

Becoming an Activist: a Self-Representation of Young European Campaigners for Minority Languages

NICOLE DOŁOWY-RYBIŃSKA

*Institute of Slavic Studies
Polish Academy of Sciences*

Introduction

The situation of minority languages in Europe today can best be described as paradoxical. In the past few decades, support for minority languages has been emerging in the form of institutional laws guaranteeing the speakers' rights (to function in education, media, the public space, the language landscape of selected regions), and financial support. Many languages have been included in the protection and revitalization programs carried out especially by local activists, with the support of linguists (e.g. Fishman 2001). At the same time, however, intergenerational transmission, considered by many researchers to be a necessary condition for language maintenance (Fishman 1991), has been substantially weakened. The increasing globalization trends and associated phenomena such as urbanization, mobility, migration and standardization of lifestyles (Bauman 2000; Appadurai 1996) have made it difficult even to define what a *speech community*¹ is today and how, with regard to modern linguistic minorities, to perceive the relationship between language and identity (Jaffe 2011). These categories are not apparent when we consider the years of linguistic and cultural assimilation, language ideologies (Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity 1998; Marquis & Sallabank 2013) still existing in many regions,

¹ A contemporary minority language community can include: native-speakers, people who have learned the language of the minority, people who use it, as well as people who know it, but never use it (see O'Rourke & Ramallo 2011). The group may therefore also include 'potential speakers', who should also be targeted by revitalization activities (Grenoble & Whaley 2006: 172).

the weakening of in-family language transmission, loosening ties within the group, language practices differing between generations and even individual families, and the acquisition of linguistic competence by the younger generation in school, not at home or in the community.

Language minorities currently function on the principle of Tönnies' (2001) *Gesellschaft*, and not just because of the shift in the area of human relationships, but also because of the way of participating in the minority culture. Identification with a group – especially in the case of young people brought up in a transcultural world (Appadurai 1996; Welsch 1999) – becomes a choice of each person. It is therefore based primarily on awareness and desire to belong to a given community. Both the awareness and desire must somehow be instilled or acquired. Identity is not the only subject of choice. The question of the use of a minority language by young people – both those who acquired it through intergenerational transmission, as well as those who have learned it at school as a second language – is not obvious. Peer pressure, pressure from popular culture and the ideology of success (in personal life, at work, etc.) are so strong that the decision to use a minority language is always difficult.

The fieldwork that I conducted allows me to argue my thesis that the awareness of belonging to a minority culture and the decision to use and promote a minority language are largely individual and depend on a combination of various factors. A conscious feeling of belonging to, and hence the commitment to, the given culture/language minority may depend on whether a young person grows up in a household where the minority language is respected, meets someone who will be able to inspire her/him, becomes friends with someone who is interested in the future of the community and its language, or joins a group for which participation in minority culture is important (see Corona Caraveo, Pérez & Hernández 2010). Young people who start to manifest interest in ethnic culture and to engage in the preservation of a minority language thus have a significant influence on their peers by creating a varied offer of cultural activities, through which they can create communities of practice which enable “a process of being active participants in the *practices* of social communities and constructing *identities* in relation to these communities” (Wenger 1998: 4). Through this process ethnically undecided individuals can acquire ethnic awareness, by forming a strong group that attracts others, and by initiating and carrying out actions opposing the current situation of a given group in such a way that their peers will also be able to join those activities. Therefore, the role

of young people committed to the minority, as well as language activists, can not be overestimated. It is therefore important to take a closer look at who the minority cultures young activists exactly are, how they entered into the life of the minority community, what motivated them to commit themselves to their culture and how they perceive their activism.

Methodology

This article makes use of ethnographic methodology inspired by sociolinguistics, with particular regard for the theme of young minority people's attitudes regarding their languages and cultures (Baker 1992; O'Rourke & Ramallo 2011; Wyman 2012; McCarthy 2011). This includes the issue of endangered languages, their revitalization (Fishman 1991; Hinton & Hale 2001; Marquis & Sallabank 2013), and the formation of collective identities of cultural and linguistic minorities in the contemporary world. It contains research on participation in social life, on civic participation (Yates & Youniss 1999; Percy-Smith & Thomas 2010; Shinn & Yoshikawa 2008; Sherrod, Torney-Purta & Flanagan 2010) and on ethnic mobilization (Olzac 1983; Giedroń, Kowalewska & Mieczkowska 2012). Such an approach is also close to the ethnography of resistance (Ortner 1995) which aims to analyze how the actors of social movements 'understand themselves to be doing, their salient practices, and the explicit and implicit assumptions that seem to guide these practices' (Urla 2012: 202).

The research I conducted lends a voice to young representatives of minorities, making them speaking subjects. Between 2012 and 2014, with the aid of a grant from the National Science Center,² I conducted over a hundred anonymous, semi-structured interviews with young people (16–25 years) from four linguistic minorities – Kashubian, Upper Sorbian, Breton and Welsh – actively participating and/or involved in minority life and in language-related activities. The sociolinguistic context of each group is different. The Kashubian language is spoken by approx. 100,000 people, but the intergenerational transmission of the language was seriously weakened in the second half of the 20th century, so few members of the younger generation acquire it at home (Synak 1998; Mordawski 2005; Mazurek 2010).

² This project has been financed by a grant from the National Science Center. Decision number DEC-2011/01/D/HS2/02085.

In Upper Lusatia among the Catholic minority, the Sorbian language is still the primary medium of communication, but the linguistic community is very small, with a maximum approximately of 10,000 people (Elle 2010: 316; Walde 2004: 3–27). In Brittany, the intergenerational transmission of the language was largely interrupted after World War II. Most of the approximately 200,000 Breton language speakers belong to the oldest generation (Broudic 2009). There is however, an emerging group of *néo-bretonnants*, i.e. new Breton speakers – people who have learned Breton at school, university or during dedicated courses (Hornsby 2005). Welsh is used by about half a million people, especially in North Wales, where the transmission of the language has been preserved. However, despite language ‘officialization’, a number of measures implemented in favor of the Welsh, and the ever-increasing group of new Welsh speakers who are learning the language, the overall number of speakers is in decline (Morris 2010; Williams 2000). Regardless of the differences, there are young people in each of the four regions mentioned above who are not only willing to participate in the life of minorities, but have also started to become more involved in many types of activities on their behalf. Their own words and observations suggest that their motivations and perceptions on their involvement are similar enough, so that while looking at the roads to activism of specific individuals, I can use this cultural four-voice polyphony to compare the situation of different minority language groups.

The selection of respondents that are aware of their ethnicity, i.e. people who have ‘chosen’ their identity, minority language and who are engaged in activities for their preservation, raises the question of ‘credibility’ of these respondents (Bourdieu 1999). Activists, answering questions from a person who is outside their group and who is interested in how they see themselves in their relationship with the language and their participation in the minority culture, tend to present themselves in the most favorable light. As many of them have worked for the benefit of their culture and language for several years, they have become steeped in a specific discourse relating to endangered languages and cultures; they also know what arguments should be used to convince others that the action they take are right. Quotes of young people cited in the research paper should not be treated as the ‘whole truth’ about them, but as a specific version of self-representation, a portrait created by a particular group of young activists, because the very choice of details from their personal experiences and the way they present them, create meanings (Seidman 2006: 1). Young people

become the narrators of the stories they want to present to the researcher. As such, the presented image is the result of negotiations between their experiences, what they consider as positive, what they want to present, to dissemble, and what they believe the researcher would like to hear. They build the shared representations about who they are and how they want to be perceived (De Fina 2006: 351). As a group, however, they form a shared representation of who they are and how they would like to be perceived, “based on ideologies and beliefs about the characteristics of social groups and categories and about the implications of belonging to them” (De Fina 2006: 354). The way they perceive this group, results not only from an individual approach and upbringing, but also from the problems that they face as a group, and from the representation of the culture presently functioning in the collective consciousness of people around them.

The aim of the study is to present the factors that may be relevant in acquiring minority consciousness, to show how participation in cultural activities can lead to civic engagement, and how this engagement is transformed into activism. This portrait of young language activists will enable us to understand their motivations, the problems they face, and the actions they take. This recognition has a dual denotation. First of all, as researchers of this phenomenon state “without increased attention to how language activism develops, is implemented and organized, minority and endangered languages are unlikely to achieve the reinforcement of official language policies which support their use and existence” (Combs & Penfield 2012: 462). An understanding of what makes young people become involved and how this involvement affects them and others can be used by minority languages ‘revitalizers’, who try to encourage young people to participate in activities they organize. The researcher, by entering into the young activists’ environment and encouraging them to reflect and articulate feelings related to language, culture, activism, may also influence individuals and their subsequent choices. In this respect, the study may fall under the category of ‘engaged anthropology’. On the other hand, the comparative method enables general conclusions to be drawn regarding the attitudes of the younger generation towards language and their willingness to participate in the life of minorities.

The origins of engagement

Parents

The family home is the first reference group for young people. It is here that the socialization process begins. Values and practices brought from home create young people's social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) and will be reproduced by them in the future. The attitude of parents towards their own ethnicity and minority language is a crucial factor influencing what type of attitude young people will adopt or reject (Baker 1992: 109). Young people who live in homes where issues related to community and civil life are discussed, where parents themselves are involved in group activities or send positive signals about participation, show more interest and willingness to engage in such activities (McIntosh & Youniss 2010: 31). In the case of linguistic minorities, there can be two types of these positive signals. Firstly, upbringing in the minority language, parents using it actively while speaking to their children and other people in their immediate circle. Secondly, this can also be an attitude of openness to a minority language, even if the given language is not a tool of communication in the family: sending children to school and language courses where the minority language is taught, arguing that the language in question has value. This allows children to become familiar with the language and the situation of a minority group, and later on to find their own place in the group. This is what happened in the case of 25-year-old G., who became involved in a Sorbian educational institution.

G(M)25S:³ My mother taught Sorbian when she was still working. In addition, she participated in Sorbian courses in Bautzen. My dad is in a Sorbian amateur theater group. It is important for our family. My parents did not have to work hard to make us, the children, speak Sorbian. We were brought up that way; it was the only obvious way.

Parental attitudes are reflected even more in the case of civic and/or political engagement. For some young people "family values and practices also play a formative role, selecting young people for activism and reinforcing their commitment" (Sherrod 2006: 14). Research has shown that parental core values are often passed on to the younger generation. This is particularly evident in

³ Identifying method: symbol given to the speaker, gender ([F]emale / [M]ale), age, language ([S]orbian, [K]ashubian, [B]reton, [W]elsh).

the case of parents who themselves are activists or were in their youth, as they “were more likely to teach their children the importance of understanding others and of serving the common good” (see Franz & McClelland 1994). A twenty-year-old Welshman involved in *Cymdeithas yr Iaith* and the Youth Section of *Plaid Cymru*, the Welsh national party, believes:

B(M)20W: I think [my engagement] started because of my uncle. He was very sensitive to this because he was actually arrested in the 1980s for protesting for a better status of the Welsh language. And he spent some time in jail. So, it passed onto me through family more than anything. (...) I think I was just born in it, it developed in me with time. It’s always been there since I was little. Everyone wears *Cymdeithas yr Iaith* t-shirts, and stickers... It was always there. I just accepted it even before I actually understood why. But when you get older you really start to accept what is behind *Cymdeithas yr Iaith* and you want to defend the Welsh language and you want the best for Wales.

School

School plays an important role in integrating young people into a language community, especially when the children come from homes where the minority language is not used, and matters of cultural identity are not discussed. However, it is also important for children who have knowledge of the minority language from home. Firstly, school, which in previous eras reproduced an attitude of resentment and the reduction of the minority languages’ importance (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990), has today become, in many cases, the place of production of new meanings related to the situation of minorities in the modern world. These values are passed on through a network of connections created around a young person that links them with other students, teachers and staff. This way, by creating “new communities of practice and meaning” the school plays an important part in defining both the linguistic and cultural identity of young people (Jaffe 2011: 206). Secondly, it teaches the use of the minority language in various situations, including those that require the use of a written language (see Martin-Jones 2011). Thirdly, after-school classes can hardly be overestimated, as they allow a young person to gain an interest in issues related to the life of the minority, to create a community of practice with other participants, thanks to which community knowledge is acquired in action, and the learning process is also a process of becoming a member of a specific group (Eckert & Wenger 1994; Lave 1991). Of course, a school may both encourage and discourage young people to become involved. Much depends on the teacher and the allure of the proposed activities. As a young

woman points out below, if not for her Kashubian teacher, she probably would not have become permanently involved in actions promoting this language.

G(F)25K: If not for my high school, I wouldn't even know how to write in Kashubian. Because you know, at home, we spoke Kashubian, but then my parents cannot write in this language at all (...). Also, taking part in performances [of an amateur theater run by Kashubian teacher – NDR] enabled me to get know Kashubian literature. (...) You know, during regular classes there is never enough time to learn everything. But while preparing for a performance, you need to get familiar with the writer, and the whole context in which a story, a tale, or a drama has been created.

That is precisely the way communities of practice work; their members “come to develop and share ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values – in short, practices – as a function of their joint involvement in mutual activity” (Eckert & Wenger 1994: 2). Still another role is played by schools which themselves serve as an organ of the minority. This is the case of Breton-speaking, immersive Diwan schools, established in the aftermath of the revival movement in Brittany. For many years they were not recognized by the French educational system and until recently were organized mainly by Breton activists (see Dołowy-Rybińska, in press). In these schools, students receive a special kind of education.

B(F)17B: [The] Diwan school itself creates certain bonds... From the very beginning, we participated in organizing events, sweepstakes, games, fest-noz, and various Breton customs. And, well... I participated in it when I was very young. I could have been seven years old, and even back then I used to serve pancakes during a fest-noz. I was very happy. We did a lot of small things like that, and it seems to me that it influenced us. So we did those things, just do them, to feel good doing them. That's basically the Diwan philosophy, in my opinion.

Participation in cultural activities

Not every type of participation in minority culture-related activities has identical effects. Participation can also be passive and imitative, and then it does not become a driving force for engagement for the individual. But it can also be founded upon active and creative participation, which helps the individual in his/her self-realization (Godlewski 2002: 63–64). This is exactly the kind of participation that can urge an individual to join a group, to become connected then engaged with it. Activities and cultural practices not only

help young people learn and form bonds, but are also a method of passing on social and cultural capital connected with cultural activities. During extra-curricular activities, young people can also begin to create a community of practice, in which the following process occurs: the acquisition of language and skills connected with living in a certain community, sharing joint practices amongst pupils, and constructing identities in relation to these communities (Wenger 1998: 4).

This participation also has a real influence on the willingness and the ability to use a minority language (Artexte Sarasola 2014); young people take pleasure and find a sense in speaking in the language of the minority. They also become accustomed to using it in the non-family/non-school environment, where they have few opportunities to speak the language. According to a Welsh student, who grew up in a home where nobody spoke Welsh:

D(F)20W: Some people just used the Welsh language without even thinking about it and others had to really think about using it. It depended on what you did in school. If you did lot of extracurricular activities, like preparing different things for Eisteddfod. A lot of people did something connected with sport and some were involved in drama.... They could speak a lot more Welsh, they got used to it. And those people who didn't get involved had a lot of difficulties to speak.

Both community-based organizations that provide activities for young people and the efforts of the community, which encourages young people to participate, have a common goal: the individual development of a young person as a member of a larger group through active participation and involvement (Speer 2008: 214). Organizing cultural activities, during which language or some elements of the group history are subtly suggested, makes young people aware of them. A young woman studying Breton, who grew up in a non-Breton and non-engaged family, remembers that her first contact with Breton culture took place during dance classes in a Celtic folk club.

V(F)22B: When I was a child, after-school activities were one hour and half long. We danced for one hour and half an hour, it was called *half an hour for culture*. People who taught us how to dance, young girls, gave us a talk about Brittany, history, stories, and taught us a few words in Breton, some silly things, colors, etc. (...) It was short but very interesting and it allowed us to understand that it is not only for amusement, like judo or sport, but it was related to something important.

Membership in a youth cultural group is primarily a social experience. "While the individual is taking part in recreational activities, s/he also has opportunities to make new social contacts, form new friendships, and acquire different values" (Cotterell 2007: 223). Relations established give meaning to personal bonds and strengthen the sense of belonging to a community. The relationship between peers is crucial, because for young people 'fitting in' and not 'sticking out' of the group is extremely important (Miles, Dallas & Burr 1998). "The demands on young people which arise from youth cultural involvement, are twofold: they have to orientate themselves in the landscape of lifestyles that surround them, creating and occupying a niche they consider to be integrative as well as individual" (Miles et al. 2002: 17). The cooperation between team members becomes the most important challenge for the participant; it "helps to build further interest in the goals of the organization, and the rationale of the organization, in turn, helps to sustain the individual's participation" (McIntosh & Youniss 2010: 31). Robert Putnam (2000: 117) argues also that those who "belong to formal and informal social networks are more likely to give [their] time and money to good causes than those [...] who are isolated socially."

Young people reinforce their own belief that together they are doing something they enjoy and something that is important for the whole group, so they are more willing to give more in order to achieve a common goal. They also have an opportunity to get to know individuals who will inspire them to join more organized activities.

N(M)22K: I think it started when I was in primary school, when quite accidentally, I joined a folkloric dance group. We had different Kashubian events and it was where I had my first contact with Kashubian, because unfortunately we didn't speak Kashubian at home. When I grew up (...) we joined (...) the biggest regional ensemble of song and dance 'Kashubia'. And I am still a part of it. Everything went ok; we had a lot of performances, even abroad, and our self-assurance grew, our pride of being Kashubs. (...) And there I met a girl who was already in the Students Club Pomorania and she said "you have to join the Pomorania club." After that, I started taking things seriously.

Friends and engaged individuals

According to studies carried out by Jacqueline Kennelly and other researchers, engaged individuals who grew up in families not associated with activism often stated that their first 'engagement impulse' came from their relations with other young people, who played the roles of 'cultural guides' to

the nuances of activist life worlds (Kennelly 2011: 117–118). Also, researchers of social movements point out the importance of social networks between the person and the engaged individuals, which put the person in motion (Della Porta & Diani 2006: 117–134). Contact with engaged individuals is mentioned by my interviewees as one of the most important impulses to become fully and consciously engaged in a minority language/culture. A Breton student, active in many Breton-related organizations and syndicates, said that he ‘seriously’ began to be involved thanks to his brother, who brought him into the activist milieu.

W(M)20B: It seems to me that it was in the [Diwan] high school when I started to think about why to act to promote the Breton language. But my activity took concrete form after I left high school. When I finished high school, my brother was finishing his BA in economics at Nantes and then began to be involved with ‘44 Breizh’⁴ with people I knew, but not too well. That’s when I first heard about it, and when I left high school, I joined the ‘44 Breizh’ and it was probably my first real commitment. (...) That’s when I started to campaign in the specific sense of the word.

Research shows that people, who have friends involved in some way or another, are more likely than others to engage themselves (Hart & Lakin Gullan 2010: 73). The mere presence of activists in the peer environment may have an impact on others. “Even if it does not result in bringing in new recruits to a cause, activism may raise awareness of issues and expand imagination” (Kassimir 2006: 23). Above all, however, participation in minority classes, events, groups, can reinforce positive attitudes towards the language, as Baker (1992: 109) argues.

Getting closer to the world associated with language protection

Sometimes a more in-depth interest in minority issues and taking action on its behalf starts with a more or less random choice of a specific field of study or work. This choice, it seems, does not entail a need for engagement. It turns out, however, that this choice leads to entering into a specific milieu and creates a necessity to become more involved closer with the pressing problems of the group. A Sorbian Studies student at the University of Leipzig says that before enrolling she had not been considering any involvement with Sorbianness.

⁴ Association for the inclusion of the Department of the Loire-Atlantique into Brittany.

I(F)22S: Well actually, I started to get involved when I came to Leipzig and joined Sorabija.⁵ And I decided to consciously do something when I enrolled at the Sorbian Studies Department. From the moment I started my studies, I became that way; I wanted to do something with others, or look at what others were doing [for Sorbian culture].

Entering a group associated with the minority becomes the impetus for young people to analyze and change their attitude towards the language and culture, to deepen their interests, and above all, it enables them to find their place in the engaged individual's milieu. This process can be applied to the phenomenon of the *situated learning* and *legitimate peripheral participation* described by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (1991). The theory speaks of joining a community of practice by newcomers. At the beginning, their participation is peripheral, simple and reduced, but it is legitimized and slowly moves 'novices' from the periphery to the center. Finally, the newcomer can join a group completely, take on its values, and shape her/his identity to be similar to that of the group.

NDR: *So a more conscious participation in Kashubian culture began with the Pomorania club?*

D(F)22K: I think so. Previously it was only because I had Kashubian friends that I recognized that they were Kashubs, and I also have a family from Kashubia. And that's it. And for me to become more involved, it started only after I joined the club. Now it is an important part of my life.

Engagement

Psychologists call attention to an important dimension of engagement: it includes targeted measures, but it is not goal oriented. The objective is just an excuse to continue the work undertaken, and not the ultimate goal (Lewicka 1993: 17–19). Engagement is therefore an activity perpetuated by activity, by all the other external factors and impressions perceived individually. When we look at the stimuli that push young people to commit themselves to the culture and language of a minority, we see that not only the motivations for joining and ways of joining are different, but also the specific type of engagement varies from one person to another. The definition and type of commitment have also undergone changes over time. Bobineau (2010: 66–67)

⁵ Sorbian student's club at the University of Leipzig.

argues that the engagement of the 1960s and 70s today has changed into voluntary commitment, based on the connection between individuals and their shared passion. This type of commitment is founded upon the existence of the emotional community (Maffesoli 1996), formed as a result of the need of creating an emotional identification with others. Thanks to the existence of such a community, individuals raised in highly atomized world can take on various tasks together. A group, in other words, a community of practice, which does not have to – according to Maffesoli – be ephemeral, gives a sense of meaning to their work and commitment. Through such a group individual identities are constructed, confirmed and strengthened.

From the statements of the people I interviewed it can be deduced that both the community dimension and acting to achieve a distant goal create strong engagement. A Sorbian woman who took the path towards participation, starting in dance ensembles, through being active and instigating projects for the young Sorbs, to working in a minority organization, admits that you cannot be a member of a group and remain inactive. This is because an engaged person is surrounded by other active individuals, who influence and stimulate each other.

M(F)25S: When there is someone who is interested in similar things and has similar goals [it is easier to get involved – NDR]. All members of these groups [are like that] – I do not know anyone who says, “I’m in a dance group”, for example, “but I don’t care about anything else.” I can’t imagine saying something like that, one thing rules out the other.

Engagement also has a social dimension which individuals can enjoy (meetings and activity with a group of friends). Activities are also justified by the existence of an overriding goal.

NDR: *Do you simply prefer, do you enjoy more being with them, or is it a willingness to promote Kashubian culture?*

M(F)22K: Both. It is known that you can do something by yourself, but a group has more strength and encourages you more. We have the courage to break through. We have a chance to organize something, to get help from our friends, to create something. So I think that the probability of doing something for the Kashubian culture is much higher than when you’re working by yourself. Besides, it is fun when you do it together with your friends.

One can look at relations between engaged individuals from the *social network* perspective, in which groups, associations and organizations are

perceived as social structures based on the bonds formed between their members and with the group as a whole. An individual gains social profit from participation in a group; s/he finds many new friends, and finds his/her place in a new milieu.

NDR: *Do you enjoy being in the Sorabija club?*

L(M)24S: Oh, for sure. At the beginning, when I was a new member, it was something very important. From the very beginning I felt welcomed; I got to know all of these people there. When they went out to celebrate, I went out with them and this way I got to know others. In Leipzig [Sorabija] also has a certain opinion and when you say that you're in Sorabija, the [reaction is as follows:] "Oh, he belongs to the Sorbs." In this company you become more active than when you try to do something by yourself.

Above all, the essence of a community of practice is to create a collective identity during the course of a participatory process. The idea of identity founded upon participation is strongly associated with the concept of motivation. The meanings and significance that an individual confers on the world are combined with the actions taken by the individual (Lave & Wenger 1991: 122). This allows individuals to feel that they have their place in the world. A Breton, who graduated from a Diwan high school and is active in Breton-speaking groups in Rennes, responds:

NDR: *What does participation in those meetings give you, in your life?*

J(M)21B: It gives me identity. At least I know... I told you before about the students who didn't ever fight for anything, for any cause. Me, I fought for Breton. My parents were sensitive about environmental issues. I used to also demonstrate for that cause. This is important for the identity to have things you want to defend. The fact that I speak Breton also distinguishes me from others. And it taught me to fight for something important and to know that you have to do it.

There is yet another important dimension in the existence of communities of practice, consisting of young people from language minorities. Joining such a group, in particular in places where traditional language communities do not exist, where individuals who know the minority language live in an environment with another dominant language, not only gives you the motivation to act, but also a place where you can use the minority language. A Kashubian who started to learn the language as a teenager, states:

NDR: *Did the existence of this group of friends help you to begin learning Kashubian?*

V(M)20K: Not only did it help, it enabled me to do it. Enabled. If not for the young people with whom I had some sort of a connection with, if not for friendships or acquaintances, I wouldn't have joined it, because language and culture are social skills. This is either a communication tool or a way of expressing values that unite us. I don't feel any connection with the elderly. Or, to put it differently, there are few areas where I feel connected with them. And if not for the young people who were thinking in a similar way, who shared my passions or even views on some issues, I would have never entered the Kashubian culture. Because there would not have been anybody with whom I could do it.

Activism

Gitlin, sociologist and an active participant in American social movements of the 1960s, described an activist as “someone who moves people into action and doesn't just rouse them for a particular occasion, who doesn't come and go but steadily works up strategies, focuses energies and (crucially) settles in for the long haul” (2003: 4). Those researchers dealing with language activism, especially linguists participating in it, defined it this way: “Activism is frequently defined as intentional, vigorous or energetic action that individuals and groups practice it to bring about a desired goal. For some, activism is a theoretically or ideologically focused project intended to affect a perceived need for political or social change” (Combs & Penfield 2012: 461). In the minority communities that do not have public institutions and political leverage (or where institutions and leverage are weak), the decisive role belongs to activists, “who develop workable strategies, focus a collective spotlight onto particular issues, and ultimately move people into action” (Gitlin 2003; Combs & Penfield 2012: 461).

Involvement in minority activities does not necessarily lead to activism. Not every individual, who feels that the future of a minority language and culture is important, wishes to participate and to promote it, or is able to join a social movement, initiate actions, protests, or direct opposing acts. However, we can observe that the more activities a young person assumes, the more s/he learns about the world of engagement – the more s/he feels connected with a group and its ideas. A young Upper Sorb describes his route to activism in the following terms:

L(M)24S: Well, it started sort of by accident. It was not my conscious decision. It started when I was dancing in the ‘Wudwor’ dance group. And there, I started

to become involved in the organizational parts. And it went on like this to the next involvement, because they were looking for someone who could take over the local branch of Domowina. Then I got engaged. And after, I went to Lepizig, and I joined the students club, Sorabija. Through Sorabija, I started to write articles for the Sorbian press. One thing led to another. When you join one [association] and look around, you start to become involved in the next one.

In the case of many engaged individuals, we encounter an escalating process with each new action taken. This is a need, according to Lewicka (1993: 25), to constantly discover “new sources of power.” Every new engagement seems to turn young people on, and achieving a partial goal does not satisfy them, but rather serves as further motivation for increased activity.

NDR: *So: the more you do, the more you get involved?*

V(M)20K: Yes. The more it hurts you, the more it pisses you off, the more time you devote. (...) And in the end your friends tell you ‘Ok, fine, give us a break, we’re at the disco now’. But at the same time, it starts to build up in you. You can watch it, observing people who have something else besides their work; their minds and involvement are going in the Kashubian direction. And it starts to be their passion.

Young activists often emphasize the fact that their actions have great significance for minorities, because they recognize the needs of their peers better than adults who have worked for many years. Many of them went the route of learning to speak the minority language, so they are aware of the fact that this process is difficult and that it demands a particular impulse. Young people believe that they are closer to the problem and are thus able to organize actions that are more effective, more appealing for their peers. As participation in these actions can be transformed into active involvement, which, in turn, – in the right circumstances – can lead to activism, the whole process resembles a self-perpetuating machine. Thanks to it, an ethnically undecided generation will have a better chance of finding their place in the minority culture. As a young Sorbian woman stated:

H(F)25S: I think that organized events are very important. And why? On one hand we try to connect the young Sorbian people from the villages. (...) Thanks to Pawk⁶ they have an opportunity to get to know young people from other villages and to take part in events. We try to do some modern projects, which attract young people, obviously, everything in Sorbian. We try to make them

⁶ Sorbian Youth Association.

understand that what is in Sorbian, is not silly, serious or traditional. It is not only about literature, about culture, but the point is to do cool things together. We organized a modern music festival twice. Firstly, the bands can present themselves and it is contemporary Sorbian music, not folklore and classical stuff. Secondly, young people start to openly admit their Sorbianness and to realize their identity. But I think that the most important is to show that it really exists, that we can say 'Hey, our culture is really rich' and people believe us.

The involvement attitude of minority members develops through a gradual process, in which individuals become aware of the fact that the situation of a community and its minority language is different from that of a community that is in the dominant position. A young Welshman, who is active in Cymdeithas yr Iaith and who recently started to work at a Welsh institution that promotes language rights, describes achieving this awareness as a process of arriving at the conclusion that you have to fight for a better status of your language.

K(M)25W: There is no kind of particular incident, it is gradual. (...) [It concerns] also learning the history of my nation. In school, we only had to learn English history. We didn't do the history of Wales at all. It was important, learning the history of my nation and how people have been kept down in the past, learning about people who have gone to Patagonia because they were oppressed here. There was Welsh education in Patagonia before in Wales! So learning things like that and spending a lot of time with my grandparents I guess. Especially my grandma was very strong in things like that. Not so much my mum. And then they told me we had to defend it as well. At first it was like that I believed in it with my heart but I also thought that it is something quite stupid. And then you realize that you have to defend it. Because, everyone asks you all the time 'Can you speak English?' Well, yes, I can speak English but that is not the point. This is my country and I should be able to have things bilingually. And you have to justify it all the time. And you finally started to fight for your language.

Along with the awareness of persecution comes the resistance to the injustice, as well as a feeling that the group that does not have the sufficient impetus needs for individual support. One can easily infer from the words of a Breton student at the University of Rennes that this resistance does not have to be connected to one specific group. It turns into rejection of inequality and discrimination in general.

W(M)20B: When you learn Breton, you get to know a whole different world – the world of Breton speakers, the world of *militants*, who go to *fest-noz* and so

on. Apart from that, there is the side of activism. I live in Brittany; I feel Breton and there is the Breton language, which is going to be extinct soon, so there is a political idea to it that we should save all that belongs to a minority, all of which is oppressed. I think that if I had been born in the Basque Country, I'd fight for the Basque language because that is how the world functions; there are those who are oppressed and those who oppress. And for the first group we have to fight.

A sense of insecurity, injustice, resistance against discrimination and persecution of a group that has a weaker position, also gives rise to a feeling of responsibility for the group. This feeling is often considered to be the basis of all activism (Youth Activism 2006: 599). The responsibility, in turn, encourages young people not to give up and to get involved even deeper, despite the difficult circumstances.

O(F)24K: Had I not felt responsible, I wouldn't organize as many actions, working many hours and sometimes weeks for free just to complete a given project. I wouldn't stand in the freezing rain, helping housewives from the countryside to sell bread with lard. Had I not felt responsible, I would simply do nothing. But I do something. It proves that I feel responsible.

Types of activism

Similarly to engagement, language activism manifests itself differently at different times and contexts (Combs & Penfield 2012: 461). The impact of some activities, slogans, and actions depends on the situation of a given language, on the degree of its protection, the most important threats that it faces, and on the people's attitude towards it. Spolsky described language activists as important actors of language management because their ideas have a single goal, to preserve and revitalize the endangered language. "Working at a grassroots level, they attempt to influence existing, former, or potential speakers of the language to continue its use and to persuade government to support their plans. Lacking authority, they depend on acceptance of their ideology by those they try to influence..." (Spolsky 2009: 204). This researcher also points out that the situation of language activists today is very different from that of the previous generation, who fought for the fundamental rights of minority languages, which were facing total exclusion. Today activists are supported by local, regional, national, and even international organizations that aid, at least symbolically, their endeavors. Such a state of affairs changes,

at least to some extent, the means of engagement and motivation. This is why today language activism is largely aimed at the community.

Sherrod (2006: 2) wrote that “activism includes protest events and actions, advocacy for causes, and information dissemination to raise consciousness.” In this context, even writing letters can be, according to the researcher, considered activism. Let’s therefore look at the types of activities undertaken by young people, starting with those that are not necessarily widely recognized as activism, but nevertheless meet all its requirements.

Actions in favor of a minority language do not have to be spectacular. In a situation where progressive assimilation poses the greatest threat to minority languages, when language ideologies encourage an opinion that minority languages are regarded as a worse form of communication, as well as in the face of the indifference of current and potential users of the language, activism starts with individual choices (Combs & Penfield 2012: 463). The most important one is learning a minority language and showing willingness to use it, even when such a decision goes against the grain. The most basic right of a speaker – the one which is most frequently breached – is the right to speak a person’s language of choice all the time (Hudley 2013: 813). In this context, the choice of a minority language is not neutral; it automatically entails engagement. A young Breton described it in the following words:

CC(M)20B: A decision to learn the language and use it in conversations with other people, for whom it also isn’t their first language... we can easily talk to each other in French, but when we choose to speak Breton, it is a choice that we have to make. (...) French is the first language for all of us. So, if we decide to speak Breton to each other, we are already personally engaged.

The decision may apply to the language with which you communicate with your friends, but it can also apply to public use of the language, even if, looking at it rationally, the individual may not profit from such behavior. A Welsh political science student, heavily involved in direct action on the language’s behalf, has Welsh as his language of instruction during his studies.

NDR: *So you think that choosing the Welsh language [as a language of study] is as well a kind of activism?*

B(M)20W: Yes, I think so. The thing is that there are not many of us to do it. To study National Politics in my year in Welsh there are only 8 of us. And this is compared to about 200 who do it in English. So it is definitely a kind of

activism because everyone in the Welsh language community of students is very nationalistic. And every time we get something from our department and it is only in English, like information about an exam or something, we e-mail back asking why it is not in Welsh. So there is definitely activism behind it. Definitely.

The second type of action that aims to show the movement's strength is demonstrations. Parades, which gather many individuals, groups, communities, and associations supporting language and culture, are part of a movement that promotes the language. They symbolize and publicize the movement's demands. Young people talk about them with great passion.

A(F)25B: [We do it] in order to show that we exist, and we don't want to be pigeonholed! Because without activism, there would be no Diwan schools, and without them there would be no Breton language in its current form. I think it allows us to do what we want, to live our life. If it were not for activism, we would live the life politicians designed for us. Demonstrations are supposed to show that we exist; they are the times that we can scream as loud as we can when we are treated unjustly or when we don't agree with something. You have to fight whenever you lack things you need to live or things that we want. If we hadn't done it, we wouldn't have what we have now. (...) There is still much to do. As long as there is something to be done, there will be demonstrations.

Direct actions are the most visible type of activism. During those activities the traditions and achievements of the previous generation are reflected in the practices of the younger generation the most. Older people pass on the ways of conduct, but the creativity of new generations and individuals are also important (Della Porta & Diani 2006: 168–196). Most of the examples of direct action can be found in Wales, where the movement has a long history. People starting to be active in *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith* (see Phillips 2000), feel that they are really able to influence decisions concerning their language:

A(M)20W: I know, there are different types of people. Some people like lobbying and sending letters and other people like to campaign. I like to campaign. (...) It started when I was in the sixth form (...) There was always too few of us who chose to do the minimum in Welsh. (...) And it made me think that it wasn't right, that I have to defend it, (...) I joined *Cymdeithas Yr Iaith*, the Welsh Language Society, and I decided I had to do something, (...) In my village everything is monolingual, English only, and that's not right. I contacted a person responsible but nothing changed. We only heard some excuses. We sent many letters, made a lot of phone calls – no reaction. So we decided to take

matters into our own hands and we bought some spray cans. When I sprayed the signs, they installed bilingual ones. It was the first thing I did myself after becoming a CYI member. I think it pushed me so far because I was so angry seeing the Welsh language in my area declining, and that people who knew Welsh just decided not to [use it]. All these things together pushed me to do this. And that is where it started.

Profile of an Activist

According to Rochon, group solidarity is a politicized group identity. He argues, that in addition to the awareness of belonging to a group, solidarity is based on three types of attitudes towards it: dissatisfaction with the current status of the group, the conviction that the said status results from external factors (political, social, economic), and the belief that joint efforts can improve the situation of the group. "Identification with a group encourages a person to associate group interests with individual interests. Solidarity with that group brings with it an expectation that other group members will be mobilized for the cause." (Rochon 1998: 101). The necessity to act is one of the most important characteristics that young activists told me.

K(M)22K: I wouldn't be able to sit down in an armchair after work and just watch TV. Although sometimes a man just wants to come home, sit down and do absolutely nothing, just turn on a stupid TV show, but I know that after two days like that, I would be bored out of my mind. I'd have to go somewhere, do something, organize something.

Active involvement entails an attitude of rejection of passivity. The very experience of mobilization, of taking action influences an individual, because it allows her/him to achieve an awareness and understand the world in which s/he lives. Activism provides a sense of liberation from feelings of helplessness in the face of oppressive circumstances (Rochon 1998: 134). This attitude is reflected not only through engagement, but also through specific linguistic practices.

S(M)19W: It is a question of opportunities but opportunities are not enough. It is rather making something that people want to take part in. You know, I could open a book club in Welsh, but no one would come. (...) Sometimes it is about creating opportunities for ourselves, going into the shop and asking people to speak Welsh. Not just waiting because no one will give us this opportunity.

Levinson argues that decisions to participate in civic life are at least partly determined by an individual's attitude, "whether they believe that a group of individuals can influence government (political efficacy), that they themselves can influence government (individual efficacy), that one has a duty to participate (civic duty), and that one is part of a civic community (civic identity)" (Levinson 2010: 341). This attitude is shaped by a number of factors, including social capital obtained at home, at school or from the environment, as well as an individual's personal circumstances (his/her character, abilities). A Welsh activist, who defines himself as a 'political animal', says:

O(M)20W: When my parents had guests, I was always the one who stayed and joined in the conversation. And I was listening to the group. I would have been about 12 but adults were always around me. And I would rather stay there and listen to the conversation than go and play or watch the tele. This is what my brother would do. Since then, I have always found myself a bit more inclined to listen to people. But I think from around the age of Urdd,⁷ both me and my brother were involved in Wales and Welshness. From the beginning, it was an activist movement, you know, going against the main trends, going against what it is or used to be or should be. When I first found out that speaking Welsh in the classroom is [perceived as] something wrong, I rebelled.

The young Welshman's statement also includes a reference to another very important feature shared by activists, rejection of the existing order. Klatch, an American sociologist engaged in social movements, notes that "commitment to a social movement involves not only conviction about what is wrong with the world, but also the decision to act out these beliefs, to strive for social change. Commitment also means a conception of oneself as someone who takes action in defense of deeply held values, someone who cares" (Klatch 1999: 97). This is confirmed by my interlocutors.

NDR: *What character traits do you have to have to become an activist?*

H(M)20B: It's hard to say, because there are many kinds of activism. I think the main trait is that when you see how things work, you are not able to ignore them, walk right by it. I can't imagine that not doing anything, that I come home from work and just don't care about the world because there is always a reason to defend something. Especially for us, in the Breton milieu, there is always something to do, something to fight for, for funding, for our rights.

⁷ Welsh-speaking organization for children and young people. Its goal is to organize extracurricular activities in Welsh for pupils.

I think that's what we learnt at the Diwan. That, and the fact that you have to fight injustice. For me, it comes completely naturally.

Activists put a lot of effort into actions, as well as their time, commitment, and energy. Gitlin, based on his own experience, wrote that "the wrong motives not only corrupt and betray you, they are more likely to bring bad results" (Gitlin 2003: 10). That is why people who decide to join a movement like this have to be characterized by one more attribute – a lack of attachment to the potential material profits of such work. That is probably the very reason that young people, who still do not have to worry about earning their living, think about activism in a different way than slightly older people.

K(F)21B: Well, there is something... when you are writing your CV, all those engagements are not really recognized. Only your professional experience is taken into account. And in my case, it would only be baby-sitting... And animation... well, I never did it professionally. I prefer to organize unofficial concerts supporting people with no papers or to take part in a festival against the language change. I think that through this engagement we feel really free, that we are doing what we want to do. (...) It is just a pleasure.

All these people and their statements, however, express two basic characteristics of young activists: passion and optimism. Without faith in the action, that it will bring social change, that the effort will pay off in some form, and that actions taken by various collectives can truly affect the ability and the willingness of others to use minority languages – without all of the above, engagement would not be possible. So it is instructive to see to how young people themselves perceive the benefits of activism and engagement.

A subjective view regarding the benefits of activism

Participation in social movements is not rewarded in the same way as participation in other types of organizations. Activism is not a profitable enterprise, not all activities are well received by the public, and their effectiveness is largely uncertain. Meanwhile, the cost of participation in a movement may be high, as actions undertaken are often stigmatized by members of the community or by the authorities (Rochon 1998: 95). Therefore, there must be some form of

gratification other than a financial one. Bobineau lists the reasons people get involved: they act because they want to be useful, because engagement gives them satisfaction, and because they get a sense that they are doing something important (for instance, they fight for their rights), as well as making close friends (Bobineau 2010: 100–122). My interlocutor describes the benefits of engagement in a similar way. For twenty-five-year old H., a Sorbian woman, activism was connected mainly with satisfaction and responsibility for the fate of a community.

H(F)25S: When a person becomes involved, she notices that activism is good for her, she takes pleasure in it, she becomes increasingly immersed. She wants to be a Sorb and pass it on.

Thanks to activism young people gain experience, learn new ideas, get to know people who work for minority languages also. This type of work – in addition to these specific skills – brings them satisfaction and a sense that they have their place in the world.

NDR: *What do you personally get out of your engagement on behalf of Kashubia?*

N(M)22K: Satisfaction, above all else. Pride and a feeling that I am not passive. As you know, there are not many young people like this, who act in a Kashubian environment. I feel that I'm not standing passively on the side, but I get involved and try to act as much as I can, to give all that I have. That's one thing. The other thing I get out of it is the fact that I'm learning all the time. (...) I get to know the specificity of differences of opinion, ideology, different perspectives on various issues related to being Kashub.

An important aspect, that everyone mentioned and which has already been discussed in this paper, is the existence of a group with which an individual feels ties and on which he or she can rely. Identification with the group triggers the group's interest, gradually merging with the individual's interests. That is what a Breton student, studying in Rennes and active in numerous associations for the promotion of the language, describes here:

NDR: *The fact that you're committed to a cause, what does it give you?*

O(F)24B: What does it give me? You remember when I told you that there's a community of Breton speakers, right? It works like this: if you're in the community, you're part of a kind of a chain, where everyone knows each other. It's nice to be in, because we always know what's going on. It's important in social terms, in terms of our relations. It's funny, because it always turns out

that you know someone who knows someone who knows someone else. It's really cool. So, in social terms, for sure.

However, the major, the most frequently mentioned profit from engagement is the fact that it gives your life meaning. Here is the opinion of a young woman, who not only engages in (often illegal) actions on behalf of the Welsh language, but also attracts and influences other young people. For her, activism is not merely acting with a particular goal in mind, but also a way of life, of perceiving reality and of responding to injustice and wrongdoing.

E(F)25W: It gives me everything, a sense of life. I think if I wasn't campaigning for the Welsh language, I would be interested in human rights, animals' rights, whatever. (...) Finding something I could change was always the thing for me and... I came across *Cymdeithas yr Iaith*; I got involved, and I felt I could change something. And I really can. So yes, being able to feel that you are changing something, changing minds, their attitudes, changing ideas, changing policies and changing everything. And I think that gives me more than anything. It gives me a sense of achieving something and it is important and this can be carried on. It is tiring because you are constantly pushing things and sometimes you have this feeling that you are not getting anywhere but then something happens and it encourages you and gives you power to act.

Conclusion: towards the practical use of research on youth language activism

The portrait of young language activists from selected European minorities presented here illustrates how groups of minority activists' form, develop and function. In addition, this self-representation – created on the basis of a subjective view of the younger generation's language circumstances, linguistic and cultural practices, as well as the causes, modes of engagement, the attitude toward the promotion of a minority culture and sense of gaining some profit from participation in a social movement – provides an overview of the problems and dilemmas which the young generation, identifying with language minorities, must face.

What practical deductions for minority languages revitalization can be drawn from this representation? First of all, in analyzing the path between participation in cultural activities, groups, ensembles, and ethnic extracurricular activities, the beginnings of a deeper interest in minority situations,

a rising awareness of their own culture, and making a more or less conscious decision to engage and promote it, researchers will find some dependencies. In today's world, few people have the opportunity to discover a commitment in themselves and willingness to sustain a culture and the use of a minority language in a family home background. It is therefore necessary that other opportunities to enter the world of a minority culture and acquire its language have to be organized for young people. As has been demonstrated, participation in a group brought together by common activities, interests and connections, can lead to the creation of a 'community of practice', in which and through which individuals construct their identity in relation to their group's goals and interests. Thus, young people obtain an awareness, motivations and willingness to act together from the individuals engaged in the issues of the minority. The more of these communities formed, the greater the contact individuals engaged in the movement have with the younger generation – the greater is the chance of attracting and gathering additional members.

Communities of practice functioning among young people play one more important role. Within the milieu and its stance focused on minority issues (whether through purely cultural activities, such as participation in community theater, regional ensembles, musical bands using a minority language, or through discussion on social and even political issues) young people often begin to speak the minority languages among themselves within these groups. And in doing so they have the chance of becoming accustomed to the language and to use it in contexts in which today's younger generation rarely has the opportunity to do so, as in areas of life not connected with either home or school. This leads to increasing self-confidence with the language itself and a realization that the language can be of some use. There is also an emerging subjective relationship with the language through relationships with others who are also somehow associated with the language. However, these activities have to satisfy a certain condition to be effective; they have to be attractive for young people and make them willing to participate in. Otherwise, these activities will not achieve the intended purpose.

That is why analyzing minority languages young activists' attitudes, their ideas and emotions can not only provide us with a representation of the people who dedicate their time and energy to serve minorities, but can also show why most of the younger generation do not engage in such activities. Especially when we realize, as those young activists cited in the article attest, that in today's world activism is defined not only as organizing direct actions, but

also as simply using a minority language on a daily basis. At the same time, the costs that activists have to bear are so high (particularly the lack of social acceptance for their actions), that many people do not wish to be identified with a distinct movement promoting minorities.

It seems that actions carried out by activists – the use of minority languages in places where this is not accepted, campaigning for education in these languages, organizing events and groups, in which others can participate, learn and become familiar with the minority culture, confirm, ‘find’ and realize their identity, and last but not least, organizing direct actions which aim at achieving a particular change – are currently of significant importance for a minority.

In the world of activism, the number of young people constitutes a small percentage. They are, however, the most energetic and passionate about the cause. They are also the most familiar with the needs of their peers, and that is why they are able to respond to the needs and shortcomings of their own generation through their actions. This is a generation raised in a transcultural world, and which shows an increasing indifference towards ethnic issues. Therefore, each individual recruited for the cause is of great importance from the perspective of the minority language’s future. Consequently, the actions of young activists should not be ‘torpedoed’, but on the contrary – their ideas and enthusiasm should be supported, strengthened and developed.

References

- Appadurai, Arjun 1996. *Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Artetxe Sarasola, Miren 2014. “Les jeunes et la revitalisation du basque au pays basque nord. L’influence de la *bertsolaritza* sur l’usage de la langue et l’identité linguistique”, *Zeszyty Łużyckie* 48: 129–147.
- Baker, Colin 1992. *Attitudes and Languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Bauman, Zygmunt 2000. *Globalisation: the human consequences*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bobineau, Olivier 2010. *Les formes élémentaires de l’engagement. Une anthropologie du sens*. Paris: Temps Présent.
- Bourdieu, Pierre 1986. “The Forms of Capital”. In: J. Richardson (ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood. Pp. 241–258.

- Bourdieu, Pierre 1999. "Understanding". In: P. Bourdieu (ed.) *The Weight of the World*. Cambridge: Polity. Pp. 607–626.
- Bourdieu, Pierre & Jean-Claude Passeron 1990. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Broudic, Fanch 2009. *Parler breton au XXIe siècle. Le nouveau sondage de TMO-Réions*. Brest: Emgleo Breiz.
- Combs, Mary C. & Susan Penfield 2012. "Language activism and language policy", in: B. Spolsky (ed.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 461–474.
- Corona Caraveo, Yolanda, Carlos Pérez & Julián Hernández 2010. "Youth participation in indigenous traditional communities". In: B. Percy-Smith & N. Thomas (eds.) *A Handbook of Children and Young People's Participation. Perspectives from theory and practice*. London, New York: Routledge. Pp. 141–149.
- Cotterell, John 2007. *Social Networks in Youth and Adolescence*. London, New York: Routledge.
- De Fina, Anna 2006. "Group identity, narrative and self-representation". In: A. De Fina, D. Schiffrin & M. Bamberg (eds.) *Discourse and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 351–375.
- Della Porta, Donatella & Mario Diani 2006. *Social Movements. An Introduction*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Eckert, Penelope & Etienne Wenger 1994. "Transition from School to Work: an Apprenticeship in Institutional Identity". In: *Working Papers on Learning and Identity, 1*. Palo Alto: Institute for Research on Learning. Available online at: <https://www.stanford.edu/~eckert/PDF/transition.pdf> (accessed 04.04.2016).
- Elle, Ludwig 2010. "Sorben – demographische und statistische Aspekte". In: M. T. Vogt & al. (eds.) *Minderheiten als Mehrwert*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. Pp. 309–318.
- Fishman, Joshua A. 1991. *Reversing Language Shift. Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, Joshua A. (ed.) 2001. *Can Threatened Languages be Saved?: Reversing Language Shift, Revisited: a 21st Century Perspective*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Franz, Carol E. & David C. McClelland 1994. "Lives of Woman and Men Active in the Social Protests of the 1960s", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 66 (1): 196–205.
- Giedroń, Marzenna, Dorota Kowalewska & Małgorzata Mieczkowska (eds.) 2012. *Mobilizacja i etniczność: procesy mobilizacji mniejszości narodowych i etnicznych w województwie zachodniopomorskim na tle doświadczeń grup*

- narodowościowych w innych regionach*. [Mobilization and ethnicity. The processes of national and ethnic minorities mobilization in the West Pomeranian voivodeship against the experiences of the national groups in other regions]. Szczecin: IPiE US.
- Gitlin, Todd 2003. *Letters To a Young Activist*. New York: Basic Books.
- Godlewski, Grzegorz 2002. "Animacja i antropologia" [*Animation and anthropology*]. In: G. Godlewski et al. (eds.) *Animacja kultury. Doświadczenie i przyszłość*. [*Animation of culture. Experience and future*]. Warszawa: Instytut Kultury Polskiej UW. Pp. 56–67.
- Grenoble, Lenore & Lindsay J. Whaley 2006. *Saving Languages: An Introduction to Language Revitalization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hart, Daniel & Rebecca Lakin Gullan 2010. "The Sources of Adolescent Activism: Historical and Contemporary Findings". In: L. R. Sherrod, J. Torney-Purta & C. A. Flanagan (eds.) *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in Youth*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons. Pp. 67–90.
- Hinton, Leanne & Ken Hale 2001. *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*. San Diego-New York: Academic Press.
- Hornsby, Michael 2005. "Néo-breton and questions of authenticity", *Estudios de Sociolinguística* 6 (2): 191–218.
- Hudley, Anne H.C. 2013. "Sociolinguistics and Social Activism". In: R. Bayley, R. Cameron & C. Lucas (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 812–831.
- Jaffe, Alexandra 2011. "Critical perspectives on language-in-education policy. The Corsican example". In: T. L. McCarthy (ed.) 2011. *Ethnography and Language Policy*. New York, London: Routledge. Pp. 205–229.
- Kassimir, Ron 2006. "Youth activism: International and Transnational". In: L. R. Sherrod, C. A. Flanagan, R. Kassimir & A. S. Syvertsen (eds.) *Youth Activism: an international encyclopedia*. Connecticut – London: Greenwood Press. Pp. 20–28.
- Kennelly, Jacqueline 2011. *Citizen Youth. Culture, Activism, and Agency in a Neoliberal Era*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kennelly, Jacqueline 2011. *Citizen youth: culture, activism, and agency in a neo-liberal era*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Klatch, Rebecca E. 1999. *A Generation Divided: The New Right, the New Left, and the 1960s*. Berkeley – Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Lave, Jean 1991. "Situating learning in communities of practice". In: L. B. Resnick, J. M. Levine & S. D. Teasley (eds.) *Perspectives on socially shared cognition*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. Pp. 63–82.

- Lave, Jean & Etienne Wenger 1991. *Situated Learning. Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levinson, Meira 2010. "The Civic Empowerment Gap: Defining the Problem and Locating Solutions". In: L. R. Sherrod, J. Torney-Purta & C. A. Flanagan (eds.) *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in Youth*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons. Pp. 331–362.
- Lewicka, Maria 1993. "Mechanizmy zaangażowania i kontroli w działaniu człowieka" [Mechanisms of engagement and control in the human acting]. In: M. Kofta (ed.) *Psychologia aktywności: zaangażowanie, sprawstwo, bezradność*. [Psychology of activity: engagement, perpetration, helplessness]. Poznań: Nakom. Pp. 15–62.
- Maffesoli, Michel 1996. *The Time of the Tribes. The Decline of Individualism in Mass Society*. London: Sage Publications.
- Martin-Jones, Marilyn 2011. "Languages, texts, and literacy practices: an ethnographic lens on bilingual vocational education in Wales". In: T. L. McCarthy (ed.) 2011. *Ethnography and Language Policy*. New York, London: Routledge. Pp. 231–253.
- Mazurek, Monika 2010. *Język, przestrzeń, pochodzenie. Analiza tożsamości kaszubskiej* [Language, space, origin. Analysis of the Kashubian identity]. Gdańsk: Instytut Kaszubski.
- McCarthy, Teresa L. (ed.) 2011. *Ethnography and Language Policy*. New York, London: Routledge.
- McIntosh, Hugh & James Youniss 2010. "Toward a Political Theory of Political Socialization of Youth". In: L. R. Sherrod, J. Torney-Purta & C. A. Flanagan (eds.) *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in Youth*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons. Pp. 23–42.
- Miles, Stephen, Cliff Dallas & Vivien Burr 1998. "'Fitting in and sticking out': Consumption, Consumer Meanings and the Construction of Young People's Identities", *Journal of Youth Studies* 1: 81–91.
- Miles, Stephen, Axel Pohl, Rui Manuel Bargiela Banha & Maria Do Carmo Gomes 2002. *Communities of Youth. Cultural practice and informal learning*. Burlington: Ashgate.
- Mordawski, Jan 2005. *Statystyka ludności kaszubskiej. Kaszubi u progu XXI wieku* [The statistics of the Kashubian people. Kashubs at the beginning of XXIst century]. Gdańsk: Instytut Kaszubski.
- Morris, Delyth (ed.) 2010. *Welsh in the Twenty-First Century*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Olzac, Susan 1983. "Contemporary Ethnic Mobilization", *Annual Review of Sociology* 9: 355–374.

- O'Rourke, Bernardette & Fernando Ramallo 2011. "Competing ideologies of linguistic authority amongst new speakers in contemporary Galicia", *Language in Society* 42: 287–305.
- Ortner, Sherry B. 1995. "Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37 (1): 173–193.
- Percy-Smith, Barry & Nigel Thomas (eds.) 2010. *A Handbook of Children and Young People's Participation. Perspectives from theory and practice*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Phillips, Dylan 2000. "The History of the Welsh Language Society 1962–1998". In: G. H. Jenkins & M. A. Williams (eds.) 'Let's Do Our Best for the Ancient Tongue'. *The Welsh language in the twentieth century*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Pp. 463–490.
- Putnam Robert D. 2000. *Bowling alone. The collapse and revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster Paperback.
- Rochon, Thomas R. 1998. *Culture Moves: Ideas, Activism, and Changing Values*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Sallabank, Julia 2013. *Endangered Languages: Attitudes, Identities and Policies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schieffelin, Bambi, Kathryn Woolard & Paul Kroskrity (eds.) 1998. *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Seidman, Irving 2006. *Interviewing as qualitative research. A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Sherrod, Lonnie R. 2006. "Youth Activism and Civic Engagement". In: L. R. Sherrod, C. A. Flanagan, R. Kassimir & A. S. Syvertsen (eds.) *Youth Activism: an international encyclopedia*. Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press. Pp. 2–11.
- Sherrod, Lonnie R., Judith Torney-Purta & Constance A. Flanagan (eds.) 2010. *Handbook of Research on Civic Engagement in Youth*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.
- Shinn, Marybeth & Hirokazu Yoshikawa (eds.) 2008. *Toward Positive Youth Development: Transforming Schools and Community Programs*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Speer, Paul W. 2008. "Altering Patterns of Relationship and Participation: Youth Organizing as a Setting-Level Intervention". In: M. Shinn & Hirokazu Yoshikawa (eds.) *Toward Positive Youth Development: Transforming Schools and Community Programs*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 213–228.
- Spolsky, Bernard 2009. *Language management*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Synak, Brunon 1998. *Kaszubska tożsamość: ciągłość i zmiana. Studium socjologiczne* [Kashubian identity: continuity and change. The sociological study]. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.
- Tönnies, Ferdinand 2001. *Community and civil society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Urla, Jacqueline 2012. *Reclaiming Basque. Language, Nation, and Cultural Activism*. Reno, Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press.
- Walde, Martin 2004. "Demographisch-statistische Betrachtungen im Oberlausitzer Gemeindeverband »Am Klosterwasser«", *Lětopis* 51 (1): 3–27.
- Welsch, Wolfgang 1999. "Transculturality – the Puzzling Form of Cultures Today", in: M. Featherstone & S. Lash (eds.) *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*. London: Sage. Pp. 194–213.
- Wenger, Etienne 1998. *Communities of Practice. Learning, Meaning, and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Williams, Collin H. 2000. "On Recognition, Resolution and Revitalization". In: C. H. Williams (ed.) *Language Revitalization. Policy and Planning in Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. Pp. 1–47.
- Wyman, Leisy T. 2012. *Youth Culture, Language Endangerment, and Linguistic Survivance*. Bristol, New York, Ontario: Multilingual Matters.
- Yates, Miranda & James Youniss (eds.) 1999. *Roots of Civic Identity. International Perspectives on Community Service and Activism in Youth*. New York: Cambridge University Press.