complain about paying for the translation of the documents, requested for various administrative reasons, of the neighbouring languages that are understood by everyone anyway (namely, Serbian and Montenegrin).

4.2.5 Public services – tourism

The Tourist Board of the City of Osijek takes care that their offers are provided in several languages. Brochures and booklets about Osijek and the region as well as the city guide are offered in English, German and Hungarian. However, though the official web-pages offer the option to choose text in one of four languages (Croatian, English, German and

\textsuperscript{47} From personal communication with an expert on language acquisition (September, 2012.)

\textsuperscript{48} Župarić-Ilijić, D. (2011). Predstavljenost nacionalnih manjina i prisutnost njihovih medija u hrvatskom medijskom prostoru. Politička misao : Croatian Political Science Review. 48, 4; 133-153

\textsuperscript{49} From an interview with the librarians (October 2012.)
Hungarian), these links are not properly managed and maintained. A curiosity is that web pages that are supposed to be in Hungarian come with a Latin text\(^{50}\).

An owner of one Osijek hotel, an interviewee in the study, says that most of the visitors come from Germany, countries of former Yugoslavia, Hungary, the UK and the Netherlands. Her experience is that the English language fulfils the needs of most of the visitors with the exception of Hungarians, who rarely speak English\(^{51}\).

### 4.2.6 New challenges

In terms of population increase the trend has been a worrying one. The number of citizens of Osijek has significantly decreased since the last census in 2001. When most of these interviews were conducted the data from the 2011 Census had not yet been released, so the stakeholders’ view of this matter was not obtained. Generally, it is the public opinion that the war and the resulting poor economy had led to the city’s bleak perspective. So we may argue that some general challenges (how to stop a further decrease in population) are reflected in the particular phenomena (how to promote/foster linguistic diversity in the Osijek area).

However, as Croatia entered the EU on the 1st of July 2013, we may expect to see a greater mobility taking place. This may mean that even more people will leave the city, but it can also mean that the city will host newcomers. So far, the number of immigrants is, as we have noted earlier, on the state level decreasing, while on the local level it is relatively stable. There are around 200 immigrants from the neighbouring countries. A recent article in the main local newspaper Glas Slavonije states that there is an increase in the number of people who are of Chinese nationality, but the official data is unavailable\(^{52}\). In two of the interviews, namely those with professionals from the Education and Teacher Training Agency and the City and University Library, an increase in the number of Chinese children has been mentioned. In spite of the fact that in our interviews children are reported to adapt well, further research is needed to identify the linguistic (and other) needs of these people in order to improve their integration and their acceptance of/by the local community.

### 4.3 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in economic life

Regarding the role of language skills in different parts of the labour market, English is the language which is normally required in job interviews, especially in high-ranking positions, where often the command of two world-wide spoken languages is required. In some jobs Hungarian can be recommended or mandatory if a specific firm works exclusively with Hungary and the same applies to German. In one of the interviews, a respondent from the private sector observed that nowadays most of the young people speak English because it is an obligatory subject in almost all schools, but older are those who lack language skills\(^{53}\).

One of our interviewees, a project manager at Siemens Osijek, who works on large-scale telecommunication projects, reported having German classes regularly (twice a week) and English on demand, both being provided by the company until 4 years ago (these were not private lessons, but all employees had the right to education)\(^{54}\). Due to the recent economic crisis this practise was abandoned and now the sole existence of Siemens Osijek is uncertain as many people have lost their jobs.

A professional from the Croatian Chamber of Commerce agrees that English is the most needed language in her job and she also highlighted the use of the Google translator. Furthermore, she mentions the use of German, but to a significantly lesser degree than English. In her job, Hungarian, Slovak and Italian are also encountered and then official interpreters are hired\(^{55}\).

\(^{50}\) From personal communication with an expert on language acquisition (September, 2012.)


\(^{52}\) Glas Slavonije, 21st January 2013

\(^{53}\) From an interview with a sales representative from Zito d.o.o (February 2013).

\(^{54}\) From an interview with a manager from Siemens (October 2012).

\(^{55}\) From an interview with a professional from the Croatian Chamber of Commerce (November 2012).
As previously stated, migrant workers and seasonal migrants come from the neighbouring countries and the languages that they speak – Serbian and Bosnian – are easily understood in Croatia and vice versa.

Though some of our respondents stated that the Hungarian language needs a boost for the purpose of the city economy, there are those who disagree. An NGO worker from the Nansen Dialogue Centre thinks that the Hungarian language is extensively used in marketing, namely in branding (he gives examples of Osijek Esseker centre, Esseker beer), which he finds a bit nonsensical taking into consideration the colonial history of Croatia and its subordinate status in the Austro-Hungarian empire.

Some of our respondents are very critical in this respect and view multilingualism as an economic resource that is largely ignored:

The city does not have a language policy, as far as I am informed. Schools are, by the force of law, obligated to ensure language classes, i.e. enable support for schooling in the minority language if a minority member seeks it, but I see no systematic approach. It is a shame that the local government fails to see the advantages that a systematic approach to learning foreign languages that exist in Osijek’s surroundings could provide. Not only for tourism, but also for economy in general.

In terms of linguistic diversity we can actually notice that rare firms that operate with profit do make use of multilingualism. Not many firms and factories survived the Homeland war and the recent crisis, which is largely reflected in this region. The reasons for the economic decline in Slavonija and Baranja are numerous; depopulation, marginalisation of the region, but it is the Homeland War which is held the most accountable for the underdevelopment in all spheres. There are two firms that managed to overcome the burdens from the past and emerge as competitive on the market from the Osijek region: Žito and Mlinar. Žito d.o.o., works primarily with agricultural production and wholesale trade and Mlinar is a respectable baking company.

An interviewee from Žito, an engineer of economics says that languages are not a prerequisite for working at Žito as most of their work abroad is conducted with the neighbouring countries where everyone understands Croatian (Bosnia, for example). Still, their web page is one of the rare examples where the entire content is in English. Another good example comes from the baking company Mlinar with shops in Croatia, Slovenia and Hungary and the headquarters in Osijek. This regional spread in addition to tourism might be the reason for the multilingual paper bags in which their products are served and the web pages available in 5 different languages. Unlike many similar pages with the multiple icons for other languages, in case of Mlinar they all indeed provide the content in all these languages (Croatian, Slovenian, Hungarian, English and German).

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56 The word Esseker has actually a bilingual etymology; it may refer both to the Hungarian word for Osijek – Eszék and to the German word – Esseg.
57 From an interview with an NGO worker (October 2012).
58 From an interview with an economist from the state agency, former NGO worker (October 2012).
60 http://www.zito.hr/en/
61 http://www.mlinar.hr/
One of our interviewees, a local politician, but also a member of an official national minority was one of the rare interviewees who gave an example of a situation when knowing minority languages was a valuable asset. He presented his son's experience applying for a position at a respectable global company in Prague. He won a post despite the fierce competition having gained the advantage due to the fact that in addition to his knowledge of English and German he spoke Croatian, Czech and Slovak, which gave him a comparative advantage and earned him a job. It was his father who transmitted the knowledge of minority languages and by deciding to do so made him in possession of a valuable symbolic capital.

Just like in the other spheres, in the (developed) economic space multilingualism is recognised as an asset and it, to a certain degree, encompasses world-wide spoken languages as well as minority or regional languages. However, plurilingualism in most of the cases comes down to the knowledge of Croatian and English, while other languages do not seem to present a valuable asset, or at least not in the economies of the city. The example of a plurilingual young professional of the Slovak origin serves as an example of a good practice but it also points to the fact that his knowledge of 5 languages was adequately awarded somewhere else and not in Osijek.

4.4 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in the private sphere


One can find a list of all the associations and the contacts on the City web pages62. There are also many smaller KUD associations (Societies for Culture and Arts) not listed here (for example “Sveti Sava” from Tenja), so one has to bear in mind that this list is not exhaustive.

Most of these associations organise festivals and/or days that celebrate a certain culture63. These events are an opportunity to introduce minority culture to the dominant Croatian culture and are normally widely attended. Interviews

62 http://www.osijek.hr/index.php/cro/Gradiska-uprava/Nacionalne-manjine/Institucije-i-udruge
63 In the Appendix there is a list that includes some of the festivities in Osijek and the nearby area organised by the minority associations.
conducted in spring 2012 with a Hungarian family from the village Hrastin near Osijek, or with a boy of a Slovak origin who spends a day a week singing in a Slovakian choir show that these festivities are something minority members take pride in and provide a chance of spending time with other community members and talking in the language of the ancestors.

One of the most important events for the languages in city is an event organised by the City and University Library (GISKO). In addition to having American Corner, Austrian reading club and resources in various languages, the library also organises International Mother Language Day (celebrated every year on February 21st). The festivity lasts for a couple of days and a number of well organised activities stimulate and promote the use of various languages spoken in the city and the region. Suzana Biglabauer, Library Children Department Head, generated the idea and organised the event with Siniša Petković, the Head of the Austrian Reading Club. This festival also celebrates The Day of The Languages, and many Osijek minority languages are represented at the festival. The idea is that children and youth, library members, meet and learn from the children who foster their mother tongues (the Hungarian, Ruthenian, Ukrainian, German and Serbian minority children). In Image 3 we can see the poster with the festival programme.

Image 3: Poster for International Mother Language Day organised by the City and University Library.

Our interviewees from the Library believe that Hungarian needs a boost and one of them remembers her rich multilingual history so typical for many people in these areas:

Hungarian (needs a boost). Because this is a large minority and also because of the cooperation with Hungary and their libraries. We have problems in communicating with them so that is something that should be stimulated. Perhaps there is even a greater need for Hungarian than French, let’s say. Maybe it should be introduced as an optional subject. We have a problem with children who come from these families but are not encouraged to use it and later they feel sorry about it. I had two grandmothers – one was German, and the other one Czech. I could understand when they spoke, but I didn’t want to use
it and later you think why, it could have been such treasure. Nobody thought it should be fostered, not because they wanted to repress it but because they didn’t recognise it as something important. We weren’t aware... 64

When being asked about language policies in Osijek they seem to think that Osijek is a “sleepy town”, “cocooned” in a way. In a reply to a question whether more could be done for the promotion of these languages, one of them believes that the official policies are positive, but that individuals are those who can make a difference:

Everyone who wants to be active is given enough space. If this multilingualism is not visible in the public sphere, the particular group or individuals are responsible. Were the individuals more active, they would have enough space. 65

As has been noted, these festivals are indispensible to minority groups. The family from a nearby village Hrastin, with whom we conducted interviews in April 2012, takes great pride in the folk dances that are still being passed on from one generation to another and presented at similar festivals. They also belong to those individuals the librarian is talking about, as they are trying to be very active in their own community. Four sisters (age range from 6 to 25) all dance in the society Ady Endre. Their father observes that some of these dances are now being danced only here and in some parts of Moldavia and the similar thing is with the language. They explained to us that the Hungarian language from this area is not spoken anywhere else and in that way it presents a precious part of cultural heritage, not only for Croatia, but for Hungary as well.

The girls have attended both schools – a Croatian one in the neighbouring village and the Hungarian Cultural Centre in Osijek. The oldest sister is deeply satisfied to have had a chance to be educated in her mother tongue. The third daughter still attends a Croatian school and for school performances she is teaching her schoolmates Hungarian dances.

64 From the interview with the librarians (October 2012).
65 Ibid.

Image 4. Hungarian folk dances, four sisters from Hrastin performing with their friends.
4.5 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in urban spaces

The models of minority education and the fact that they are implemented in half of the primary schools in Osijek indicates that there is a need for nurturing various minority languages and that they are indeed spoken and used. However, through our interviews it was made clear that multilingualism in terms of minority languages in Osijek is more a matter of individual practice, a hidden practice, which becomes public – a part of the urban scene – in the instances of festivals and celebrations and not a regular everyday urban phenomenon, at least not among young people. In some of our interviews (the one with the librarians and those with young people from spring 2012) it has been observed that Hungarian and Serbian can be heard on Saturdays in the market place, in certain town areas among older people (Retfala – the part of town traditionally inhabited by Hungarians,) but that these languages are rarely heard in other parts of the town and on every day basis.

On the other hand, English is ubiquitous like in so many other parts of the world. Linguistic landscape with regard to the names of cafés, shops and restaurants shows that many carry Anglophone names. Just a list of the cafés that offer Wi-Fi in the city on the web pages of the Tourist Board in Osijek proves that point: Brooklyn, Caffetaria Exclusive, Cat, Goldfinger, Golden Sun Casino, Lounge bar Nox, Matrix Caffe, New York, News, Old Bridge Pub, Saloon, San Francisco Caffe Bar, Sporting Caffe Bar, St. Patrick’s Pub. The restaurants and hotels maintain something of the old eszékésch tradition carrying German names after renown citizens – for instance Waldinger (named after a famous Osijek painter), hotel and café Guesthouse Maksimilian (named after a 19th century owner of the building where the hotel is now placed, Maksimilian Riegl), and some cafés too, Beckers for instance (named after the city and fort's commander, General Johann Stephen von Beckers).

The linguistic landscape presented in the names of cafés, hotels and restaurants but also through statues, sculptures and old churches – speaks also of the city’s multilingual and multinational history. Many streets carry the names of historical Osijek figures of German or Hungarian origin: Reisner Street (after a German nobleman, manufacturer Adam Reisner), Petefi Street (after the Hungarian revolutionary Sándor Petőfi), and many others.

Still, the language which is more present than any other (beside Croatian) is the English language. In an interview with the librarian, she makes some illustrative comments about this (almost bilingual) situation in the city. When being asked about raising awareness of the importance of mother tongues spoken at home such as Hungarian, Slovak, Serbian, she says:

> English is so important. Everything is in English. Children want to be the same as others and that’s why English is so important, some children prefer English to Croatian... (And then on other languages): ...They are ashamed to be different, they negate this, people rather learn French than Hungarian or Czech. Everything what is further away from us seems to be more attractive. We can talk about tradition and heritage, but in the end they all end up speaking English. English is omnipresent. Everybody speaks it, both the young and the old. It is more visible than any other language. But it depends where. Hungarian is definitely more visible in the market place. But, globally, it is all about English...the names of the shops, bars...
> My children speak in English to each other.67

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66 http://www.tzosijek.hr/index.php/hr/meet-osijek/wifi-lokacije
67 From the same interview.
Graffiti and posters – those public, unofficial carriers of culture summarise most of what the librarian and other interviewees were trying to say. Most of them are in English. Several interviewees have stated that the official language policy does not do much for languages generally. Many public personae use English words in their speech, and this often goes unnoticed. This phenomenon in a way confirms what two of our interviewees said – that we need to create the language policy not only for minority and immigrant languages spoken in Croatia, but also for the Croatian language.

The urban sphere in the city thus reflects three trends where the first one refers to the global trend where English is the most dominant language; the language of the graffiti sings, names of the pubs, shops etc. The second trend is to keep the history alive through the names of historical figures, either as the relics from the past (statues, buildings that historically bear someone’s name) or as newly open public places that are given such name. The third place seem to be Croatian signs and names, but these either belong to state agencies or are the remnants of the traditional crafts in the city.

Image 7. Poster for Osijek Graffiti Competition

68 From the interviews with an English and German language teacher, a PhD student of linguistics and an interview with an economist from the state agency (2012).
5. Analysis of key themes/discussion

A. In the case of Osijek, several questions have risen with regard to learning Croatian on one side and mother tongue maintenance on the other. Despite the fact that children who come to Osijek's schools from abroad have the legal right to education in their mother tongue, the case of the girls – returnees from Germany, whom were interviewed in the spring 2012, and the MIPEX report demonstrate that the adaptation to Croatian educational system is not a smooth process. In the meantime, some progress has been made at the state level, as The Teacher Training Agency publication\(^{69}\) mentioned above indicates that this complex issue has finally been broached.

Some of our interviewees reported never being asked about their mother tongue which indicates that the language maintenance is neglected in practice. As immigration is a relatively new phenomenon and obviously still hardly under way in this country, people who work in school are not trained in this respect. The situation could be improved if this new phenomenon was on the agenda in the curriculum planning and teacher training programs. Our interviewees from the Education and Teacher Training Agency, Osijek department, suggested including this topic in one of the seminars for teachers, which would indeed be a great step forward.

Even though the number of the children who attend the A model is decreasing, C models are on the rise. In 2012 a new C model opened for the Albanian minority. One may wonder if this is enough to maintain the language, i.e. if it is enough to have the language nurtured only through the attendance of the educational models. The question is what else can be done. In earlier interviews conducted in spring 2012, one of the conclusions was that these children normally recognise their languages as a personal asset and not as an asset of the whole community. In one class, none of the peers knew that their classmate was speaking the Slovak language at home with his father and his grandparents. When the Language Day is celebrated, schools are crammed with posters in English and to some extent in German, Italian and French. However, there are 25 mother tongues officially recognised to be spoken in Osijek\(^{70}\). One may assume that the challenge lies in changing the value system and making natural that all these languages, and especially those that are part of the city heritage, become visible and made use of, which can only help develop all the spheres mentioned\(^{71}\).

B. On the basis of the interviews conducted we may conclude that language barriers can be a challenge in some spheres in the city. The data from the education sphere, where a teacher speaks about problems in participating in EU projects when a headmaster does not speak English, is an issue that needs to be addressed (language education of important policy makers, as head-teachers certainly are, is invoked here). Another case is the problem Polish Erasmus students encountered with the public transport. There is obviously a need for some reforms regarding translations, especially as the city wants to play a role as a tourist centre of the region.

Concerning working languages most people mentioned to be using English or German. When other languages are needed an interpreter is called for help and, as stated in section 4.2.4, there are quite a lot of them. Hungarian, present mostly in the private sphere, is one of the languages that has emerged in several interviews as a language that deserves a boost. It is a neighbouring language but to an average citizen it seems that this language is “further away”. Furthermore, in spite of the fact that there are many Hungarian cultural associations in this region as it has been spoken in this area since the very beginnings of the city, Hungarian has not entered the school curricula even as an optional subject (as is the case with Italian in Istria), so we suggest this should be approached differently by official policy makers. Some of our interviewees (namely those from the public sector) stated that German and Hungarian should be introduced as obligatory subjects as they are the languages in which the Croatian history was written and one “cannot study Croatian history properly without knowing these languages and being able to read documents in Viennese and Budapest archives”\(^{72}\).

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69 This publication is made available online, but only in Croatian for the time being at http://www.azoo.hr/images/izdanja/inojezicni_ucenik_web.pdf
71 This impact has been described by Grin in Grin, F. (2010). Why multilingualism is affordable. Seminario sobre lingua, sociedade i política en Galicia. Santiago de Compostela. Université de Genève
72 From an interview with an economist from the state agency, former NGO worker (October 2012).
C. Concerning other neighbouring languages, Osijek does not face any (linguistic) translation challenges since all these languages (Serbian and Bosnian) are easily understood by everyone in the city, and Croatian is easily understood in the neighbouring countries. This facilitates business as a lot of firms in Osijek trade with the neighbouring countries. The challenge lies in the translation of official documents. Although these documents are easily understood they are required to have the official translations, in education or law for example, which may be rather costly.

D. Intercultural dialogue and understanding is being promoted through various festivities of which the most have become traditional annual events in the city such as the Days of Macedonian Culture in Osijek, Days of Brothers Miladinov, International Theatre Days in German, Days of Jewish Culture, Hungarian Day in Osijek, Days of Austrian Culture, Polish Day in Osijek, Days of Slovak Culture, Tesla Days in Osijek and many others. One of the festivities dedicated to all minority groups is Colourful eggs in city colours, an Easter celebrating festivity where different minority groups along with their Croatian citizens present their way of dying Easter eggs as well as other Easter traditions on the Osijek's main square.

All these festivities are largely attended and covered by the local media. The Osijek – Baranja County abounds with similar festivals, not necessarily organised by a particular minority. The presence of languages and ethnicities is considered to be a treasure, since many of the performers come from Hungary, Serbia and, of course, Croatia. Examples are the Baranja fest, the Surduk Festival, the Vine Marathon in Zmajevac, the Fish-stew Festival and numerous others.

Perhaps the greatest celebration of languages takes place during the event organised by The City and University Library – *The International Mother Language Day* when children from different minority groups teach other children their language and their rituals. This is perceived as a chance to start learning about/from different ethnicities from an early age on and thus “the otherness” is having a chance of (re)appearing as an integral part of the whole community.

E. Immigration of people of non-European ethnic background had only just begun when it decreased again during the last five years due to the recession. As previously stated, the local media and some of our interviewees report the increase in the number of Chinese immigrants, but this has not yet been officially confirmed. Though the adaptation among Chinese children is reported to be going relatively smoothly, further research is needed to give a more precise account of the new immigration phenomena.
6. Conclusion

As can be seen, the linguistic realities of the city are complex and sensitive and should be thoroughly rethought in all spheres, i.e. in education, in the economy, in civil society and in cultural life. The official policy at the state level shows a positive tendency in all these spheres – there are the minority education models for the mother tongue education, various legal regulations that provide language acquisition in terms of assistance in education and other rights (mostly resulting from the preconditions of Croatian accession to the EU). In the city, there is even the understanding of a need for more investment in this regard – as is the Municipality’s stance that foreign language resources in libraries should be made more available and the idea from one of the leading stakeholders in education that seminars on the maintenance of minority languages should be organised.

However, we can also conclude that there is a space for a lot more to be done. One might wonder why all these languages that are spoken in the city can only be heard on occasions such as celebrations or in special education models. What can we do to promote these languages in a way that they become an inalienable part of the public life or urban space, and not invisible, private practices?

In economy and tourism, some of our respondents mention Hungarian as an obstacle in communication. This may seem surprising considering the fact that the Hungarian population has been an integral part of the city since its very beginnings and Croatia has been a part of the monarchy with Austrians and Hungarians for a very long time.

To some extent a similar problem applies to German. Most of the tourists in the city are reported to be coming from Germany but the number of pupils who take German classes is constantly decreasing as if this language is not “needed” in the city. Not only are German and Hungarian valuable for economic reasons and tourism, but they are also historical minority languages and in that way they present a rich cultural resource (many historical documents are written in these languages).

As can be perceived, in terms of foreign language learning or the mother tongue maintenance for minorities one may conclude that Osijek pupils and students tend to be plurilingual, or at least that plurilingualism is being stimulated in the educational sphere. However, one needs to realize that these are the overt policies and regulations (regarding foreign languages and minority languages), which is only one element of the discursive practice. In the public discourse and everyday community practice the models are often unheard of as is the case with the Slovak boy, who testifies that not even the closest school friends need to be aware that someone in their class speaks a minority language, let alone attends classes in it. As we have observed for the immigrant languages on the basis of IMPEX study, the education policy with respect to the maintenance of the mother tongue is basically non-existent.

Croatia is now a member of the EU. As already written in this report, we can expect a higher mobility which will be bidirectional; some people will be migrating from the city and some will be migrating to the city. We may assume that one of the factors that will play a role in this process will have to do with the language policy, in other words, how well the city manages the challenges of the new modern diverse societies. We see in the Census 2011 that the city lost 8% of its citizens. The main way of preventing this trend may have to do with the care for all the people living in the area, and this then of course concerns the languages they speak as one of the most important aspects of their identity.

In the frame of the LUCIDE project we have organised 5 workshops to discuss the possible answers to challenges that emerged in regard to European multilingual urban communities with stakeholders. The Faculty of Teacher Education Osijek hosted a workshop on multilingualism and plurilingualism in the private sphere in April 2013. Conclusions of the workshop, as well as those of this report are that all languages spoken in the city and a surrounding area need more support in all spheres of life. Nurturing a language through education models and works of a few enthusiastic individuals is praiseworthy, but hardly sufficient. If a meaningful action is not taken in all other possible spheres, Osijek’s multilingual and plurilingual history may become just that and testify to an empty discourse where some notions such as multi-ethnic and multilingual, such frequent elements of the EU discourse, have nothing to do with the reality.

73 From an interview with an immigrant from Bosnia and Herzegovina, a former NGO worker, now a hotel owner in Osijek (March 2013).
74 Croatia had been in a union with Hungary since 1102 until 1918, and with Austria since 1527 until 1918.
Appendices

1. Reporting examples manifestations of multilingualism and plurilingualism

1 Serbian

a) Teslini dani u Osijeku/Tesla Days in Osijek
Organised by The Society for Art and Culture Prosveta
Celebration of 150th anniversary of the birth of Nikola Tesla

2 German

a) OSIJEK @ Essekerische Bilder – Osječke slike
A Film about about German and Austrian minority in Osijek (the Danube Schwaben)
Croatian Radio Television
15th August 2011

This film is about the influence of German and Austrian Minority in Osijek. The documentary starts with a personal narrative of Nicholas Mak who talks about his memories of the town with a great nostalgia. It is noteworthy that the presenter also speaks in German, and so do all other people in the film – a counsellor of the Osijek gallery, Branka Balen, who speaks about great Osijek artists who were also of German and Austrian ancestry, and a professor at the Faculty of Philosophy, Vlado Obad who speaks about the German language and its prestigious status throughout the history of Osijek. He tells us that in the late 19th century a majority of people in the city stated that German was their mother tongue, there was a theatre which gave plays in German, and there was an important literary circle of writers who wrote in German...The film also features a linguist Velimir Petrović who talks about Essekerisch – a unique German dialect used in Osijek which was a mixture of German, Croatian and Hungarian, a sort of lingua franca for Osijek inhabitants. Nowadays, we have only some words as remnants of this specific vernacular. In the end, a descendant of the Danube Schwaben, the executive director at Association of German minority in Croatia, Renata Trischler provides a detailed account of her family history.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=JYYALSUfX0#

b) The Last Schwaben,
an article about the Danube Schwaben
Sanja Romić, for the Globus weekly magazine

An article was written on 22nd May 2009 on occasion of the great exhibition given in Zagreb “Slavonia, Baranja i Srijem – vrela europske civilizacije” – “Slavonia, Baranja and Syrmia – fountains of European civilisation”, similar to the video, it is an account of German and Austrian population in Osijek. It is focused on their history and sufferings after the Second World War, again through the personal narratives of the survivors. It is linguistically important because it tells a lot about their attitude toward the German language, how some of these people were forced to stop speaking German after WWII since it was considered to be dangerous, and some were simply mocked because they spoke German so they stopped using it, and how many (non-Germans) were actually killed in camps after 1945 because they had German-sounding surnames. The text provides testimonies of some famous people from Osijek, whose parents had had their family names changed – Croaticised – so they weren’t actually aware of their German ancestry.

http://globus.jutarnji.hr/zivot/ponosni-smo-sto-smo-svabe/part4

c) “Annual of the German ethnic community – VDG Jahrbuch”
Organisers: German community – National Association of the Danube Schwaben,
Proceedings of the regular annual scientific conference entitled “The Germans and Austrians of Croatian Cultural Circle” organised by the German ethnic community. “Annual VDG’s” publishes papers of prominent Croatian scientists, historians and researchers who, in the framework of their research work, deal with the topics on the contribution of Germans and Austrians to the Croatian culture, history, traditions, customs, and generally, the whole cultural milieu of today’s Croatia. Topics include the period from the Middle Ages to the present day.

d) 12th International Theatre Days in German
    Thursday, the 28th June 2012, 18:00
    Organisers: German community – National Association of the Danube Schwaben,
    Financed by: the Council for National Minorities, Croatia

For 12th year in a row, the International Theatre Festival in the German language is organised traditionally in late June at the Children’s Theatre in Osijek. The festival hosts theatre groups from Romania, Serbia and Croatia, which perform in German. International Theatre Days in German are financed from the funds of the Council for National Minorities. Admission to all performances is free.


3 Hungarian

a)  A radio show in Hungarian on the Croatian Radio, Radio Osijek
    Croatian Radio Television, Radio Osijek
    May 2012

*Az Eszeki Magyar Radio nyelv Adas, minden nap 19 ORA 5 perckor. News and reports on the Hungarians in Croatia at 7:5 PM. Unique in Croatia, with a several decades long tradition, the programme by the Radio Osijek in Hungarian covers news, stories from the life of Hungarians in Croatia and provides a daily review of relevant events, both domestic and international. Available in a digital format.

http://www.hrt.hr/index.php?id=475&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=109677&cHash=d64eb792ba

b) Hungarian Days in Osijek
    A You-tube clip
    Hungarian Cultural Association NÉPKŐR

A manifestation that takes place once a year in September and lasts for two days.
It hosts relevant artists – both from Hungary and Croatia – in drama, arts, literature, dance, but is also a valuable gastronomy show. In this video you can see the one from 2011. Though it is in Croatian, one can observe craftsmen’s booths with bilingual headings – Hungarian and Croatian.

A video of the manifestation (in Croatian):
http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=m4VoPxlV0OY

c)  A web platform for Hungarian minority in Croatia
    May 2012

The web page is entirely in Hungarian and is dedicated to the Hungarian diaspora world- wide, Croatia included. It is an overview of all the relevant information concerning respective Hungarian minorities in their respective countries/regions. Information about important events, media (in Hungarian in Croatia) and politics can be found here, as well as links to other important sites.

5 Slovak

a) Slovak Association in the Republic of Croatia
   a web page
   June 2012

The pages of Croatian Slovak Association represent a valuable resource as they are rich in various materials. One can find there PDFs of the Slovak journal Prameň, written in the Slovak language. One can also find recent publications, books, biographies and poetry published in Slovak. The web page is partly bilingual and partly only in Croatian. However, all the publications in PDFs are in the Slovak language. On these pages one can also find out about the latest events in regard to the Slovak community, about radio and TV shows that concern them, etc.

http://www.savez-slovaka.hr/

b) Kvapky (drops)
   A literary booklet with essays, poetry and drawings by the Slovak schoolchildren in Osijek
   May 2012

This little book of children's work is published every year for the last ten years. It displays children's work – poetry, drawings and essays. In Osijek, Slovak children, or of Slovak ancestry, attend model C – they have several hours a week (normally twice a week – two lessons about history, culture and language), and the product of this work normally comes out in Kvapky. Children present their work at the annual event My Slovak which takes place in Ilok when the school finishes.

The picture and the text in Slovak about the event are available at this page:

6 Yiddish

a) Menora
   a journal of the Jewish Municipality in Osijek.
   June 2012

This journal is in Croatian, but some words, names of religious holidays are in Yiddish, also the front page is in Yiddish and so is the web page of the Jewish Municipality, the publisher. In 1931, 10% of Osijek population were Jews (4,348), according to the 2001 census there are only 24 of them living in the city area now.

http://www.zo-osijek.hr/menora/MenoraBr2.pdf

b) CENDO
   Research and Document Center
   June 2012

The Research and Documentation Centre for Holocaust victims and survivors with the aim of stimulation and cooperation with scientific and professional researcher and members of Jewish communities in Croatia in collection, preservation and research material and documents about Jews in Croatia, establishment of Database of Holocaust victims and Holocaust survivors, transfer of knowledge and information, organization and stimulation of scientific work and participation in research projects which are of national, regional and International importance. There are many valuable data about the Jewish community in Osijek on this website. The website also serves as a repository of photographs and scanned documents that concern Jewish community, and some of these documents are in Yiddish, or are bilingual. The Jewish architecture in Osijek is also well presented in this repository.

http://www.cendo.hr/Onama.aspx
7 Albanian

a) National Association of Slavonia and Baranja Albanians
   an official web page and a Facebook page
   June 2012

On this page one can find the recent information about the Albanian community in the city of Osijek and the county. The
official site is in Croatian, but the less official Facebook page, linked to the site, features music videos in Albanian and
people’s greetings and holiday’s congratulations.

On the official website one can find a photo gallery with the photos of the recent public opening of Albanian classes for
primary school children (model C – fostering language and culture)

http://albancisib.wordpress.com/

http://www.facebook.com/pages/Nacionalna-zaejednica-Albanaca-Slavonije-i-Baranje/380976658595762

http://albancisib.wordpress.com/fotogalerija/otvorenje-skole/

8 Ruthenian, Ukrainian

a) Ruthenian song and scenes from the 5th Ruthenian Art Colony
   A YouTube Video
   May 2012

Rusyns (or Ruthenians) in Osijek have organised the 5th art colony in Aljmaš (a village near Osijek). The intention of
the colony is to present the activities of the Society, to show young people/children from the Ruthenian society the
environment through other forms of cultural creativity and to stimulate their participation in the community activities.
This year they welcomed the members of the Ruthenian association “Snatched from the Oblivion” from Serbia who
presented the drama “Testament.”

More about this event can be read on the official website of Ruthenians and Ukrainians in the Republic of Croatia –
http://www.sriu.hr/novo_neta/hrvatski/indexhr.htm. The site comes in four languages – Ruthenian, Ukrainian, Croatian
and English.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bQgjIv7peoU

9 Slovenian

a) Slovenian Cultural Society Stanko Vraz Osijek
   an official web page
   May 2012

This bilingual website is a valuable resource of linguistic information. It provides important data on the Slovenian
language and literature, but also data about everyday activities. We can see that the association hosted a free Slovenian
language course and the text about it shows the great interest of Osijek citizens.

http://skdstankovraz.blog.hr/2008/05/index#1624772160

10 Macedonian

a) (17th) Days of Macedonian Culture in Osijek
   A festival of Macedonian Culture
This annual festival features exhibitions, documentary films, concerts, book launches etc. More about the festival can be found here: http://www.culturenet.hr/default.aspx?id=40999# and here: http://www.mkd-b-miladinovci-osijek.hr

b) (15th) Days of Brothers Miladinovci
   Macedonian Cultural Association Brothers Miladonovci Osijek
   A festival of Macedonian culture, and Macedonian – Croatian friendship
   June 2012

This is another festival which promotes Macedonian culture in Croatia, and the friendship between Macedonia and Croatia. This year, the festival took took place in two cities – Đakovo and Osijek. This festival also offers a rich programme in art, literature and music.

A bilingual booklet with the festival program schedule can be found here: http://www.osijek031.com/osijek.php?najava_id=38478

11 Essekerisch

a) Essekerisch, Osijek vernacular
   an online forum
   May 2012

This German dialect (a mixture of German, Hungarian, Yiddish and Croatian) typical for the city of Osijek, is now almost completely forgotten. However, some of the words are still in use, and the citizens of Osijek like to discuss these words, and this forum is one of the examples of the interest that they take in the language that was once spoken here. In this Forum they give examples of Essekersich – of the words that are still used and those that have disappeared.

http://linguasphere.info/spip.php?article118965


12 English

Though there is no English minority in Osijek, there are many English texts/voices in the city, perhaps more than all others here mentioned. The English language is the language of popular culture, fashion etc. Furthermore, it is the second language of many institutions. The official websites of the University (Josip Juraj Strossmayer University of Osijek) and Faculties are in Croatian and English, as well as those of other official institutions such as The City of Osijek, Osijek – Baranja County, Tourist Board of the City of Osijek etc.

University of Osijek http://www.unios.hr/?g=12&i=151
Osijek – Baranja County http://www.obz.hr/en/?flash=1
Tourist association of the town of Osijek http://www.osijek.hr/beta/index.php/eng/

13 In general

International Mother Language Day
The Public Library Osijek (though it offers translations in English, German and Hungarian, these pages are still “empty”/under construction)
Festival, Poster
21 January
The Public Library Osijek promotes awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity and multilingualism by hosting creative workshops for children on the International Mother Language Day. This festival also celebrates The Day of The Languages, and many Osijek minority languages are represented at the festival. The idea of the festival is that children and youth, library members, meet the children who foster their mother tongues (the Hungarian, Ruthenian, Ukrainian, German minority children).

The web page for the Festival: [http://www.gskos.unios.hr/?upit=vijest&id=734](http://www.gskos.unios.hr/?upit=vijest&id=734)

The poster for the Festival: [http://www.gskos.unios.hr/~descape/files/Medunarodni%20dan%20meterinjeg%20jezika%20plakat(2).jpg](http://www.gskos.unios.hr/~descape/files/Medunarodni%20dan%20meterinjeg%20jezika%20plakat(2).jpg)

2. Excerpts from the interviews

a) On multilingualism being a sensitive issue

“Communication is always a sensitive matter – not to mention the war. We work with texts – and these are always sensitive matters... We believe it is, up to a certain extent. Especially after the war. The Serbian language is a sensitive issue. Imagine someone came into a shop and asked for “hleb”, that would be a difference marker, and someone might react in a special way to this, different than if someone said the neutral word “kruh”. We would say that it is a sensitive matter, but only when we are talking about individual cases. The majority would probably not react in any way, wouldn’t mind. But the individuals would.” (An interview with the librarians, 26 October 2012)

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“The question of multilingualism is a sensitive issue as the public attitude towards multilingualism, as well as any other or different ethnicity or religion, is a negative one. This attitude is the result of the process of homogenization of the Croatian identity, which is still underway, and is reinforced and strengthened on the basis of the needs of the war camping from the period of the Croatian War of Independence. This perception is based not on values and qualities of the Croatian identity, but on the fear of the other and the different. The abuse of power of local and minority politicians, who impiously and immorally exploit traumatic experiences of people living in the post war region, is the generator of these concepts and attitudes towards multilingualism. On this basis, the issue of multilingualism today reflects the negative attitude of the majority, which is still under the influence of the groups most sensitive to the issues involved and who react and determine what is socially acceptable and what is not – war veterans, veterans’ associations, war victims, etc. on one hand, and groups who still abuse these issues – the politicians, on the other. In this context, multilingualism is perceived as the proof of the existence of other identities, who are therefore dangerous for the Croatian identity. The most negative attitudes are those regarding the rights and usage of the Serbian language, the language used by the Serb minority. However, this negative attitude is also reflected on other minority languages because in the creation of attitudes one agrees to simple conclusions and clichés, which rarely give space for exceptions in the accepted behaviours and attitudes. Using any other language by a significant group of citizens would be perceived as negative, not acceptable, and dangerous as it would be recognised as ghettoization and hostile homogenization.” (From an interview with an NGO worker from Nansen Dialogue Centre Osijek, 10th October 2012)

“I believe it is, mostly because of its recent history. There are different language statuses regarding the nationalities that speak them (they vary from negative to neutral, I don’t think there are generally ‘desirable’ languages in Osijek social life).” (From an interview with a teacher of English and German language, a PhD student of linguistics, 16th October 2012)

b) On the visibility of languages in the city

“Osijek has transformed from a distinctly multilingual community from the beginning of the 20th century into a fairly mono-linguistic community, with small oases of multilingualism (parts of the city with the Hungarian minority, schooling in Hungarian and cultivating of the Slovak language). Unfortunately, the policies in Osijek schools neglect Osijek’s tradition of multilingualism and I am afraid that it will be difficult to reverse this trend.” (From an interview with an economist in the Croatian Academic Reasearch Network, a former NGO worker, 18th October 2012)
“From my experience, the Hungarian language is more represented than other languages. This, I suppose, is the result of the historical heritage and the large number of the citizens of Hungarian minority. This is especially evident in the branding of some products in Osijek Esseker center, Esseker beer as well as in the local media that broadcast shows in Hungarian for the Hungarian minority, where the shows address problems and happenings relevant for the Hungarian minority. This kind of “positive” usage of the Hungarian language is illogical in my opinion if the principle described in my answer to the first question truly is the principle determining attitudes towards multilingualism. This kind of “positive” usage reflects complete ignorance of the historical facts about the relationship of the Hungarian politics towards the Croatian identity, towards political autonomy from the period of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which has extremely negatively suppressed the Croatian identity in general, and the language specifically. I interpret today’s positive attitude towards the Hungarian language in the light of the fact that the negative historical heritage is overcome by passing of time during which relations were built on a positive basis as well.” (From an interview with an NGO worker from Nansen Dialogue Centre Osijek, 10th October 2012)

“The frequency of the use of a language is directly related to the activities of national minorities in the city of Osijek. (From an interview with an administrative staff from the Municipality, 7th October 2012) The frequency of the language use is directly influenced by the intensity and the scope of the activity of the minorities themselves.

c) On the existing language policies in the city

“There are no language policies that would shape the linguistic diversity in the city”. (From an interview with an administrative staff from the Municipality, 7th October 2012)

“The City of Osijek is open to multilingualism and it stimulates and supports the classes in pre-school and primary-school age in the languages of the national minorities in those institutions that are attended by the members of those national minorities, and who show interest for the nurturing of the language and culture. (…). The City of Osijek supports the activities of the Language Department of the Matrix Croaticum, an Osijek affiliate with 10 000 kuna a year via the Programme of public needs in culture of the City of Osijek. Early learning of English and German is organised in 6 bilingual kindergartens in the area of the city of Osijek, co-financed by the City (the staff salaries) and parents (100 kuna a month). The city of Osijek also co-finances the project of the French Alliance Osijek french play room for pre-school children (4000 kuna).” (From an interview with an administrative staff from the Municipality, 26th July 2013)

“The fact that I don’t know much about the language policy in Osijek says a lot (I am a foreign language teacher).” (From an interview with a teacher of English and German language, a PhD student of linguistic, 16th October 2012)

d) On the language barriers in the city

“The foreign language we deal with the most is the English language, which I know enough in order to communicate. Sometimes I use Google translate application, and so do other colleagues. Then comes German, but not nearly as much. Other languages I encounter at work are Hungarian, Slovak, and Italian and then we hire interpreters. …we never had problems with finding interpreters.” (From an interview with a professional from The Croatian Chamber of Commerce, 9th October 2012)

“There are more language barriers in my profession every day. Schools are often invited to take part in some projects, or are offered some other beneficial things in a foreign language. If the principle is not fluent in English (the most common language in such situations) she/he will hesitate to get involved. This is most often the case. Another thing is the usage of the internet (for all kinds of support for teachers, pedagogy etc.), which is considerably limited for people who do not use English. The issue of interpreters is a great deal a matter of economy as well as language policy, I cannot say
much about it.”
(From an interview with a teacher of English and German language, a PhD student of linguistics, 16th October 2012).

e) On languages that deserve a boost in the city

“So far there has been no need for additional stimulation”
(From an interview with an administrative staff from the Municipality, 7th October 2012)

“We think that no language deserves a special boost, but we are ready to take measures if it was needed.” (From an interview with an administrative staff from the Municipality, 26th July 2013)

“All languages should be encouraged, but only Croatian as an official language”
(From an interview with a teacher of English and German language, a PhD student of linguistic, 16th October 2012)

“Hungarian needs a boost.” (From an interview with a manager from Siemens, 24th October 2012)

“Learning other foreign languages, which are not, at least in my opinion, well enough represented in the national curriculum: German, Italian, French and Hungarian.” (From an interview with a professional from the Croatian Chamber of Commerce, 9th November 2012).

“It would be useful if Osijek, given its heritage and its position, would systematically support the learning of Hungarian as well as the German language. The above noted should not lessen the emphasis being put on learning English, which is a lingua franca.” (From an interview with an economist from the state agency, former NGO worker, 18th October 2012)

f) On the symbolic use of language

“I don’t think it’s symbolic in Slavonia. Bilingualism is offered to children in schools, they are offered literature in their native language, there are counsellors hired at all levels – from the counties to the city office and in different places just for the rights of minorities and here with us at the Agency we have counsellors for national minorities who are in charge of supervising that children nurture and learn their mother tongue, so languages are used and not only in the private sphere, used only at home.” (From an interview with a professional from the Teacher Training Agency, 19th October 2012)

“This symbolic usage can be an expression of the level of relations among nationalities living in Osijek. However, even if they do appear they are not a result of good relations but of adherence to legal requirements imposed by the processes of EU integration, which in turn results in an impossibility of practical usage and implementation of these norms.” (From an interview with a an NGO worker, 23rd October 2012)

“The use of language and script is not “symbolic”. Multilingualism in a given area is regulated under The Law on the Use of the Language and Script of Ethnic Minorities in the Republic of Croatia (“Official Gazette”. 51/00 and 33/12.) and The Constitutional Act on The Rights of National Minorities (“Official Gazette”. 155 / the 2nd, 47/10., 80/10. and 93/11).” (From an interview with an administrative staff from the Municipality, 7th October 2012)

“Literally – it’s better to have something, than nothing. Bilingual signs (mostly in Croatian and Hungarian) at least give an indication to the citizens, as well as passers-by, of the complex history of the region and dual/multi-layer form of identity, which is one of the foundations of modern European culture.” (From an interview with an economist from the state agency, former NGO worker, 18th October 2012)
References


Migrant Integration Policy Index (2014.). http://www.mipex.eu/croatia


