Support, resistance and pragmatism:

An examination of motivation in language policy in Kharkiv, Ukraine

Margrethe B. Søvik



Stockholm University

Contents

1 Ini	roducti	on	12
		ntext of the study	
		l concepts, aims and research questions	
		ds and material	
1.5	1.3.1		
	1.3.1	The issue of language: Terms, definitions, concepts and simply	.24
	1.3.2	words?	26
	1.3.3	A note on historiography	
	1.3.3	Working assumptions and research design	
	1.3.4	Combining quantitative and qualitative methods: How and when it v	
	1.5.5	done	
	126		
	1.3.6	Examining attitudes Questions asked – and not asked	
1 4	1.3.7	e of dissertation	
1.4	Outim	e of dissertation	.40
2 Th	eoretic	al and analytical framework: Change, conflict and motivation	.41
		e and conflict	
		Culture and conflict	
2.2	Langu	age policy, state- and nation-building	.44
	2.2.1		
	2.2.2		
	2.2.3		
2.3	Langu	ages in contact: A perspective of "holistic bilingualism" or conflict?.	
	2.3.1	Managing multilingualism – managing conflict?	
	2.3.2	Language conflict as a proxy for other conflicts	
2.4	Motiva	ation as an analytical framework	
	2.4.1	Why study motivation?	
	2.4.2	Identity and image	
	2.4.3	Ideology	
	2.4.4	Insecurity	
	2.4.5	Inequality	
		Integration and instrumentality	
2.5		ary	
		•	
		age issue in Ukraine: A background to the current discussion	
3.1	Two g	rand narratives	.79

	3.1.1	"Little Russians" in the Empire	84
	3.1.2	Becoming Ukrainian	86
	3.1.3	Attempting to establish the one and unifying language	87
3.2	The So	oviet period	90
	3.2.1	1920s - Ukrainianisation	92
	3.2.2	The battle of two cultures	93
	3.2.3	1930s - Strengthening the Russian language	95
	3.2.4	Changes in Soviet language policies	
	3.2.5	The concepts of bilingualism and equal rights in the USSR	
	3.2.6	The Soviet legacy	.102
3.3	The po	ost-Soviet period	.103
	3.3.1	The 1996 Constitution, projects for new language law and related	
		legislation	.105
	3.3.2	The educational sphere: Ukrainianisation revisited?	.111
	3.3.3	Language in media and advertisements	
3.4		krainian case: Conceiving of language as source of unity or conflict?	
		Language debates in contemporary Ukraine: A brief overview	
3.5		iding remarks	
		•	
		ng the site: Kharkiv, the border area	
4.1	Kharki	iv	
	4.1.1		
	4.1.2	F 8888888	
		iv as the link between east and west	
4.3		al hierarchies in the borderland	
		A common culture divided by new boundaries	
		Disputing the existence of Ukrainian popular culture	
4.4	Langu	age, culture and history: Two versions of continuity	
	4.4.1	The generational issue and the role of the educational system	.149
5 A1	titudes	to regulations and language practices in public domains	155
		age regulations	
5.1	5.1.1		
		Language policies and attitudes towards support	
52		tions of language use in Kharkiv, past and future	
	-	otions of language use in official domains in Kharkiv	
5.5	5.3.1	Language use in government services and in education	
	5.3.2	Language use in the cultural sphere and mass media	
	5.3.2	Media consumption and varying language practices	
	5.3.4	Language and the workplace	
5 1		Language and the workplace	
5.4	Concl		.103
6 La	inguage	e management between duty and coercion	.185
		ives: Enhancing utility	
		Language and mobility	

• .

	6.1.2 Econo	mic and non-economic utility	189
6.2	Career moves	and the economic aspect	192
		hing: The notion of duty and language practices	
	6.3.1 Ideals	and practicalities	198
		pancy in attitudes towards knowing and using	
6.4		ck": Discussing the issue of coercion	
6.5	Conclusion		208
7 Di	scussing bilin	gualism and equal rights	210
7.1	On being reas	sonable	211
	7.1.1 Argui	ng for equal rights or special rights?	214
	7.1.2 The is	sue of Russification	217
7.2	Fear of cultur	al loss as generating resistance	220
	7.2.1 Using	both legs: The place of Russian language and culture	221
	7.2.2 Russi	an language as a higher value: The problem of the intelligent	
7.3	-	sistance or compliance	
		ear of appearing ridiculous	
7.4	Conclusion		233
8 La	inguage-relate	d stereotypes, norms and accommodation	235
		ated stereotypes	
		ng legitimacy and authority	
8.2	-	ion – a question of confidence and determination	
		ussian language as the norm	
		ther side to the story: Encouraging language retention	
		ing ingroups and outgroups	
8.3		ctices: The role of context	
	8.3.1 The e	motional language	255
	8.3.2 Uned	ucated language	258
		pportunistic language	
8.4			
0 11/	he is I thusing	m? Searching for authenticity	262
		the beloved language": Producing an image of state and national state	
9.1	in plaise of		
	9.1.1 The n	ew state on the block: Respect, reputation and recognition	
		niqueness of the Ukrainian nation: "Be distinct!"	
9.2		id its language	
		you talk or what you do?	
		hysical appearance of Ukraine	
9.3	-	ties: On learning who you are	
		age practices and personal identities	
9.4	-		

10 Concluding remarks	
10.1 The dual context of the national and the local	299
10.2 Ideals and practicalities - what could be considered reasonable?	301
10.3 Discussing support and resistance	302
10.4 The generational dimension	305
10.5 General implications	306
References	308
Appendix A	324
Appendix B	

. .

List of figures, tables and illustrations

Figure 1.1 Basic assumption	20
Figure 2.1 Extended overview	
Figure 5.1 Preferences in status and use	157
Figure 5.2 Independence versus commonality	167
Figure 5.3 One or two state languages: the historical factor	
Figure 5.4 Perceptions of use of Russian and Ukrainian compared to 15 year	
Figure 5.5 Expectations on the extent of use of Russian and Ukrainian in 20	
Figure 5.6 Perceived language use in government service institutions	
Figure 5.7 Perceptions of language use in educational spheres	
Figure 5.8 Perceptions of language use in culture and mass media	
Figure 8.1 Reported language use in Russian-speaking and Ukrainian-speaki	
surroundings	
C	
Table 5.1 Russian as state language due to its level of development	
Table 5.2 Statements on language regulations and language support	
Table 5.3 Stated language preferences in media consumption	
Table 5.4 Reported language use at work	
Table 5.5. Written language at work	
Table 6.1 Language practices and duty	
Table 6.2 Language practices and duty	
Table 8.1 Associations to Ukrainian and Russian languages	
Table 8.2 Top and bottom five: Associations to Ukrainian and Russian langu	
1	
Table 8.3 Language-related stereotypes	
Table 8.4 Language-related stereotypes	
Table 9.1 Statements on link between the Ukrainain nation and language	
Table 9.2 Statements on link between any nation and language	
Table 9.3 Statements on link between nation and language	
Table 9.4 What does it mean to be a Ukrainian citizen?	
Table 9.5 What does it mean to be a Ukrainian citizen?	

Table 9.6 Does language use matter?	290
Table 9.7 Language as part of personality	292
Illustration 4.1 Map of Ukraine, Kharkiv	
Illustration 4.2 Celebrating Kharkiv's 350th anniversary August 2004	124
Illustration 4.3 Arriving in Kharkiv or Khar'kov?	125
Illustration 4.4 Which is the capital?	125
Illustration 6.1 Outside the military academy in Kharkiv	196
Illustration 8.1 Making it visible; Ukrainian and Russian on signs	
Illustration 9.1 Bud' osoblyvym!	

.

,

,