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The Portuguese language in the United Nations – framing policy design

Abstract: Using the example of the Portuguese language at the United Nations, this article argues that language planning matters. More specifically, without proper language status planning, the present political discourse aiming at making the Portuguese language official at the United Nations (UN) has very limited probabilities of being successful. This article applies a language policy and planning (LPP) theoretical framework and uses qualitative research methods to identify the set of key variables that may help bridge political discourse with a political goal. In this sense, the authors propose a research agenda toward the design of a status planning strategy for the Portuguese language within the context of the most representative international and multi-lateral organization. This prospective strategy is viewed as a decisive tool to bridge the current gap between the volatile political discourse of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP) defending Portuguese as an official UN language and a concrete policy design or action plan toward that same goal.

Keywords: language policy and planning, program design, the Portuguese language, United Nations.

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1 Introduction and policy gap

In an increasingly interconnected and globalized world, the United Nations (UN) is an institution that plays a very unique role in the way languages can be used and promoted across different contexts. For instance, the decision about whether a language is a working or an official language is a critical issue in addressing linguistic diversity within the context of both the UN agencies and the arenas where they operate. There are many reasons to discuss the importance and status of a language within the UN system (e.g., power, culture, economics). From the standpoint of this article, we are concerned with this discussion to the extent that

there is actually a political discourse delivered by the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP) directed toward a specific goal, namely to have the Portuguese language adopted as a UN official language. In so far as this political position has been reinforced over the last decade, the theory and the methodology applied in this article illustrates the challenges faced by the efforts to translate political intentions into actions. We argue that the main reason why Portuguese is not an official language of the UN is the existing gap between policy making and status planning of the language, which is also demonstrated by the language policy and planning (LPP) framework we follow. Before delving further into LPP framework, we provide a historical account of proposals for adding Portuguese to the UN languages. As this sketch of history below will demonstrate, policy makers have been overlooking the importance of the planning for the status of Portuguese.

CPLP is an institution of special interest for a discussion on the status of the Portuguese language within the UN. This organization was created in 1996 with three main goals: (i) to create a platform of political and diplomatic cooperation among its member states, in particular to promote an enhanced participation in the international arena; (ii) to promote cooperation among its member states in multiple domains such as education, health, science and technology, defense, agriculture, public administration, culture, sports and media; and (iii) to design and implement projects to promote and diffuse the Portuguese language. Currently, CPLP's member states are Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, São Tomé and Principe, and East Timor. In 1999, there was a proposal to add Portuguese to the languages of the World Intellectual Property Organization (1999).

In July of 2008, during the 7th Conference of Heads of State and Government held in Lisbon, under the theme *Portuguese language: common patrimony, global future*, the Portuguese President, Aníbal Cavaco Silva addressed, in his opening speech, the "positive balance" of CPLP's twelve years of existence, and the fact that "the presence in this summit of a large number of states and organizations, with which CPLP has especial relations of cooperation, is the best indicator of this success". Growing cooperation and diplomatic teamwork in several areas of common interest, and coordination in international activities, have reached "excellent results . . . in spite of the much we have not achieved yet." (Cavaco Silva 2008). The official joint declaration for this summit pointed to a ". . . joined action compromise towards an effective globalization of the Portuguese language through concrete and verifiable measures"(CPLP 2008). The political focus is on maintaining the language alive and useful where it is already being used, and introducing it to other global and regional organizations as well as into their specialized agencies.

This summit adopted the *Lisbon Declaration* (25 July 2008), a strategic compromise of cooperation among member states wanting to project themselves internationally through CPLP. This language-based international partnership should contribute to enhance CPLP's role worldwide by strengthening its relations with the UN and its specialized agencies. This was even more so when Brazil was a candidate for the Security Council membership for the biennium 2010–2011 and Portugal for the biennium 2011–2012. Moreover, it has been alleged that Brazil, as an emergent strong economy, could become a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

This summit's declaration had the work of Reis (2008) as its scientific foundation. According to this author the internationalization of the Portuguese language will only take place with a long-term strategy of ten years broken down into several programs (e.g., a Language Institute, training programs for translators, support of translations in international organizations using Portuguese as a working language). Moreover, this strategy should not be dependent on electoral cycles and changes. He urges for patience, continuity and perseverance.

One year later, in 2009, in an interview for the UN radio, Luis Amado, the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, was still calling for a program for the Portuguese language, which should result from a political agreement within CPLP. In this same year, the Angolan writer Agualusa, also in an interview for the UN radio, urged Brazil to follow Portugal's efforts in the support of the Portuguese language.

2 Literature review and theoretical framework

Language policy and planning (LPP) has had many definitions to date. While its early definitions focused on solving language problems as a primary pursuit (Rubin and Jernudd; Fishman; Cooper; all cited in Menken [2005]), the most recent literature points to unequal power dynamics at play between the different languages and the peoples they represent (Menken 2005). For instance, it will be shown below that Portugal, Brazil and other Portuguese speaking nations do not wield the power within the international context for the language to be considered worthy of officialization by the UN. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) provide the following definition regarding LPP:

> Language planning is an activity, most visibly undertaken by government (simply because it involves such massive changes in society), intended to promote systematic linguistic change in some community of speakers. . . . The exercise of language planning leads to, or is directed by, the promulgation of a language policy by government (or other authoritative body or person). (Kaplan and Baldauf: xi)

We take on a recent broad definition of language policy: all of the "language practices, beliefs and management of a community or polity" (Spolsky 2004: 9). Under Spolsky's definition, language planning under consideration in this article is the conscious efforts to effect language change as in the national and international promotion of Portuguese by CPLP. Tonkin (2008: 2) discusses three ways in which language policy can be observed at the international level: "first, the interaction of national language policies in the international dealings of states: second, the language policies of international entities and communities; third, what I have described as 'soft' language policies – emergent legal concepts relating to language, the international exchange of texts, and the like".

The domains of LPP have significantly broadened especially when many nation-states felt that their languages were "threatened" by the fast spread of English. In such a time where borders between people and entities have become more fluid, the only language with the most economic and cultural advantages has been English (Phillipson 2004a). Scientific scholarship, technology and communication have all increasingly happened in English-only domains in today's world. According to Phillipson (2004a), it is actually Americanization that has "been marketed in recent years as globalization" (Phillipson 2004a: 351), and English is a conduit to "linguistic imperialism" (Phillipson 2004a: 353). As in the case of the 1994 law to reduce the use of English in France, the "states which traditionally have had a laissez-faire approach to language policy are getting more involved in status planning for national and international languages" (Phillipson 2004b: 5). The dominance of English has been easily perceptible at the supranational domains with vast amount of diversity too. For instance, there are 23 official and working languages (European Commission 2012) plus over 60 indigenous languages currently spoken and historically established within the territory of the European Union (EU), along with almost 30 sign languages (Juaristi et al. 2008). Citizens of the EU can use any of the official languages to contact European institutions, but it is eventually English that they usually choose as a lingua franca (Truchot 2003). As a measure, the EU Commission document entitled *Promoting language learning and linguistic diversity: An action plan 2004–2006*, was prepared to limit the uses of English in education and society while encouraging the teaching of other languages (Phillipson 2004a). In other words, even if the European citizens may have to speak in one language only, they "should speak this language in a way that always refers to other languages too, thereby making these other languages audible and keeping them alive" (Kraus 2008: 100). This 2004 action plan was only one of the many other succeeding events that highlighted "the urgency of the EU search for guidance in addressing its internal linguistic diversity" (Arzoz 2008: vii).

As Spolsky (2004: 40) explains, "the domain of language policy may be any defined or definable social or political or religious group or community, ranging from a family through a sports team or neighborhood or village or workplace or organization or city or nation state or regional alliance". The case of the EU constitutes a supranational domain where language policies have been developed, thus similar to the case of the UN. According to Tonkin (2008: 4), "the operations of international intergovernmental organizations" such as the UN "require the development of formal language policies". Considering the fact that policy and planning often go hand in hand, an early LPP framework, which integrates status planning and corpus planning (Haugen 1972), and acquisition planning (Cooper 1989) has been adapted to address the LPP problem concerning the UN in this article. Our main focus throughout the article will be just on the "status planning" rather than the other two types. Since there is a literature gap specifically on the language policies of the UN, the similar case of the EU has been referred to at times.

Grin (2008: 81) suggests "that Europe's language choices must be approached with the tools of policy analysis" even though it is hard to find superior solutions or achieve linguistic justice among all languages of Europe. Parallel to this suggestion, we have found that this LPP framework can explain the case of the Portuguese language in the UN today. Accordingly, there is a need for a "status planning" of Portuguese within this organization, especially regarding the officialization of the language. We suggest that there are two broad categories of variables determining the status of a language: language-specific and language context-specific variables. Cooper's language policy and planning framework (1989: 98) breaks down these variables into more specific entities when he asks "What *actors* attempt to influence what *behaviors* of which *people* for what *ends* under what *conditions* by what *means* through what *decision-making process* with what effect?" We revisit this question below in our analysis of data regarding the status planning of Portuguese in the UN.

# 3 Language-specific aspects of the Portuguese language

Portuguese is a neo-Latin language originated in Portugal and from here projected globally throughout the centuries over the course of colonization. "Lusofonia" is an expression used to designate all those groups of people and cultures around the world expressing themselves in Portuguese. It includes, but not exclusively, speakers from Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea-Equatorial, Mozambique, Portugal, São Tomé and Príncipe, and East Timor, but also from

Territories such as Macau (China), Goa, Damão, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli (India). Complementarily, Portuguese is an official language in the European Union, Mercosul and African Union. The expression "Lusofonia" also relates to the Portuguese speaking Diaspora all over the world (Neves 2000).

According to Jurasti and others' (2008: 53) comprehensive research on linguistic diversity in the EU, "there are approximately 10 million speakers of Portuguese in Portugal itself". The Portuguese language is a cherished heritage for its speakers, but it is also a working tool used by nearly 300 million people distributed by all continents. This number is expected to rise to 335 million by the year 2050 (Sousa Galito 2006). This form of communication is also a cultural and social skill, a market potential, as well as a strategic instrument of power for its speakers (locally, nationally and internationally).

Planning the functions of Portuguese via its spread around the globe is a critical component of its officialization process in the UN. The promotion of Portuguese internationally in various ways could help readjust its status within the UN. Language promotion and teaching efforts of organizations such as the Cambridge Organization of Portuguese Americans (COPA) and the Somerville Portuguese American League (SPAL), today joined in a single organization called Massachusetts Alliance of Portuguese Speakers (MAPS), shows the international dynamism a language can have if proper institutional arrangements are designed, planned, implemented and assessed (see Figure 1, Table 1 and Table 2 for statistics on the preference of Portuguese in school settings).

According to the Luso-American Foundation (Vicente and Pimenta 2008), there are 100 US high schools with elective Portuguese classes, and in the academic year of 2003–2004 more than 11,000 students chose one of these classes. If students in community schools are added the number rises to 14,000. The Luso-
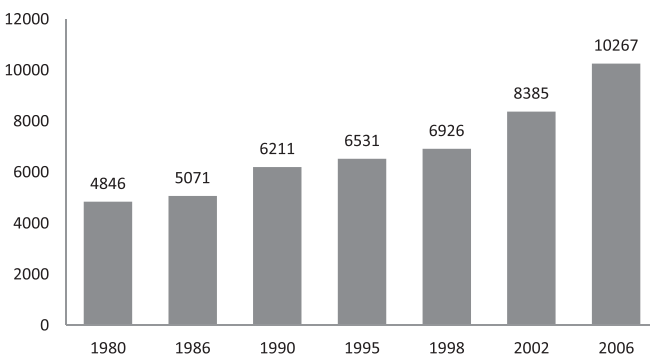
Fig. 1: Portuguese language class enrollments in the US. (Source: Furman et al. 2006)

Table 1: Language course enrollments in US institutions of higher education, Fall 2002 and Fall 2006. (Source: Furman et al. 2006)

Language	2002	2006	% change
Spanish	746,267	822,985	10.3
French	201,979	206,426	2.2
German	91,100	94,264	3.5
American Sign Language	60,781	78,829	29.7
Italian	63,899	78,368	22.6
Japanese	52,238	66,605	27.5
Chinese	34,153	51,582	51.0
Latin	29,841	32,191	7.9
Russian	23,921	24,845	3.9
Arabic	10,584	23,974	126.5
Greek, Ancient	20,376	22,849	12.1
Hebrew, Biblical	14,183	14,140	−0.3
Portuguese	8,385	10,267	22.4
Hebrew, Modern	8,619	9,612	11.5
Korean	5,211	7,145	37.1
Other Languages	25,716	33,728	31.2
Total	1,397,253	1,577,810	12.9

Table 2: Regional comparison of 2006 undergraduate course enrolments in Spanish and Portuguese languages. (Source: Furman et al. 2006)

Languages	Northeast	Midwest	South Atlantic	South Central	Rocky Mountain	Pacific Coast	Natl.* (Total)
Spanish	165,561	175,595	190,698	97,100	62,856	120,224	812,034
% of natl.	20.4	21.6	23.5	12.0	7.7	14.8	
Portuguese	3,183	1,267	2,284	533	1,360	1,182	9,809
% of natl.	32.4	12.9	23.3	5.4	13.9	12.1	

* "Natl." stands for "National"

American Foundation also published the statistics obtained by the Centre for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition (CARLA) at Massachusetts University in Dartmouth, claiming that about 300 US universities offer Portuguese classes. In 2006, the Modern Language Association (MLA) published a study on enrollments in language courses other than English in US institutions of higher education. According to these figures, the overall enrollment in language courses other than English in 2006 rose 12.9%., a total of 180,557 more language enrollments

than in 2002. Figure 1 shows how the total enrollment in Portuguese language classes has been evolving in the last three decades. From 4,846 students in 1980, the total enrollment went up to 10,267 in 2006 (Furman et al. 2007). Enrollments for the Portuguese language had risen significantly (22.4% in the period 2002/06).

From Table 1 one may compare the evolution of Portuguese language course enrollments together with the enrollments in other languages, between 2002 and 2006 (Furman et al. 2007). Table 2 shows regional comparisons for 2006 undergraduate course enrollments in Spanish and Portuguese languages (Furman et al. 2007). The Spanish language has an overall much stronger presence at the undergraduate level. However, in the Northeast part of the US (i.e., Massachusetts, New Jersey, Vermont), as well as in the Rocky Mountains (i.e., Colorado Springs), the percentage of enrollments among Portuguese descendants in Portuguese language courses is higher than the enrollments in Spanish language courses among Spanish descendants.

José Seabra (2003) states that the idea of "the Portuguese language being used in the UN system is more than an issue of prestige. It's an essential means to proclaim itself as an international communication language". In 2008, while assuming CPLP's Presidency, Portugal assured for the first time the simultaneous translation of Portuguese-language speeches into all six official UN languages during the 63rd UN General Assembly.

However, well intentioned political discourse and logical arguments for the addition of Portuguese to the UN have not had much success in the past as, for instance, it was illustrated in the introduction with the "efforts" from CPLP. In even though one may discuss whether Portuguese should be added to improve the work of the UN or for reasons of strength and prestige, or a combination of both, this is not the focus of this article. Even considerations about the likely impact on the language services (for example, costs, obstacles) of the UN (UN Joint Inspection Unit 1977, 2003), though relevant for the overall decision process, can be properly addressed in the exercise of bridging the gap between political discourse and action planning. Thus, this article aims at identifying and framing the key success factors for an holistic approach to the Portuguese language at the UN.

4 Language context-specific: language policies and the UN official languages

Language policies can be discriminatory, especially in the oligolingual system (Piron 2006); i.e., the international linguistic communication method used at the United Nations (UN). According to the same author, in oligolingual systems, a few

"working" or "official" languages are used, with interpretation of oral exchanges and translation of documents. There are 193 missions represented at the UN and only six are the official languages: English, French, Arabic, Russian, Mandarin (Chinese) and Spanish (Castilian). As the numbers indicate, "all UN organizations have experienced a considerable increase in language services since they were established" (Piron 2006: 249). However, as this author argues, there is a discrepancy between what is asserted when a language policy is being discussed and what can be observed when it is put in practice:

> When the addition of a new language is being discussed, three points are usually made: (1) the additional language will increase the effectiveness of communication; (2) the organization will be more democratic; and (3) the advantages of the new system will make up for the increase in costs. However, when the new system is in use, communication is more cumbersome than before, the functioning is less democratic, and hardly any advantage is worth the financial problems incurred. (Piron 2006: 249)

Officialization of the languages in the UN is one of the most important decision making processes in the organization. Its importance is due to such advantages of officialization as already observed in the case of the EU. Truchot (2003: 107) states that "the EU's official linguistic regime influences the use of languages outside the institutions. The languages it includes benefit from an international recognition. They are made visible, particularly in the eyes of their native speakers, and their status is strengthened". When more languages are included among the officialized EU languages, a particular power is also given to the countries that speak those languages. According to Truchot (2003: 109), "the official linguistic regime makes it possible to streamline the linguistic adaptation and, to a certain extent, to make it more equal. . . . In taking these decisions and having this influence, the EU plays a part in regulating language use in Europe." Looking at these influences of the officialization of languages in the EU the case of the UN is viewed as a similar one for the purpose of this article. Hence, making Portuguese an official UN language is "status planning" aimed at raising the status of the language internationally.

The UN Security Council has five permanent members: the United Kingdom, France, China, Russia, and the US. Thus, English, French, Russian and Chinese are official languages. From a more historical perspective, the language policy of the UN has been evolving and all current six official languages gradually earned the status of a working language. At the foundation of the UN, however, only English and French had that privilege (United Nations 1946) inherited from the League of Nations. In 1948 Spanish became the third working language (United Nations 1948) because of the large number of Spanish-speaking states among the original UN members – more than any other language group (18 out of 51 original

members). Even though none of the permanent members have Spanish as an official language it was viewed as natural that the language of one third of the organization's members would also be made official. Moreover, increasing the number became possible only as the technology-based simultaneous interpretation system took the place of the old consecutive interpretation of the League. In 1968 Russian became the fourth (United Nations 1968), and in 1973 Chinese (Mandarin) became the fifth to earn that status (United Nations 1973a) mostly because of the sheer difficulty of accommodating it in the Language Services. In the same year Arabic became the sixth working language (United Nations 1973b) primarily by the oil crisis of 1973. In 1980, it joined the other five official and working languages.

Looking at the procedures of officialization in the organization in a more systematized way, there have been three routes for a language to become official at the UN. First, a political reason: victory in the World War II (for example, English, French, Mandarin and Russian). Second, a financial reason: the Arabic League fully financed it for the first three years in the 1970s (for example, Arabic in 1973). Third, a geo-economic reason: the importance of Latin America (for example, Spanish). Another way of understanding this process would be to understand the relevance of a language based on (i) countries' permanent membership on the Security Council, (ii) the number of total speakers in the world, (iii) the number of UN delegations that speak that language.

While the main topic of this article is not the history of the acceptance of languages as official and working languages of the UN, it is important to understand the different patterns of officialization as they provide a geo-political and economic context for the identification of historical trends and key influencing variables in LPP.

5 Research design and data sets

In this section we present the outcomes of the analysis of the status of the Portuguese language in the UN. More specifically, this section aims at analyzing in further detail the main factors favoring or hindering the possibility of having Portuguese among the list of official UN languages. In doing so, it proposes a research agenda towards the design of a status planning strategy for the Portuguese language that bridges policy discourse with policy implementation.

This analysis is based on a qualitative research design. The data has been collected through semi-structured interviews with representatives of the Portu-

guese, Brazilian and Mozambican missions at the UN in New York City, carried out between January and April of 2009. We believe in the value of these officials' opinions, because this is one of the most easily overlooked aspects of language policy decision-making processes as the following quote indicates:

> In most fields, before a decision, options are defined and researched; costs are estimated; advantages and disadvantages are compared; political, economic, and other consequences are pondered; mechanisms are foreseen to evaluate the impact of the new policy after a definite time. Not so with linguistic communication. Here, the debate is reduced to a minimum, no comparison is made, hardly any research is undertaken, and some of the options are *a priori* discarded. Even in organizations that emphasize democracy the question of equality among participants is never raised. (Piron 2006: 249)

We classify and interpret the interview data according to language policy planning components, using Cooper's (1989) LPP framework introduced earlier as an analytical framework. To reiterate, in order to propose status planning of the Portuguese language, we will analyze actors, behaviors, ends, conditions, means, decision making process and effects (Cooper 1989) involved in the process. Relevant descriptive statistics regarding Portuguese and its use worldwide will also be employed to supplement the data in our interpretations.

5.1 Data analysis

Following Cooper's (1989) LPP components, Table 3 and Table 4 summarize the results by systematizing data gathered according to those components. All the results listed in the tables correspond to the opinions of the interviewees, and they all come from the open interviews conducted with them. We do not directly quote the interviewees in each category due to space limitations, but include all of the results in the tables in this section.

5.1.1 Actors and behaviors

Data analysis yielded various actors that are involved in the issue of officialization of Portuguese in the UN: Brazil, Portuguese-speaking countries (CPLP), UN itself, the US, civil society and diplomats are listed as the main actors. And yet, what "behaviors" are observed within these actors regarding the efforts of making Portuguese an official language of the UN? (see Table 3)

Table 3: Actors-behaviors-ends-conditions (Cooper 1989) and the Portuguese language within the UN

Actors	Behaviors	Ends	Conditions
Brazil	– Geopolitics of Brazil (big emergent market). – Brazilian cultural and language centers (large influence abroad). – Brazilian peace-keeping forces outnumbering contingents using other languages. – Brazil's own political agenda (not necessarily common to other state members of CPLP).	– Brazil as a permanent member of UN Security Council.	
CPLP	Strengths: – CPLP and its political commitment. – Portuguese speaking countries are state members of many regional blocks. – CPLP countries' participation in several large regional/thematic alliances/groups. – CPLP covers 3 of the 4 African linguistic regions. – CPLP countries are present in four different continents. – Geographic dispersion of Diaspora, communities, and countries with official language is also a strong argument. Weaknesses: – CPLP lack of coordination. – Orthography differences among CPLP countries (agreement to unify the language is still in process of ratification).	Regional Impact: – Diversified regional embeddedness of CPLP countries. – Uruguay and Paraguay's role and their proximity to other Latin-American countries (representatives of these countries have traditionally been communicating in Portuguese when addressing Portuguese-speaking audiences). – Mozambique as part of Commonwealth (geopolitical relevance; bridge with CPLP interests). – Angola's proximity to Western Africa and the francophone world Angola (Congo, Ivory Coast, Cameroon). – East-Timor's Proximity to Australia. – CPLP's observer countries.	– CPLP's agenda is still very dependent of its presidency's agenda (changed every two years). – The money issue is never really addressed directly, but when more concrete questions are put this issue immediately becomes visible. – The Portuguese language strategy: becoming official should not be viewed as an end in itself but as "sub-product" of much wider and larger linguistic dynamic . . . apparently not in place yet. The "Spanish" with much more internal division (the regional

dialects) and external variations (Latin America, The Philippines) does not face these disagreements/lacks of understanding.

– Gap between political discourse and action plan.
– Lack of leadership towards common goals.
– Heterogeneity of CPLP' state members agenda.
– CPLP financial constraints.
– The Portuguese Language International Institute (IILP).
– Lack of financial resources to finance IILP.

UN

Strengths:
– UN partnership with CPLP annually renewed.
– The political momentum. Recent opening of the UN system (more inclusive approach to stakeholders, cooperation, partnership, networking and governance).
– UN operating more through regional groups and NGOs. New channel of political pressure.
– Every year a UN resolution acknowledges the relevance and the partnership with CPLP.

Weaknesses:
– No (common) strategy … to translate the official position into reality.
– Not every CPLP mission at the UN has Portuguese as its only language for internal communication.

– UN administrative personnel may learn Portuguese during their missions in Portuguese-speaking countries (Portuguese as a working tool).
– Populations of the Portuguese speaking countries increasingly more interested in the UN, its mission, and values. Thus, more politicians will be encouraged to find ways to improve the effectiveness of deliverance to local communities by using native indigenous ways of communication: bottom-up language pulling and pushing.
– Creation of a language institute in UN to teach Portuguese to UN professionals.
– Linguistic framework that reinforces the importance of content-reach deliberations, which also favors the identification of the correspondent public opinion with their representatives at the UN.
– UN has a multilingual tradition as an open door to the Portuguese language.

– UN documentation, mainly written in English.
– One more official language is a burden for the UN bureaucratic structure.
– High bureaucratic costs.

Table 3 (cont.)

Actors	Behaviors	Ends	Conditions
US		– Americans studying and speaking Portuguese in schools, companies, music, poetry, writers and so on. – Advocate coalitions in Washington DC, lobbying, NGOs, and associations.	
Civil Society	Strengths: – Portuguese speaking writers, singers, and other artists promote Portuguese worldwide. Weaknesses: – The role of Universities in the promotion of the Portuguese language among the scientific community. – Very low civil society participation in CPLP. – Unclear scheme to support Portuguese teaching outside of CPLP countries.		
Diplomats			– Diplomats/politicians' agenda (long run vs. short term goal). – Political decision making processes very slow. Diplomatic time (top-down) is different from operational time (bottom-up).

The participants indicate that CPLP is politically committed to the task. These countries are state members of many regional blocks, and they participate in several large regional/thematic alliances/groups. They cover three of the four African linguistic regions, and are present in four different continents. The participants argued that geographic dispersion of Diaspora, communities and countries with Portuguese as an official language also showed the importance of Portuguese.

Regarding behaviors of the UN as one of the actors in the process, the interviewees indicate that partnership with CPLP is annually renewed. There is a political momentum. The UN system has recently opened with a more inclusive approach to stakeholders, cooperation, partnership, networking and governance. UN operates more through regional groups and NGOs, hence can be a new channel of political pressure. Every year a UN resolution acknowledges the relevance and the partnership with CPLP.

Civil society is listed among the important actors within the process as well. The interviewees indicate that Portuguese-speaking writers, singers and other artists promote Portuguese worldwide.

While the participants' comments regarding the actors and behaviors focus on positive aspects, they also indicate negative aspects; i.e., weaknesses, that concern the status of Portuguese. These weaknesses hinder the spread and interlingual communication functions of the language. One such negative behavior is attributed to Brazil and CPLP. First, Brazil's own political agenda is not necessarily common to other state members of CPLP. Again, with Portuguese speaking countries (i.e., CPLP) there is a lack of coordination. The orthography differences among CPLP countries are the most important aspect of this disorganization, although an agreement to unify the language with the same orthography is still in process of ratification. The participants also point to the gap between political discourse and action plan, lack of leadership towards common goals, heterogeneity of CPLP's state members agenda, and CPLP financial constraints as other factors of weakness. The Portuguese Language International Institute and its lack of financial resources were also pointed as weakness points.

Some weak behaviors also concern the operations of CPLP counties' missions at the UN and the Portuguese-speaking civil society. First, at the UN, there is no common strategy to translate the official position into reality. In addition, not every CPLP mission at the UN has Portuguese as its only language for internal communication. In terms of civil society, the role of universities in the promotion of the Portuguese language among the scientific community needs more emphasis. Unfortunately, civil society participation in CPLP is found very low. The scheme to support the teaching of Portuguese outside of CPLP countries is not clear.

5.1.2 Ends

The content of the interviews in this study were also analyzed in terms of the "ends" aspect of planning the status of Portuguese language in the UN. The ends of the actors' behaviors discussed above portray potential future developments favoring (i.e., opportunities) or constraining (i.e., threats) the position of Portuguese within the UN system (see Table 3).

The interviewees indicate that Brazil constitutes an opportunity as a permanent member of UN Security Council, because Portuguese can be a working tool for the UN. The administrative personnel may learn Portuguese during their missions in Portuguese-speaking countries. Within the UN, a language institute to teach Portuguese to UN professionals can be created. The Language Institute could play the role of organizing a language policy plan for Portuguese with concrete actions at all the following levels: (i) the three main headquarters: NY, Geneva and Nairobi; (ii) the UN agencies (UNDP, FAO, UNICEF and so on); and (iii) UN mission zones. Currently some foreign staff deployed in CPLP zones learns Portuguese more as a hobby than as a sequence of institutionalized program design.

Another end is the eventual linguistic framework that reinforces the importance of content-reach deliberations, which also favors the identification of the correspondent public opinion with their representatives at the UN. The organization has a multilingual tradition as an open door to the Portuguese language. Furthermore, populations of the Portuguese speaking countries are increasingly getting more interested in the UN, its mission and values. Thus, more politicians will be encouraged to find ways to improve the effectiveness of deliverance to local communities by using native indigenous ways of communication: bottom-up language pulling and pushing.

According to the participants, an end to the diversified regional embeddedness of CPLP countries is creating opportunities for Portuguese as a prospective UN official language. Uruguay and Paraguay's role and their proximity to other Latin-American countries is an opportunity in this context. Representatives of these countries have traditionally been communicating in Portuguese when addressing Portuguese-speaking audiences. As for Mozambique, this country, part of Commonwealth, is found geopolitically relevant, bridging with CPLP interests. Angola's proximity to Western Africa and the francophone world Angola (i.e., Congo, Ivory Coast, Cameroon) are also counted as creating other opportunities. East-Timor's proximity to Australia and CPLP's observer countries are yet others. The participants also find the US as a source of opportunity for Portuguese to spread and be officialized within the UN. Americans studying and speaking Portuguese in schools, companies, music, poetry, writers and advocate coalitions in Washington DC, their lobbying, NGOs, and associations are the opportunities.

5.1.3 Conditions

According to our interview results, while the behaviors of the actors listed above seem to create positive ends, there are also listed dire "conditions", or threats regarding the status of Portuguese in the UN (see Table 3). First, the diplomats and/or politicians' agenda (i.e., their long run vs. short term goals) constitute a non-favored condition if the eventual effect wanted is making Portuguese a UN official language one day. The political decision making processes of the diplomats are found very slow, and diplomatic time (top-down) is different from operational time (bottom-up).

Another non-favorable condition for Portuguese is that CPLP's agenda is still very dependent of its presidency's agenda, because it changes every two years. The money issue is never really addressed directly, but when more concrete questions are put this issue immediately becomes visible.

Yet another threat identified regards the Portuguese language strategy. Becoming official should not be viewed as an end in itself but as "sub-product" of much wider and larger linguistic dynamic apparently not in place yet. The "Spanish" with much more fractioning internal division (the regional dialects) and external variations (Latin America, The Philippines) does not face these disagreements/lacks of understanding.

One non-favorable condition regarding the UN is documentation, since they are mainly done in English. In addition, one more official language will be a burden for the UN bureaucratic structure. High bureaucratic costs are the last negative condition mentioned against the officialization of Portuguese at the UN.

Table 4 continues with the remainder of Cooper's framework (1989) regarding the means, decision making process and the effect of all the sub-categories. An explanation of the table follows.

Table 4: Actors-means-decision making process-effect (Cooper 1989) and the Portuguese language within the UN

Actors	Means	Decision making process	Effect
Brazil CPLP Civil Society UN US Diplomats	Portuguese Language: – ± 300 million Portuguese speakers worldwide. – Public and political recognition of the Portuguese language cultural merits. – The Portuguese language as a working tool. – Prestige, visibility and public interest of the Portuguese language. Opportunities: – Stronger marketing based on the Portuguese world heritage. – Culture and values transferred from the CPLP system to the world through the UN. – The informal inter-missions discussion group created by the former Portuguese Ambassador for the UN.	Despite all the positive LPP efforts (i.e. opportunities) involving the actors/behaviors/ends/conditions and means combined with lessons learned from the cases of other official UN languages and statistics available regarding Portuguese world-wide, negative outcomes (weaknesses) determine the present decision-making process. Hence, neither an acknowledgement of these positive efforts or any decision regarding the status of Portuguese in the UN has been made.	The present effect of the negative outcomes in the previous column (i.e. non-acknowledgment of the actors' efforts and lack of decision regarding the status of Portuguese in the UN) is the following. There is a lack of official policy on the part of the Portuguese-speaking politicians geared towards changing the status of Portuguese in the UN.

5.1.4 Means

In our data analysis within the lenses of Cooper's framework (1989), we also need to mention the means of these actors, behaviors, ends and conditions, discussed so far (see Table 4). The strengths listed by the participants indicated the conditions regarding the spread of Portuguese. First, there are opportunities for stronger marketing based on the Portuguese world heritage. Culture and values are transferred from the CPLP system to the world through the UN. The informal inter-missions discussion group created by the former Portuguese Ambassador for the UN is yet another opportunity towards the officialization of this language.

Other important "means" are as follows: the public and political recognition of the language's cultural merits, approximately 300 million Portuguese speakers worldwide, the Portuguese language as a working tool and the prestige, visibility, and public interest of the Portuguese language. Brazil is another means for the UN officials mainly because of the geopolitics of Brazil as a big emergent market. The fact that Brazilian cultural and language centers have a large influence abroad is another means as well as Brazilian peace-keeping forces that outnumber contingents using other languages.

Thus, the main means with which spread of Portuguese could be achieved and eventually render the language as an official one in the UN seems to be through the worldwide use of the language and the joint efforts of the actors involved. The means listed concern both the forms and functions of the language, as they encompass the spread, inter-lingual communication and officialization of the language. All of these are important aspects of the status planning of Portuguese at the UN.

5.1.5 Decision making process and effect

So far, we have applied Cooper's framework (1989) of language and planning to shed a light to the arguments surrounding the process of officialization of Portuguese within the UN. As a result, we found that, all the actors, behaviors, ends, conditions and means combined with lessons learned from the cases of other official UN languages and statistics available regarding Portuguese worldwide lead to mostly negative outcomes (weaknesses) that determine the present decision-making process. In other words, neither an acknowledgement of these positive efforts or any decision regarding the status of Portuguese in the UN has been made. This fact creates the following effect presently: there is a lack of official policy implementation on the part of the Portuguese-speaking politicians geared towards changing the status of Portuguese in the UN. As a result of this lack of policy, Portuguese is not an official language of the UN.

This result indicates a policy disagreement around the political discourse about the Portuguese language in the UN. It seems that the Portuguese speaking countries want the language to be official to raise its status, but their efforts and the political discourse do not render this result. Furthermore, the implicit reply of the UN to the present efforts is that the language already needs to be higher status to be declared official by the UN. LPP framework tells us, though, that failing to recognize Portuguese hinders the international impact of Portuguese speaking countries, and maintains the power of the nations where the languages already recognized are spoken. However, if indeed the UN is a democratic organization

then Portuguese should be recognized to help it gain strength. This brings us to the ideal that then every official national language should be recognized as official by the UN, and failure to do so would threaten the very mission of the UN – which could be the concern of another article.

6 Conclusion

By taking the language policy and planning approach, we focused on the present and future status planning of Portuguese. Sub-categories involved in the status planning of Portuguese in the UN were revealed via descriptive statistics and interviews with the UN officials themselves. The identification of key policy and planning variables is just the first step in the design of a strategy for the officialization of the language in the UN. It was not the authors' intention to design the strategy program itself, rather to help identifying key variables to bridge the gap between politics and effective implementation, given the existing policy goal and regardless of authors' personal opinions about the status of the Portuguese language in the UN. The authors are aware that the issue of the Portuguese language in the UN should be viewed only as a piece of a much larger problem – an official policy and strategy planning to be implemented by the Portuguese-speaking politicians for the status of the Portuguese language worldwide. In this sense, our main motivation was to use this case to suggest a methodological roadmap capable of identifying the political and operational forces behind the issue of making Portuguese an official language in the UN.

We transpose to the UN context what Truchot (2003: 109) argues about the EU. He states, "if the EU is to be developed in ways that actively involve its citizens, then their languages should be fully part of the process, and these languages be given a higher level of legal recognition". Likewise, officialization of Portuguese within the UN would not only serve the purpose of elevating the status of the language but it would also make the 300 million of Portuguese speakers more inclusive of the UN process. Moreover, Brazil and the African Portuguese speaking countries are increasingly active actors within a globalized world. It is essential that the "[EU] citizens are not indifferent to the linguistic environment in which they live and, therefore, may have a perfectly legitimate preference for a linguistically and culturally diverse Europe rather than a uniform one" (Grin 2008: 81). Likewise, this article reflects the authors' belief that scholars and civil society should get more involved in supporting the case of Portuguese worldwide to motivate Portuguese-speaking politicians to come to a policy agreement regarding the status of the language in the UN.

Considering the focus of LPP on power inequities, the variables identified could also be grouped into three categories: geopolitics, economics, and multilateralism. From a geopolitical perspective, whoever has power wants to keep it, and whoever aspires to power fights to get it, eventually, with the collaboration of *common friends* with common interests. Nowadays, CPLP has a residual power that may be jeopardized in the future if no more concrete global and bold collective action is taken. From an economic perspective, the future of the Portuguese language within the UN will be determined by how well the increasingly stronger Brazilian economy will behave in the future. From a multilateral perspective, the future of the Portuguese language within the UN will be determined by the extent to which Portuguese speaking public, private and civil entities will be able to participate in and contribute for the construction of global community. Four years after Lisbon Summit's strategic declaration for the Portuguese language there is still a significant gap between political discourse and an operation action plan that has to be bridged. We hope that our article can be viewed both as (i) a relevant contribution toward framing a problem and bridging a gap and (ii) an extra motivation for designing an institutionalized program for the officialization of Portuguese within the UN.

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