European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages

EUROPEAN CENTRE FOR MINORITY ISSUES

Final Report

Support for Minority Languages in Europe

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Regional and minority languages: the policy questions

The purpose of this report is to provide the necessary instruments for the orientation of European Union support to linguistic diversity. This issue is addressed in a broader context, characterised by the existence of other policies carried out at various levels (national, regional, local) aiming to protect and promote regional and minority languages (RMLs).

Focus on policy choices

This report is different from two usual lines of work in this field: the sociolinguistic on the one hand, and the legal-institutional on the other hand.

Numerous valuable accounts of the sociolinguistic or legal position of RMLs are available elsewhere, as are in-depth considerations of the legal dimensions of RML protection. By contrast, the focus of this report is on policy issues.

Interventions in the field of language should be seen as a type of public policy. As there is no such thing as a "market" for diversity, there is a need for public intervention.

In accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, primary responsibility for the maintenance and support of RMLs is at member state or regional level. EU contribution to RMLs has remained modest by comparison with the resources made available at national level. There is, however, a role of the EU to support the member states in the discharge of their responsibilities if this can be better dealt with at the EU level. In those cases, there are no obstacles of principle for the EU to contribute to the promotion and protection of linguistic diversity.

The rationale of EU support

The active support for the languages and for cultures related to languages is established through different legal instruments that are already largely accepted by EU member states. Statements regarding the value of cultural and linguistic diversity have been issued by the European Parliament, various Council meetings, and other EU bodies.

Our analysis shows that there is no fundamental legal problem with the establishment of a multi-annual action programme in support of RMLs. To the extent that a problem does arise, it relates to political or policy choices, and is not of a legal character.

Should the EU establish an action programme or in some other way build a proactive and coherent fundament for actions to support RMLs within the context of existing programmes, it would

be applying widely accepted principles and policies. Projects with an emphasis on activities with a European or cross-border dimension would be particularly well aligned with the principle of subsidiarity.

In the current situation, to apply a mainstreaming approach at the level of EU actions to promote and protect RMLs would not be without problems. For many EU programmes, it would be difficulties to include RML support within the framework of their current objectives. In many cases, especially smaller RML communities would also lack the resources and relevant means of influence required to effectively compete for resources.

In order for a mainstreaming approach to be effective, clear criteria and a set of fundamental principles for how support to RMLs is to be included in the specific programmes must be put in place. These criteria and fundamental principles would have to take into consideration the particular conditions affecting the possibilities for RML-related projects to be funded under an action or programme (such as the required minimum size of projects submitted). In addition, a mechanism for checking that these criteria are followed is required. These requirements would have to be taken on board in the preparations for a new generation of programmes that is now starting—for example in the areas of Education, Training, Youth, Culture and Media

2. A review of EU action

Key features of EU support

EU support has had a significant networking effect in that it has proved to be a catalyst in bringing language communities together and fostering the exchange of information and expertise between those working for the protection and promotion of regional and minority languages.

At the same time, the financial importance of the EU contribution to regional and minority languages should not be overestimated. It has remained modest by comparison with the resources made available by some national or regional governments for certain languages.

This report shows that, though the importance of other sources has been increasing in recent years, the *Action Line for the Promotion and Safeguard of Minority- and Regional Languages and Cultures* (opened in the 1983 EU budget) has proven to be the most important channel of EU support for the protection and promotion of RMLs. This type of action therefore seems to be essential also in the future, especially in supporting small and endangered RMLs.

A number of changes occurred in the latter half of the nineties. After a judgement of the European Court of Justice in 1998, the

budget line was suppressed in 2001. Efforts to install a legal base, as required by EU law, have not been successful.

Since this ruling took effect, there has been continuous insecurity with respect to how positive measures for the support of linguistic diversity, including regional and minority languages, can be continued. Recent opinions and resolutions presented by the Council of Ministers, the European Parliament and the Committee of the Regions reflect a political will to address the problem.

If the EU decides to apply a mainstreaming strategy instead of setting up a separate programme, the objective to promote and protect linguistic diversity should be clearly stated as part of the objectives of at least the language-related programmes. RMLs should be explicitly included as carriers of diversity.

There appears to be good financing possibilities for many RMLs through Interreg and Leader, since they exceed other programmes in budget size. These programmes would, however, have to more clearly integrate the objective to foster linguistic diversity and promote and protect RMLs and their related cultures.

We found that the limited participation of RMLs in many programmes can be explained by the mere complexity of the programme participation requirements. In particular, requirements relating to minimum project size and number of partners from different member states have made it complicated for small communities in general, and among those also RML communities, to participate. Small communities do not have the resources, and sometimes not even the access to the language skills required, to compete on an equal footing with bigger communities in networking and co-funding required for EU-projects. This is counterproductive, as such support through projects is often urgently needed by the smaller communities.

Equal access to EU resources for small communities must therefore be guaranteed through special arrangements. Such arrangements would include allowing small scale projects and provision for additional accompanying measures to improve information and assistance to small communities, among them RMLs, in order to encourage them to take advantage of the funding opportunities. Already existing structures, backed by the EU, can develop more efficient support for this purpose.

Programmes and actions promoting languages, such as EYL 2001, have proven useful for the promotion and protection of RMLs. This finding should encourage a follow-up action to EYL 2001.

3. Analytical instruments

The main analytical tools

In order to design effective policies for the protection and promotion of regional or minority languages, it is necessary to start out from an appropriate analytical framework. The type of

start out from an appropriate analytical framework. The type of framework necessary must focus on the relationship between policy intervention and the results of the policy. The framework developed for this report establishes such a link; it is also designed to incorporate the standard variables used in sociolinguistic research.

Our framework is not based on the concept of "rights", but on policy analysis, which focuses on the effectiveness, the cost and the cost-effectiveness of policies.

The policy-to-outcome path

The core of the framework is a model of language behaviour. Language vitality is seen as requiring three conditions: the capacity to use the language; opportunities to use it; and the desire to do so. Therefore, policies should aim at contributing to the joint presence of these necessary conditions.

A policy may be considered "effective" if it has a noticeable impact on the end result (outcome) aimed at, namely, a genuine improvement in the position of an RML. This should be reflected in the frequency of its use in a large number of "domains" such as education, the media, administration, etc. Generally, this improvement should, in the long-term, result in the recreation of a self-priming mechanism of language reproduction.

The relevant cost of a policy is the amount spent in order to achieve the result measured, minus the amount that would have been spent anyway, in the absence of any policy intervention. Available data indicate that the cost of minority language protection and promotion is much less than is commonly believed.

Cost-effectiveness estimates can be computed by dividing an indicator of outcome by cost figures. It is not possible to assess cost-effectiveness in the absolute; however, cost-effectiveness estimates for existing policies can serve to clarify what resources have been used, as well as help to gauge the cost-effectiveness of new measures under consideration. Cost-effectiveness analysis applied to language policies can prove uniquely useful in a broad approach to policy choices, but it cannot dictate choices or replace policy debate.

4. Support to RMLs: a case evaluation

Effects are often achieved at surprisingly low costs

The evaluation of the actual effects of a policy is made more difficult by the fact that in the realm of language policies, the ultimate outcome aimed for (language revitalisation) is a very complex one, which depends on many factors other than the policy being analysed. 17 selected interventions in favour of RMLs are examined, covering five broad "domains". In many cases, lack of data makes a full-fledged cost-effectiveness evaluation impossible. In some cases, combining expenditure figures with indicators of output provides approximations of cost-effectiveness. These approximations are typically expressed in Euros per user of a given minority language good or service.

In the field of education, three projects are analysed. One (Euroschool) brings together children from various RML communities for joint summer camps; its main effect is to reinforce, over the long-term, feelings of self-confidence among RML children; this is achieved at a cost of approximately €600 per child. Fabula, a software for computer-assisted language learning, can contribute to RML maintenance by raising language awareness. Since the software can be used over many years, the per-user cost (assuming a 10-year horizon) is under €20. Test results confirm that the *naíonraí* (partly-subsidised Irish-medium pre-schools) help children increase their competence in Irish. The per-head cost depends on the relative contribution of the *naíonraí* to this increase in linguistic competence, which data do not enable us to assess; the gross per-year cost per child of simply attending a *naíonra* can be estimated at about €400.

In the media, the broadcaster for the Swedish-language minority of Finland (Yleisradio) has successfully expanded its audiences (particularly among the young) at a per-person and per-hour cost of 10 to 15 cents. This compares with about 20 cents for *Radió na Gaeltachta*, the official Irish-language radio channel, which has also been successful in increasing audience figures. Such figures are directly relevant, since a person-hour of radio listening can (making allowance for different programme contents) be considered as actual RML use. In the case of Radio Agora, which serves in particular the Slovene-speaking minority in Austria, such precise estimates cannot be offered for lack of data. However, circumstantial evidence points to unit costs of the same order.

The sphere of culture, as well as projects in this "domain", are characterised by a pronounced absence of hard data, making any kind of cost-benefit evaluation impossible. For example, audience figures for EU-supported RML productions are not available. However, it is important to remember that the effect of cultural support (particularly given the very small amounts usually involved) is intended as a very roundabout one (operating e.g.

through people's representations of the relevance of RMLs as vectors of a lively culture), thereby reducing the relevance of cost-effectiveness evaluation.

In the combined domains of administration and economic and social life, the production of two RML dictionaries for specialist use (in particular legal and administrative) have been examined. Such forms of support facilitate the use of RMLs in activities where their presence is strategically important. The specific contribution of such dictionaries is almost impossible to assess. However, it is useful to estimate, even if roughly, per-user cost. Owing to the modest level (and typically one-off character) of the expenditure, this cost is negligible. Two community projects in Wales and Ireland have also been studied. Of particular interest are the Welsh *Mentrau Iaith* (language initiatives), which support the use of Welsh in a broad range of community projects and in small business, at an average net cost of €2 per Welsh speaker and per year.

Although not a "domain" in its own right, transfrontier cooperation helps to make intervention in other fields considerably cheaper. We consider three cases: the extension of Basque television reception into the French Basque country; Slovenian television cooperation across an external EU border; and the Northern Ireland involvement in the Columba initiative. Even if expenditure figures are available, cost-effectiveness assessments will remain very contingent on one's interpretation of the aim of these actions. However, the case of Basque-language television produced south of the border is more straightforward: it has become available to viewers in France through the installation of masts and transmitters at a total cost of less than 2.5 cents per viewer and per day. This goes to show that transfrontier cooperation holds considerable potential for making RML products and services available to more users at negligible cost.

5. Guidelines for priorities and selection

Identifying language-specific needs

The type of evaluation developed in this report applies demanding logical standards. It can be used in a variety of contexts to formulate regional and minority language promotion plans, to conceptualise their effects, to set up procedures for the implementation and the monitoring of these plans, etc.

It should be noted, however, that its full-fledged empirical application is data-hungry. Ideally, the application of the theoretical model would have required extensive (and costly) survey work in order to generate the appropriate sets of representative data in adequate numbers. Limitations of time and resources prevented us from gathering primary data. Furthermore, some of the projects evaluated are already completed, and data gathering in their case is no longer an option.

We have therefore been working from existing data (published or not).

A typology of the needs of RMLs, in terms of the type of support that they need, is derived on the basis of the analytical tools developed in Chapter 3. It is then applied to 54 RMLs in the EU.

From this typology of needs, we derive a decision rule for prioritising interventions. This rule requires two steps based on the examination of the specific position of a particular language. First, one needs to position the language along a scale describing the degree of "disruption" in the inter-generational transmission of the language, in order to identify the priority domains within which a policy must be deployed. Second, one needs to assess whether the "capacity", the "opportunity" or the "desire" to use an RML is the aspect that requires most urgent attention, in order to identify the most relevant type of policy.

This decision rule is based on a framework that emphasises analytical consistency. However, reality is complex, and additional, case-specific aspects must be taken into account in order to tailor intervention to the actual needs of each case. We therefore revisit our list of 17 cases to ascertain the role of additional conditions that earlier empirical research has shown to be relevant (for example, has the presence of an "avant-garde", or the willingness of the authorities to redistribute resources, played a determining role?). This enables us to pinpoint conditions that can have a significant influence on the success of a policy. Such results are, by definition, not general rules—they are specific to the case considered and the type of policy in question.

Towards a Language Action Assessment Procedure

Combining all the instruments developed in this study, we formulate a four-step language action assessment procedure (LAAP). The LAAP is then expanded into a decision tree. When particular policy measures are proposed, or projects submitted for funding, the decision tree shows how case-based information is to be used to select the most appropriate measures or proposals for RML protection and promotion.

This study aims at offering a complete and well-rounded analysis of **Regional and Minority Language (RML) protection and promotion in the EU context**. The institutional context is reviewed in Chapter 1; a detailed review of EU support to RMLs is provided in Chapter 2; an analytical framework for the evaluation of interventions in favour of RMLs is developed in Chapter 3; an empirical estimation of the effects, cost, and, data permitting, the cost-effectiveness of a selection of 17 interventions in favour of RMLs is presented in Chapter 4; and a needs-based typology, a decision rule and an assessment procedure to evaluate proposals for programmes and actions in favour of RMLs are proposed in Chapter 5. In closing, practical proposals are made regarding data gathering and monitoring, with a view to developing and disseminating knowledge towards more effective and cost-effective support for RMLs in Europe.

PREFACE

Following a call to tender issued by the Directorate General Education and Culture of the European Commission this research project was entrusted to a consortium of two institutions with a strong record of theoretical and empirical expertise as well as a first-rate, cross-European network of contacts in the field of RML policy and research. These two institutions are *the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages* (EBLUL) and *the European Centre for Minority Issues* (ECMI). The central administration of the project was provided by EBLUL. The study was carried out in close co-operation between the project leaders and other seasoned researchers as well as research assistants. The team was therefore made up of people who are experts in the different fields covered by the study. This research team consisted of:

Research project leaders:

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Tom Moring, EBLUL

Other principal researchers:

Durk Gorter, Fryske Akademy
Johan Häggman, EBLUL
Dónall Ó Riagáin, EBLUL
Miquel Strubell, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Research assistants:

Maria Doeke Boekraad, consultant
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The research team also enlisted the help of two consultants, whose expertise made a very valuable contribution to this report. These consultants were:

Neasa Ní Chinnéide, MA, chair of the editorial board of Eurolang and member of the Irish member state committee of the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages;
François Vaillancourt, Professor, Department of Economics, University of Montréal.

Dr. Piet Hemminga, Dr. A. van der Schaaf and Dr. Jehannes Ytsma from Fryske Akademy all contributed to the research. The authors would further wish to recognize the help and assistance received from the following persons and institutions: Mirko Bogataj, European Ethnic Broadcasting Association / European Broadcasting Association of Smaller Nations and Nationalities; Vesna Caminades, European Academy of Bolzano/Bozen;

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The Swedish School of Social Science at the University of Helsinki has allowed Professor Tom Moring to work for the project as part of his work as a researcher at the university. It has also kindly hosted work meetings. The Service de la recherche en éducation (SRED) in Geneva and the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya in Barcelona have also contributed to the project by hosting work meetings.

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Biographical notes on the authors

Durk GORTER is a researcher in the sociology of language at the Fryske Akademy in Ljouwert/Leeuwarden, as well as professor of Frisian sociolinguistics at the University of Amsterdam. He is also chairman of the Frisian Language Board. He has been involved in studies of the Frisian language situation and of European minority languages, a.o. comparative work on the education of minority languages in the Mercator-Education project, on which subjects he has written and participated in numerous scientific publications.

François GRIN, Senior Fellow of the European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI) in Flensburg, Germany, has been its Deputy Director from 1998 to 2001. He is currently Senior Lecturer at the University of Geneva and Adjunct Director of the Service de la recherche en éducation (SRED). After receiving a PhD in economics (1989), he has taught at the Universities of Montreal, Washington (Seattle), Geneva, and Lugano. He has specialised in language economics, education economics, and policy evaluation, and is the author of numerous publications in these areas.

Johan HÄGGMAN is currently working as a project officer at the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages. He has an MA (Political Science) from Åbo Akademi University, Finland and an MA (International Studies) from Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain. He has also studied International Law and European Law at the University of Kiel. His research and publications focus on international politics, parliamentarism and regionalist parties in Europe.

Tom MORING is currently professor of journalism and a researcher of media and journalism at the Swedish School of Social Science at the University of Helsinki. He was Secretary General of EBLUL between 1999 and 2001. He is now a member of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages Committee of Experts. He has lectured in many countries on the protection and promotion of regional and minority languages and he has actively published in the field of media and regional and minority languages.

Dónall Ó RIAGÁIN was the First President and Secretary General of EBLUL, and has been a member of the expert committees that has prepared the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Oslo Recommendations on the Linguistic Rights of National Minorities. In these capacities, he has lectured in many countries on promotion and protection of regional and minority languages and written and edited numerous publications. He now works as an independent consultant.

Miquel STRUBELL i TRUETA is currently head of the Humanities programme at the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya. He spent many years working in the field of status language planning, for the government of Catalonia (Generalitat de Catalunya), and has been involved in numerous projects involving European language policy issues.

1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 An analysis of the research task

In November 2000, the European Commission (*Public service contract* No DG EAC/73/00) issued a call for tenders for a strategic analysis specifically designed to provide an evaluation perspective for European Union support to regional and minority languages (RMLs). In particular, the analysis was to focus on support for actual projects (as distinct from structures) and address the problem of assessing the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of projects in relation to the needs of each language community.

The European Commission sollicited information and analysis on the following matters:

- an inventory of the various measures for protecting and promoting regional or minority languages which have been implemented in EU states;
- an evaluation of the impact of different projects in terms of cost-effectiveness, including an effort to identify the factors which contribute to the success or failure of such measures, identifying models of good practice and examining the extent to which action by the European Community could bring added value to these measures;
- a list of the sources of Community funding which could be of interest to regional or minority languages and a measure of the extent to which language communities have been benefitting from these programmes to safeguard and promote their language;
- an evaluation of the specific contribution of Community action in favour of regional or minority languages, its relation to other Community action which concerns these languages and its relation to action carried out at local, regional and national level;
- a typology of the language communities according to their specific needs in order to identify guidelines for the most effective and appropriate action for each type of language community.

We limit our definition of Regional and Minority Languages (RMLs) to include languages that are covered by the Council of Europe´s *Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, or other lesser-used languages recognised by the Treaty Establishing the European Union (articles 21 and 314) or admissible to the Lingua Programme. Some

of the legal aspects concerning the definitions are discussed in Section 1.3.

This report addresses an ambitious task.

First, we have attempted to structure our *overview of existing interventions* in such a way as to offer an analytical perspective on various forms of support from the European Union. This enables us to build categories that facilitate orientation in what is, undeniably, a rather complex maze of programmes, actions, sub-actions, etc.

Second, the development of an *analytical framework* requires a careful and targeted articulation of concepts imported from various fields of research. To meet such requirements, our work cannot just bank on the legal or on the sociolinguistic approaches usually brought to bear on such questions.

Third, the *application* of this methodology to real-world forms of intervention (including some financed, in whole or in part, by the EU, and others financed by national, regional or local authorities) confronts us with a number of technical evaluation problems which, given the paucity of data, cannot be solved according to some "ideal", textbook procedure. In some cases, we had to be content with an interpretation of support measures in terms of the analytical framework. In other cases, available data enabled us to venture into the more technically demanding enterprise of outcome, cost, and cost-effectiveness evaluation. However, a directly usable set of data on costs and effects is practically never available—hence, hard data had to be replaced with estimations, and informed assessments sometimes had to take the place of figures.

Fourth, we have attempted to formulate *guidelines* that would not be derived from normative or subjective considerations. This would have been the case if we had simply asserted, for example, that certain forms of support for regional or minority languages should be developed because there exists a right to such measures (where the subjects of those rights would be the users of the languages concerned). Rather, we have engaged in the enterprise of identifying the stronger and weaker points of various forms of support to regional or minority languages, and to relate this examination to a logically structured analysis of priorities. Guidelines for action can then be defined first in relation to need, second with reference to results responding to the relative effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of various forms of support.

We do not venture into full-fledged evaluations of effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of all the cases considered (see Chapter 4),

because the lack of data would have undermined this strategy; however, full-fledged evaluations of this kind are proposed for a small set of interventions. Nonetheless, "effectiveness" remains the guiding concept of our analysis (particularly in Chapters 3 through 5, after the more descriptive accounts offered in Chapters 1 and 2). Yet applying a concept such as "effectiveness" to the protection and promotion of RMLs still is a very novel exercise. There is no doubt in the minds of the authors that there is significant room for improvement, more pertinent or refined treatment of some of the causal links invoked and more complete data. However, it is our hope that this report, as it stands, will constitute an informative reference and usefully assist reflection on policy goals and principles. We also hope that it will encourage persons involved in the development and implementation of language policies at all levels of intervention to build certain requirements into their future projects design that will make the identification and measurement of effectiveness and cost-effectiveness easier—or at least feasible.

1.2 The policy analysis perspective

Much of this report uses a policy analysis approach, in which three things are assumed about intervention by states (whether these are national states, regional or local authorities), or international organisations working on a delegation from states.[1]

- The first assumption is that intervention is the result of a democratic process—or at least has been decided by democratically elected authorities.
- The second assumption is that the interventions actually adopted have been selected because they are expected to generate positive changes for society.
- The third assumption is that these changes occur *because* of the intervention—that is, they genuinely are a *result* of it. This, of course, does not mean that no other factors intervene; the issue is to distinguish what can be viewed as a result of an intervention from what proceeds from other causes.[2]

CORPUS AND STATUS

This report adopts a "broad" view of intervention in the area of language. Many people assume that language policy has to do with lexicographic innovation, standardisation, spelling reform, etc.—what

[1] These standard assumptions of policy analysis would also be made when studying interventions in areas like education, health, transport, the environment, etc.; in this report, they are being made about intervention in the field of language.

[2] Interested readers will find discussions of many of the theoretical aspects in the literature quoted here, including contributions by some authors of this *Report*.

is known in sociolinguistics and in language planning as *corpus planning*. However, what really matters, in terms of language protection and promotion, is not so much how a language is spelt, but whether it is alive and used. Putting it differently, what really matters is its position, *relative to that of other languages*. This is often described as *status planning*. In this report, we view corpus change engineered through corpus planning not as an end in itself, but as a means for more effective status planning[3], and we prioritise the evaluation of interventions targeting status.

Our interest in this report focuses mainly the "protection and promotion" type of minority language policies. This is congruent with a concern for "unique" languages, that is, languages that are historically spoken only in a given part of the world (or, it being the case in point, in a given part of Europe) and, as such, make an irreplaceable contribution to linguistic and cultural diversity

Therefore, the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of interventions will be assessed, first and foremost, *in terms of their capacity to protect and promote languages*, rather than in terms of their capacity to safeguard a given equilibrium or to contribute to geopolitical stability. Putting it more simply, this report is about languages, not about national minorities as such.

A policy analysis perspective is to be contrasted with, on the one hand, legal approaches, which describe legal provisions and, on the other hand, sociolinguistic analysis (Strubell 2001a). The discourse of legal analysis is one that discusses norms, that is, the formal setting within which policies are adopted and implemented. Useful as it is, a legal perspective is not capable of evaluating whether the actual measures adopted given a certain legal context are *effective* (let alone *cost effective*). At the same time, our work should also be distinguished from sociolinguistic analysis. Sociolinguistic work, though much more informative as to the actual operations and success of various language policy measures, usually does not offer the concepts and instruments needed to assess effectiveness and cost-effectiveness, or to propose a comparison-based decision rule to orient decision-making in language policy.

Our focus on the protection and promotion of languages does not rule out other concerns. However, it serves to highlight the

[3] In the literature, the expression "status planning" may be given two different meanings. The "narrow" definition largely coincides with the *legal* status of a language as reflected in constitutional provisions and legal acts. The "broad" definition includes the whole range of variables that contribute to describing the position of a language with respect to other languages, particularly a majority language, emphasising, of course, those variables that can be modified through policy intervention.

convergence between our approach used here and the principles underpinning, in particular, the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*. Let us recall that the chief concern of the Charter is to ensure that the diversity of languages and cultures in Europe is safeguarded. Each regional or minority languages is therefore viewed as an element of diversity that deserves protection and promotion if threatened.

ON DATA AND THEIR TREATMENT

The data needed for this type of analysis are few and far between. The scope, resources and timelines of the project, however, ruled out extensive gathering of primary data. Therefore, we have worked from secondary sources, inferring from the latter approximations of the information that we would ideally have liked to have. This method is not without risk. Nonetheless, formal data gathering is not exempt from error either. Furthermore, experience suggests that when estimations are based on a combination of estimations, an approximation error made at some stage of the reasoning tends to have only a limited effect on the end result; only in the unlikely event that *every* approximation, in a sequence of approximations, were seriously in error (and in the same direction), would this have a marked effect on the end result.

Our case studies, in which the methodology is used, are not confined to examples in which the Commission has actually provided support. There are four main reasons for this

- first, there are many interesting avenues for the protection and promotion of RMLs which are used by local, regional or national authorities; in the context of a general evaluation of "what works" and "at what cost" in the field of RML protection and promotion, looking at a few of these measures is relevant;

- second, a broad-based comparative perspective including a wider selection of measures offers firmer ground for assessing the cost-effectiveness of Community action;

- third, the Commission could support a broader range of interventions than it does now, while operating in full respect of the principle of subsidiarity. Such avenues, however, are typically used by local, regional or national authorities as part of their language policy, and these therefore deserve to be examined as a form of preliminary assessment of possible extensions of Community action;

- fourth, to the extent that states engage in a broader range of protection and promotion interventions than the Commission

does at this time, they could nonetheless benefit from an increased support from the Commission, particularly if this support results in an increased efficiency of states' action.

THE RATIONALE FOR PUBLIC INTERVENTION

There are specific reasons why interventions in the field of language should be seen as a type of *public* policy. They have to do with the nature of "linguistic environments". Just like our *natural* environment, our *linguistic* environment presents some very specific features. Our intention is not to suggest any biological analogy between ecosystems and languages. The similarities between both types of "environment" manifest themselves, however, in policy analysis terms. Let us start out from the observation that both types of environment are characterised by features which the private sector, by itself, cannot provide.

According to the standard economic analysis of the provision of goods and services, market adjustment is expected to ensure that the right amount of goods and services are provided. However, "linguistic diversity" does not operate like this. There is no such thing as a "market" for diversity—or for the "components" of linguistic diversity, such as thriving regional and minority languages. If some people want "more" diversity, they cannot simply bid up its price (as they would for commodities); and there are no "producers of linguistic diversity" who could simply put more of it on the market to satisfy demand. In such cases, decentralised markets are not sufficient—hence the need for intervention by the state or its surrogates, as well as by supra-national bodies, very much in the same way as for environmental assets.

1.3 Regional and minority languages in the political design of the European Union

In contrast with the historically uniformising policies (some explicit, others implicit) of many of Europe's nation-states, European integration is not based on such policies. The treaties expressly exclude harmonisation in the field of cultural and linguistic policies. The political design of the European Union is enshrined in legal documents; this justifies a brief excursus into this type of texts which, by nature, are couched in terms of legal concepts such as "rights".

The European institutions regard respect for fundamental rights as a general principle of European law, and recognition of difference is increasingly seen as flowing from those rights (see Box 1.1); this convergence is exemplified in the *Treaty Establishing the European Union* and the *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union*

(welcomed by the European Council at the Nice conference in December 2000), which recognise the principles of non-discrimination, identity and diversity as essential.

BOX 1.1

Article 314 of the Treaty on European Union states that: "This Treaty, drawn up in a single original in the Dutch, French, German and Italian languages, all four texts being equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the Italian Republic, which shall transmit a certified copy to each of the Governments of the other signatory states [...] Pursuant to the Accession treaties, the Danish, English, Finnish, Greek, Irish, Portuguese, Spanish and Swedish versions of this Treaty shall also be authentic."

So we have here twelve "treaty languages".

In the recitals at the beginning of the Treaty, the heads of state of the EU member states underscore certain key considerations that form the basis of their decision to establish a European Union. These include the following:

"DESIRING to deepen the solidarity between their peoples while respecting their history, their culture and their traditions;

Article 21 establishes that "Every citizen of the Union may write to any of the institutions of the bodies referred to in this Article or in Article 7 in one of the languages mentioned in Article 314 and have an answer in the same language."

" Article 149 of the Treaty establishing the European Community requires the Community to respect the "cultural and linguistic diversity" of the member states' education systems when pursuing the objectives of the Article, whereas Article 151 requires that the Community respect the "national and regional diversity" of the member states. Article 151 recognises an additional obligation: "The Community shall take cultural aspects into account in its action under other provisions of this Treaty, in particular in order to respect and to promote the diversity of its cultures.

The consolidated version of the *Treaty Establishing the European Community*, in particular its article 151 (which states that "the Community shall take cultural aspects into account in its action under other provisions of this Treaty, in particular in order to respect and to promote the diversity of its cultures") as well as the *Charter of Fundamental Rights for the European Union* (whose articles 21 and 22 respectively state that "any discrimination based on any ground such as... ...language,... ...membership of a national minority,... ...shall be prohibited" and "the Union shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity") reflect an international practice that has undergone steady development in the years since 1945.

A raft of newer texts in international law now explicitly incorporate respect for identity and particular cultures.[4] The international community has chosen to affirm cultural and linguistic diversity as valuable and thus deserving of protection as well as support. This points to the second pillar on which the importance of RMLs in the political design of the European Union rests. As distinct from its connection to rights, linguistic diversity is also seen as an *asset* of the Union. The Council of the European Union, in its *Resolution* on "Linguistic Diversity and Language Learning" of 14 February 2002, emphasises that "all European languages are equal in value and dignity from the cultural point of view and form an integral part of European culture and civilisation"[5].

Hence, the importance of languages in general is to be considered in this dual perspective of "rights" and "assets", and the importance of RMLs in the political design of EU can be related both to European citizenship and to a non-discriminatory application of the principle of linguistic diversity to all European languages.

The issue of cultural and linguistic diversity also has major political significance in the EU enlargement process. The so-called *Copenhagen criteria* state that "membership requires that the candidate country has achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and the respect and protection of minorities"[6]. This is echoed in the *Strategy Paper of the European Union 2001*[7]. The main concern in the field of minority protection according to the Copenhagen criteria is respect for civil and political rights of minorities. Thus, the *Framework Convention on the Protection of the Rights of National Minorities* of the Council of Europe has served as a benchmark criterion in this field. In this

[4] Professor Patrick Thornberry, speech to the hearing at the European Parliament in Brussels (27 April 2000) of the Convention which was drawing up the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. The following examples could be mentioned: Convention Against Discrimination in Education, United Nations 1960, article 5; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, United Nations 1966, article 27; Convention on the Rights of the Child, United Nations 1989, articles 29 and 30; Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE 1990, paragraphs 32, 33, 34, 35, 40; European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Council of Europe 1992; Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, Council of Europe 1995; Decision No 1934/2000/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17.7.2000 on the European Year of Languages 2001, *OJ* L 232 , 14.9.2000.

[5] Council Resolution of 14 February 2002 on the promotion of linguistic diversity and language learning in the framework of the implementation of the objectives of the European Year of Languages 2001, Doc. 2002/C 50/01, *OJ* C 50, 23.2.2002, p. 1-2.

[6] The Presidency Conclusions of the European Council in Copenhagen on 21 and 22 June 1993 (DN: DOC/93/3, 22.06.1993).

[7] Strategy Paper 2001. http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/report2001/index.htm#Progress.

connection, however, explicit mention has also been made to the principles of the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (see Box 1.2). For example, the 2001 *Regular Report on Slovakia's Progress towards Accession* notes that "the protection of the use of minority languages has been strengthened by ratifying the European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages. There remains, however, the need for reinforced implementation of existing minority language legislation and for adopting further necessary legislation"[8].

Box 1.2

The Council of Europe has adopted two treaties that are particularly relevant to regional and minority languages: the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* and the *Framework Convention on the Protection of the Rights of National Minorities*.

The focus of the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* is on policy measures, not on rights—except in a more general reference to information regarding the rights of consumers. Instead, the Parties undertake to take measures in a variety of fields, often (as in article 13.2) "insofar as the public authorities are competent", and "as far as this is reasonably possible".

Significant in the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* is the definition of regional and minority languages. It excludes both dialects of national or official languages and the languages of migrants. In relation to the latter, it should be said that several of the minority language communities were originally migrant in nature, at least several centuries ago.

Though the *Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities* does not focus on linguistic issues, it certainly implies them, albeit in somewhat qualified or indirect terms. For example, article 10 of the *Framework Convention* states: "In areas inhabited by persons belonging to national minorities traditionally or in substantial numbers, if those persons so request and where such a request corresponds to a real need, the Parties shall endeavour to ensure, as far as possible, the conditions which would make it possible to use the minority language in relations between those persons and the administrative authorities"

References to language rights and needs can also be found in articles 1, 3, 9.1, 10, 16 and 20). Article 10 states that "Every person belonging to a national minority shall have the right freely to choose to be treated or not to be treated as such and no disadvantage shall result from this choice or from the exercise of the rights which are connected to that choice."

To sum up, the concern of the European Union for matters related to RMLs is reflected in many documents, which increasingly combine the "fundamental rights" and the "diversity-as-an-asset" dimensions:

[8] 2001 Regular Report on Slovakia's Progress towards Accession. SEC(2001) 1754, 13.11.2001. http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/report2001/sk_en.pdf

- The active support for the languages and for cultures related to languages is established through the *Treaty establishing the European Community.*
- The respect for linguistic diversity and the right to use RMLs without discrimination is established through different legal instruments, as reflected in the *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union.*
- The *Copenhagen criteria* of 1993 extend the matter of civil and political rights of minorities to the enlargement of the European Union.[9]
- Numerous resolutions passed by the European Parliament, the most recent adopted on 13 December 2001, support linguistic diversity and call for a more active policy from the Union with respect to RMLs (see Box 1.3).
- Several opinions have been adopted by the Committee of the Regions, most recently the *Opinion on the Promotion of Regional and Minority Languages* of 13 June 2001.[10]
- Various Council meetings have issued clear statements regarding the value of cultural and linguistic diversity, and of multilingualism in Europe, most recently in February 2002.[11]

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[9] See the aforementioned (DN: DOC/93/3, 22.06.1993) in reply to a question tabled by Reino Paasilinna MEP (Written Question E-1927/99). See OJ C 225 E, 08/08/2000 (p. 32) *OJ* C 225 E, 08/08/2000, p. 32. http://www2.europarl.eu.int/omk/OM-Europarl?PROG=WQ&L=EN&PUBREF=-//EP//TEXT+WQ+E-1999-1927+0+DOC+SGML+V0//EN&LEVEL=3&NAV=S), Commissioner Verheugen gave an assurance that minority rights, as enunciated in international legal texts, were taken into consideration when assessing the treatment and protection afforded to minorities by the countries applying for membership of the Union. He specifically referred to *"the preservation of ethnic and cultural identity, particularly language, religion, traditions and all other forms of cultural heritage"*.

[10] The Maastricht Treaty led to the establishment of the *Committee of the Regions*. This new institution adopted a positive stance towards RMLs from the start. Constructive references to them are contained in a number of their opinions. On 13 June 2001, the Committee of the Regions adopted an *Opinion on the Promotion of Regional and Minority Languages* (CdR 86/2001 fin EN/o). See http://www.cor.eu.int/presentation/down/avis_39plen/CdR86_2001fin/cdr86-2001_fin_ac_en.doc. The rapporteurs were Tony McKenna and José Muñoa Ganuza, from Ireland and the Basque Autonomous Community respectively.

[11] The aforementioned Council Resolution of 14 February 2002; at various earlier Council meetings, member States have issued statements regarding the value of cultural and linguistic diversity, and of multilingualism in Europe. The European Council underlined the importance of linguistic diversity in Cannes (June 1995). The Presidency conclusions point out that "The European Council emphasises the importance of linguistic diversity in the European Union." See http://ue.eu.int/Newsroom/LoadDoc.cfm?MAX=21&DOC=!!!&BID=76&DID=54749&GRP=1235&LANG=1. The Council (General Affairs) had earlier stated its position at its meeting of 12 June 1995 in its document on "Linguistic diversity and multilingualism in the European Union. Council Conclusions". See http://ue.eu.int/Newsroom/LoadDoc.cfm?MAX=81&DOC=!!!&BID=71&DID=43589&GRP=67&LANG=1http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexapi!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=EN&numdoc=32002G0223(01)&model=guichett

- The position of RMLs in the EU may also be assessed with respect to the concepts of human rights and citizenship.[12]

In order for them to be meaningful, these principles must be implemented and nurtured. This implies a demand also for actions to safeguard and promote cultural and linguistic diversity as a relevant task of the European Union. In this report, the emphasis is placed on the principles and practices concerning the active support for languages and the cultures related to languages.

[12] The fact that language rights actually are an integral part of human rights is increasingly recognised (de Varennes 2001). Parallel to what has happened in EU institutions, other legal and political texts, aimed at supporting linguistic rights, have been adopted by other international bodies such as the *United Nations*, *UNESCO*, the *Council of Europe*, or the *OSCE* (Ó Riagáin, 1998). One of the earliest of these was the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 16 December 1966.

Box 1.3

The first major initiative of a European Community institution to publicly declare its support for RMLs was the Resolution *on a Community Charter of Regional Languages and Cultures and on a Charter of Rights of Ethnic Minorities*, adopted by the European Parliament on 16 October 1981, authored by Gaetano Arfé MEP ((A1-965/80) 16.10.81 OJ C 297 p. 57, http://www.troc.es/ciemen/mercator/UE18-GB.HTM). It appealed to member state governments to protect and promote RMLs, particularly in the domains of education, mass communications as well as in the field of public life and social affairs. A debate took place in the run-up to the preparation of the motion for resolution. It concerned the best approach for addressing the need of RMLs—that of seeking rights for ethnic minorities *per se* or that of pursuing solely a linguistic and cultural approach (Ó Riagáin 2001: 22 - 23). In the end, the latter approach won out.

Two years later, the European Parliament adopted another resolution on RMLs, again tabled by Gaetano Arfé MEP ((A1-1254/82) 11.02.83 OJ C 68 (14.03.83) p. 103, http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexapi!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=EN&numdoc=51982IP1254&model=guichett). This Resolution on *Measures in Favour of Minority Languages and Cultures* called on the Commission to "continue and intensify its efforts" and to report to Parliament before the end of 1983.

On 30 October 1987, the Parliament adopted a *Resolution on the Languages and Cultures of Regional and Ethnic Minorities in the European Community,* prepared by Willy Kuijpers MEP ((A2-0150/87) OJ C 318 (30.11.87) p. 160, http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexapi!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=EN&numdoc=51987IP0150&model=guichett). It set out detailed demands under a number of headings (education, legal measures, mass media, social and economic measures and trans-frontier cooperation). It also called on the Council and Commission to provide "adequate budgetary resources for the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages".

Arguably the most significant intervention of the Parliament took place on 9 February 1994, when it adopted a *Resolution on Linguistic and Cultural Minorities in the European Community* prepared by Mark Killilea ((A3-0042/94) *OJ* C 61 (28/02/1994) p. 110, http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexapi!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=EN&numdoc=51994IP0042&model=guichett). The focus was the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which had been adopted in 1992 by the Council of Europe. It called on the member state governments "as a matter of urgency" to sign the Charter, and on their Parliaments to ratify it. It made a number of specific demands, such as taking into account the needs of those who used RMLs when working out various aspects of Community policy, and mentioned in particular a number of EU programmes and actions—**Lingua**, **Youth for Europe**, **Erasmus**, **Tempus**, the **ESF**, and **Media**. It again called for continuing support for the *European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages* (EBLUL). Reference to RMLs and the needs of their users was made in a number of other resolutions over the ten-year period from 1988 until 1998. These related to topics such as regional policy, the film and television industry, cultural action, the promotion of books and reading, education and the creation of a European Rural Charter (Ó Riagáin 1998: 17 – 28). In 1983, the Parliament established an *Intergroup for Minority Languages*, and this committee has been meeting ever since.

The most recent *European Parliament resolution on regional and lesser-used European languages* adopted on 13 December 2001 (B5-0770, 0811, 0812, 0814 and 0815/2001), see http://www3.europarl.eu.int/omk/omnsapir.so/pv2?PRG=CALDOC&FILE=011213&LANGUE=EN&TPV=DEF&LISTING=AfficheTout#Title80, supports linguistic diversity and calls for a more active policy from the Union with respect to RMLs. Among other things it calls for the Commission to build on the work done as part of the **European Year of Languages (2001)** towards a multiannual programme on languages before the end of 2003, and to earmark funding within this programme for regional or lesser-used languages.

THE STRUCTURE OF EU MEASURES TO PROTECT AND PROMOTE RMLS

So far, the inclusion of RMLs in EU action to protect and promote languages has been organised in three different manners.

- First, the EU has supported the development and maintenance of structures that support the networking and co-operation of RMLs (i.e. the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, EBLUL, and three Mercator Centres, Mercator Education, Mercator Legislation and Mercator Media).
- Second, in 1982 the EU installed a separate budget line, which from 1983 to 2000 provided support to projects particularly benefiting RMLs.
- Third, the EU has included RMLs in projects carried out within a broader framework in parity with other projects fulfilling the requirements of the project objectives.

This report is concerned with the second and third forms of support. In this section, the history and development of **the budget line for lesser used languages** (B3 1006, B3 1000, here referred to as the *budget line for RMLs*) are discussed. The different forms of support to RMLs during recent years are examined in Chapter 2.

The budget line for RMLs was opened in the 1983 budget at the behest of the Parliament. European Parliament support for RMLs is evidenced by the growth of the line over the following decade and a half. As can be seen from Table 1.1, in its initial year, it amounted to only €100,000 but by 1998 it had grown to €4m.

Table 1.1: The development of the European Parliament B-line support for Regional and Minority Languages

Year	**83**	**84**	**85**	**86**	**87**	**88**	**89**	**90**	**91**	**92**	**93**	**94**	**95**	**96**	**97**	**98**
€m	0.1	0.2	0.34	0.68	0.86	1	1	1.1	2	2.5	3.5	3.5	4	4	3.7	4

With the opening of the budget line, the Commission became directly involved. The modest budgetary provision was used to subsidise a wide range of projects as well as support the EBLUL (see Jacoby 1991; Wynne & Bray 1998; Bray 1998). In the early years, education was the area that most benefited from subsidies. Other domains included media, cultural events, the production of dictionaries, grammars and related reference works, public administration and youth activities. Awareness also grew of other European programmes, especially those in the domains of education and culture, and even of non-language-related programmes from

which groups of RML-speakers could benefit. These programmes are described in the following chapter.

Some of the associations that benefited from this budget line might not otherwise have been able to carry out many projects without financial support from it. In some instances, even a modest subsidy from the EU attracted additional funding at national or regional level, thus enabling projects to be implemented. At the same time, it would be easy to exaggerate the financial importance of the EU contribution to RMLs, since it has remained modest by comparison with the resources made available by some national or regional governments for certain languages.

EU support could be described as having had a significant networking effect in that it proved, in more ways than one, to be a catalyst in bringing together and fostering an exchange of information and expertise between those working for the promotion of RMLs. Structures like the EBLUL (established in 1982) and the Mercator Centres *(1988) are focal points for such network effects (Gorter, 2001). The European Commission hosts an annual seminar in collaboration with the EBLUL to review progress in this field. It has also financially supported many conferences and seminars which examined in more detail specific aspects of language maintenance and promotion. The* ***Study Visit Programme*** *of the EBLUL, its newsletter* ***Contact Bulletin****, the news agency* ***Eurolang*** *as well as many publications have been established with EU support. The Commission also supported the establishment of the* ***Children´s European Publishing Secretariat*** *and of* ***Agora****, a forum to promote economic development in RML regions.*

In short, EU support was instrumental in showing proponents of RMLs that they could speak and act together at European level and thus achieve results which individually would have remained beyond their capabilities, and had paramount psychological importance. The spectacle of EU institutions coming out in support of RMLs and offering tangible assistance provided a significant morale boost for small, marginalised language communities.

Box 1.4

In some contexts, it can be analytically useful to categorise the autochthonous RML communities within the EU into four main groups that have emerged as a result of a historical process:

(1) those who speak one of the official and working languages of the EU (as defined in Regulation 1 of the Council of Ministers of 15 April 1958, and as amended on a number of occasions as new states acceded to membership of the EU), but who are in a minority position in the Member State of which they are citizens, e.g., German-speakers in the Eastern Cantons of Belgium or in South Tyrol, Greek-speakers in Puglia and Calabria or Finnish-speakers in Sweden;

(2) those who speak one of the two semi-official languages of the EU (Irish and Luxembourgish; Irish, which is not an official or working language, is a language in which an authentic version of the Union Treaty exists. Irish may also be used in correspondence with EU institutions and for other functions. Luxembourgish is one of the languages covered by the Lingua Action of the Socrates Programme, as are Icelandic and Norwegian by virtue of the fact that Socrates extends to the non-EU members of the EEA);

(3) those who speak autochthonous languages which enjoy some degree of official recognition granted by the member states in which they are spoken, e.g., Catalan, Galician and Basque in Spain, Welsh, Scottish Gaelic, Irish, Scots and Ulster-Scots in the UK, Frisian in the Netherlands, and Sami in Finland, Norway and Sweden;

(4) languages which do not enjoy any official recognition in the member state in which they are spoken, e.g., Aroumainian, Arvanite, Pomak and Slavo-Macedonian in Greece.

CHANGING EU POLICIES IN THE LATE 1990S

A number of changes occurred in the latter half of the nineties. The Commission withdrew its support from Mercator–France, the Children's European Publishing Secretariat in Brittany, the Welsh-based Agora and EBLUL's Education Secretariat in Luxembourg.

Also the budget line for RMLs was suspended as a result of a ruling delivered by the Court of Justice in 1998[13]. The suppression of the budget line for RMLs clearly resulted from legal implications that had nothing to do with RMLs. However, this ruling made it clear that the continuation of the EU support to particular projects in favour of

[13] The court of justice judgement C-106/96 of 12th May 1998, see http://curia.eu.int/jurisp/cgi-bin/gettext.pl?lang=en&num=80019487C19960106&doc=T&ouvert=T&seance=ARRET. This judgement stated that "*the implementation of Community expenditure relating to any significant Community action presupposes not only the entry of the relevant appropriation in the budget of the Community, which is a matter for the budgetary authority, but in addition the prior adoption of a basic act authorising that expenditure, which is a matter for the legislative authority (…).*"

RML—among other EU actions not covered by a legal base—would henceforth explicitly require such a base. In practice, support to projects was allowed to continue for three years, while a legal base was being prepared. The Commission has not been successful in installing such a legal base.

Since this ruling took effect, there has been continuous insecurity with respect to how the positive measures for the support of linguistic diversity, including RMLs, can be continued. 2001 was the first year since 1983 when funding directed specifically to RMLs was not included in the budget of the Union. In 2001, projects in favour of RMLs were, however, included in the *European Year of Languages 2001*. The European Year of Languages 2001 programme had, as one of its objectives, to encourage linguistic diversity.[14]

Some recent developments, however, appear to be favourable to RMLs. The aforementioned inclusion of a positive reference to "linguistic diversity" in the *Charter of Fundamental Rights* is one such development. So also is the recent adoption by the European Parliament of its *Resolution on Regional and Lesser Used Languages* of 13 December 2001[15]. This resolution clearly supports the reintroduction of financial support for RMLs, the implementation of Article 22 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights and the signature and ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages by the governments of the member states.[16] Of particular

[14] The objectives in full were: (i) to raise awareness of the richness of linguistic diversity within the European Union and of the cultural value embodied in that diversity; (ii) to encourage multilingualism; (iii) to promote language learning among the general public as a key element in personal and professional development, in intercultural understanding, in making full use of the rights conferred by citizenship of the European Union, and in enhancing the economy; (iv) to encourage lifelong learning of languages regardless of age or background; (v) to collect and disseminate information about language teaching and learning, and about the skills, methods and tools used to assist that teaching and learning. See decision No 1934/2000/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17.7.2000 on the European Year of Languages 2001. *OJ* L 232 , 14.9.2000 p. 1–5. http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/lif/dat/2000/en_300D1934.html.

[15] European Parliament resolution on regional and lesser-used European languages of 13 December 2001. The resolution was tabled by a number of parliamentarians from different political groups (Martens, Pack, Morgan, Esteve, Wyn and Fraisse) http://www3.europarl.eu.int/omk/omnsapir.so/pv2?PRG=CALDOC&FILE=011213&LANGUE=EN&TPV=DEF&LISTING=AfficheTout#Title80 A further example of the positive sentiments towards lesser used languages was the acceptance address by the newly elected President of the European Parliament, Pat Cox, MEP on 15 January 2002. Mr Cox included a short passage in the Irish language and stated "I do it to underline my conviction that cultural pluralism and cultural diversity are the sine qua non of the Europe to which I am committed and which we seek to build", see http://www.europarl.eu.int/president/speeches/en/sp0001.htm

[16] A further example of the positive sentiments towards lesser used languages was the acceptance address by the newly elected President of the European Parliament, Pat Cox, MEP on 15 January 2002. Mr Cox included a short passage in

importance is also the aforementioned Council Resolution of 14 February 2002 on the promotion of linguistic diversity and language learning in the framework of the implementation of the objectives of the European Year of Languages 2001, in which the Council emphasised that "all European languages are equal in value and dignity from the cultural point of view and form an integral part of European culture and civilisation".

RML PROTECTION AND PROMOTION IN BROADER SOCIO-POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

The broader European context is also favourable to the full acknowledgement of the value of cultural and linguistic diversity. EU support to RMLs occurs in a context where member states already provide varying degrees of support to the RMLs present on their territory. This covers divergent forms of protection and promotion of RMLs. The differences between the 15 EU member states and between the individual RML communities, when it comes to the protection and promotion of minority or regional languages, is very large, sometimes even within one member state. This variety is reflected in the way the different states have ratified the *European Charter for regional or minority languages*, if indeed they have. The Charter was designed in such a way as to accommodate the diversity of the social position of the different language groups. The existing 'mosaic' of language groups and the attendant language policies can thus only be summarised in broad terms; more generally, these considerations go to show that it would not be possible, at this time, to evaluate EU intervention in favour of RML against the background of a complete account of what member states do.

A systematic and exhaustive analysis of language policy intervention in favour of RMLs in Europe, at this time, does not exist and cannot be attempted here. Even within a member state, detailed information is usually not available. One of the reasons is that in the case of each language community, different actors are involved in promotional efforts. Accordingly, they may hold contrary views of the nature and the value of existing interventions, and offer extremely diverging evaluations of the state of affairs. Seen against the background of these methodological and data-related problems, information from the language communities themselves represents a valuable source. In those language communities where data on language use and attitudes have been collected through sociolinguistic surveys or language questions in censuses, language policy typically tends to be more developed.

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the Irish language and stated "I do it to underline my conviction that cultural pluralism and cultural diversity are the sine qua non of the Europe to which I am committed and which we seek to build", see http://www.europarl.eu.int/president/speeches/en/sp0001.htm

Some states have a relatively longer tradition in the explicit protection or promotion of RMLs. In the case for Irish in Ireland or Swedish in Finland, this has to do with the accession of those states to independence, in 1921 and 1917 respectively. Both states have developed a rather extensive set of measures. Other examples can be found in the arrangements made by Germany and Denmark for their respective Danish- and German-speaking minorities (since 1920), and in the special provisions made by Italy for South Tyrol after World War II. The recognition and development of language policies for minorities in most other EU member states is more recent. Most striking were the developments during the last three decades of the 20th century, when an actual "revival" of minority languages took place, in part as a grassroots reaction to processes of centralisation and modernisation.

Over the past two decades, many EU member states have reflected their commitment to language rights by introducing domestic legislation, either at national, regional or even local level. Countries that have recently adopted national-level legislation include Italy, Sweden and the UK. Some of the most extensive language legislation in Europe was enacted at regional level in Spain in the case of Catalan, Galician and Basque.

In particular, the development of protection and promotion measures for Basque, Catalan and Galician in Spain, or Welsh in UK has been spectacular, culminating in measures in high-visibility and high-prestige domains (public administration, higher education), which have managed to slow and may eventually reverse the pattern of long-term decline of these languages.

In accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, primary responsibility for the maintenance and support of RMLs would have to remain at member state or regional level. There is, however, a role of the EU to support the member states in the discharge of their responsibilities. It would thus seem fully legitimate for the EU to support projects, the results of which could be of interest and use in other member states. The Union could for example facilitate an exchange of information and experience, promote trans-frontier cooperation and organise pan-European initiatives.

"Domains" in language policy

Different types of measures can be distinguished in terms of different dimensions. One such dimension is the "domain", which for simplicity we shall simply define here as an "area of intervention"—although the scholarly literature contains considerably more refined definitions of what a domain is. Such areas of intervention typically

include education, public administration, the judicial system, culture, media, economic and social life. Another dimension is, of course, the intensity of support, which is reflected not only in formal legal provisions and in the degree of political commitment expressed by the authorities, but also, no less importantly, in the amount of financial resources invested. Hence, the extent of support accorded to an RML may seem quite favourable on paper, but the daily reality of the language and its speakers may be much more problematic.

On the basis of the observation of a large number of cases, we can state that every self-respecting RML policy includes some form of education-related intervention. Language promoters always attach great value to education. The example of Irish language policies from 1920s onwards seems largely to be based on the assumption that revival of the Irish language could be achieved by the introduction of an elaborate language programme in schools. Although no one will deny the essential role of schools and language teaching in language promotion, other factors also are of utmost importance. School alone cannot save a language.[17]

Teaching strategies inside the classroom cover differences no smaller than in teacher training or learning materials. The most basic approach is to add one or two hours of RML instruction after regular school hours at the primary level. Another popular initial approach to safeguard the RML is to teach adult classes to those interested in the language. Although such initiatives can be important in granting at least some attention and some recognition to the language, they can hardly be considered as a serious intervention that will suffice to stop on-going processes of erosion of the social status of the RML.

The wide variation of the performance of *education* as a language policy instrument can be illustrated by two examples of promotion over the past 20 years.

- The Basque (particularly in the Basque Autonomous Community in Spain) have been highly successful in setting up a strong educational system as part of their language revitalisation policy. Whereas in 1979-80, some 70% of students had no contact with the Basque language in the school environment, today over 99% of them are taught at

[17] The well-known sociolinguist Joshua Fishman (1991) has reiterated time and again the importance of the connection between family, neighbourhood and community for the revitalisation of threatened languages. In this sense, it seems that many language promotional efforts have been rather naïve and one-sided in placing the entire burden of language protection and promotion on schools—that is, ultimately, on teachers and pupils.

least some Basque, and over 50% get half or more of the curriculum through the medium of Basque, including at secondary school.

- The Frisians in the Netherlands successfully campaigned for the introduction of an obligation to teach the Frisian language to all pupils in all primary schools in their province in 1980. However, a study published by the Inspectorate in 2001 shows that little progress has been made in the 20-year period since then. New materials have been developed, school TV is available and teacher training colleges are specially supported, but the disappointing extent of progress may be traced back, if only in part, to sociological factors, such as the apparent indifference towards Frisian of many parents and schoolteachers.

The presence of RMLs in the *media* is important even in the smallest linguistic communities, in terms of attracting attention, recognition and legitimacy; depending on the type of media considered, the latest technological developments can be used at a relatively low cost and be accessible even to small RMLs (Moring 2000). Nonetheless, the current provision of RML media varies widely, as shown by the two examples below:

- Since its beginnings in 1982, the Welsh TV channel S4C has become one of the best-known examples of a successful measure in minority language media promotion. Over the years, S4C has developed a distinctive role in the provision of public service broadcasting to a bilingual community. More recently, new technology, such as digital television in 1998, has enabled S4C to extend that role.

- In 1989, after over ten years of struggle, North Frisians in the German land of Schleswig-Holstein obtained 10 minutes of radio broadcasting *per week* in the NDR (Norddeutsche Rundfunk) programmes. Even though the small programme was quite popular, gradually the number of minutes of broadcasting in North Frisian was decreased to a mere 3 minutes per week.

The provision of *public services* has particular political importance; each RML community has its own unique history in this respect, and most have tried to establish their legitimacy in this domain. RML communities live in areas located inside a given state, which determines to a large extent the possibilities for recognition and for policy development. Even though an instrument such as the European Charter may have some harmonising influence, it is very

difficult to change national administrative traditions and to circumscribe the legal and practical possibilities of RML use inside the administrative system of a state, a region or a locality. Again, two examples can be mentioned.

- The case of the Swedish language in Finland is known for its elaborate system of legal and administrative protection and promotion. Some provisions depend on the relative proportion of Swedish- and/or Finnish-speakers in a municipality. Swedish may then be used in courts of law, in public administration, and in health and social services.

- The Roma and Sinti languages, though historically present in many EU member states, are not generally promoted or integrated in public life. Possibilities to use the languages with the authorities are usually non-existent. Education in the language is scarce (if any is available at all), and media supply in the language is, in the best of cases, limited to some niche-time programmes on majority language radio broadcasts and to some periodical publications (Moring 2001).

The variability of types of intervention is matched by the variability in the scale of resources devoted by the authorities to the protection and promotion of RMLs. Furthermore, considerable methodological difficulties arise in estimating the amounts concerned, since public funding may trickle down to an RML community through indirect channels. For example, the Frisian Academy, which is an important scientific institution for the promotion of the Frisian language, is mainly financed by the Dutch national Royal Academy of Sciences, but not by the Ministry of Education. However, the Royal Academy of Sciences *is* financed by the Ministry*,* indicating that the Frisian Academy is indirectly financed by national government. Another difficulty in identifying spending on RMLs arises from the opacity of official statistics. Using the Frisian example again, the Dutch national education budget does not distinguish between costs arising in Frisian-medium and Dutch-medium education streams (Gorter 1999).

Again, the extent of the difference between different RMLs can be illustrated with a pair of contrasting examples regarding the extent of support for non-education domains by two RMLs in the same member state (in this case, Germany).

- In the eastern parts of the German Länder of Brandenburg and Saxony, Sorbian is spoken, in Upper and Lower variants, by some 15,000 speakers—according to the *Euromosaic* report

(Nelde et al. 1995, updated 1998)[18]. This represents a dramatic drop from 140,000 shortly after World War II. In 1991, a new integral finance structure with regard to Sorbian came into existence. The *Foundation for the Sorbian People,* based in the town of Bautzen, is a joint instrument of the German federal government and of the two *Länder* concerned. The Foundation is responsible for the implementation of the official cultural policy. With the active participation of representatives of the Sorbian people, it serves to promote institutions to preserve the culture, art and homeland of the Sorbs, the documentation, publication and presentation of Sorbian culture, the Sorbian language and cultural identity. The 2001 annual budget of the Foundation amounts to €17,135,000. The federal government contributes €8,181,000 and the Länder of Saxony and Brandenburg contribute €5,454,000 and €2,727,000 respectively. These amounts do not include expenditure by the state directly, notably in the domain of education. This (indirect) state spending on cultural activities can therefore be estimated at approximately €1,142 per active speaker and per year.

- In the Saterland municipality of the Cloppenburg district in the *Land* of Lower Saxony, the East Frisian variety of Frisian called 'Seeltersk' (Saterlandic) is spoken by about 2,000 people or 17% of the population of the municipality (Stellmacher, 1998: 27). The German federal government included Seeltersk among the languages benefiting from protection and promotion when ratifying the European Charter of regional or minority languages. At the time of writing, the amount of support for Seeltersk remains minimal. There are no specific promotional provisions by the *Land* of Lower Saxony or the Cloppenburg district; only the municipality of Saterland sets aside a sum of €2,000 per year to support the Saterlandic language.[19] Hence, the amount of public support for Seeltersk can be estimated at approximately €1 per speaker and per year. The situation may yet improve, since the Municipality of Saterland is in consultation with the government of Lower Saxony to support Saterlandic Frisian with a more substantial amount. According to the Municipality, the Government of the Land of Lower Saxony meanwhile has verbally promised an amount of €150,000. Even if this is granted on a yearly basis, this would still represent only €75 per speaker and per year.

Policy intervention may vary not only in terms of the "domains" affected on the intensity of intervention, but also in terms of *how*

[18] http://www.uoc.edu/euromosaic/web/homean/main/clasllen/sorab.html
[19] Hemminga (1998) *Ibid.,* 38.

intervention operates. On this count, one of the recurring debates surrounding minority language protection and promotion has to do with the issue of "mainstreaming". In EU parlance, mainstreaming refers to the practice of including of a particular issue in all policies. A mainstreaming policy could, if applied to RMLs, mean that all EU programmes would have to incorporate the aspect of RML protection and promotion. Though seemingly progressive (particularly in that it would appear to minimise risks of ghettoisation), this approach may—if applied mechanically—include severe risks in practice. If a mainstreaming policy were applied, for example, at the level of EU actions, many RML communities would today lack the resources, the sheer size, and the relevant means of influence required to be able to participate in the competition for resources on the same footing as state languages.

RMLs and Subsidiarity

Language permeates all aspects of social life. On the one hand, history shows us that a deliberate policy to eradicate languages by suppressing or ignoring them usually is not successful in an absolute sense (not many languages have completely disappeared due to such policies), even where the current precarious position of some minority languages is the clear outcome of such policies. On the other hand, unless very well designed, even strong protection and promotion policy to revitalise a threatened language offers no guarantee that the speakers will actually continue to use the language and transmit it to the next generation. The slow erosion of some apparently well-protected languages provides ample evidence for this.

The question of the development of a set of procedures for the planning and regulation of language actions, which we investigate in this report, is necessarily related to the question of the legal framework within which such actions would be taking place. As noted above, the institutions of the EU cannot engage in any action unless this action can be shown to have a legal basis in the treaties. Such a "basic act" in the case of support for RMLs would require the inclusion of this objective in a multi-annual action programme or action plan. proposed by the Commission and adopted by both the Council and the Parliament. A legal base can simply be established under article 151 (Culture). This would, however, require unanimity in the Council, which again can prove difficult to achieve.

The possibility remains that a programme would, as a *secondary objective*, include the protection and promotion of linguistic diversity (e.g. teaching of, or through, RMLs which would have Article 149 (Education) as its legal basis). It might be argued that the promotion of RMLs is *ipso facto* of a cultural nature also and thus

would require Article 151 (Culture) as part of its legal basis. In the case of a programme including the protection and promotion of linguistic diversity as a secondary objective, this argument would be flawed, as can be seen from the judgement of the European Court of Justice in Case C-42/97, delivered on 23 February 1999[20]. In this case, the applicant, the European Parliament, argued that that Council required Article 128 (now 151), in addition to Article 130, as a legal basis for a programme to support the promotion of linguistic diversity of the Community in the information society. Referring to Article 128(4), now Article 151(4), which requires the Community to take cultural aspects into account in its action under other provisions of the Treaty, the Court ruled that it was clear *"from that provision that not every description of the cultural aspects of Community action necessarily implies that recourse must be had to Article 128 ([now 151) as the legal basis, where culture does not constitute an essential and indissociable component of the other component on which the action is based but is merely incidental or secondary to it (…)"*.

The Court's judgement can be explained by the following observation: without this ruling, almost any legal act leading to the establishment of a programme could be claimed to require Article 151 as part of its legal basis.

Clearly, almost every action of the European Union has a cultural dimension.[21] Had the Court found otherwise, almost every decision would have to be a unanimous one. It patently was never the intention of those who drafted the treaties to place such a restriction on the institutions of the EU. This would appear to leave open the possibility of having a purely educational programme for RMLs, one that would rely solely on article 149 as its legal basis.

Summing up, our analysis shows that there is no fundamental legal problem or quandary about the establishment of a legal base that would include support of RMLs among its objectives. On the contarary, Article 151(4) gives the EC a general remit to consider

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[20] European Court reports 1999 Page I-00869, see http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexapi!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=EN&numdoc=61997J0042&model=guichett

[21] One of the most widely accepted definitions of culture can be found in the *Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies*, made at the *UNESCO* conference in Mexico on 6 August 1982. The conference agreed: "*That in its widest sense, culture may now be said to be the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs."* See http://www.unesco.org/culture/laws/mexico/html_eng/page1.shtml

cultural aspects in all its actions. To the extent that a problem does arise (particularly with respect to a specific programme or a broader action plan that would have promotion and protection of RMLs among its secondary objectives), this problem would relate either to the coherence of EU actions within the general framework of EU policies, or to the attitude taken by different parties to the subject matter itself. As noted before, it would be of a political rather than legal character.

A legal aspect that merits careful examination is that of the nature of EU involvement in the conservation and promotion of RMLs. Article 5 of the Treaty states:

> *The Community shall act within the limits of the powers conferred upon it by this Treaty and of the objectives assigned to it therein.*
>
> *In areas which do not fall within its exclusive competence, the Community shall take action, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, only if and insofar as the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by the Member States and can therefore, by reason of the scale or effects of the proposed action, be better achieved by the Community.*

When Budget Line B3-1006 was first voted in 1982, the principle of subsidiarity was not formally part of the EU *acquis* and therefore was not explicitly addressed. In the case of the introduction of an EU action to support RMLs, either in the form of an independent programme in its own right or as an action within a larger programme or group of programmes, it is quite likely that the issue of subsidiarity would be raised. Article 149 (Education), which is one possible legal base for such an action, is quite sensitive on this issue. Paragraph 1 states:

> *The Community shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organisation of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity.*

Any kind of long-term EU strategy in support of RMLs would need to reflect these considerations.

Though it should be clear that the text states that the Community should fully respect the cultural and linguistic diversity of the Member States, the latter tend to interpret the article as if it stated

that the Community has to respect the responsibility of the Member States for *"...their cultural and linguistic diversity"*. The subsidiarity principle would in this case certainly rule out any kind of harmonisation through directives, unless these relate to the exercise of fundamental rights. Nevertheless, to the extent that a programme or other type of action would above all generate a multiplying effect boosting the support already being granted by the public authorities in nearly all the member states, it would certainly serve to share the extra burden currently being borne by authorities in the countries where linguistic diversity is strongest.

Since the EU first became involved in supporting RMLs almost two decades ago, there have been encouraging developments in legal and political discourse. They have consistently underlined the necessity and relevance of safeguarding and promoting linguistic and cultural diversity. As shown above, in other European and international organisations—notably the Council of Europe, the Assembly of European Regions, the UN, the UNESCO and the OSCE—similar thinking has been expressed in the form of international conventions, declarations, recommendations and resolutions.

RMLs survive and develop in social contexts. Fundamental to any efforts to support these languages is to focus not on the language itself, but on the communities that speak them. Accordingly, this report recognises that policies to protect and promote languages take effect in context. It presents an effort to understand the linguistic needs and requirements of the communities associated with specific languages, as well as the conditions that must be met for them to be adequately supported within the framework of European integration.

Chapter 1: Essential points for the policy-maker

- Interventions in the field of language should be seen as a type of public policy. As there is no such thing as a "market" for diversity, there is a **need for public intervention**.
- Active support for the languages and for cultures related to languages is established through different legal instruments that are already **largely accepted by EU member states**. Statements regarding the value of cultural and linguistic diversity have been issued by the European Parliament, various Council meetings, and other EU bodies.
- In accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, primary responsibility for the maintenance and support of RMLs is at member state or regional level. EU contribution to RMLs has remained modest by comparison with the resources made available at national level. There is, however, a **role for the EU** to support member states in the discharge of their responsibilities, if this can be better dealt with at the EU level. In such cases, there are no obstacles of principle for EU to contribute to the protection and promotion of linguistic diversity.
- In order for a mainstreaming approach to function well, **clear criteria and a set of fundamental principles** regarding modes of support to RMLs should be included in the specific programmes to be put in place. These criteria and principles would have to take into consideration the particular conditions affecting the possibilities for RML-related projects to be funded (such as the complexity of required partnerships, and the required minimum size of the projects). A mechanism for checking that these set criteria are respected is also required. These requirements would have to be taken into consideration in the preparations of a new generation of programmes, which is now starting for example in the areas of education, training, youth, culture and media
- There is no **fundamental legal problem** that would prevent the establishment of a multi-annual action programme in support of RMLs. To the extent that a problem does arise, it is of a political rather than a legal nature.
- Should the EU establish an action programme or in some other way build a proactive and coherent foundation for actions to support RMLs within the context of existing programmes, it would be supporting **widely accepted principles and policies**. Projects with an emphasis on activities with a European or cross-border dimension would be particularly well aligned with the principle of subsidiarity.
- If a mainstreaming approach were to be applied at the level of EU actions to protect and promote RMLs, many current EU programmes would encounter difficulties to include RML support within the framework of the current objectives of the programmes. In some cases, RML communities would also lack the resources and relevant means of influence required to effectively compete for resources.

2. EU POLICIES: AN ANALYTICAL SURVEY

2.1 Preliminary considerations

An examination of EU support to RMLs requires a synthetic overview of past and current programmes and actions in this area. Unfortunately, no such overview exists. No integrated record is kept, by the Commission, of different language-related actions. Apart from language-related programmes (whose relevance needs to be assessed), other programmes need to be taken into account, in particular those that do not specifically target languages, let alone RMLs, but may also include projects that are relevant to RML protection and promotion.

The goal of this Chapter, therefore, is to offer precisely such an integrative overview in order to take stock of EU intervention in favour of RMLs—and of the limits of such support.

In such an endeavour, it is essential to move beyond a mere listing of interventions. We have therefore attempted to provide an analytical perspective on different forms of community intervention, first by describing the programmes and actions that directly or indirectly deal with languages at the EU level. Particular attention is given to language and non-language oriented programmes that have been of benefit to regional or minority language projects, particularly over the 1997-2000 period. This analysis contains a detailed description of programmes, as well as an account of the corresponding financial flows.

This is followed by an overview of the Regional and Minority Language *projects* that have received funding under the **EU programmes** during the same period of time. Our analysis is based on the data collected for the two previous sections. It provides a list of sources of Community funding and it describes the type of projects generally funded by the EU. Finally, we also attempt to identify the language communities that have benefited from the programmes and actions.

A synthetic view of EU activities in favour of RMLs is probably best communicated through a diagram, before moving on to a commented listing. The diagrammatic presentation enables us to take account simultaneously of four dimensions in terms of which programmes and actions may be categorised.

(a) The type of programmes and actions considered

Some are clearly language-related, and hence directly relevant to this study. Others, though they do not specifically target languages, address issues closely connected to language (for example: the media), and can be used to support language projects. Finally, some programmes are essentially *not* concerned with languages but offer, albeit marginally, possibilities to support language-related projects.

(b) The type of languages targeted

No programmes are restricted in linguistic scope, but some actions in Socrates such as **Lingua**, **Comenius language projects, Comenius assistantships** and **Erasmus intensive preparation courses** target foreign language learning and are therefore limited to the official languages of the Member States. For the purposes of this report, a special category has been designed for those programmes specifically intended for RMLs. Of the thirty-odd support activities analysed, only one was intended for RMLs, and it came to a close in 2000.

(c) Programme combinations

Some programmes start, other come to a close; sometimes different programmes are split, while others are merged, or a programme may be subsumed by another. This results in a highly complex maze of names and acronyms. We have therefore also attempted to provide a representation of patterns of regrouping and inclusion, without which the structure of EU support cannot be properly understood.

(d) Time

Finally, programmes and actions operate over time, sometimes overlapping, sometimes succeeding one another. We have therefore split EU interventions into two periods, using the year 2000 as a divide.

This results in a four-dimensional analysis, presented in Figure 2.1. To our knowledge, this is the first representation offering a bird's-eye view of EU activity in the area of RMLs, or language more generally.

Figure 2.1: Categorisation of EU Activities with relevance to support for language

(See file Figure 2.)

2.2 Language-related and partly language-related programmes and actions

Given the structure of community action, it is difficult to disentangle specifically language-related programmes and actions from those programmes and actions that only partly concern languages. For example, "Lingua" is a language-related action belonging to a larger programme (Socrates) comprising many educational actions (addressing not just languages), so Socrates must be categorised as a partly language-related programme. Both categories are therefore addressed jointly in this section.

Education			
Budget line	Title	Period	Initial budget (€)
B3-1001	Socrates I Socrates II	1995-1999 2000-2005	850,000,000 1,850,000,000

Established in 1995, **Socrates** is the main instrument of the European Union devoted to education. It includes the **Erasmus**, **Comenius**, **Lingua**, **Open and distance learning**, **Arion** and **Adult education** *actions*. Socrates promotes co-operation between the member states. It gives special attention to the teaching of foreign languages, which plays an important role for mutual understanding between nations. It also aims to strengthen the European dimension of education at all levels, improve the knowledge of European languages and promote co-operation, mobility and equal opportunities in all sectors of education. In addition to the 18 EU/EEA countries, between 1997 and 1999, the programme was open under the association agreements to Cyprus, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Romania, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Malta. Turkey is in its preparatory year (2001). Priority is given to projects with a European dimension and Community contribution should not exceed 75% of total cost. **Socrates II** (2000-2004) preserves the continuity of **Socrates I**; however, there are substantial changes between the two phases. In its new form, Socrates contributes to reinforce inter-sectorial cooperation thanks to Joint Actions with the Leonardo da Vinci and Youth programmes.

Erasmus, within **Socrates**, is the extension of the *European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students*, established in 1987, including Action II of **Lingua** (1990-1994). Erasmus was the first major European programme in the area of higher education, giving support to universities and other types of higher education institutions, and providing grants to facilitate the mobility and exchange of their teaching staff, administrators and, in particular, students. In the framework of this mobility measure. Universities can use their Erasmus block grant to finance language preparation courses for students participating in Erasmus

exchanges. This includes minority languages when the language of the host university is a minority language, for instance Erasmus students at Åbo Akademi University in Finland are taught Swedish. Funding is also available for countries to organise additional intensive language courses before the start of the academic year for Erasmus students arriving in the country and students can receive grants to attend such course. This particular action is limited to the less widely taught official languages. Under Socrates I (but not its follow-up) courses for learners of Welsh, Catalan or Basque, for instance, attending universities where these languages are used as media of instruction, were also eligible for EU co-funding.

The funds allocated to the Erasmus programme represented at least 55% of the Socrates budget for 1995-1999, and no more than 51% in 2000.

Comenius focuses on school education. Under **Socrates I**, it aimed to promote school partnerships for a European education project; it also provided funds to transnational projects promoting intercultural education and organised in-service training to improve the skills of education staff. Language projects limited to official languages must involve two schools from two European countries and should focus on the learning of foreign languages. Priority will be given to less widely used and taught languages. The projects will generally include a stay in the partner establishment and a return visit. Language projects are not the only type of school exchanges, virtual or actual. General school projects can cover any subject and any topic and use any language. The resources allocated to the Comenius programme represented at least 10% of the Socrates budget for 1995-1999, and 27% in 2000.

Actions presented below were “horizontal measures” under **Socrates I**, which were to be allocated at least 25% of the 1995-1999 budget.

Lingua is an objective of the Socrates 2 programme as a whole, and of the Erasmus, Comenius and Grundtvig actions in particular.
The new Lingua Action supports these actions through measures designed to: Encourage and support linguistic diversity throughout the Union, contribute to an improvement in the quality of language teaching and learning. It also strives to promote access to lifelong language learning opportunities appropriate to each individual’s needs. The projects funded under this action mostly include universities, professional schools, research institutes and education authorities.

The target languages of **Lingua** are: All the official languages of the European Union (Danish, Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish and Swedish) and also Irish, Luxemburgish, Icelandic and Norwegian. In all Lingua actions special priority is given to the less widely used and taught languages (LWULT) of the European Union. The definition of LWULT varies from one area of the EU to another. In general, the LWULT are: Danish, Dutch, Finnish, Greek, Irish, Luxemburgish, Portuguese and Swedish, but it is worth mentioning that the definition depends on the situation in the country. Since Lingua mainly supports the teaching and learning of foreign languages via transnational language-learning projects it would at best be of limited relevance for the teaching of regional and minority languages.

The **Open and Distance Learning (ODL)** action encountered difficulties of implementation in some countries of the EU during the first phase of Socrates. The use of Internet and multimedia in education was more widespread in Northern countries than in the South. For this reason, ODL, renamed **Minerva** under the new phase, seeks to further encourage European cooperation in the field of ODL and information and communication technologies. The Minerva-supported activities are intended to reach a critical mass on a larger scale than the activities supported in other actions. Minerva is a fairly broad action, which attaches particular importance to projects based on partnerships between schools and universities, the multimedia and the IT sector, publishers, ministries, associations and experts. The areas of interest can be cultural and linguistic differences in learning contexts, or the analysis of learners' attitudes and profiles, including gender differences.

Arion (Study visits for education specialists and decision-makers) organises multilateral study visits to facilitate 'exchanges of information and experience'. Language teaching is one of the Arion themes, and new approaches to language teaching and learning have been the purpose of a certain number of visits, for example foreign language distance training in rural areas. Arion can also provide for cultural visits. Arion appears henceforth under the **observation and innovation** action of **Socrates II**, along with **Eurydice,** the information network on education (the Eurydice report on language learning in schools included RMLs) and **NARIC** (Network of Academic Recognition Centres).

The **Adult Education** programme aims to promote the European dimension through the cultural and social education of adults, in particular through the promotion of cultures and traditions in the member states and the languages of the EU. However, some minority language communities have benefited from this

programme. Under **Socrates II**, this action is known as **Grundtvig**, for which the target is lifelong learning. Through Grundtvig the European Commission supports four types of activities, co-operation projects, education partnerships, mobility of training and networks for people involved in adult education.

Innovation and Connection of Community programmes			
Budget line	Title	Period	Initial budget (€)
B3-1002	Connect	1999	15,000,000

The **Connect** programme combined Community programmes in the areas of education, culture, training, innovation, research and new technologies (**Socrates**, **Leonardo**, **Fifth Framework Programme for RTD**). In addition, Connect initiatives in the area of culture included projects in favour of minority languages and cultures.

Measures directly related to languages[22]			
Budget line	Title	Period	Initial budget (€)
B3-1003	European Year of Languages 2001 (EYL)	2000 (preparatory year) and 2001	4,350,000[23]
B3-1006	Regional and minority languages and cultures (RMLC)	1983-1998	from 100,000 in 1983 to 4 million in 1995
B3-1000		1999-2000	2,500,000

The **European Year of Languages 2001 (EYL)** was organised jointly by the European Union and the Council of Europe. This is a celebration of Europe's linguistic diversity, promoting language learning and related skills. EYL seeks to encourage multilingualism, to promote lifelong learning of languages and to provide information on language-learning resources. Commission funding was available only for organisations from the EU and EEA, since funding for organisations in other countries would have required an agreement between the EU and the country in question. EYL was open to the official languages of the EU, together with Irish and Luxemburgish and other languages in line with those identified by the Member States. Most Member States opted for an inclusive approach rather

[22] The European Label is awarded each year in each participating country to the most innovative projects in the field of language at all stages of education and training. It mainly aims to encourage the development of new initiatives and to disseminate good practice. The first labels were awarded in 1999 in the EU countries, Norway and Iceland. From 2002, the European Label will be open to the countries eligible for Socrates II.

[23] The initial budget for projects was €4,350,000. However, the sum of €5,144,768 was finally spent on projects under the two calls for proposals. The initial sum for projects, events and items such as t-shirts, postcards, pens, mouse pads, etc., including the costs during the preparation year 2000, was €10.95 million.

than an exclusive one and hence several regional and minority languages were included. The Commission co-financed up to 50% of project costs, over a range varying between €10,000 and €100,000. Projects were initiated at national, regional and local levels. In January 2001, a sum of €1,744,517 had already been allocated to 43 projects, and in June 2001, 142 projects more received a sum of €3,400,251. 22 of these projects (€758,008) included RMLs.

The Community action for the **Promotion and safeguard of regional and minority languages and cultures** was launched in 1983. This action addressed only indigenous languages traditionally used within the EU. Dialects and migrants languages could not apply for funding under this action. Co-financing was in most cases provided for up to 50% of eligible costs, to projects meeting the programme's action lines: development of regional and/or minority language skills, language description and standardisation, economic and social promotion, information and dissemination, etc. This action was renewed yearly with an annual budget (two years budget in 1999). As it had no legal basis for expenditure, this action was suspended as a result of the European Court of Justice decision (12 May 1998; see Chapter 1). It had been financing nearly 200 projects yearly since 1995.

Youth policy			
Budget line	Title	Period	Initial budget (€)
B3-1010	YFE III Youth	1995-1999 2000-2006	126,000,000 520,000,000

Youth for Europe (YFE) was set up in 1988, and at the end of its third phase, it was attached to the Youth programme. Under its new phase, the programme concerns young people between the age of 15 to 25 from the 18 EU/EEA countries, as well as the 13 applicant countries. Within the **Exchanges with third countries** action, Mediterranean countries (Euro-Med), CEEC, CIS countries and Latin American countries can participate. YFE aims to encourage young people to contribute to the construction of Europe at the social, educational and cultural levels. It also seeks to increase their awareness of European citizenship. Exchange activities within the Community are to promote a better understanding of the diversity of European society, giving special attention to disadvantaged young people. Priority is given to projects with a linguistic or intercultural dimension.

Vocational training			
Budget line	Title	Period	Initial budget (€)
B3-1021	Leonardo da Vinci I Leonardo da Vinci II	1995-1999 2000-2006	620,000,000 1,150,000,000

The **Leonardo da Vinci** programme was set up in 1994 and included the previous programmes **Comett, Eurotecnet, Force, Petra**, as well as the **Lingua** (1990-1994) element promoting language competence. The idea was to integrate these different programmes to create a rational and coherent frame for vocational training. It also strives to concretely tackle the problem of employment. Leonardo actions concern: transnational projects dealing with training, cooperation between vocational schools, universities and industry, improvement of language skills, and dissemination of innovations in the field of professional training. Pilot projects can receive co-financing up to 75%, varying from €100,000 under phase I to between €200,000 and €300,000 under phase II, per project and per year. Moreover, certain types of projects such as reference tools can receive 100% financing.

Culture			
Budget line	Title	Period	Initial budget (€)
B3-2008	*Culture 2000*	*2000-2004*	*167,000,000*
B3-2000	*Raphael*	*1997-1999*	*30,000,000*
B3-2001	*Kaleidoscope*	*1996-1999*	*26,000,000*
B3-2002	*Ariane*	*1997-1999*	*30,000,000*

Since the Treaty of Maastricht, the cultural sector has been seen as playing a major role in stimulating multinational co-operation and socio-economic development. Initially the three main programmes were **Raphael** (cultural heritage), **Kaleidoscope** (cultural life) and **Ariane** (books and reading). Given the difficulties arising from the fragmentation of actions and the lack of structure in the cultural sector, the Commission decided to create a single programme called **Culture 2000**. This new programme allows a redefinition of objectives and forms of actions on cultural policy. The Culture 2000 programme operates for a five-year period since 2002 and uses an annual "sectoral" approach. In 2001, it gave financial support to cultural cooperation projects using digital technology and a multilingual approach, and operating in the areas of common cultural heritage, artistic and literary creation, or the promotion of the history and culture of the peoples of Europe. A maximum of 45% of the €167m budget will be devoted to innovative and/or experimental actions, a minimum of 35% for integrated actions, 10% for special cultural events and 10% for other expenditure.

Audiovisual policy and information society			
Budget line	Title	Period	Initial budget (€)
B3-2004	MLIS	1996-1999	15,000,000
B3-2010	Media II Media Plus	1996-2000 2001-2005	310,000,000 400,000,000
B3-2012	European multilingual radio and television services	1998 (end of programme)	4,775,000
	Innovative multilingual radio and television channels	from 2000/2001	1,865,000,000

Multilingual Information Society (MLIS) was a programme promoting linguistic diversity in the information society. It aimed to support the creation of a framework of services for language resources, to encourage the use of language technologies and to promote the use of advanced language tools in the public sector. MLIS support could address any language. Community co-financing was limited to 50%.

The **Media** programme (1991-1995), was designed to support the European audiovisual industry, through co-financing of development of production projects (fiction films, creative documentaries, animation etc). The objectives of the programme were maintained and strengthened under **Media II** (1996-2000). However, Media II concerns not only development and distribution, but also the training of professionals, which accounts for between 10 and 15% of the total budget. Respect for linguistic and cultural diversity in European audiovisual production is one of the objectives of Media II. In this respect, particular attention is given to the specific needs of countries with a low production capacity and/or a restricted geographical and linguistic area. In the training sector of Media II, this positive discrimination was concretized by a level of Community contribution which could reach up to 75% of expenditure (instead of 50%), depending on the project's aim. The current programme is known as **Media Plus**.

eContent - European digital content for the global networks builds on the success of **MLIS** and **INFO2000** (see below), to which it is the follow-on programme. It continues the work of the previous programmes aiming to stimulate the production, use and distribution of European digital content on the global networks and to promote linguistic diversity in the Information society. eContent aims to improve access to and expand the use of public sector information, to enhance content production in a multilingual and multicultural environment, and to stimulate the dynamism of the digital market.

The action for **European multilingual radio and television services** covered European initiatives in the media, which had a multilingual dimension in particular for cultural or public information purposes, such as 'EuroNews' or 'Arte'. As there was no legal basis for this budget line, it was suspended as a result of the European Court of Justice's 1998 judgement. In 2001, a new programme was launched with the same objectives, with the following themes: digital and multicultural radio, multilingual television channels, pilot projects in the electronic distribution of content, and networking among European audiovisual producers. Projects involving three languages at least can receive a maximum co-financing of 50% of total project cost, and must be targeted on one of the above-mentioned themes.

Market-related interventions			
Budget line	Title	Period	Initial budget (€)
B5-3300	INFO2000	1996-1999	65,000,000
	Philoxenia	1997-2000	25,000,000

INFO2000, successor of the **Impact II** programme, aimed to stimulate the development of a European multimedia content industry and the use of multimedia products. INFO2000 favoured a multilingual approach to the development of content, contributing to the safeguard of cultural identity and linguistic diversity of Europe.

In 1996, the European Commission adopted a proposal on a First multiannual programme to assist European tourism, 'Philoxenia', based on the experience of the First action plan (1993-1996) to assist tourism. Its chief aim was to stimulate the quality and the competitiveness of tourism through coordination and cooperation in order to contribute to growth and employment. Apart from these socio-economic aspects, tourism includes the promotion of Europe's cultures, of their roots and traditions and of Europeans' varied ways of life. The programme could also promote language learning. The EU contribution was limited to 60% of eligible costs, whereas purchases or subsidies for actions, such as studies, meetings, publications, etc., could receive up to 100% financing.

Research and technology development (RTD)			
Budget line	Title	Period	Initial budget (€)
B6-7111	*TAP (FP4)*	*1994-1998*	*843,000,000*
	Language engineering		*78,000,000*
B6-7112	*ACTS (FP4)*	*1994-1998*	*630,000,000*
B6-7113	*IT-Esprit (FP4)*	*1994-1998*	*125,000,000*
B6-6121	*IST programme (FP5)*	*1998-2002*	*3,600,000,000*
	Human language technologies		564,000,000

The **Information Society Technologies Programme (IST)** for *creating a user-friendly information society* is the largest single programme under the Fifth Framework Programme-FP5. It replaces and integrates three programmes of the Fourth Framework Programme-FP4: **Advanced Communication Technologies and Services** (**ACTS**), **Information technologies-Esprit** and the **Telematics Applications programme** (**TAP**). ***Language Engineering*** (**LE**), a TAP sector, became ***Human Language Technologies*** (**HTL**) under FP5. HTL actions address three areas: multilingualism, natural interactivity between humans and computers, and cross-lingual information management. Since FP4, **Language Engineering**, with a budget of €78M and 54 funded projects, has been recognised to be an important element of RTD. Between 1992 and 1998, the EU investment in LE amounted to €115M.

2.3 Non-language related programmes and actions

Whereas the bulk of EU support accessible to RMLs is to be found in specifically language-related or in partly language-related programmes and actions, other types of intervention that do not, *prima facie*, concern languages can also provide useful complements.

Structural action Community support frameworks (a) and Community initiatives (b)			
Budget line	Title	Period	Initial budget (€)
	Structural Funds (a)	*1994-1999*	*165,000,000,000*
		2000-2006	*195,000,000,000*
B2-146 *B2-140*	*Leader II (b)* *Leader +*	*1994-1999* *2000-2006*	*1,400,000,000* *2,020,000,000*
B2-1410	Interreg II (b) *Interreg III*	*1995-1999* *2000-2006*	*2,900,000,000* 4,875,000,000
	Special Support Programme for Peace and Reconciliation (b)	*1995-1999*	*509,000,000*

Between 1989 and 1993, Structural Funds contributed to approximately 80% of Community expenditure devoted to culture, which amounted to €400M, whereas the contribution of cultural programmes (Raphael, Kaleidoscope and Ariane) was only 18%. However, cultural initiatives are only eligible for support from the Structural Funds if they contribute to regional or local development. All expenditure in the framework of structural action is financed by the Structural Funds, which consist of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the European Social Fund (ESF), and the Guidance section of the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF). Since 2000, the Financial Instrument for Fisheries Guidance (FIFG) also counts as a Structural Fund.

For the 2000-2006 period, **Community support frameworks**, which represent the largest part of the **Structural Funds** (90% in 1994-1999), are based on three priority Objectives (formerly 6 in 1994-1999). **Objective 1** (including former Objective 6) promotes regions whose development is lagging behind, including the most remote regions of the European Union (French overseas departments, the Canary Islands, the Azores and Madeira) and the sparsely populated regions of Finland and Sweden. **Objective 2** (including former Objectives 2 and 5b) provides support for areas facing structural difficulties. **Objective 3** promotes measures for the development of human resources.

Among the Structural Funds, the European Regional Development Fund and the European Social Fund are particularly relevant as regards support for regional and minority languages.

The **European Regional Development Fund** (**ERDF**) operates under regional Objectives. As it helps actions to support the indigenous potential of the target regions, it can contribute to the preservation of regional languages and cultures in order to develop tourism infrastructure and slow down rural exodus. Co-financing contracted during the 1994-1999 period can be extended under Objectives 1 and 2 for the 2000-2006 period.

The **European Social Fund** (**ESF**) aims to support EU activities in human resources and labour market policy. The ESF operates under the overall priority objectives. The legislative provisions of ESF make no direct reference to culture or language. However, it has been recognised that the cultural sector can have potential for job creation and human resources development.

Community initiatives amounted to 9% of the structural funds for the period 1995-1999, but for the 2000-2006 period, only 5% will be devoted to them. They are proposed by the Commission as multiannual programmes, and are accessible to the whole Community.

The **Interreg** programme (interregional co-operation) aims to stimulate cross-border cooperation and to contribute to the development of border regions. In 1996 The Commission adopted an additional section on spatial planning under **Interreg II**, which includes the promotion of tourism, the development of cooperation networks between medium-sized towns and the use of information and communication technology. The promotion of language learning and regional cultural values are taken into consideration under this new section. Potentially, there are considerable funding possibilities

for RMLs under **Interreg III**, since it is one of the largest sources of EU funding. However, different parties who have been participating in the application procedures have commented on problems because of the dentralised structure and complicated application procedures that might discourage small organisations in particular from applying.

The **Leader** programme, launched in 1991, was renewed in 1994; it is now known as **Leader+**. This programme aims to stimulate innovative action in all sectors of the rural environment. The Leader cultural strategy operates at four levels: promotion of regional identity, exploitation of cultural heritage, creation of permanent cultural infrastructures and organisation of specific cultural activities. Several Leader Action Groups (LAGs) are implanted in minority language areas, and they provide significant help to develop tourism in these target regions. Leader is financed by the EAGGF-Guidance section. Between 1994 and 1999, a sum of €1,081m was used under regional Objectives 1 and 6. Under Leader+, the Community contribution can reach 50 or 75% depending on the target regions. Higher percentages are given to Objective 1 regions. Similar critical remarks that were directed at Interreg III were directed also at Leader+.

The more narrowly targeted **Peace Programme** was adopted by the European Commission in 1995 in order to contribute to peaceful relations and to promote reconciliation in the whole of Northern Ireland and in the border counties of Ireland. To this end, the programme gives priority to five areas of action: employment, urban and rural regeneration, cross-border development, social inclusion and industrial development. RML-related actions can be found in the sub-programme devoted to the social inclusion of children and young people, which among other measures seeks to promote common cultural aspects and awareness of cultural diversity by providing support for Irish language education. In order to complement this particular measure, activities generating additional places in language schools are eligible. EU assistance is limited to 75% of the cost of a project.

2.4 The actual allocation of funds in completed and ongoing programmes.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE RML PROJECTS IN THE A-LIST

After having surveyed, in the preceding section, the different programmes and actions that are directly or indirectly relevant to RML promotion, it is time to take a closer look at the individual projects which, within each programme, actually engage in the protection or promotion of RMLs.

One question to be addressed here is whether most of the RML projects are to be found in the specifically language-related programmes and actions, or whether RMLs significantly benefit from partly or non-language-related programmes and actions as well. On the basis of the structure of EU intervention presented in the preceding section, one might assume that more of these RML-relevant projects would be funded by the language-related programmes and actions. *A priori*, programmes that seek to encourage language learning and to promote linguistic diversity, such as the **European Year of Languages 2001 (EYL)**, organised jointly by the European Union and the Council of Europe, are more likely to support RML projects than others[24].

The action line promoting *Regional and Minority Languages and Cultures*, with some 200 projects yearly, has financed more RML projects than the other programmes. The **EYL** programme also deserves special attention since the share of support allocated to RML projects is considerably bigger than in the other programmes.

Our description of the allocation of funds in the EU programmes focuses on the type of recipient institutions (associations, regional authorities, semi-state, private, etc.), the domain concerned (culture, education, regional cohesion, etc.), the amount of funding received, the regional and minority languages supported, the domain of Community intervention and, finally, the number of projects supported in each field. This section therefore contains a summary of funded projects, organised in two lists (A and B). These lists are based on the archives of the EU institutions (mainly the Commission). The A-list is made up of projects that are directly aimed at the promotion and development of RMLs. The B-list consists of projects that merely include a partner from an RML community.

The percentages of RML projects funded per programme are provided in table 2.1 and commented upon below.

[24] According to decision No 1934/2000 of the European Parliament and of the Council the 17th of July 2000. Article 1.2, "During the European Year of Languages, information and promotional measures will be undertaken on the theme of languages, with the aim of encouraging language learning by all persons residing in the Members States. These measures will cover the official languages of the Community, together with Irish and Letzeburgesh, and other languages in line with those identified by the Member States for the purposes of implementing this decision" (Source: the Official Journal of the European Communities L.232/2 14.9.2000. Most regional and minority languages were present since the Member States chose to be inclusive rather than exclusive in their interpretation of this decision.

Our analysis and description of the allocation of funds focuses on the A-list, that is, on projects specifically intended to protect and promote RMLs. This listing, however, is not exhaustive, since many of the actors contacted (for example, regional authorities) never answered our requests for information, and many of the project lists received from them are incomplete. For a number of duly mentioned items, budget figures were missing. Thus, the percentages indicating the share of a programme's or action's funding should not be considered as a final or exact figure. Rather, they constitute a lower-bound approximation of the actual share. Another limitation that must be mentioned is that, both in the table and in the commented listing, some RMLs or some regions are liable to be over-represented, while others are under-represented. This is due to the fact mentioned above that the regional authorities and offices of the EU programmes in some regions have been very co-operative, while others never sent the information requested—or simply do not possess it. The long list of Basque projects funded under the regional programmes in the A-list (as opposed to the near-absence of other regions) is a good illustration of these constraints.

RECIPIENT INSTITUTIONS

The type of institutions funded under the different actions varies considerably from one programme to the other. While this section tries to identify the type of institutions funded through EU support, we must take note of the fact that this categorisation covers extremely different practical situations. In particular, an "institution" may, in some cases, closely coincide with a given RML community (constituting, as it were, the "target" of a project), whereas in other cases, no such convergence occurs.

The recipient institutions in the RML projects under the **Leonardo** programme include a tertiary-level institution providing vocational training, while the institutions supported under the **Erasmus action** within **Socrates** deal with university exchange. The other action lines within Socrates, **Comenius** and **Lingua** also sponsor education projects and thus mainly consist of universities, other schools, educational organisations as well as authorities, mostly regional and local, responsible for education.

The RML projects within the **Information Society** programmes are open to all kinds of institutions. In the description of the users targeted, Information Society projects mention almost every kind of institution. For example, the **Minority European Languages Information Network (MELIN)** project launched in 1998 mentions "*all those working, learning and communicating in a multilingual environment, language engineers, schools, public authorities and semi-state bodies who are obliged to use minority languages,*

private companies doing business in these areas, cultural organisations concerned with the propagation of such languages".

However, schools, research and academic institutes, as well as universities, dominate the four identified projects that directly seek to promote regional and minority languages.

The most recent RML project within the **Information Society programme**, *Minority Newspapers to New Media* (MNM), is aimed exclusively at minority language newspapers and consequently involves five newspapers, one university and one organisation promoting RMLs.

The RML projects within the regional programmes **Interreg** and **Leader** mainly aim at improving the infrastructure and living conditions of people speaking an RML in a certain region. These projects vary greatly and the institutions funded range from schools to private companies, NGOs and "QuaNGOs"[25]. The *Northern Periphery* projects within Interreg finance musical festivals in the Sámi areas of Finland, Norway and Sweden as well as in the Celtic fringes in Scotland. They also strive to improve the living conditions of the Sámi through projects promoting business development and sustainable resource management. Also worth mentioning are projects under the regional programmes directed at education and academic research, such as the cross-border project to publish an Italian-German legal dictionary in the Tyrol (carried out by the European Academy in Bolzano/Bozen) and the primary school book Chentu Paraulas in Sardinia. The **Leader II** programme includes a project called "Sorbian culture, leverage for development". The main aim of the project is the development and preservation of the Sorbian language and culture. The project team hopes to achieve this goal by improving the Sorbian schools in the area and by starting up a Sorbian Cultural Centre to attract tourists to the region. The Centre also helps to promote Sorbian culture. Within the Interreg programme the region tries to promote the Sorbian language by supporting cultural meetings and festivals.

The **Connect** programme contains two projects in 1999 that directly enhance or promote RMLs. The project *Kultur verleiht Flügel* ("Culture gives wings") is aimed at radio stations, and the Pyrenne project promotes minority arts organisations and agencies.

[25] Quasi non-governmental organisations, or QuaNGOs, pursue goals and operate using principles similar to fully independent NGOs, yet they receive most of their funding from states, whether in the form of a yearly subsidy or through regular commissioning of projects.

The **European Year of Languages 2001** deserves special attention. Most of the RML projects sponsored under the EYL programme have included language boards and schools, revealing a clear emphasis on core language issues. There are, however, several exceptions, taking the form of an opening to cultural activities associated with language. Such are, for example, a tour by a puppet company in German-speaking Belgium; a celebration of the languages of South Tyrol through folklore, music, dance, fashion and traditions; *Web of Words*, the creation of web-pages to raise awareness of RMLs; and *In Other Words*, a festival bringing together areas where culture, identity, bilingualism and RMLs are important dimensions.

Publishing and printing dominate the RML projects within **Culture 2000**; and translations have received funding under the **Ariane** programme. The only project that has directly promoted RMLs within the **Kaleidoscope** programme is a touring festival in the Occitan-speaking regions.

The most common type of project takes the form of co-operation involving at least three partners from three different member states of the European Union. Some projects, however, bring together many more, for instance in the **Information Society** projects (in the B-list) **Simple** and **Parole**, numbering 18 and 17 partners respectively. Only one or two of the partners, however, represented an RML. Thus, RMLs tend to play no more than a marginal role in these projects. Most of the projects in both the language-related and the non-language-related programmes are of this kind.

It is also quite common that the project includes a linguistic minority, but the language itself is either not directly promoted, or does not have a central role in the project. Exceptions can be found among some of the **Interreg** projects mentioned in the previous chapter, as well as most of the **EYL 2001** projects included in the A-list. Other projects include a partner representing an RML, but the main aim of the project is not to promote this language. Many projects mention “minority language” promotion or protection as their chief goal, but closer examination reveals that the languages concerned are in fact immigrant languages that are less relevant to this analysis.

SUPPORT BY DOMAIN OR BY LANGUAGE

As regards **Information Society** projects entered in the A-list, two media projects and two education projects have been funded. The Sorbian project funded under the **Leader** programme strives to enhance Sorbian culture and identity in all fields.

The three Sorbian projects receiving funding under the **Interreg** programme can all be described as culture projects. Of the numerous Basque Interreg projects, 17 are education projects, many of them related to information technology and to computerised or internet applications in education. 15 projects can be categorised as "culture-related", including mostly festivals and book translations. There were seven media projects and five aimed at improving social cohesion. Improving the infrastructure and the economy was the main goal declared in six projects, of which at least three were related to tourism. However, 15 projects did not fall under any of the above categories or could not be classified due to insufficient information about project content. The Interreg projects in Sardinia and South Tyrol deal with translation problems and can be described, in broad terms, as education-related projects. The music festival project in Northern Europe also funded through Interreg is definitely cultural, whereas the other two projects aim to improve the economic infrastructure of the Sámi areas.

All of the **EYL** projects are in fact about language learning in one way or another. Hence, seven of the eight projects that directly promote RMLs must be categorised as education-related, the only exception being the one in South Tyrol called *Rassegna Europea di Musica*. In **Connect**, we can identify one cultural project and one media project. In **Comenius**, one project falls under "culture", and three can be classified as "education". Projects in **Lingua** and **Leonardo** are best considered as education-related. The six **Culture 2000** projects are clearly cultural; this also applies to the only **Kaleidoscope** project and to all the **Ariane** projects of the A-list.

Summing up, and with the exception of the action line for the Promotion and safeguard of regional and minority languages and cultures, *culture* projects dominate by, far with 65 projects (in the A-list). *Education* projects are also well represented, with 30. There are ten *media* projects directly benefiting RMLs, and five that aim at improving *social cohesion*.

Education projects were in a class of their own in the action for the Promotion and safeguard of regional and minority languages and cultures in 1997. There were 79 RML projects in the field of education, as compared to 18 in the cultural field and ten media projects. 26 projects concerned general language promotion or language normalisation, while 14 projects took the form of conferences on language issues. Eight projects offered support to RML promotion centres, such as the **EBLUL** offices and the **Mercator** centres. The figures are much the same for the RML projects in 1998 and 1999, where more than half of the projects were devoted to education.

Although some patterns regarding domain do emerge in most programmes, it is impossible to discern a clear trend regarding the individual languages supported. It is worth mentioning, however, that:

- several projects included non-regional languages such as Yiddish or Romani;

- most of the Information Society and regional programme projects include only the larger RMLs such as Swedish in Finland, Catalan, Basque, Welsh and German in Italy. Exceptions are Sámi and Sorbian.

ASSESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF EU FUNDING

EU financial support to RMLS has been quite limited; these limits are apparent first in the fact that only a small part of the various programmes and actions from which RMLs can benefit is actually spent on them. The share to promote RMLs has been less than 1% of the total budget of most programmes, the only exceptions being the **Multilingual Information Society programme**, **EYL 2001** and the **Action Line for the Promotion and Safeguard of Regional and Minority Languages and Cultures**. Support to RML protection and promotion is mainly achieved through the projects listed in the A-list, in which funding from the currently suspended RML budget line dominates, with €9.2 million out of the A-list's total sum of €14.7 million. The programmes and actions from which RML projects can significantly benefit tend to have a one-off character. This may come at the expense of consistency in EU action regarding RMLs. This is exemplified by the EYL project, in which RML projects were indeed well represented, with 22 projects representing RMLs.

The programmes and actions from which RML projects can significantly benefit tend to have a one-off character. This may come at the expense of consistency in EU action regarding RMLs. Limitations in EU support are also reflected in the fact that even under EYL, half or more of the total project cost had to be secured from other (that is, non-EU) sources. Two RML promotion projects in Italy received €80,000 each; this amounted to 32% of total project costs in *Rassegna Europea di Musica, Lingua e Cultura Populare*, a three-day language and folklore event in the South Tyrol, and to 34.6% of the cost of the *A.I.L.* project. *Spectaculum Populum*, the puppet theatre in German-speaking Belgium, and *K.E.L.T.I.C.*, promoting regional and minority languages in the Atlantic Arc, received €50,000 each, amounting to 38% of the *Spectaculum* project and 47% of the total cost of *K.E.L.T.I.C.* The *All-Ireland Language bus* was supported with €35,000 (49% of total

costs). Conferences constitute another typical form of projects with a one-off character. One example is the *Octava conferencia internacional de lenguas minoritarias.* It received a sum of 48,090, amounting to 48% of the total conference cost. *Meertaligheid in Fryslân en Europa* promoting Frisian received €12,834, which covered 26% of the total costs. The creation of web pages on the lesser used language of Europe, called *Web of Words* received €11,000 (47% of the total costs) and *In other words* received €35,000, representing 41% of its total cost. It brings together parts of Ireland, Northern Ireland, Navarre, Catalonia and the Basque Country where bilingualism and minority languages are important.

REMARKS ON THE B-LIST

The B-list includes several projects promoting the situation of Roma people in Europe. The aim of at least two of the **Leonardo** projects and 13 of the **Comenius** projects is to improve the situation of the Roma, though in socio-economic rather than linguistic terms. Other projects in the Comenius programme aim at fostering tolerance and multiculturalism, and many strive to combat racism and xenophobia.

The only **Information Society** project in the B-list, *ELAN*, promotes practically all languages in Europe, including those spoken by a majority of the population of a country. The B-list includes one book translation in the **Ariane** programme, and a research project called *Implementation of Virtual Environments in Training and Education* between universities—among them a Catalan and a Welsh university.

It contains several **Leader** projects in the Celtic fringes that might indirectly promote regional and minority languages. The projects of the B-list funded by the **Minerva** and **Comenius** actions can in principle include RMLs, but they are mainly aimed at combating racism and intolerance. The RML element, if any, in the projects under the cultural programmes appearing in the B-list, namely **Culture 2000**, Kaleidoscope, **Raphael** and **Ariane**, is only secondary.

2.5 The "A-list": a listing of RML projects

This section contains a table on amounts spent on RML projects within each programme every year. A detailed list of the projects in the A-list is found in Annex 2.1. The programme or action under which the RML project is found, its budget, and the share or percentage of funding dedicated to RML-projects under each programme or action are entered in the first column. The second column states the year in which the project was sponsored. The number of RML projects financed per year are found in the third

column. In the fourth column the average figures spent on each project under a certain programme per year is given and the final and fifth column is the total amount spent on RML projects per year.

We lack the data for three RML-project budgets in the Interreg programme and for one in the Leader programme.

Table 2.1: Funding for regional and minority languages projects: overview

Programme /Action Budget (€) *RML share per year (%)*	***Year***	***Number of RML projects financed***	***Average amount spent per project (€)***	***Total Amount spent on RML projects (€)***
Multilingual Information Society €15,000,000 *4.3 %*	*1998*	*1 project*	*139,925*	*139,925*
	2000	*3 projects*	*169,250*	*507,750*
Total				***647,675***
E-content *(2001-2005)* ***€100,000,000*** *0,08 %*	*2001*	*1 project*	*81,000*	*81,000*
Total				***81,000***
Interreg II *(1996-2000)* ***€56,634,000,000*** *0.002 %*	*1996*	*21 projects*	*10,820*	*227,210*
	1997	*14 projects*	*11 638*	*162,940*
	1998	*11 projects*	*50 759 (1 project without budget figures)*	*558,351*
	1999	*25 projects*	*10,223 (1 project without budget figures)*	*255,591*
	2000	*1 project without budget figures*		
Total				***1 204 092***
Leader II €1,400,000,000	*1997*	*1 project without budget figures*		
Connect *(1999)* *€15,000,000* *1,7 %*	*1999*	*2 projects*	*131,190*	*262,380*
Total				***262,380***
Leonardo *(1995-2000)* ***€620,000,000***		*2 projects*		*No data available*

Comenius 1 *(1:1995-1999, (Action under Socrates; no separate budget figures available)*	*1998*	*2 projects*	*115,000*	*230,000*
Comenius 2*: 2000-2005) (Action under Socrates; no separate budget figures available*	*2000*	*3 projects*	*379,133*	1,137,400
Total				***1,367,400***
Lingua 2 *(Action under Socrates; no separate budget figures available)*	*2000*	*1 project*	*460,000*	*460,000*
Total				***460,000***
Adult Education *(Action under Socrates; no separate budget figures available)*	*1997*	*1 project*	*81,605*	*81,605*
	1998	*1 project*	*120,000*	*120,000*
Total				***201,605***
Culture 2000 *(2000-2004)* ***€167,000,000*** *0.15 %*	*2000*	*6 projects*	*42,547*	*255,280*
Total				***255,280***
Kaleidoscope *(1996-1999)* ***€26,000,000*** *0.27 %*		*1 project*	*70,000*	*70,000*
Total				***70,000***
Ariane *(1997-1999)* ***€30,000,000*** *0.59 %*	*1997*	*13 projects*	*10,101*	*131,310*
	1998	*18 projects*	*2,574*	*46,337*
Total				***177,647***
European Year of Languages 2001 ***€****5 144 768* *14,73 %*	*2001*	*23 projects*	*64 006*	*758 008*
Total				***758 008***
RML action line ***€9 182,860*** *100 %*	*1997*	*152 projects*	*24,519*	*3,726,858*
	1998	*171 projects*	*19,592*	*3,350,305*
	1999-2000	*69 projects*	*30,517*	*2,105,697*
Total				***9,182,860***

Table 2.2: Funding per year, by programmes and action lines

	RML FUNDING IN EUROS UNDER:	
YEAR	**THE RML ACTION LINE**	**OTHER PROGRAMMES AND ACTION LINES***
1997	*3,726,858*	*375,855*
1998	*3,350,305*	*954,688*
1999-2000	*2,105,697*	*3,667,409 (of which EYL 2001 758,008)*

* Only projects in the A-list are taken into account

Table 2.3: Funding level by category of project, according to number of partners per project

	AMOUNTS SPENT IN EUROS ON PROJECTS INCLUDING*:			
	ONLY ONE PARTNER	**TWO PARTNERS**	**THREE PARTNERS**	**FOUR PARTNERS OR MORE**
All programmes and action lines, except the RML action line (see next row)	*1,964,883*	*70,000*	*717,071*	*2,733,340*
Action line for the promotion and safeguard of regional and minority languages.	*9,182,860*			
Total	***11,147,743***	***70,000***	***717,071***	***2,733,340***

*: Only projects in the A-list are taken into account.

Table 2.4: Comparison of funding in relation to the size of the project

	TOTAL AMOUNT SPENT ON PROJECT IN BUDGET RANGE OF:		
	UNDER €30,000	**€30,000 TO €100,000**	**OVER €100,000**
All programmes and action lines except the RML action line (see next row)	*960,541*	*1,362,253*	*3,162,500*
RML action line	*2,442,282*	*3,031,535*	*3,709,043*
Total	***3,402,823***	***4,393,788***	***6,871,543***

* Only projects in the A list are taken into account.

Table 2.5: Comparison of funding in relation to the importance of partners representing regional and minority languages

		PROJECTS WITH	
	RML PARTNERS ONLY (€)	MAJORITY OF RML PARTNERS (€)	MINORITY OF RML PARTNERS (€)
All programmes and action lines except the RML action line (see next row)	*2,756,304*	*1,647,740*	*1,081,250*
RML action line	*9,182,860*		
Total	***11,939,164***	***1,647,740***	***1,081,250***

2.6 Overview of types of intervention currently supported by EU programmes and actions

This overview in tabular form endeavours to give a summary of the various EU programmes and actions that could be used to promote RMLs and their associated cultures. The aim pursued here is to offer a way to identify rapidly which funding possibilities are offered, either by programme or action in operation, or by linguistic domain.

The programmes/actions are grouped in six broad domains; each is associated with a colour (the colour presentation being particularly suited to the electronic version of this report).

Youth, education and training	Media	Culture	Structural Development	Other

NAME OF PRO-GRAMME / ACTION	DOMAIN	THUMB-NAIL DESCRIPTION	RELEVANCE TO RML PROMOTION
Comenius http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/socrates/comenius/index.html	Education	Covers school partnerships, European education projects, and grants for initial teacher trainees, in-service training and the promotion of cooperation between teacher training institutions. In language related actions priority is given to *Less widely used and less taught languages.* These refer to the lesser used "Lingua languages" and should not be confused with RMLs	Various elements of Comenius could be of interest to schools and colleges in which RMLs are taught or indeed which use an RML as a medium of instruction. There are instances where Comenius was used by such institutions
Erasmus http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/erasmus.html	Education	Erasmus is focused on tertiary education and covers the mobility of students, teaching staff mobility and joint curriculum development	Erasmus is not language-specific and there is nothing to prevent colleges using an RML as a medium of instruction from participating. Likewise, it could be used by faculties in different universities engaged in teaching certain RMLs, e.g. Celtic Studies faculties
Lingua http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/languages/actions/lingua2.html	Education	Lingua encourages and supports linguistic diversity throughout the Union. It promotes access to lifelong language learning opportunities appropriate to each individual's needs.	Lingua covers the eleven official and working languages of the EU + Irish, Lëtzebuergesch, Icelandic and Norwegian. Since Socrates now covers the applicant states as well over half of Europe's RML communities are eligible for Lingua.
Arion http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/socrates/arion/	Education	Study Visits for management of higher education institutions, education specialists and decision makers	Those engaged in teaching or in teaching through RMLs are eligible to apply
Minerva http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/socrates/minerva/ind1a.html	Education	For open and distance universities, curriculum development and the exchange of information	The area of distance learning could be of vital importance to most regional and minority languages

Grundtvig http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/socrates/adult/home.html	Education	European networks between institutions of permanent education for adults. It aims at promoting the European dimension through the social and cultural education of adults	No language restrictions and certainly of potential interest to users of RMLs
Leonardo http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/leonardo.html	Vocational Training	For vocational training exchanges between educational institutions and also with the private sector. Language preparation is part of the programme, "less widely used and taught languages" are a priority	RMLs have been used as mediums of instruction on Leonardo-funded training courses. Probably of limited relevance
Youth for Europe http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/youth.html	Youth	Youth for Europe funds voluntary work, youth exchanges, youth initiatives and visits of youth workers Agencies have been established in each EU Member State	Hold considerable potential for young people interested in visiting other RML communities or for promoting cooperation between RML youth associations
Media Plus http://europa.eu.int/comm/avpolicy/media/index_en.html	Radio, TV, Cinema	Training of professionals, development of production projects and companies, distribution and promotion of cinematic works, subtitling and dubbing	Seemingly no linguistic constraints. Could be of considerable use to producers of TV programmes in RMLs
EContent http://www.cordis.lu/econtent/	Information Technology	A new programme, which among other things is intended to "enhance content production in a multilingual and multicultural environment"	Would seem to have considerable potential
Culture 2000 http://europa.eu.int/comm/culture/eac/c2000condition_en.html	Culture	Deals with all aspects of culture	Could be used to promote various aspects of cultural activity associated with an RML community.
European Social Fund http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/esf2000/index.htm	Human Resources	For developing labour market policy and human resources	It is recognised that the cultural sector can have an employment generating potential and is thus open to benefit from the fund
European Regional Development Fund http://europa.eu.int/scadplus/printversion/en/lvb/l60015.htm	Regional Development	This is one of the EU's structural funds and is intended for regional development in specified regions	It has no direct linguistic element but as many RML communities inhabit underdeveloped regions it could be of considerable importance in ensuring the social, economic and cultural viability of such communities.

Leader + http://europa.eu.int/comm/agriculture/rur/leaderplus/index_en.htm	Rural Development	For promoting community development and economic activity in rural areas	Has been used imaginatively by some communities to cover linguistic and cultural projects. Some Leader projects have been administered through the medium of an RML.
Interreg III http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/regional_policy/interreg3/index_en.htm	Regional Development	For promoting cross-border, transnational and inter-regional cooperation. Cultural projects are eligible.	Very interesting. Has been used effectively by RML activists to promote community development and cultural tourism
IST-HLT http://www.cordis.lu/ist/home.html	Research	Information Society Technologies & Human Language Technologies	Holds possibilities for research relating to RMLs
Peace Programme [Northern Ireland] http://europa.eu.int/comm/regional_policy/country/overmap/pdf_region/fp2mc_en.pdf	Peace & Reconciliation	For promoting peace and reconciliation in NI and the border counties of the Republic	A sub-programme to foster social inclusion of children and young people has been used for Irish language education and measures to promote cultural diversity

2.7 Summary of findings from the study of EU actions and programmes

As mentioned in section 2.4, the share to promote RMLs has been less than 1% of the total budget of most programmes. The exceptions are the Multilingual Information Society programme, EYL 2001 and, of course, the action line for the promotion and safeguard of regional and minority languages and cultures. As seen in Table 2.2, most of the RML projects have been funded under the action line for the Promotion and Safeguard of Regional and Minority Languages and Cultures. It clearly dominates, as underlined by the fact that the sum of projects financed through this budget line was almost ten times bigger than the sum of the projects financed under all other programmes and actions lines in 1997 and more than three times bigger in 1998.

The trend changed, however, in 1999-2000, when most projects found funding under other programmes, especially under the one-year action *European Year of Languages 2001*. One reason for this change was probably awareness of the impending disappearance of this action line among organisations and authorities promoting RMLs. Close to four million Euros was granted to RMLs under other programmes and action lines in 1999 and 2000 compared to less than a million in 1998. RML communities seem to be better informed about funding possibilities in programmes such as Socrates, Culture

2000 and Interreg or indirectly forced to it due to the disappearance of the special action line for the promotion and safeguard of RMLs.

The most common type of projects seems to be those with three or more partners, which reflects the fact that many of the EU programmes require at least three partners from three different member states. Typically, one-partner projects are book translations (under Ariane) and many of the Interreg sub-projects. Since the projects include a lot of partners they tend to be big and they receive the lion's share funding (see table 2.3 and 2.4) even if most projects sponsored have a turnover of less than 30,000 euro.

Most of the projects included in our A-list are exclusively made up of partners representing regional and minority languages. The sum allocated to these RML projects (€2,756,304, see table 2.5) is considerably bigger than the sum allocated to projects where RML partners form the majority of the partners taking part (€1,647,740) and projects with a minority of RML partners (€1,081,250). In most programmes half or more of the total project cost had to be secured from non-EU sources.

Chapter 2: Essential points for the policy-maker

- While it existed, the **action line** for the promotion and safeguard of minority- and regional languages and cultures proved to be the **most important channel of** EU support for the protection and promotion of RMLs. It is quite understandable that especially small and thus often particularly endangered RMLs have found the funding for smaller projects with only one or two partners to be most suitable. Clearly focused types of action therefore seem to be essential in the future as well, especially in supporting small and endangered RMLs.
- In recent years, the relative importance of other sources of funding to RMLs has been increasing. However, the total annual amount of funding allocated to RMLs has decreased. This finding reinforces the conclusions already presented in chapter 1, namely, that **clear criteria and principles** regarding support to RMLs should be included in the next generation of EU programmes. They should take into consideration the particular conditions affecting the possibilities for RML communities to access funding.
- There appears to be **good financing possibilities** for many RMLs through Interreg and Leader, since they exceed other programmes in budget size. These programmes would, however, have to more **clearly integrate the objective** to promote and protect RMLs and their related cultures.
- The requirement, in many programmes, to include partners from at least three member states has made participation **complicated for organisations and authorities** protecting and promoting RMLs. One reason is the lack of adequat resources which are required to bridge language barriers. Such barriers hinder the efficient search for partners in other countries. Because of this, smaller RMLs face difficulties in competing for EU funding on an equal footing with the state languages or the bigger RMLs. Structures backed by the EU (The European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, the Mercator Centres) can develop more efficient support to RMLs for this purpose.
- Programmes and actions promoting languages, such as **EYL 2001**, have proven useful for the promotion and protection of RMLs. This finding should encourage a follow-up action of EYL 2001. The existing programmes do not cover all the issues relevant to the long-run survival of RMLs. Thus, it should be recommended that the EU establish programmes and actions that expressly support the protection and promotion of its linguistic diversity.

3. POLICY EVALUATION OF LANGUAGE POLICY: PRINCIPLES AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Language Policy as Public Policy

THE NEED FOR A TARGETED ANALYTICAL TOOL

One of the core ideas of this report is that it is useful to look at intervention in the field of language, whether by national states, sub-units of national states, or supra-national bodies acting on a delegation of power from national states, as a form of *public policy*. This is the issue addressed in this chapter, which is devoted to developing the analytical framework of our report.

We take it as a general principle that public policies should be subjected to some kind of evaluation. This requirement concerns ex-ante evaluation (that is, assessing various options *beforehand* in order to make an informed choice between them) as well as ex-post evaluation (that is, looking at a particular intervention or set of interventions *after* they have been initiated, carried out, and possibly completed, to see how well they have performed).

Both forms of evaluation are necessary for two types of reasons. The first and most immediate one simply comes down to good housekeeping: authorities acting on behalf of citizens ought to know what they do and how they do it, if only to check if they could not perform more efficiently the duties with which citizens have entrusted them. The other, more profound justification for evaluation is that it is necessary for democratic debate. Factual knowledge about various forms of intervention (whether in the field of language, the environment, education, health, etc.) must not be a privilege of the administration in charge of selecting, designing and implementing such intervention. Democratic principles require that it also be available to elected politicians, the press and, of course, the public at large.

Ex-ante and ex-post evaluation are not identical. However, even if they differ in practice, their principles and methodology are by and large the same. For the rest of this discussion, we do not need to make a sharp distinction between the two. Keeping things simple, we might say that ex-ante evaluation is about “what is likely to happen” if a certain policy is actually put in place, whereas ex-post policy evaluation is about “what has happened” as a result of a

policy. Clearly, the former type of knowledge is largely built on the latter.

We have just introduced the expression *policy* evaluation, but for the analytical purposes of this report, there is no major difference between “policies” and “programmes”, to the extent that they both constitute deliberate forms of *intervention*. In what follows, we will therefore be referring almost equivalently to “policy”, “intervention”, “measure”, and “programme”.

The core principle guiding our work in this report, particularly in this chapter, which focuses on an analytical framework, can be summarised as follows: intervention in the field of language can be seen as a form of public policy, in which a certain set of goals regarding language are pursued using certain means. Policy analysis applied to language matters therefore requires an analysis of the relationship between the means and the objectives pursued—respectively, the results achieved in the sphere of language use, language competence, language vitality, etc.

This seemingly obvious implication has received surprisingly little attention in the sphere of research on language policies, and much of the existing work that presents itself as “evaluation” turns out to be quite different. What one usually finds is one of the following type of approaches:

- The legal/institutional approaches, in which legislation adopted by states or sub-units of states is discussed, essentially, in two different perspectives. One is that of the conformity of this legislation with some standards regarded as being of higher order, such as principles derived from a fundamental, theoretical analysis of human rights, minority rights, etc. Another perspective evaluates the appropriateness of the legislation (whether currently in force or under consideration) with respect to the goals pursued.
- The language politics approaches (which, in practice, are often based on sociolinguistic concepts). These tend to focus on the analysis of the action and motivations of different groups of actors with diverging interests and different positions of power.
- The educational/language didactics approaches, which often focus on educational policies (which are, in fact, only a part of language policy), and examine, often with remarkable depth, some processes of language transmission and acquisition.

These approaches are of course perfectly relevant and useful, as elements of an integrative perspective on “language-in-society”. However, most of the scholarly literature or expert reports do not

focus on the relationship between *ends* and *means* in language policy. Hence, they generally do not provide what that essential part of policy analysis, and certainly not an evaluation of cost-effectiveness.

CHARACTERISING LANGUAGE POLICY[26]

The aim of this report is to study Community action in favour of regional or minority languages, but "action in favour languages" will be addressed here using the more general notion of *language policy*. We use the following definition of language policy:

Language policy is a systematic, rational […] effort at the societal level to modify a linguistic environment with a view to increasing welfare. It is typically conducted by official bodies or their surrogates and aimed at part or all of the population living under their jurisdiction[27].

- Our reference to a systematic effort implies that certain resources are being devoted with the deliberate intention of achieving certain goals.
- The reference to rationality does not imply any *a priori* definition of what is rational or not. It simply means that, given the objectives pursued, whatever these may be, an attempt is made by the actors involved to use scarce resources sensibly.
- The object of all the interventions that we subsume under the term of "language policy" is, ultimately, to improve our "linguistic environment". This notion, used in other similar analyses[28], covers the various linguistic aspects of the reality in which we live. This includes demolinguistic aspects (the number of users of different languages and their distribution in society), geolinguistic aspects (their geographical distribution), sociolinguistic aspects (the patterns of language use[29]), legal/institutional ones (the respective legal status of the various languages in society), etc. In some way or other, all forms of intervention aim at modifying this environment. This is true of language policies that are explicitly defined as such, for example in Catalonia, the Basque Country, or Québec. We consider it to apply also to the various

[26] A distinction is made by some authors between "language policy" and "language planning". This distinction is not always conceptually stable; it is also not essential to this report. We therefore use either term, with a preference for "policy", because it establishes a direct link with other types of policies, such as education, health or environmental policy.
[27] From Grin, 2002a.
[28] E.g. Grin (2002a, 2002b).
[29] Neatly summed up by Joshua Fishman's well-known question: "Who speaks what language to whom and when?" (Fishman, 1965).

programmes supported by the European Commission in the sphere of languages.

- In this definition, the term "welfare" does not refer to social security payments. Its meaning here is simply that interventions will be assumed to be benevolent, that is, that they strive to make things "better" and to make people generally "better off", in terms for example of the opportunities that they have to use their language, to enjoy cultural products in it, etc.
- Reference to the State or its surrogates underscores the fact that intervention in the language sphere may include not only the action of national governments, but of sub-national units, of international or supra-national entities (enjoying a delegation of competencies from the states). Surrogates of the state may include NGOs, associations, or any institution (for example, a theatre or a university) with varying degrees of independence from the authorities. All these actors can be said to operate as surrogates of the state, to the extent that they use resources directly or indirectly provided by states to carry out projects that the state implicitly endorses.

Let us stress here the distinction between "politics" and "policy", to underline that the former is largely outside the scope of this report.[30] We are, of course, *not* assuming that conflicting interests do not exist, or that the entire language policy process takes place as some kind of univocal striving towards some abstract notion of public good. Quite the contrary, we are fully aware that conflicts of interest surround the debate over policies, the adoption of policies, and their implementation. However, all the attention paid to the *political* analysis of such processes and motivations tends to squeeze out the equally important question of effectiveness. It is precisely this type of gap that our study intends to fill, if only in part. In any event, it stands to reason that the quality of political debate can only be improved by better information; and information about the likely outcomes and probable costs of the policy options under consideration is essential to such debate. Consequently, our study shifts the focus from the question of "what should be done" to the question of "how this should be done".

THE POLICY-TO-OUTCOME PATH

Applying these principles to the sphere of language policy requires us to formulate a representation of the relationship between the policy measures (adopted *as a result of* the political process) and their *outcomes*. Such an angle on language policy is a recent

[30] This is also why our aim here is not to analyse, in sociological perspective, the incentives of the social actors involved, or the possibly ulterior motives pursued by some *vis-à-vis* minority language communities.

development. In this report, we have chosen to adapt, for our present purposes, a framework that was developed precisely in order to assess effectiveness and cost-effectiveness. This framework is encapsulated in a model, which we call the "policy-to-outcome path", also used in some earlier studies in language policy.[31] It can be represented as a flow chart (See fig. 3.1).

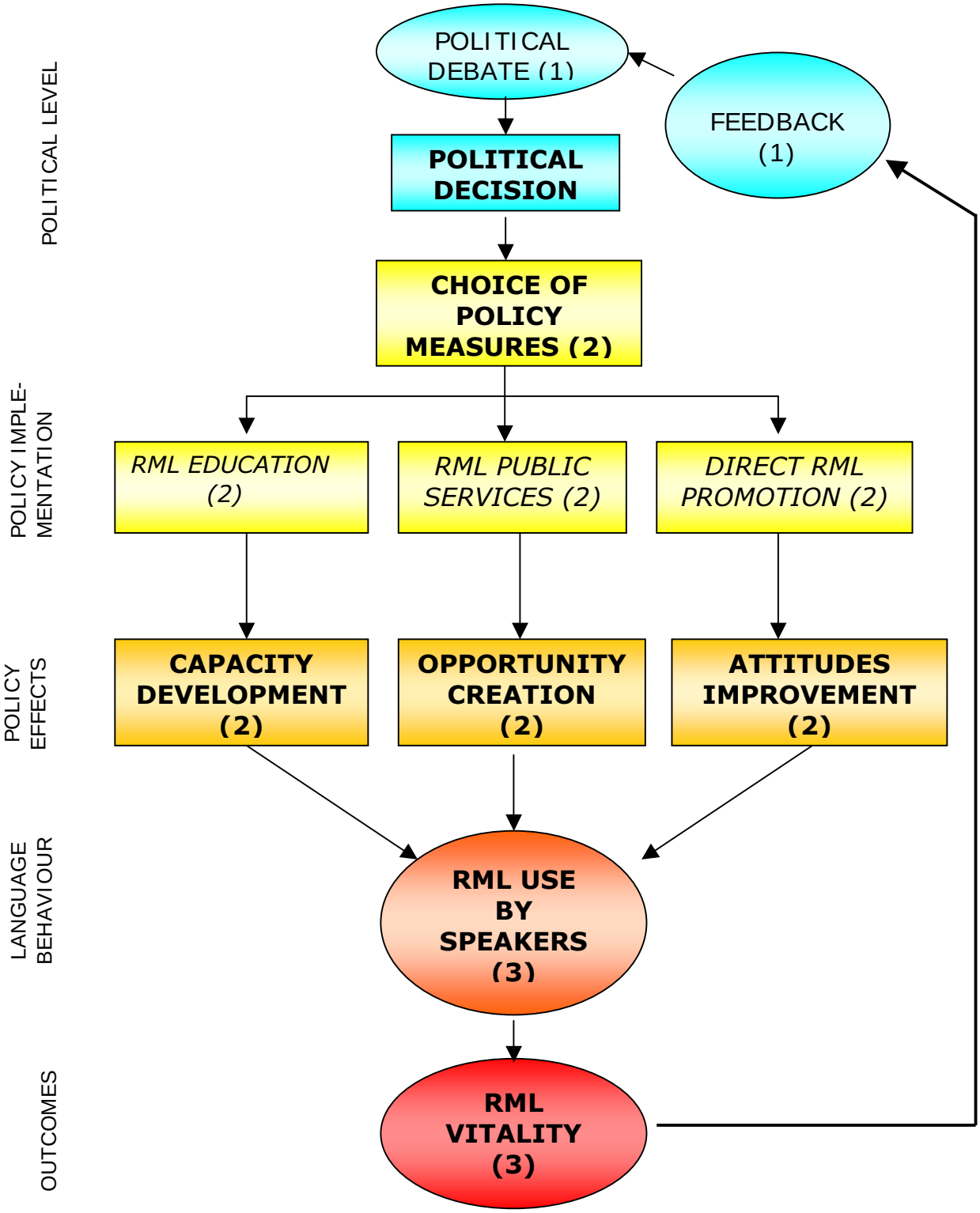
In accordance with the foregoing discussion, the role of policy analysis starts with the choice of policy measures—what happens upstream from will be taken as a given. More specifically, evaluation work takes as given that a decision has been made to support (weakly as it may be) the protection and promotion of regional or minority languages.

The policy-to-outcome path (or "P-TOP") is best understood by working "backwards" from the end of the causal chain, represented at the bottom of the flow chart.

The *end goal*, for reasons discussed in the preceding pages, is assumed to be some improvement in the situation of regional or minority languages. According to the model, this does not happen in a vacuum, but necessarily results from changes in people's behaviour—for example, from people increasing the frequency with which they use the regional or minority language, the increase in the range of "domains" (in the sociolinguistic sense) where they feel secure and legitimate in using the language, etc. This, in turn, requires us to have a representation of actors' language behaviour. It is not necessary here to discuss the technical structure of the underlying model (Grin and Vaillancourt, 1998), or to analyse in detail the relationships on which people's language behaviour is assumed, in this model, to depend.

[31] See Grin and Vaillancourt (1999) and Grin (2002b).

Figure 3.1: The policy-to-outcome path



Source : Grin, 2002b

Its core idea, however, can easily be summarised as follows: people will use the regional or minority language if three conditions are met. These three conditions are:

- they must have the *capacity* to use it—which means that they must have adequate competence in the language;
- they must have *opportunities* to use it—which means that there must be a supply of situations in which the language can be used;
- they must have the *desire* to use it—which means they must feel socially and psychologically empowered to do so.

These three conditions, which will be referred to as "capacity", "opportunity" and "desire" are central in the analysis. Each represents a *necessary*, but not a *sufficient*, condition for the regional or minority language to be used. Taken together, they constitute a set of *necessary and sufficient conditions* for this outcome to appear.

Continuing our progression back up along the flow chart, we can then ask ourselves the following question: what are the measures that are conducive to the creation of these conditions? What creates "capacity", "opportunity", and "desire"? Essentially, three types of interventions can achieve such developments:

- *education* measures such as teaching of or in the regional or minority language create or enhance *capacity*;
- the provision of *public services* (taken here in a very wide sense) through the medium of the regional or minority language, encouragement to the *private sector* to do the same, as well as support to *cultural activity* in the regional all minority language, all create or enhance *opportunity*;
- *direct language promotion* in various spheres, from administration to business and culture, re-legitimises it and strengthens people's *desire* to use the regional or minority language.

Of course, these three channels are not insulated from one another. Rather, there are numerous forms of mutual influence. For example, direct language promotion, to the extent that it helps restore people's sense of pride in their language, is likely to contribute to the effectiveness of the education effort; the provision of official services through the medium of a regional or minority language will

not only offer opportunities to use it, but also contribute to its "re-legitimisation" and hence to people's willingness to use it, etc.[32]

3.2 Literature and evidence

SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE

Calls for the evaluation of language policies along such lines have been issued over 30 years ago already (Rubin, 1971), but there have been only limited such developments in sociolinguistics, which can be arranged in four categories:

- general treatments of language policy (Cooper, 1989; Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997) with a "textbook" format or similar, or contributions on the operation of language policies and their anchoring in the respective sociolinguistic reality (e.g. Edwards, 1994; Fishman, 1991, 2001, etc.);
- essentially theoretical contributions on the political and cultural dimensions of language policy, investigating how context affects policies (e.g. Schiffman, 1996; Ricento, 2000, etc.);
- descriptive overviews of institutional arrangements in language policy, usually at the national or regional level (e.g. *Generalitat de Catalunya*, 1999; Deprez and du Plessis, 2000, etc.), exceptionally at the supra-national level (e.g. Labrie, 1993);
- contributions on the implementation of specific forms of language policy. While a few of these concern various types of language policy (see in particular the specialised publications of the Catalan *Direcció general de política lingüística*), a majority of them concern education, whether in a general treatment (e.g. Churchill 1986) or in the context of case studies.[33]

Of course, these categories are not sealed off from one another, and a growing number of edited volumes *combine* these genres (for

[32] Reality is complex, and this representation is necessarily a simplification. The charge of "reductionism" sometimes levelled against the type of model used here is often irrelevant, not only because some kind of "reduction" of the complexities of reality is necessary for *any* representation to be formulated, but also because some of the most ardent critics of allegedly "reductionist" approaches may turn out to be no less reductionist in their own work. One of the main virtues of explicit or even formal model-building is the fact that it requires us to identify and spell out the hypotheses made, thereby contributing to transparency and consistency. The explicit formulation of cause-and-effect links, as in the policy-to-outcome path, is useful in that it forces the analyst to perform a kind of internal consistency check, and to spell out the sequential process through which the adoption of a particular measure is logically connected to the emergence of an outcome. It is in this sequential process that issues of effectiveness, cost and cost-effectiveness arise.

[33] For an overview, see the Mercator education centre, www.mercator-education.org

example Nelde and Rindler Schjerve, 2001; Extra and Gorter 2001, Sikma and Gorter 1994).

Relatively few, however, are the contributions that focus in *general* analytical terms (as opposed to *case-specific* terms) on the cause-and-effect links that are central to our study. Therefore, it is useful here to single out one specific line of research associated with the name of the sociolinguist Joshua Fishman.

Fishman's well-known *Reversing Language Shift*, published in 1991, introduced the GIDS ("Graded intergenerational disruption scale"), in which the revitalisation of regional or minority languages (a process described as "reversing language shift") is organised around eight stages of "threatened-ness" that make up the *graded intergenerational disruption scale* (GIDS), which we shall simply refer to as " the scale" or "the GIDS". Reversing language shift can then be seen as a process whereby a minority or threatened language community moves up from stage 8 (extreme disruption) to stage 1, where a self-priming mechanism for the reproduction of the language community has been restored. The eight stages of the GIDS are characterised as follows:

- Stage 8, representing the lowest rung of the ladder, describes the situation of a language that only has vestigial speakers (and often no written standard).
- Stage 7 represents the case where speakers of the threatened language are socially integrated, but are mostly past child-bearing age, meaning that "they can no longer contribute to the number of {minority-language} users demographically" (1991: 90).
- In stage 6, there is reappearance of the intergenerational family functioning in the minority or threatened language. This is a strategically key stage, because, as Fishman puts it, "the lion's share of the world's intergenerationally continuous languages are at this very stage and they continue to survive and, in most cases, even to thrive, without going on to subsequent ('higher') stages" (1991: 92). Stage 6 is crucial to "home-family-neighbourhood-community" reinforcement, a cluster that Fishman considers to be the core of reverse language shift.
- Stage 5 includes minority language *literacy* in the home, school and community, but such literacy remains restricted to the confines of the community, that is, it enjoys virtually no official recognition and support. Reaching stage 5 allows a minority language to remain intergenerationally secure, provided, however, there is sufficient ethnocultural separation

from the dominant/majority culture and the pull it may represent.

- Stage 4 represents a major break, because it is the stage in reversing language shift where the minority language gains some official recognition and moves into mainstream formal education.
- In stage 3, use of the minority language is relegitimised in the "lower work sphere", thereby recovering one more domain.
- Stage 2 represents the case where the minority language is used in "lower governmental services" and the mass media, but "not in the higher spheres of either". It clearly represents an important step towards full recognition in formal domains.
- At stage 1, the minority language is used in higher education and in the higher reaches of government, media and professional life. It does not mean that reversal of language shift is complete and that language planning is no longer necessary; nevertheless, reaching stage 1 ensures that the reversal of language shift has by and large succeeded in recreating a natural, self-priming mechanism for the reproduction of the language community.

We can therefore say that intervention in favour of regional or minority languages pursues the goal of improving the position of a language along the scale. Fishman's GIDS draws attention to the importance of not putting the cart before the horse. For example, according to the GIDS, a complete reliance on schools as the agent of language revitalisation is an almost certain recipe for failure. Fishman regards the home-neighbourhood-community complex as the strategic core of successful language revitalisation. Starting out from that general principle, one would assume that programmes focusing on GIDS stages 5 or higher (that is, in its terminology, 5 through 1) will have negligible effectiveness, and *therefore* negligible cost-effectiveness, unless this "complex" is functional.[34]

Most importantly, the GIDS scale helps to clarify the overarching goal of all such interventions, if they are going to be meaningful at all: their function is to help restore a self-priming mechanism of language reproduction. Anything short of this would immediately (and logically) raise the question of why any efforts in favour of RMLs are undertaken at all.

[34] The scale was revisited in a set of case studies collated in Fishman (2001). Among the authors of this volume are two of the contributors to the present report. While each GIDS stage is embodied in a different sociolinguistic reality, these fresh case studies no not question the overall relevance of the GIDS as an analytical tool or as an instrument for language planning.

It is important to point out that this eight-point scale is fully compatible with the structure of the policy-to-outcome path. In fact, the two instruments combine very well. The crucial variables in the scale can all be interpreted as denoting the *capacity* to use a regional or minority language, the *opportunity* to do so, or the *desire* to do so. Hence, policy intervention on the variables identified in the scale amounts to an intervention on variables in the policy-to-outcome path, and lend itself to an examination of how attempts to influence these variables is likely to result in changes in patterns of language use. The combination of Fishman's GIDS with the "policy-to-outcome path" therefore emerges as a powerful analytical tool to evaluate the effectiveness of policy intervention, while at the same time remaining aware of its embeddedness in complex sociolinguistic processes.

EXPERIENCE IN COST-EFFECTIVENESS EVALUATION

To our knowledge, the first attempt at a fully-fledged treatment of cost-effectiveness evaluation of RML policies was published in the late 1990.[35] This study assesses the effects that various types of RML promotion have had in terms of one *common unit of measurement*, namely, the increase in the amount of time during which an RML is used, as a result of the particular measure being scrutinised. This measurement provides an indicator of the effect that some measure or other has had in terms of promoting a language. The increase in language use, measured in time units, is interpreted as a contribution to the restoration of a self-priming mechanism of language reproduction—which establishes a direct link with the sociolinguistic literature, and in particular Fishman's GIDS.

This type of information denotes the degree of "effectiveness" of a policy. Effectiveness information is then confronted with information about costs, itself derived from information about *expenditure*; as we shall see momentarily, these two terms cannot be treated as synonyms. Finally, the "effectiveness" indicator is divided by the "cost indicator"—since all policies are described using the same units of measurements (increase in minority language use in time units as an indicator of effect; monetary units, such as Euros, as an indicator of cost), very different types of measures in favour of RMLs can be compared. The comparison indicates "how much" RML use, measured in time units, is generated per Euro spent on different types of policies. The corresponding findings are reproduced in Table 3.1 below. They concern:

- the bilingualisation of road signs in Wales;

[35] Grin and Vaillancourt (1998), building on earlier research summed up in a report published in 1998.

- the establishment of Welsh-medium television;
- education planning in the Basque country and the development of its well-known "A", "B" and "D" streams, characterised by varying degrees of the use of Basque as a medium of instruction;
- a campaign among local businesses in favour of business signs in Irish in the City of Galway.

Table 3.1: Cost-effectiveness evaluation of RML policies

Policies ↓	COST OF MINORITY LANGUAGE USE RESULTING FROM THE POLICY	COST-EFFECTIVE-NESS	OVERALL EFFECT INDEX	OVERALL EVALUATION INDEX
	Expressed in €/HOUR	Expressed with index value *(the closer to 1 an index value, the more attractive the policy)*		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Welsh road signs	1.98	10	**8**	**9**
Welsh-medium television	0.5	4	**3**	**3.5**
Basque education planning	0.10	2	**2**	**2**
Irish business signs	0.02	1	**7**	**4**

***Source**: adapted from Grin and Vaillancourt (1999).*

The first two columns of the table (in €/hour, then re-expressed as a cost index) represent the plain cost-effectiveness information. It indicates that the programme of promotion of Irish through bilingual business signs in the city of Galway is highly cost-effective, because each time unit of (Irish) language use "created" by the policy is cheap—largely as a result of the fact that the sums invested in the programme are very modest. By contrast, the bilingualisation of road signs in Wales generates a relatively modest amount of actual language use, and given the estimated cost of the programme, it turns out to have relatively low cost-effectiveness.

Clearly, a cost-effectiveness indicator can only constitute *one* data in a broader range of information necessary to assess policy options. In particular, one may want to include in the evaluation some indication of the overall effect of a policy. For example, there is no doubt that an education policy has more far-reaching effects than the setting-up of a local radio station, even if the latter displays a more favourable cost-effectiveness indicator than the former. To allow consideration of these dimensions, an index of overall effect has been derived separately; it is based on each policy's estimated effects (not reported in table 3.1), on the linguistic competence of

speakers, on the number of speakers, on their attitudes towards the language, and on the absolute level of RML use. The index value of the overall effect provided in column (3) is the unweighted average of these underlying indicators. Combining this information with the cost-effectiveness index yields an overall evaluation index shown in column (4). It indicates that despite the high total cost of the policy under which it takes place, the cost per hour of language use ultimately "created", of RML teaching (Basque country) is modest; furthermore, the overall societal impact of the measure is likely to be significant; consequently, its cost-effectiveness index value is high, *and* its overall evaluation index value is also high.

These measurements, apart from being approximations (if only because they necessarily rest on a combination of approximations) are highly, perhaps overly synthetic. Their role, however, is to provide a macro-level comparative assessment of language policies. This can prove very relevant in specific political contexts. In other contexts, where there is an *a priori* consensus around the notion that each of different types of interventions in favour of RMLs is relevant, this generalised cost-effectiveness comparison is not necessary. The question that usually arises in practice is to choose relatively cost-effective measures or programmes *within* categories of interventions operating in a given domain, such as "the media", "education", "administration", etc., rather than *across* these domains.

In such cases, it is preferable to confine the investigation to the simpler and somewhat less abstract cost-effectiveness estimation exercise (that is, columns [1] and [2] of Table 3.1), and this is also the methodological choice made in this *Report*.

3.3 The meaning of effectiveness and cost-effectiveness in language policy

The "effectiveness" side of the evaluation exercise requires us to go through the following steps:

(1) What are the *goals* of a policy (or measure, or intervention, or programme)? What will characterise a policy as "successful"? The goal, as we shall see, needs to be more than a perfectly obvious or "circular" one.
(2) Once the goal (or goals) is (are) defined, the question is: "how is the goal to be measured? In what units?" Of course, the answer to this question is policy-specific, but in order to compare policies with each other, a common type of outcome *within each policy area* is required, allowing for a common unit of measurement.

(3) In each case, it is important to clarify the extent to which a particular policy measure is *logically* connected to a particular outcome. For example, it is likely that a policy measure such as "increasing the number of hours per year during which language X is taught to pupils as a compulsory subject in secondary I schools" (ISCED 2 level) is *logically* connected with a result such as "an increase in the level of competence in language X of the school population targeted". However, the link between the "increased occurrence or visibility of X-language advertising" and "increase in the average level of proficiency in X in the resident population" is probably much weaker. In short, the links considered need to be established in principle or in theory (referring to the policy-to-outcome path, which offers an integrative framework for such a purpose). The fact that a policy is likely to "make a difference" is not a sufficient test; it is important to ask, in each case, whether the outcome *would have been different* in the absence of any policy of the kind studied.

(4) Even if the presence of such a causal link can be confidently postulated, it is important to note that it is not the entire change in the value of "dependent variable" (for example, the degree of language proficiency in the target population) that can be credited to the policy measure, because: (i) part of the effect may be due to other changes in "independent variables", whether policy-defined or not, which may have occurred at the same time; (ii) part of the effect could have arisen anyway, possibly as part of a longer-term trend.

In this section, we shall take a closer look at these successive steps.

GOAL SPECIFICATION

Goal specification must be consistent with the policy-to-outcome path. Let us remember that the policy-to-outcome path is a very general instrument that can be applied to just about all cases, if only as a device to structure the analysis. The precise goal pursued, nevertheless, will be domain-specific. For example, it is likely that a promotional programme in the field of education will target the *competence level of speakers of an RML*, or perhaps the *number of RML speakers*, or the *percentage of RML speakers* in a given area. Similarly, it is likely that a promotional programme in the field of media will aim to increase the *percentage of entertainment time* that actual or potential RML speakers devote to RML-medium entertainment instead of majority-language entertainment. However, comparison between different interventions within each domain requires that within each, the result be defined in similar terms (for example, *average proficiency levels in the school population* in the former case—allowing for the comparison of different types of educational programmes; or *audience figures* in

the latter case—allowing for the comparison of the degree of success of different types of programme).

The goal selected must be meaningful in policy terms. In particular, it is important to beware of *circularity*. This may sound obvious, but experience suggests that this is not always the case. Suppose for example that a programme of support for translation of major literary works from various languages into minority languages is initiated. What should be an appropriate criterion of success? We may be tempted to quote the number of such translations published (with support from that programme), whether into Welsh, Friulian, Sorbian or Basque. This, however, would be of little interest: if the programme finances translations, one obviously expects the number of translations to go up. What matters is whether these translations are sold, bought, read, commented on, etc. Putting it differently, the proper evaluation of policies should be based on a *non-self-evident indicator*.

This presupposes the reconstruction of a set of cause-and-effect relationships connecting the measure "upstream" and the result "downstream". This set of relationships is encapsulated in the policy-to-outcome path, which in turn reflects a more extensive model of language behaviour (the policy-to-outcome path is, in a sense, only the tip of the iceberg). The policy measure can be defined as an *input* in the process; its direct effect (for example: "the production of translations into RMLs") can be defined as its *output*; but what really matters is its *outcome* further downstream (for example: "the actual increase in reading activity taking place through the RML"). Whereas the connection between input and output is a fairly self-evident one (which deserves little more than organisational attention to technical aspects), the connection between output and outcome is mediated by actors' behaviour. The policy-to-outcome path, in line with the underlying formal model just referred to, assumes that this connection operates through *capacity*, *opportunity* or *desire* (or possibly a combination of these). Hence, the analyst must check that there exists a sensible cause-and-effect linkage operating through at least one of these three conditions for RML use. As noted above, this is likely to be fairly easy if one considers the link between an increase in RML teaching and the average competence level of young speakers, but much more difficult when assessing less direct measures.

If policies are effective, this should be reflected in the value of relevant indicators. Providing such indicators makes up a significant part of the work carried out in this study, particularly in Chapter 4.

Intervention-specific effects

The fact that something changes in the direction desired, and that this appears to follow the implementation of a measure that would presumably encourage this, does not in itself constitute proof that the former is a *result* of the latter. More generally, we should beware of the common fallacy of "*post hoc, ergo propter hoc*", even when there are good logical reasons to assume that a link *does* exist.

First, the source of an observed change may be quite another that what has been assumed. Suppose that new teaching methods are introduced in the teaching of an RML, and that an increase in RML use among schoolchildren is observed. This increase may have nothing to do with whatever happens in the classroom, and might be the result of a completely different factor—for example, the recent airing, on television, of a series in RML popular with children or young teenagers. The more determining factor may be a non-observable just as well as an observable one.

Second, the increase in RML use among schoolchildren need not be the result of a specific change occurring in parallel (in this example, the airing of a television series in the language); it may have occurred as part of a long-term trend rather unaffected by the television series (or, for that matter, by the introduction of new pedagogical materials).

In the evaluation of language policy, lack of data makes it difficult to rely on the usual statistical procedures (such as multivariate analysis) to tease apart the effect of various variables on a certain outcome. Hence, instead of formal statistical demonstration that a given policy should be credited (or blamed) for an observed evolution of the language situation, we shall have to be content with a lesser scientific standard, namely, that of *plausibility*. Plausibility nevertheless requires us to explain clearly *why* we are accepting that a certain measure has exerted a certain influence on a certain outcome. In practice, we must ask ourselves (i) if other changes in explanatory variables (apart from those possibly brought on precisely by the measure being investigated) have taken place more or less in parallel, and if so, how such changes are likely to have affected the outcome; (ii) if some trend may also have been present, to which part of the outcome should be credited. It is therefore incumbent upon the researcher to establish the plausibility the cause-and-effect relationship that he or she postulates through a convincing reasoning.

Terminology: efficiency, effectiveness and cost-effectiveness

The terminology of evaluation is not stabilised, even if the analytical concepts are the same and fairly clear in scientific work.

Furthermore, many of the terms used in this field of investigation are also used with possibly different, and sometimes vague, meanings in informal speech. It is, in particular, necessary to agree on the meaning of "effective / effectiveness" on the one hand, and "efficient / efficiency" on the other hand; this is a prerequisite for a consistent definition of "cost-effectiveness". In this study, we have opted for one set of definitions, but it must be clear that alternative sets could have been used, as long as the set of definitions adopted guarantees internal consistency.

As a general starting point, let us say that what is "effective" is "something that works relatively well", or at least no worse than some other alternative we care to think about. However, such a notion of effectiveness, apart from being rather obvious, is of rather limited help: it is, of course, easier to reach a certain goal by investing considerably more resources into the endeavour. This is why we must move on to a *second* step and introduce the notion of *cost-effectiveness*.[36] Cost-effectiveness denotes a technical, almost material relation between the inputs and the outputs in a production process. A production process linking inputs (resources) to outputs (results) can be considered cost-effective if, *given a certain amount of resources, the results are as good as possible* or if, *given a certain goal, it is achieved at the lowest possible cost in resources*.

However, we should note that "cost-effectiveness" so defined is not yet a complete guide for policy action, because an infinity of solutions can be considered cost-effective. For example, we may accept modest results, as long as their cost is very low; alternatively, we may be ready to spend more resources, but demand high achievements in return. Both of these alternatives could very well meet our criterion of cost-effectiveness. This raises the question of how to choose one of these alternatives, or possibly one of the numerous other, intermediate solutions.

Economic theory does provide an analytical approach to identify the "best" (or "optimal") point among all the cost-effective points, and this "optimal" point is often called "efficiency". Unfortunately, "efficiency" in this formal sense can only be determined in a very theoretical way. In practice, "efficiency" is side-stepped by policy analysts and left over to the political process. This is in fact justified, because it *is* an eminently political question (rather than a technical one) to decide, among various cost-effective options, which one should be pursued. This is why "efficiency" is a term that hardly ever

[36] What we call "cost-effectiveness" is sometimes called "technical efficiency" or "economic efficiency" by other authors, or even—quite confusingly—as plain "effectiveness". Again, this is a matter of terminology; the underlying concepts are the same.

appears in this report, which instead focuses on “effectiveness” and “cost-effectiveness”. As to the evaluation of cost-effectiveness, it will tend, in practice, to be reduced to a narrower question, namely, whether a particular use of resources (and the corresponding combination of inputs) yields a higher or a lower result, in terms of final outcome, than some benchmark value.

3.4 Language policy costs

Cost-effectiveness evaluation requires the independent identification and estimation of costs, before costs can be divided by the outcome indicator in order to yield a cost-effectiveness indicator. “Cost” is not as simple a notion as it seems, and for a proper policy evaluation exercise, its meaning must be clarified.

First, cost must be differentiated from expenditure, even though expenditure information is the basis of cost estimation. Expenditure is an “accounting” concept (and hence crystallises as an accounting figure) which is related to the *inputs* in a process, whereas cost attaches to the *output*. Expenditure figures for various forms of intervention in language matters do exist, but a significant amount of processing is required in order to turn them into acceptable estimations of cost. For example, a broadcasting authority running three radio stations, two in the majority language alone, and one *partly* in the minority language, may publish figures on its total expenditure; only rarely will this expenditure be broken down in such a way as to make it possible to read directly off the statistics which part of expenditure is brought on *by* the RML-part of the operations of the third of these stations.

Even if this data issue is solved, the problem remains of relating this figure, associated with an input (the financial amounts disbursed to produce RML radio programmes) first with an actual *output* (the radio programmes themselves, possibly measured, for example, in minutes per week), and then with a more relevant *outcome*, such as the amount of RML radio listening.

Second, it is important to reason in terms of *marginal cost*. Marginal cost is that cost that arises over and above what would have been incurred anyway—that is, in the absence of a policy. For example, if a bilingual education stream is introduced in a region where previously only majority-language-medium education was available, cost should not include the total expenditure on those bilingual streams, because the children would have had to be schooled anyway, even if it were to take place strictly through the medium of the majority language. Only the additional expenditure entailed by the creation of the bilingual stream is relevant. Cost, therefore, can be defined *only* once the outcome has been identified. In practice,

the identification of marginal cost is often difficult; this distinction can also be omitted in some cases, where a totally new measure is being analysed. Consider for example the setting-up of a new radio station operating in an RML that until then enjoyed *no* RML programmes whatsoever. The entirety of listening time can be credited to this creation, and the total expenditure of the radio station can be treated as cost.

This point is important enough to deserve illustration with an example (see Box 3.1).

Box 3.1

In 1997, approximately 180,000 pupils were schooled in Euskadi (the three provinces of the Autonomous Basque Region) through the "B" or "D" models—that is, partly or wholly through the medium of Basque. The cost of bilingual education should not include the total cost of schooling these children, because they would have had to be schooled anyway, even if education were provided entirely through the medium of Castilian.

The real cost of the policy is only whatever is spent over and above this normal educational cost *in order to* sustain the bilingual education system.

In the case of Euskadi, the figures for 1997 are as follows, converted ex-post into millions of Euros (€):

Training for Basque–medium teachers	€20.95m
Production of Basque teaching materials	€0.95m
Institutional overhead	€1.16m
TOTAL	**€23.06m**

Source: Grin, 2001b

Further issues should, in theory, be taken into account in estimations of cost, but can only be factored in actual estimations in rare cases. These issues can be summarised as follows:

(1) the real cost of using a certain resource for a certain purpose is known as the *opportunity cost*. It is not, ultimately, a monetary figure, but the value of the best alternative use of the same resource;
(2) *negative benefits* should be computed as elements of cost — for example, the losses incurred by some competitors as a result of the setting-up of an RML radio station ought to be included;
(3) some of the costs (as well as some of the benefits) are of a non-material and non-financial nature; they are usually referred to as *non-market costs*. This may include the psychological distress undergone, *for example*, by those who feel disenfranchised by the setting-up of policy (whether because this policy does not go far enough, or leaves them

aside, or on the contrary because this policy has been set up at all). Although they can often not be actually estimated, the existence of non-market costs ought to be mentioned as possibly altering the final ledger;

(4) a full identification of cost ought to make a distinction between total, average and marginal cost. For example, the cost of the "third" minority language primary school is likely to be different from the cost of the "second" and "fourth" such schools. In other words, the fact that the cost has been computed before does not mean that it continues to hold, even if the two schools considered are exactly the same and if all price levels are unchanged. This effect arises because of the cumulative character of many forms of policy intervention, and may be particularly important for major types of intervention (typically, in the educational sphere).

Only in exceptional cases is there a perfectly clear and practical way to solve these various questions. In practice, it is acceptable to stick to simple, arguably crude estimations, because many policy decisions mainly require a rule of thumb, rather than perfect knowledge, in order to guide choices. Imperfect as they may be, such estimations are better than no estimation at all, or than the purely arbitrary or imaginary figures sometimes propagated by (often ill-informed) commentators.[37] What matters, however, is that the way in which estimations have been arrived at be transparently explained. It is then possible for the reader to challenge the assumptions used in order to derive such estimations—or better still, to propose superior alternatives.

Other problems of cost measurement arise once they need to be not just assessed as such, but compared with one another. Comparisons may be made over time and over space. Policy analysis typically relies on the principle of comparison. The main reasons for this is that it is impossible to state that *in the absolute*, a particular form of intervention, or measure, is "effective", "low-cost", or, combining both types of measurement, "cost-effective". To venture such a judgement, we would need to know what is the most effective and least costly intervention conceivable, and assess whether one particular, real-world intervention does display similar qualities. However, no one knows what the most effective and least costly measure would be. What we can observe are, at best, measures that may approach such an ideal. Hence, we cannot compare any

[37] A very good example is that of the costs of language policies, including the cost of minority language protection. Open editorial columns of newspapers and magazines, as well as parliamentary interventions are repositories of pronouncements invoking the "enormous cost" of such policies—usually with no information whatsoever.

existing measure with some absolute cost-effectiveness, but only with another existing measure, or some notion of what we would consider an appropriate level of effectiveness, cost, or cost-effectiveness.

3.5 Cost-effectiveness indicators

After indicators of effectiveness (taking the form of indicators of outcomes) on the one hand and indicators of cost on the other hand, have been estimated, applying the method described in the preceding sections, the development of cost-effectiveness indicators is an extremely simple additional step. The main difficulties, however, will be in the use and interpretation of the resulting figures.

Cost-effectiveness indicators can equivalently be computed in two different ways, but the most direct is usually to divide the cost indicator by the effectiveness indicator (C/E).

The *lower* the C/E ratio, the more cost-effective the measure. This is a natural way to combine these figures, which yields a cost-effectiveness ratio indicating how much is spent to achieve a given "unit of outcome". Using the example of Basque-medium education streams from the box insert, and given that over the same period, 180,000 were schooled wholly or partly through the medium of Basque, we can easily compute the following ratio:

> €23m / 180,000 pupils = **€127.8** per pupil schooled bilingually and per year.

We may, however, consider that the mere schooling of 180,000 pupils is not an appropriate effectiveness indicator, because it does not go far enough along the policy-to-outcome path. As an indicator, it is certainly not circular, to the extent that parents are still free to choose the so-called "A model", in which children are not schooled through Basque (whether partly or wholly), and have Basque as a school subject, while the rest of their instruction is provided through the medium of Castilian. However, a perhaps more relevant indicator of effectiveness (and one which is much closer to the desired *outcome* and to the ultimate goal, namely, the restoration of a "self-priming mechanism of language reproduction") is the number of pupils who *become* competent bilinguals thanks to the possibility of receiving bilingual education in the B or D models. Therefore, we may venture an estimate of this latter figure. Grin and Vaillancourt (2001) set it conservatively at 90,000. The ratio would then become:

€23m / 90,000 pupils = **€255.6** per "pupil who will become bilingual" and per year.[38]

These simple ratios can help to shed light on a variety of questions. Suppose for example that one wishes to estimate the cost of the jobs created by RML television. In the case of the Welsh television S4C (which broadcasts through the medium of Welsh, although not exclusively), an estimated 3,000 jobs have been created in and around small independent companies producing Welsh-language programmes, in addition to the 140 jobs at the station itself. However, the beneficiaries of these jobs, instead of seeking employment elsewhere, stay in or near Wales, generating demand for various goods and services, from housing to food, sporting goods and health services, thereby contributing to the creation of jobs in those sectors. This is known as the "multiplier" affect. Assuming (conservatively) a multiplier just below 2, we can estimate at 6,000 the total number of jobs created by S4C. The channel generates part of its total income through advertising sales and merchandising, but it would not exist without a subsidy. The subsidy to the channel (a 3.2% share of the Net Advertising Revenue of all terrestrial television in the UK) amounted, in 1996, to £68.059m. The Euro did not exist at the time, but applying an exchange rate between the British Pound and the Euro of 1.61 (early December 2001), this yields a subsidy of €108.894m.

€108.894m / 6,000 jobs = **€18,149** in direct subsidy per job created.

There is no way to decide whether this is "expensive" or "cheap"—furthermore, this is hardly a question that an analyst can handle. As we shall see momentarily, this is, in the final analysis, a political question. What one may do, however, is to compare this figure to other estimates of job creation as a result of subsidisation (say, support to an ailing industrial sector). Should the two cost figures be roughly similar, one would then have to decide if a similar subsidisation is better spent on one or the other type of activity. The fact that achieving a particular result "costs" a certain amount, or that each thousand Euros spent "buys" a certain result makes no sense in itself; it only does once this figure is confronted with what society considers as acceptable or not, or once such figures are computed for different interventions, which can then be compared with one another in order to prioritise, all other things being equal, those that seem to present a higher cost-effectiveness.

[38] This type of downward correction may also be used to remove that part of a change in the dependent variable that ought to be credited *not* to the policy measure being considered, but to other intervening factors or to some independent, long-term trend.

Such comparisons are fairly straightforward when relatively similar forms of intervention are being compared (for example, two different ways to subsidise minority language literature). However, the further apart the forms of intervention, the more prudent the application of comparisons based on cost-effectiveness will need to be. Cost-effectiveness indicators need to be weighted with information encapsulating other dimensions of policy, such as its absolute scope. The reason for this is related to what is simultaneously the strength and the weakness of cost-effectiveness indicators: the use of ratios eliminates differences in scope and scale. Yet as shown above, the fact that two types of intervention have a near-identical cost-effectiveness level does not mean that they *are* identical or interchangeable—one may have a low cost and produce little effect; the other may produce major effects, but at a high cost; both may then end up having very similar *C/E* ratios.

3.6 Cost-effectiveness and policy choice

Cost-effectiveness analysis applied to language policies can prove uniquely useful in a broad approach to policy choices, but it is not a tool that can dictate choices or replace policy debate. Let us in particular recall the following points.

- First, the measurement of policy effectiveness remains a new development in language policy, where there is still progress to be made. Although there is a growing literature on various aspects of intervention on language, only a small part of it is directly applicable to policy evaluation. A closer examination of the actual operations of language policy (informing us in particular on the causal processes involved) is necessary in order to make reliable pronouncements about the *ex ante* and *ex post* effects of intervention.
- Second, full-fledged evaluation work is constrained by a genuine lack of hard data. Much of the information available is qualitative or circumstantial. Hence, estimations need to make the most of a limited range of data, and proceed on the strength of informed assumptions and credible inferences. This is certainly a limitation—but to some extent, it must also be seen as a strength, because it forces analysts to spell out clearly the assumptions made in order to derive, for example, a certain unit cost estimate from the available data.
- Third, even estimates of the highest quality would be nothing more than elaborate indicators. They do not, by themselves, constitute a decision rule; they do not dictate choices; and they do not replace democratic debate over policy choices. The role of cost-effectiveness evaluation is strictly instrumental.

- Fourth, the *a priori* relevance of cost-effectiveness analysis does not imply that a programme, action, project, or any form of intervention is intrinsically superior just *because* it lends itself to the formulation of projections regarding cost, effectiveness, and cost-effectiveness. Some forms of protection and promotion can only in part be captured by this type of measurement (and the part so described may not be the essential one). This limitation must be borne in mind when evaluating projects competing for financial support.

Despite these limitations, the type of exercise carried out here can be very useful. Let us first recall that as soon as some comparative and integrative perspective on language policy is required, there is no alternative to the type of analysis that we have attempted to provide here. Nothing replaces quantitative estimates—short of giving them up entirely. Imperfect as it is, this information remains, in our opinion, better than no information at all. This point is by no means minor, in an area where, regrettably, unsubstantiated pronouncements about effects and efforts, benefits and costs, are common currency. Our focus of the causal links between a policy intervention upstream, and its final outcome in terms of linguistic reality downstream, does not, far from it, imply a departure from the actual, flesh-and-blood processes of language policy. Quite the opposite, this analytical strategy represents an effort to understand them better, because it helps to identify the conditions under which desired outcomes can be expected, or actually obtain.

Chapter 3: Essential points for the policy-maker

- In order to design effective policies for the protection and promotion of regional or minority languages, it is necessary to start out from an appropriate **analytical framework**. The type of framework necessary must focus on the relationship between policy intervention and the results of the policy. The framework developed for this report establishes such a link; it is also designed to incorporate the standard variables used in sociolinguistic research.
- Our framework is not based on the concept of "rights", but on policy analysis, which focuses on the effectiveness, the cost and the cost-effectiveness of policies. The core of the framework is a model of language behaviour. Language vitality is seen as requiring three conditions: the **capacity** to use the language; **opportunities** to use it; and the **desire** to do so. Therefore, policies should aim at contributing to the joint presence of these necessary conditions.
- A policy may be considered **effective** if it has a noticeable impact on the end result (outcome) aimed at, namely, a genuine improvement in the position of an RML. This should be reflected in the frequency of its use in a large number of "domains" such as education, the media, administration, etc. Generally, this improvement should, in the long-term, result in the recreation of a self-priming mechanism of language reproduction.
- The relevant **cost** of a policy is the amount spent in order to achieve the result measured, minus the amount that would have been spent anyway, in the absence of any policy intervention. Available data indicate that the cost of minority language protection and promotion is much less than is commonly believed.
- **Cost-effectiveness estimates** can be computed by dividing an indicator of outcome by cost figures. It is not possible to assess cost-effectiveness in the absolute; however, cost-effectiveness estimates for existing policies can serve to clarify what resources have been used, as well as help to gauge the cost-effectiveness of new measures under consideration.
- Cost-effectiveness analysis applied to language policies can prove uniquely useful in a broad approach to policy choices, but it cannot dictate choices or replace policy debate.

4. SUPPORT TO RMLs: AN EVALUATION OF 17 SELECTED CASES

4.1 Preliminary remarks

This chapter describes and analyses 17 interventions in favour of RMLs. They are examined in the perspective of the "policy-to-outcome path" of the preceding chapter. Therefore, these interventions are not discussed in legal, political, or social terms; for example, we do not study the motivations and interests of actors. Though interesting in their own right, such questions would be the substance of quite another type of research.

The range of RML protection and promotion has been broken down into a limited number of classical *domains* (see Chap. 1 for a definition). Domains can be characterised in different ways, but for the sake of practicality, we refer, as a point of departure, to the relatively broad domains corresponding to the successive chapters of the *European Charter for regional or minority languages*. The domains addressed here are:

- education;
- the media;
- culture;
- administration and economic and social affairs (which we treat jointly, but which are separate in the Charter[39])
- transfrontier cooperation.

Within each domain, we have selected specific *interventions*, because this is the level at which effects on the one hand, and cost (and funding decisions) on the other hand can be identified, rather than at the very general level of domains.

Another issue to be addressed was whether we should focus exclusively on interventions supported by the Commission or cast the net wider. We have opted for the latter option, for reasons already explained in Chapter 1. Our selection of cases for empirical estimation also aims at a broad geographical spread, so that RMLs from various parts of Europe (mostly within the EU, but occasionally in border regions between the EU and candidate countries) are represented.

[39] Note also that Article 9 of the Charter is devoted to the administration of justice.

We therefore end up with five sets of assessments, spanning not only the five broad domains listed above, but also activities involving RML communities from Austria, Finland, France, Denmark, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and Slovenia.

Table 4.1 gives an overview of the empirical work carried out in this study:

Table 4.1: Structure of the empirical work

Domain of the set of case studies	Section	Case studies
EDUCATION	4.2	- Euroskol*: meetings of children from RML schools - Fabula*: software for computed-assisted learning - Naíonraí (Irish-pre-primary education)
PRINTED AND AUDIO-VISUAL MEDIA	4.3	- Yle: Finnish channel broadcasting in Swedish - Raidió na Gaeltachta: Irish-medium radio - Radio Agora*: Slovene-German radio service
CULTURE	4.4	- Voicing Europe*: multilingual theatre production - Offspring*: multi-RML theatre production - COM.E.d'IA*: exchange between bodies in charge of cultural promotion - European marathon for theatre creation*
ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE	4.5	- Facilitating the use of Welsh in the Welsh National Assembly - German-Italian language dictionary for South Tyrol* - Mentrau Iaith: Welsh language initiatives - Glór na nGAel: Irish language use in the community
TRANS-FRONTIER COOPERATION	4.6	- Extension of Basque television reception in the French Basque country - Slovenian television cooperation - Northern Ireland involvement in the Columba Initiative*

**: funded or co-funded by the Commission*

Each case study opens up with a descriptive account of the type of measure being analysed, focusing on the reasons why a certain type of intervention can be expected to be more or less fruitful, in the context of a broader theoretical perspective on language policy. For example, why can we expect support to RML media to do any good? In terms of the policy perspective outlined in the policy-to-outcome path, media could be characterised as follows: they primarily offer *opportunities* to use the language (and hence contribute to the presence of one of the three necessary conditions for language revitalisation). In addition, the presence of a minority language in the media is likely to contribute to a sense of pride in the language among actual or potential users of it. If their language is used in the media, it can be seen as a legitimate vehicle not only for expressions of tradition (often obliterated by modern life) but, precisely, for

news, sports, etc. As such, minority language media contribute to people's willingness, or *desire* to use their language—which is another of the three necessary conditions identified in the policy-to-outcome path. Finally, the use of a minority language in the media may contribute (possibly through the dissemination of neologisms or quite simply through increased exposure of listeners) to people's linguistic competence. This enhances their *capacity* to use the language; let us recall that capacity is another of the three necessary conditions for language use and revitalisation, according to the analytical model underpinning the P-TOP.[40]

The individual case studies then move on to the operations of the interventions themselves: what actually happens under a given programme or policy? Who are the actors involved? Each case includes a discussion of costs and effects, within limits set by the availability of hard data. Where such data are not available (in fact, the most common situation), we discuss the evidence through inductive arguments (13 cases). Wherever possible, however, we propose a detailed cost-effectiveness evaluation (4 cases).

4.2 Education[41]

DOMAIN RELEVANCE

In language policy terms, the domain of education is of paramount importance. Education is a basic human right. Without entering into the classical debate, within the education sciences and beyond, of what the ultimate missions of an education system are, let us agree, for the purposes of this report, that education serves a number of social functions: it transmits knowledge, imparts a variety of key competencies (ranging from cognitive skills to self-discipline), transmits and reproduces culture, contributes to assigning actors a place in the social, economic and political structure, and selects talent. The function of knowledge transmission may be considered central, it being understood that schools increasingly endeavour not just to transmit knowledge ("skills"), but to foster the building of

[40] An extensive empirical one-country study on the proportional use of media within a language minority is reported in Moring and Nordqvist (2002).

[41] Information from the following websites has been used in the research for this section (4.3) : Euroschool in Ladin Valleys: www.euroscola.org [30-01-2002] ; The Fabula website: www.fabula.eu.org [30-01-2002]; more technical information can be found on: http://fabula.mozdev.org/ [30/01/2002]; information on the naíonraí can be found on the Údarás website: www.udaras.ie [30-01-2002]; Regional dossiers can also be downloaded from www.mercator-education.org [02-02-02]; The monograph by Grin and Vaillancourt (1999) is available from www.ecmi.de [02-02-02].

competencies[42], which contribute to the implementation of knowledge-based skills towards achieving certain goals.

In the European context, European institutions emphasise the interests of schooling and education in the shaping of Europe. The importance of education reaches well beyond the traditional core educational goals. Through our participation in the daily rituals of schooling, we learn about such things as competition, success, failure, gender roles, cultural understandings, and our place in society. For the purposes of this report, however, what matters is that education can contribute to an increase in the level of linguistic competence in RMLs, and to the production of new speakers of a language. As shown in the policy-to-outcome path, education lies at the root of one of the three conditions for language use, namely, "capacity". As such, it constitutes a necessary, but not a sufficient condition in a process of language revitalisation.

The development of language skills (whether as a first, second or third language) is a key objective of most education systems in Europe. However, language plays a special role as the medium through which other subjects are taught. As the education system is generally controlled, or at least supervised, by the state, it is the language or languages recognised by the state for such purposes that are taught and used as the medium of instruction. Most RML communities have experienced, in particular during the 19th and early 20th centuries, that general compulsory education can be a strong social force to the detriment of their language, particularly when all the teaching takes place through the majority (state) language.

Education is the domain in which efforts to preserve and promote minority languages most often begin, because of the importance of education in the development of "capacity". However, for schools to have a notable impact, adequate forms of bilingual education or teaching through the minority language are needed. At the same time, the introduction of RMLs as a subject or as a medium of instruction can benefit from accompanying measures aiming at attitudes improvement or awareness-raising. As such, in addition to its core "capacity" dimension, it may have a strong "desire" component.

In most parts of Europe, states have granted some rights and some recognition to RMLs. Nevertheless, the teaching of or through the majority or dominant language also is a general rule. Hence, we often observe a *de facto* imbalance, because all students learn the

[42] Variously referred to as "key competencies", "cross-curricular competencies", etc.

dominant language at least as well as the minority language, while the reverse is not always true.

The field of education is very broad, and a number of interesting developments have taken place in minority language education during the past decades. The cases chosen (two of which include more than one language community) are:

- **Euroschool**, a European Union-wide biennial event in which children from 10 to 15 linguistic communities come together in one minority language region for a week of exchange, play activities, etc.;
- **Fabula,** a project devoted to the development and use of software for computer-assisted learning, which during its development stages involved five different RML communities;
- the ***Naíonraí***, establishments offering Irish pre-primary education.

EUROSCHOOL

Euroschool is a project that can be named in the languages of the many communities that have been involved in it. Since the first "*Euroskol*" in Brittany in 1988, some 12 language communities have participated in successive editions of this biennial event. The most recent (and seventh) "*Euroscola*" took place in May 2001 in the Ladin valleys (Italy). Schoolchildren from the following language communities participated: Croatian (Austria), Frisian (The Netherlands), Sorb (German), Sámi (Sweden), German (Denmark), Breton (France), Slovene (Italy), Basque (Spain), Gaelic, Welsh and Irish (UK). Most of the participating communities speak "unique" minority languages, but some speak languages used as majority languages in neighbouring countries EU countries (like German, in the case of the German-speaking minority in Denmark).

The target group of a Euroschool event is made up of approximately 500 children about 12 to 13 years old enrolled at a primary school in which an RML is used.

The objective is to give the children the opportunity to meet children of other minority language communities in a cultural and sportive exchange, in order to create cross-cultural bonds of solidarity. The ultimate goals are to encourage children's own sense of identity and to nurture respect for their own and other languages. From a language planning standpoint, raising language awareness can therefore be seen as a key outcome of the experience.

The first Euroskol event was held in Brittany in 1988. It was organised as a grassroots initiative by DIWAN, the private

organisation that has, for over 20 years, been at the forefront of Breton-medium education. Later on, an organising committee was established with five persons from communities who had hosted previous editions of the Euroschool event. Euroschool has taken place in the following years and locations: 1988 Euroskol Brittany (France), 1991 Ewrosgol Wales (UK), 1993 Euroskoalle Friesland (The Netherlands), 1995 Evroscola Slovene community (Italy), 1997 Euroschule German community (Denmark), 1999 Iurosgoil Scotland (UK), and 2001 Euroscola Ladin valleys (Italy). Each time the project has received funding from the budget line for minority languages. Euroschool is being promoted by the EBLUL in Brussels, but there is no project officer at EBLUL with explicit coordination tasks for Euroschool.

Within the host language community, the Euroschool event is usually organised by one institution (Frisian: GCO-Fryslân, Scots Gaelic: Comunn na Gaidhlig; Breton: DIWAN schools; Ladin: a committee comprising major Ladin institutions), but in some cases, it is largely organised by individual volunteers, for example a teacher or group of teachers.

In theory, all the language communities in the EU are invited to each Euroschool, but not all of them are willing and able to bear the time and money costs entailed. Moreover, the number of communities who can attend depends on the facilities available in the hosting communities.

Schools have a central role in the preparation of the event and during the Euroschool event itself. Criteria for the selection of participating schools include active involvement in the vitality of the RML and associated culture; motivation for the event; an enrolment of children who are competent speakers of the language (meaning that are able to read and write the language); and an ability to bear part of the travel costs. In addition, the schools taking part in any given edition of Euroschool must constitute an adequate geographical spread across Europe.

Some organisers report a modest effect on the language use of the schools, although no formal measurements are available; and an interesting offshoot of Euroschool is that it seems to have encouraged several schools to set up a regular exchange programme with schools in other language communities after the Euroschool event. The main outcome of participation in the Euroschool programme, however, is an improvement in attitudes towards minority languages (including one's own) and heightened language awareness. Unsurprisingly, this impact (whether described at the level of schools, children, or their parents) is strongest in the host

community. This increase in language awareness can be very important as factor encouraging a more positive language attitude and a motivation to improve one's language skills and increase the frequency of use of a minority language. Further outcomes, such as an increase in the language awareness of teachers or parents, are left outside the discussion.

The target group of the Euroschool programme consists of children who generally already have a positive language attitude; this implies that success registered is not necessarily generalisable to any of the children to whom the scheme could be proposed. However, it would not be relevant to talk of a selection or self-selection bias, because the programme is designed for high-motivation individuals. The organising committee of Euroschool considers the effect on schools and children to be stronger with this target group—as compared with children with a lesser degree of personal association with the language. One key objective of Euroschool is to involve as many schools as possible in a linguistic community, although this does not always happen. In a few cases, only one school has been involved, but with different children each time.

The increased language awareness reported as a result of participation in a Euroschool event means that participating children do not only become more aware of their own linguistic background and identity, but also of the existence of other minority languages in Europe. As a result, children take more pride in their own linguistic profile and become more confident in using their minority language. Organisers also report that some former *Euroschool* participants have become active in language promoting activities years after, as adolescents or young adults. Although there has been no systematic testing of differential behaviour, among children who have been schooled in RML-medium schools, between those who have and those who have not taken part in a Euroschool event, the presence of a correlation would suggest that Euroschool has long-term effects. This is a crucially important feature in the case of minority language promotion.[43] Unfortunately, no hard data are available to check if participation in Euroschool does increase children's language awareness and social self-confidence in using their language or whether former participants in a Euroschool event become more proficient in their language, or actually use it more; circumstantial

[43] The effect on the patterns of language use by the children (whether quality or frequency) has, to our knowledge, never been measured, and no hard data are available. Circumstantial evidence, however, suggests that the effect, if any, is positive.

evidence based on teachers' reported perceptions, however, suggests that the effect is a positive one.[44]

The costs to the hosting language community over the last three *Euroschool* editions are the following (Table 4.2):

Table 4.2: Euroschool costs for host communities, 1997-2001

Hosting language community	year	amount (€)
German (DK)	1997	137,000
Gaelic (UK)	1999	130,000
Ladin (I)	2001	180,000*

** of which €70,000 from the European Commission*

In order to cover their expenses, the hosting communities have applied for financial support to the EU and to local governments. However, a large proportion of total expenditure is raised by the organisers from the communities themselves through private sponsorship. Not included in the amounts above are the costs incurred by the participating schools from each community themselves, which are estimated at €10,000 per community.

About 500 children participate in every Euroschool event (200 from the organising community and 300 from the other communities). Let us take the most recent event, which took place in 2001 in the Ladin-speaking Dolomite region of north-eastern Italy. Using the corresponding figures, this would imply an average cost of €360 per child for the hosting community, inclusive of costs for teachers, assistants etc. Let us assume an average of €10,000 per language community to participate, and an average of 12 visiting communities taking 25 children each. This amounts to an additional expenditure of 12 x €10,000 = €120,000. The total costs for all participating child would then be (€180,000 + €120,000)÷500= €600 per child.[45]

In return, participants (most of whom can be expected to have a relatively high *degree* of language awareness to begin with) gain a

[44] It is important not to confuse two things: the degree of awareness, and the improvement in the degree of awareness. Effectiveness is expressed in terms of the latter. Hence, if all participants have a high degree of awareness after but also had a high degree of awareness before the programme, the effectiveness of the programme would be considered low, because it has not brought about any apparent change. Only under the assumption that in the absence of the programme, awareness would have *decreased*, can a stable degree of awareness be considered a success—and therefore, the programme be considered effective.

[45] This estimate is supported by the calculated actual average of the costs to three participating communities in the last two Euroschool events (Scottish delegation, €16,390 [2001]; Frisian delegation, €11,344 [1999 and 2001]; German-Danish delegation, €9,826 [1999] and €5,787 [2001], which gives an unweighted average of €10.836,75.

increase in language awareness, as well as an improvement of attitudes towards RMLs with a potentially lasting effect.[46] Since only 60% of this amount is covered by the Euroschool subsidy from EU sources, the cost to the EU is €360 per participating child. As a one-off expenditure, this figure can be considered a modest one. Given the apparently long-lasting influence of participation in Euroschool events, this amount could be amortised over many years; this would result in an even lower cost.

Although it is not possible to call the Euroschool project cost-effective in any formal sense, it can be said to have a genuine effect (that is, according to the definitions of chapter 3, to *be effective*), for a large number of children, at a very moderate cost.

FABULA

The overall aim of the Fabula project is to stimulate and support the production and use of innovative bilingual multimedia resources for the teaching and learning of languages.

Fabula brings together "core partners" and "evaluation partners". The core team's role is in the design, development, and piloting of the software. The evaluation partners organise and manage the distribution and evaluation of the software in schools in participating countries. The product distributed by Fabula is a free software package for making bilingual multimedia stories for children, including image and sound.

Target users are teachers of 5- to 10-year old children in the project countries; parents and other potential producers of bilingual multimedia materials; but children are ultimate end users of the multimedia storybooks produced with the software. Fabula involved specialists from different disciplines in bilingual education, human-computer interaction, typography and software development. The target children's activity that the software is intended to address is the creation and reading of stories.

Fabula was tried out in five different contexts of bilingual communities in different EU member states. The areas and languages ("evaluation partners") can be characterised as follows:

- Wales, where Welsh is a "unique" language (as opposed to the language of a national minority with a "kin state" across the

[46] We can also expect Euroschool to give rise to an indirect effect involving people and organisations around the events. This effect is greatest for the language community that hosts the Euroschool event, because schools, parents, and the community more generally are likely to become more aware of their own language.

border), presents a large linguistic distance from the majority language, and can boast a highly developed minority-language education system;
- Catalonia, where Catalan presents a small linguistic distance from the majority language (Spanish), and can boast highly developed minority language education;
- Friesland, where Frisian is a unique minority language, also presenting a small linguistic distance from the majority language (Dutch), but where minority language education remains little-developed;
- Northern Basque Country, where Basque presents a large linguistic distance from the majority language (French), and where minority language education (on the French side of the border) is little-developed;
- Ireland, where Irish presents a large linguistic distance from the majority language, but where minority language education is highly developed.

The Fabula core partners are:

- University of Reading, UK (Reading & Language Information Centre, Department of Typography & Graphic Communication);
- University of Brighton, UK (School of Information Management, School of Languages);
- DTP Workshop, Dublin, Ireland.

Box 4.2

A sample storybook ("A Lovely Bunch of Coconuts") was published in all five minority languages, with a combined print run of approximately 15,000. The project has it own website, www.fabula.eu.org

The software is available on CD, or it may be downloaded from the website. Eleven stories were accessible on-line now as of November 2001. The software version 1.3 is available in nine languages. The interface for 2.0 *beta* exists only in English. However, the software can without difficulty be changed to another language. Instructions are to be posted on the website in due course, in order to enable users to customise the software for any language.

The Fabula project has involved approximately 30 schools in the two phases of the project, but this number is expected to grow considerably as technical problems are solved, and the planned in-service training can take place. For instance, the partners in Wales will use the following model for dissemination: training will be offered to the 100 *athrawon bro* (Welsh language advisory teachers) who will then take the program into every school they work in—that is, every school in Wales.

The main outcome of Fabula, just like that of Euroschool, can be described as an increase in language awareness of the children concerned. Bilingual multimedia material for children, as produced in Fabula, can be a powerful force for learning, raising the perceived status of minority languages, and awakening interest in language learning. Bilingual stories can be particularly helpful for children learning other languages, because they enable them to use words, sounds and pictures to explore similarities and differences between the target language and another with which they are already familiar.

Research in language didactics has shown that language learning is enhanced when it departs from the traditional classroom methods—in this instance through computers; computers can open up a new world of interaction and make learning more fun. In a specific research project in three schools in South Wales, observations and interview data were collected as part of a qualitative study on a sample 20 English-speaking children being exposed to the Welsh language.

At this micro level, various manifestations of the language awareness of young children could be illustrated. Manifestations included, for instance, the children's grasp of the rules governing adjective formation in Welsh, and rules regarding the Welsh sequence for noun and adjective (noun first, adjective second); some of the children also recognised the circumflex over some letters (which they described as "the roof"), which does not exist in English. The tasks to be performed using the software offered opportunities for children to formulate their hypotheses about how languages work, and for teachers to make sensitive and appropriate interventions in the learning process. An increase in meta-linguistic awareness was reported.

Conclusions from the research note: "it is clear that from a language perspective, the use of bilingual multimedia can be extremely valuable and provides numerous insights not only into children's linguistic capabilities and awareness in general, but also into how multimedia, in particular, can support them. The evaluation of Fabula software offers evidence that both beginners and younger L2 learners are able to benefit from consciousness-raising tasks." And further: "we observed how sound, text, and images were used in various different combinations by the children for many different learning purposes: to gain practice in hearing Welsh spoken; to support reading in a first language; to support second language acquisition; to deepen meta-linguistic awareness; and to make learning fun." Finally: "[..] we believe that bilingual interactive

software provides a powerful framework for activities and discussions that lead to improved levels of language awareness."

The impact of the Fabula project is different in nature from that of Euroschool, although both can be said to raise language awareness and therefore to lead to more positive *attitudes* and, through this, to better long-term prospects for the RMLs concerned. However, in the case of Euroschool, the effect on attitudes can be considered more direct: the language awareness fostered by the school exchanges refers to the legitimacy of RMLs *vis-à-vis* other (including majority) languages, and therefore encourages RML use. In the case of the Fabula project, the information obtained suggests an increase in meta-linguistic awareness, which can be assumed to be less directly linked to learners' perception of the legitimacy of a minority language. Hence, to the extent that (owing to the enthusiasm it reportedly generates), the effectiveness of Euroschool, in terms of *improvement* in attitudes, could be considered high, the effectiveness of Fabula, in terms of the same outcome, would be somewhat less (say, "medium" or "medium to high").

Turning now to the resources invested in the Fabula venture, let us not that it is a multi-annual project which has received grants from two different European sources, both of them outside the regional and minority languages B-line.

In the first phase (1 August 1998 to 30 September 1999), the project was financed with €435,200 from the **Educational Multimedia Taskforce**, out of an overall total of 565,500—implying that 22% of the project was funded from other (participant) sources; and in the second phase (2000-01) it was financed with €89,128 from **Culture 2000** out of a total of €178,256, which implies 50% in matching funds from other sources. This total of €524,328 covers the technical development, testing of software by local partners, physical production costs and organisational costs.

During the start-up phases, about 30 schools have participated with an estimated number of 20 participating children per school; this amounts to 600 children. The average cost per child would be 524,328÷600 = €873 until now.

However, the effects of the software are far from spent, and the total expenditure will ultimately be amortised over a much larger number of children. Consider the following example:

- suppose the software were distributed by all *athrawon bro* in Wales, where there are currently some 935 play groups leaders (Jones, 2001: 15);

- suppose that only 10% of all children attending Welsh-medium play groups (that is, 1,300 of almost 13,000) start using the software;

then the amount per child would drop to €275. However, the more important aspect of cost reduction has to do with the fact that at this time, some 30 schools only had participated, focusing on one cohort. If the cost is spread not only over a larger number of children, but over successive cohorts, it becomes negligible. Let us therefore consider the effect of introducing the following (and conservative) estimates:

- the total number of participating children progressively rises (as the software is distributed in a larger number of RML playgroups) and ultimately stabilises at 4,000 *per year*.
- the software is considered performing for a 10-year period—after which it would need to be modernised or overhauled;
- during each of these ten years, the cost of eliminating technical problems, fine-tuning the software, producing further adaptations to additional languages, and physical distribution of the software itself amounts to 5% of the initial total cost (that is, €26,216.4 *per year*).

The long-term cost per child using the *Fabula* software is therefore:

$$(524{,}428 + 26{,}216 \times 10) \div 4{,}000 \bullet 10 = 786{,}492 \div 40{,}000 = €19.66$$

The long-term cost is of course lower, since even if the software needs to be seriously overhauled after ten years of service, it is unlikely to cost half a million Euros again to develop.[47]

THE NAÍONRAÍ

The *naíonraí* can be defined as Irish-medium pre-schools "in which a *stiúrthóir*, or leader, speaks only Irish in interacting with the children, usually aged between three and five years of age" (Hickey, 1997:1). In fact, *naíonraí* offer an environment of early immersion (in Irish) to English-speaking children who attend it. As a whole, the children attending the *naíonraí* are predominantly from English-speaking families. The main objective of the *naíonraí* is to help pre-schoolers to acquire Irish, as well as to contribute to the overall development of the children.

[47] Let us also remember that the benefit accruing to children (meta-linguistic awareness) may last more than one year (although experts tend to assume its effects not to be as long-lasting as those of participation in a Euroschool event). Consequently, the per-child cost could be amortised over more than one period.

The *naíonraí* have been chosen here because they appear to be relatively successful in improving learners' language skills, and it is also relatively well-documented. As such, pre-primary education is an interesting field of research when investigating effects of language policy. Finally, the case of the *naíonraí* is an example of early immersion and in general, immersion education can be a highly powerful tool for minority language maintenance. The pre-primary system is funded indirectly by the Irish State.

In 1993, there were 190 Irish-medium playgroups: 138 in the Galltacht (*non*-Irish-speaking areas) and 52 in the Gaeltacht (designated Irish-speaking areas), catering for approximately 2500 pre-schoolers, which represented about 2.5% of the national cohort.

Most children live in the Galltacht (1862 in 1993), whereas a smaller number of children live in the Gaeltacht (625 in 1993). The 190 *naíonraí* were run by 174 leaders. The children attend a playgroup for two or three hours each day (or at least several times a week). Data indicate that 73 per cent of the children speak English at home, 20 per cent speak both Irish and English at home, and 7 per cent speak only Irish at home (Hickey, 1997: 27).

Three types of institutions offer pre-school facilities in Ireland. These are (i) the Department of Education, (ii) the Department of Health and (iii) the private sector. The latter group is by far the greatest and the *naíonraí* all belong to the private sector. The *naíonraí* are under the aegis of the voluntary organisation *An Comhchoiste Réamhscolaíochta*, which is funded by *Foras na Gaeilge* (the state body for the promotion of Irish, and a successor institution to the *Board na Gaeilge*).

The first establishment was created in 1968. Hereafter, the number of Irish-medium education structures has grown considerably, particularly since 1993. Ó Murchú (2001: 16) reports that in the 1999-2000 school year, there were 278 *naíonraí* (98 in the Gaeltacht, 180 in the rest of the Republic), catering for 3,257 pre-schoolers.

The expected outcome of Irish pre-primary education in the *naíonraí* is an increase in language proficiency, in particular language comprehension.

The main effect of the *naíonraí* is to increase the level of competence in Irish of the children enrolled in it. The data available on effects as well as costs are scarce, but they point to noteworthy competence gains among children from English-speaking families.

Irish-medium pre-schools or *naíonraí* have been studied by Hickey (1997) who investigated, among other variables, achievement levels in Irish of the children frequenting them. A sample of 225 pre-schoolers was tested for language proficiency, where the skills tested were comprehension, production and imitation. For each of the three tests, it was decided that a success rate of 75% would indicate that the language objectives have been achieved.[48] Although these objectives are assessed in terms of competence level, they can be interpreted as reflecting competence change (that is, improvement) for most children, since most come from English-speaking families. Moreover, it was stated that a success rate of 40 per cent would indicate minimal progress. As to the comprehension and production the results can be summarised as follows (Table 4.3):

Table 4.3: Achievement in Irish language tests

	MINIMAL PROGRESS (%)	MASTERY (%)
comprehension	95	43
production	59	14

Source: Hickey, 1997: 112.

On the basis of the above figures, Hickey concludes that "almost all of the children made at least minimal progress in comprehension, indicating worthwhile development, especially among children who had entered the *naíonraí* with no competence in Irish at all. Overall then, over 40% of children leaving the *naíonraí* can be said to have acquired significant skills in Irish comprehension (Hickey, 1997: 112). However, the data reveal a considerable gap between comprehension and production abilities. Only 14% mastered the Irish-language production task, whereas about 60% of the children showed minimal progress as far as production of Irish is concerned.

We may say that the *naíonraí* can boast significant results regarding the improvement of receptive skills, whereas scores regarding improvements in production skills are much lower. Since the majority of the children come from English-speaking families, even these achievements noteworthy. However, it is difficult to relate these effects to the policy intervention itself, because the latter is geared at making the cost of attending a *naíonra* cheaper—at least in the Gaeltacht areas. Hickey (1997: 69) reports that 43% of the *naíonraí* receive some form of subsidy. Since 1980, *naíonraí* located

[48] "The level of success expected was judged by experienced *naíonra* personnel familiar with the children's progress in the *naíonra*. Generally, children doing a test are not expected to succeed on every item and when the tests were being constructed it was decided that a success rate of about 75% on each test would indicate mastery of the language objectives for the majority of *naíonraí* children" (Hickey, 1997: 112).

in the *Gaeltachtaí* receive a per-capita grant from the *Údarás na Gaeltachta*, a body fostering the social, economic and cultural activity in the *Gaeltacht*. The *naíonraí* in the rest of Ireland do not receive such a grant. The payment by *Údarás* is based on 36 weeks a year. The subsidising schedule is as follows (Table 4.4):

Table 4.4: Subsidies to the naíonraí

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	WEEKLY SUBSIDY (€)	YEARLY SUBSIDY (€)
3-15	77.5	2,790
15-20	95	3,420
20 or more	106	3,816

The *naíonraí* all are in the private sector and parents pay a fee. The average parental fee amounts to €8.90 per child and per week, which is relatively low compared to other child-care facilities. In general, parents who send their child to a subsidised Irish-language pre-school (essentially in *Gaeltacht* areas) pay a lower fee (on average €6.30 per child and per week) than parents (predominantly in *Galltacht* areas) of children frequenting a non-subsidised *naíonra* (where the average fee is €10 per child and per week). The above figures imply that some 30% of the children attend subsidised establishments.[49]

The policy question, therefore, is whether this policy actually encourages parents to send their children to a *naíonra*. Population figures certainly suggest so. Let us consider the following facts:

- the percentage of Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht, according to 1991 census figures, stands at about 68%, and had increased to approximately 75% in 1996.[50] In the Galltacht, by contrast, it stood at about 40%.
- It is reasonable to assume that there is a relationship between the percentage of speakers and the percentage of children sent to an Irish-medium pre-school; given the above percentage of speakers, we would *a priori* expect the percentage of children sent to a *naíonra* to be about twice as high in the Gaeltacht as in the Galltacht.
- Let us, however, make allowance for the fact that such a decision is less likely in the Galltacht, because parents themselves are less likely to be *native* speakers of Irish. In our view, the relationship to the language of native and secondary speakers is not the same (an aspect which Irish language statistics and official commentary on them typically do not highlight). In the same way, the *average* level of proficiency in Irish of parents is likely to be lower in the

[49] 43% of the *naíonraí*, however, are located *in* the Gaeltacht, indicating a below-average enrolment in those establishments.
[50] See e.g. http://www.cso.ie/pressreleases/prelcen96v9.html

Galltacht than in the Gaeltacht. Taking these factors into account, the 2÷1 ratio between the Gaeltacht and the Galltacht *expected* enrolment rates in *naíonraí* is certainly an underestimation; the ratio one might expect, *in the absence of state intervention*, is likely to be significantly higher. The information available, however, is not sufficient to ground assumptions as to what this "expected" ratio would normally be like, implying that an indirect way must be taken to approach it.

- The number of children in Ireland in the relevant age bracket (ages 3-4) stands at about 100,000,[51] of which some 2.5% attended a *naíonra*. Although population figures indicate that the total number of children in the relevant age brackets has actually *declined* (by about 9%) over the period considered (the 1990s), we shall ignore this difference and take 100,000 as the more or less constant total number of children of *naíonra* age in the country.
- Enrolment rates in *naíonraí*, however, are very different between the Gaeltacht and the Galltacht: assuming that the percentage of children reflect that of the total population living in both regions, one can assume the total number of children in the former area to be approximately equal to 2,500, as compared to 97,500 in the latter. In 1993, the enrolment rate in Gaeltacht *naíonraí* could therefore be estimated as equal to 625÷2,500=25%, and in Galltacht *naíonraí*, to 1,862÷97,750=1.9%, which will be rounded up to 2% here.
- Given an increase in *total* enrolment in *naíonraí* to 3,257 in 1999 (Ó Murchú, 2001), which amounts to a 30.9% increase, and assuming this increase to be proportional over both regions, the enrolment rates would, in recent years, have increased to 32% and 2,6% respectively. At both times, the ratio of Gaeltacht to Galltacht enrolment rates is around eight to one—much higher than the *a priori* two-to-one ratio, even allowing for the likely underestimation that this ratio would represent.

It is not possible to claim that the entirety of the difference between the estimated expected value and the estimated actual value must be credited to the subsidisation of Gaeltacht *naíonraí*, since other, unobserved factors may have intervened; however, this lends strong support to the notion that subsidising the *naíonraí* in the Gaeltacht effectively encourages participation.

Looking at the figures from another angle, one effect of the *naíonraí* is that out of approximately 3,250 pre-schoolers, some 3,100 children make (minimal) progress in comprehension of Irish,

[51] 106,496 according to Hickey (1997:8); see also http://homepage.tinet.ie/~cronews/geog/census/popcosum.html

whereas some 1,900 children reach a higher mastery level score.[52] If children were otherwise *not* enrolled in any form of pre-school we could estimate that this result is bought at an average price of €11.26 of per individual pre-schooler and per week. This figure is obtained as follows: the average subsidy per child in the *naíonraí* can be estimated at €5.50 per week.[53] The average parental contribution of €6.30 must be added to this figure, yielding a total per-child cost of €11.80. By comparison, the average cost of non-subsidised pre-schools stands at €10. We have noted above that, on the basis of figures supplied, the proportion of children attending a subsidised establishment is about 30%. Average per-child and per-week cost is therefore equal to (0.3×€11.80)+(0.7×10)= €11.26. This figure amounts to a little over €405 per year.

This figure may be further relativised depending on assumptions made regarding the share of skills improvement that may, *on average*, be credited to the *naíonraí*. Should half of this improvement have occurred anyway, the per-week and per-child cost doubles; and if only one fourth of the improvement in Irish language skills can be credited to the Irish-medium pre-school environment, this cost rises to €1,620. Only further empirical research could provide arguments for retaining one or another assumption. In any event, the figure *per se* would have little meaning, because what matters is the *opportunity cost* of the acquisition of competence in Irish. This figure would then have to be weighed against a per-capita GDP in the region of USD 22,000[54] (about €23,000).

This cost figure may seem significant, and suggest that the scheme could not be offered too widely, let alone generalised to all the 100,000 Irish children, since the total yearly cost would then be expected to exceed €40m (assuming the *naíonraí* get the full credit for increases in the children's language competence). We must take account of the fact, however, that many children attending a *naíonra* would, if these did not exist, be sent to pre-school anyway, and that

[52] Calculation: 95 per cent (table 1) of 3257 (number from Ó Murchú, 2001, for the 1999-2000 year) is 3094; 59 per cent (table 1) of 3257 is 1922. The assumption is that the achievement figures mentioned by Hickey (1997) can be extrapolated to the newly established *naíonraí*.

[53] Given the three subsidisation categories, let us assume that the average number of children per establishment within each category is in the middle of the enrolment range that places an establishment in that particular category; let us assume the average number of children in the larger *naíonraí* to be 25. Hence, average subsidisation is (77.5÷12)+(95÷17.5)+(106÷24)=5.43, rounded up to 5.50 (we are therefore further assuming that the distribution of establishments over the three categories is uniform).

[54] Precise figures (at purchasing power parity) vary considerably depending on source; see e.g. http://www.photius.com/wfb1999/ireland/ireland_economy.html respectively.

this carries a cost. According to Hickey, the cost to parents of sending a child to a *naíonra* is low by comparison to other forms of child care; this suggests that all things considered, society does not spend *more* by sending a certain proportion of its children to *Irish-medium* than to English-medium child care.

Available information is not sufficient to provide grounds for a general pronouncement regarding the cost-effectiveness of the *naíonraí* scheme as a tool for RML protection and promotion. The foregoing discussion suggests, however, that:

- subsidising *naíonraí* is likely to have a positive effect on enrolments;
- attendance at a *naíonra* has a positive effect on competence in Irish;
- the marginal cost of Irish-medium (as opposed to generic) pre-school is negligible or perhaps even zero, though this average result may hide significant differences between urban and rural areas.

Taken together, these three results, tentative as they are, constitute a strong presumption that the cost-effectiveness of the *naíonraí* scheme is acceptable. Let us also note that the *naíonraí* do serve as an important stepping-stone towards Irish-medium primary schools. In fact, some 40% of children in all-Irish schools attended a *naíonra* before (Hickey, 1997: 29). This suggests that the *naíonraí* scheme can be an effective element in a broader policy of encouragement to RML-medium education.

4.3 Media

DOMAIN RELEVANCE

The relevance of the media domain to RMLs is generally accepted, though the actual effect of specific media is still under-researched (Busch 1999). It has been shown that the media contribute to self-understanding of a culture, as well as to the understanding of the multiplicity of cultures by the whole society (Husband, 1998). A correlation has been established between media in minority languages and variables that generally reflect people's sense of identity and/or cultural safety (Allardt and Starck, 1981). The specific cultural role of the different types of media (e.g., newspapers, radio, television, Internet) is, however not thoroughly known.

It is evident that media in the mother tongue have a central role in language learning as well as in preserving language skills among adult speakers. Media are also important vehicles for the

development and diffusion of language innovation and adaptation of new vocabulary in a changing world. Thus they operate through more than one of the channels identified by the policy-to-outcome path: they primarily offer *opportunities* to use the language, but strengthen people's *willingness* (or desire) to listen to broadcasts in the language and increase their *capacity* to do so.

The domain will be electronic media; more specifically radio broadcasting. There are several reasons for this choice. It has a prominent, if not dominating role particularly for smaller RMLs because of it being a relatively low cost mass medium (small content production costs relative to television, small technical production costs and distribution costs relative to newspapers). This is evidently the reason to that there are more than 40 radio stations with daily services in RMLs mentioned in the Mercator Media data bank covering 20 different RMLs. Only three of the communities covered by the data bank lack daily radio broadcasts, whereas the television services and daily newspapers are much scarcer.[55] It is also evident that states that have signed and ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in many cases opt for a higher level of commitment in the case of radio services than in the case of television and newspapers.

It can reasonably be argued that the specific role of the radio in the development of a language is determined by (at least) two factors: its direct relation to language (more so than for example television), and its availability. The choice to listen to the radio—once the broadcast is there—is free for anybody with a receiver and does not involve a purchase decision by the individual consumer, as is the case for the newspaper. Through Internet, radio today often exceeds the geographical limitations of the broadcasting area and serves also Diasporas, as well as offers additional interactive features to its broadcasts.

The three cases we have chosen to study in the media domain are:

- The ***Yle Swedish radio programmes*** serving the Swedish-speaking population in Finland;
- The ***Irish programmes*** of Raidió na Gaeltachta (RnaG) in Ireland;

[55] Mercator Media, http://www.aber.ac.uk/~merwww/. It can be mentioned that only ca. 30-40 daily newspapers (4-7 days a week) are published in an RML within the entire EU, in 8 countries and less than 10 RMLs (Ebner and Rautz, 2001). In another study (Österreichisches Volksgruppenzentrum Juni 2001) 29 RMLs in 10 countries were covered; 28 of these served by daily radio programmes, while 15 were served by daily television programmes.

- ***Radio Agora and partners***, in the Austrian-Slovene border area, which offered 8 young people (15-17 years) from 5 different communities an opportunity to work and study at the station as part of a 13-month cultural production and education project in 2000 and 2001.

YLEISRADIO (YLE)

Yle's Swedish radio programmes are produced by a Swedish department of YLE set up in 1945. A full service Swedish radio channel broadcasting was established in 1981 as part of the national public service broadcaster, Yle. Yle is 99.9% state-owned and mainly financed by television licence fees. The main purpose of its Swedish service is to serve the 293,000 Swedish-speaking Finns in Finland (5.6% of the population). According to the Finnish constitution (Art. 17), the national languages of Finland are Finnish and Swedish.

The part of the Swedish-speaking population that is bilingual has been rapidly increasing, as effect of demographic change. Marriages tend—to an increasing extent—to be formed across the language barrier. More than 50% of marriages including at least one Swedish-speaking partner are today formed between partners with different languages (Finnäs 1998, 33).[56]

Swedish-language radio programming in Finland is part of an extensive media system operating in Swedish, including 9 daily newspapers (most of which are local), 2 radio stations and about 900 hours annually of TV programming. In addition, television programmes from Sweden (SVT Europa) are broadcast in southern Finland, and cross-border viewing is possible in parts of Western Finland, where also radio from Sweden is available. The production of radio and television programmes in Swedish in Finland is almost totally based on public service (Finnish Broadcasting Company, Yle). Swedish commercial or community radio broadcasting has not been successful. Community radio broadcasting[57] has proven to be marginalized in all Nordic countries also in majority languages. (Moring and Salmi 1998.)

The use of the radio services in Swedish among Swedish-speaking Finns was decreasing in the early 1990s due to competition from new commercial stations and an increasing bilingualism among the Swedish-speakers. In particular, listening to Swedish programmes among young Swedish-speaking Finns had decreased to quite a low

[56] Demographic data describing the size of sub-groups among Swedish-speakers in Finland are based on this report, which gives a detailed account for the situation in 1996. As demographic changes are slow, these data can be applied as reasonable estimates of the size of equivalent groups in 1995 as well as 1999.
[57] Typically local, low cost non-commercial broadcasting.

level by 1994. In 1997, the programming in Swedish was re-arranged, and one radio channel was focused on youth programming, whereas the second station focused on programming for an older age group. This reform was carried out by Yle at an additional yearly cost.

The new programming structure was made with the objective to add time spent by Swedish-speakers listening to Swedish-language programmes among (a) Swedish-speaking Finns in general and (b) a younger Swedish-speaking population in particular (9-34 years old). Due to the measure taken, audience figures for Yle´s Swedish programmes rose dramatically, in particular in the younger segments of the audience (see Table 4.5).

The outcome of Yle's increased Swedish programming can be described as an increase in the *opportunity* to use the language. Such an increase can be of particular importance to encourage young people to use the language, to raise the image of the language among its speakers as well as in a bilingual milieu, and to prevent the language from falling into a position of diglossia.

YLE constitutes an example of a national public service radio programming in an RML financed through national public funding. The relevance of our findings to Community policy would thus also include the aspect of EU's policies with respect to public service funding of radio and television. The findings can further—through extrapolation—be used to guide estimates concerning the cost effectiveness aspects of Community funded projects in general that support increases in radio services in RMLs, also for smaller communities that have not yet been carrying out extensive audience research. We would, however, have to warn against drawing too far on these conclusions, as the success of media can vary dramatically due to situational particularities and as the importance of different types of media vary in different cultural contexts.

Let us now take a closer look at quantitative indicators. The exercise, however, raises several difficulties. One first problem arises when establishing specific costs for the younger segments of the audience. Whereas it is not difficult to establish the costs for the whole audience, assigning a fair proportion of it to a particular age bracket (in this case, 9-34 years old) requires us to weigh estimation avenues carefully. We have addressed the problem in the simplest possible manner, by dividing total cost by the total Swedish audience, to arrive at a total cost per Swedish speaker, and then multiplying the cost per Swedish speaker by the size of the audience within the age bracket concerned. Though not ideal, this procedure is straightforward, and congruent with fact that older people also

listen to some programmes primarily intended for younger people, and vice versa.

Another difficulty has to do with establishing RML audiences proper. In Finland, official registration by language constitutes discrete groups associated with one specific language. For example, one may register as "speaker of Swedish" or "speaker of Finnish". In other words, there is no official category for bilinguals. However, there are bilinguals who register as Finnish-speakers, although they may have radio listening habits that are very close to those of bilinguals registered as speakers of Swedish.

Through this reform, Yle succeeded in reaching out to a larger proportion of the young Swedish-speaking audience, while maintaining or even increasing the Swedish-speaking audience in older segments (Table 4.5). Can we really consider this change to be an effect of the reform? In this case, this can be seen a reasonable conclusion. Yle measures its Swedish radio audience on a yearly basis, and the figures in the table represent a long-term trend. The lower figures before the reform had remained at that lower level for several years, whereas the higher figures after the reform were confirmed in several subsequent audience surveys.

Table 4.5: Listening to Swedish radio in Finland, 1994 and 1999

(minutes per day) [58]

Young Swedish-speaking listeners, 1994 and 1999:

	Age			
	9-24 in 1994	9-24 in 1999	25-34 in 1994	25-34 in 1999
Yle's Swedish stations	20	71	54	106
Other stations	65	46	121	72
Total	85	117	175	178

All Swedish-speaking listeners, 1994 and 1999:

	1994	1999
Yle's Swedish stations	99	128
Other stations	81	66
Total	180	194

The average time spent listening to Finnish radio channels in broadcasting Swedish (in practice, Yle's Swedish channels) among Swedish-speakers in the 9-24 age bracket rose by 51 minutes, from 20 minutes per day before the reform to 71 minutes per day. In the

[58] Note that the basic population of the sample for this research includes only the Swedish population living on the Finnish mainland (270,500 persons), as those living in the Åland Islands do not follow the same radio listening habits.

25-34 age-bracket, it rose by 52 minutes per day from 54 to 106 minutes per day.[59]

The size of the Swedish-speaking 9-34 age bracket is 72,569 persons (37,072 in the 9-24 age bracket, 35,497 in the 25-34 age bracket). The average increase in listening time among people under 35 years of age was 51.5 minutes per person per day.[60] The average time used for listening to Yle's Swedish radio stations among all Swedish-speakers rose by 29 minutes per day from 99 to 128 minutes per day.[61]

Let us now examine the cost of the Swedish-language before and after the reform. According to figures provided by the Swedish section of Yle, the total yearly cost[62] for producing the Yle Swedish-language programmes in 1995 was €17,157,275. The total yearly cost for producing Yle's Swedish radio programmes in 1999 was €22,287,637.The additional yearly funding for the redesigned programming is therefore equal to €5,130,362.

The additional cost per added listening hour is calculated in Table 4.6 As noted before, the total number of Swedish speakers on the mainland where the programmes are broadcast stood at 270,500 in the 1996 census. The number of Swedish speakers in the 9–34 age bracket was 72,569. We are here considering the additional cost relative to size of the audience and the average increase in daily listening time in the relevant age bracket.

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[59] These figures may appear remarkably high in international comparison. However, they are in line with local radio listening habits (for example, data for 2000 indicate that among Swedish speakers in the oldest age group, daily listening time was 274 minutes on average).

[60] The size of age bracket 9-24 was 37,072 persons. The average additional listening time in this group was 51 minutes. The size of the age bracket 25-34 was 35,497 persons. The average additional listening time in this group was 52 minutes per day. The average listening time for the whole group was thus $[(37{,}072 \times 51) + (35{,}497 \times 52)] \div 72{,}569 = 51{,}489$.

[61] Other audience research has shown that Yle's Swedish radio channels, in addition to the registered Swedish-speaking Finns, also is listened to by a considerable Finnish or bilingual audience that is registered as Finnish-speakers. The figures in nation-wide research on radio listening to Swedish-language radio are not precise enough to be used for detailed analysis. It is, however, evident that the increase in numbers of users of Swedish-language radio in Finland is higher than the actual measure indicates, especially among young people.

[62] All figures are corrected to the equivalent 1999 value according to price index (Statistics Finland), 1995= 100, 1999= 105,5. The figures from 1995 are used instead of figures from 1994 as they were more compatible with 1999 figures due to a change of economical accounting within Yle. Figures from 1995 are according to budget, figures from 1999 according to actual expenditure. The differences resulting from these adjustments are marginal. The expenditure for the reform largely coincides with its actual cost, since the Finnish Broadcasting Company changed their budgeting practice in the early 1990s in order to include overhead costs in the budgets of the programme units.

Table 4.6: Costs for added listening time, Yle, 1995-1999

Age	(I) Swedish speakers	(II) Additional yearly costs (€)[63]	(III) Increase in daily listening (minutes /person/day)	(IV) Total increase in listening time, (hours/year) [64]	(V) Cost per additional hour of listening time/listener (€) [65]
9-34	72,569	1,376,359	51,5	22,735,263	0.06
all	270,500	5,130,362	29	47,720,708	0.108

We arrive at a cost per additional hour of listening time among the Swedish-speaking population of €0.06 for the 15-34 age bracket. If we carry out the same exercise for the total Swedish-speaking population, this yields an additional cost per additional hour of €0,108 (see Table 4.6).[66]

In 1995, before the radio reform, the average unit cost per daily hour of radio listening in Swedish among all Swedish-speaking Finns was €0,1053 per capita.[67] In 1999, after the reform, the average unit cost per daily hour of radio listening in Swedish among all Finnish Swedes per capita remained almost the same, or €0.1058.[68] This represents a 0.5% increase.

Listening to Swedish programmes, however, increased particularly among the younger audiences (9-34 years). Thus, in this age

[63] The additional cost in the 9-34 age bracket has been calculated as the total additional yearly cost relative to the size of this age bracket. The formula used is (Total additional costs ÷ total Swedish population × population in the age 9-34 bracket), that is, €5,130,362 ÷ 270,500 × 75,569 = €1,376,539.

[64] (IV) = (I) × (III) × 365 days ÷ 60 minutes.

[65] (V) = (II) ÷ (IV).

[66] A question arises regarding the proper denominator to be used in the computation of per-person cost, since it might be argued that additional outlays brought about by the reform should be broken up by age-based audience segments. Since there is no informational basis to assign expenditure along those lines, we have adopted the compromise solution used in this paragraph.

[67] The cost per hour listened in 1995 is calculated as €17,157,275 ÷ (99 minutes x 270,500 persons x 365) ÷ 60 = €17,157,275 ÷ 162,908,625 hours = €0.10531 per person and per hour.

[68] The cost per hour listened in 1999 is calculated as €22,287.637 ÷ (128 minutes x 270,500 persons x 365) ÷ 60 = €22,287.637 ÷ 210,629,333 = €0.10581 per person and per hour.

bracket, the unit cost decreased significantly, from €0.28 per hour[69] to €0.15 per hour,[70] that is, by 46.4%.

Table 4.7: Effects relative to costs of the Yle reform of Swedish radio programmes, by age bracket

(costs per listening hour 1995/1999)

	Unit	Investment (million € per year)	Unit cost before investment (€)	Unit cost after investment (€)	Unit cost change (%)
Yle 9-34 years	Cost per listening hour per person	1.38	0.28	0.15	-46.4
Yle total	Cost per listening hour per listener	5.13	0.1053	0.1058	0,5

The above indicates that the position in the entire Swedish-speaking audience of the RML radio broadcasts increased considerably as an effect of the improved programme supply of Yle in 1997. In particular, this case shows that a younger audience can be reached and attracted by programming in an RML. Investments did actually lead to lower costs relative to effects achieved in this age bracket.

Looking at the effects from a broader perspective, we can observe that investment in a new channel for a younger RML audience has attracted a large part of it for a significant part of the day, where earlier this often bilingual audience had mainly been listening to majority-language radio. Interestingly, this development has not led to negative reactions from the older Swedish-speaking audience segments. Listening time in the older age bracket developed positively as well.

When interpreting these estimations, it should be kept in mind that increasing audience figures among the young Swedish speakers represents a higher relative change than increasing audience figures among older listeners, as the young are less exposed to other media in their mother tongue than the rest of the population. It can

[69] The total listening time in 1995 in this age bracket was: [(20 minutes x 37,072 persons x 365 days) ÷ 60 minutes] + [(54 minutes x 35,497 persons x 365 days) ÷ 60 minutes] = 16,165.278 hours. The total cost per hour listened in 1995 was €17,157,275 ÷ 270,500 persons x 72,569 persons ÷16,165.278 hours = €0.2847 per hour.

[70] The total listening time in 1999 in this age bracket was (71 minutes x 37.072 persons x 365 days) ÷ 60 minutes + (106 minutes x 35,497 persons x 365 days) ÷ 60 minutes = 38,901,663 hours. The total cost per listened hour in 1999 was €22,287,637 ÷ 270,500 persons x 72,569 persons ÷ 38,901,663 hours = €0.1537per person and per hour.

furthermore be argued that the increase in programming for a younger audience, and the acceptance by the audience of this programming, has introduced a mechanism of cultural reproduction that was not in place before. This may have an even more profound impact on long-term patterns of RML use than the increase in use of radio alone would indicate. Finally, it is worth noting that there are clear indications to the effect that bilinguals from the majority language group (that is, persons who identify as Finns but know Swedish) got more interested in the RML.

Raidió na Gaeltachta (RnaG)

RnaG was set up in 1972 as a radio service for Irish speakers in Ireland as part of the national public service broadcaster, RTÉ (Raidió Teilifís Éireann). *RnaG* is fully financed by RTÉ. RTÉ again is financed through obligatory licence fees, to be paid by households with television receivers, and advertising income. The latter has grown to account for a 60% share of revenues during recent years.

At the time of its founding, *RnaG* was part of a narrow spectrum of broadcasters which was dominated in radio by RTÉ. During the eighties and nineties the situation changed completely with the growth of local broadcasters, both commercial and community-based, and the licensing of a commercial private national sector. There is wide variability in the success of local broadcasters, but there are a number of successful commercial stations (mostly broadcasting in English), now competing with *RnaG* in its core audience areas.

The development of the Irish language programme service of *RnaG* is structured to reflect the various subsections of its audience. Initially there was only one studio, based in the Galway Gaeltacht, where headquarters are still located. Over time, additional studios were added in Donegal and Kerry, as well as Dublin with some ancillary facilities. Programming is targeted at two levels—to serve individual Gaeltacht areas on the one hand, reflecting local accents/dialects, and especially in the latter years as programme time expanded, programming for a national audience. News is a big component of the service and is the most popular type of programming with over 60% of available audience tuning in to the main bulletin. News is structured to have a national bulletin, followed by regional bulletins from each of the main Gaeltachtaí. There is a wide programme mix, which was developed over time from a base of news and traditional music to include current affairs, sport and features. Documentary and drama are not prominent in the mix, nor is there an emphasis on children.

A key factor is the geographical distribution of the audience to Irish language radio. Irish language core areas (the Gaeltacht) are distributed primarily along the western seaboard. The key areas are Donegal in the north-west, Galway in the west and Kerry in the south. There are smaller outlying Gaeltacht areas in adjoining counties, and one in the east, north-west of Dublin.

In the time period since the inception of the service, the Irish economy has taken a remarkable turn for the better. This has been accompanied by accelerating urbanisation, and overall population growth particularly in Dublin. This means that many *RnaG* listeners are actually in Dublin, while core areas in the west are subject to various changes—population declines in some communities, growth in others. Growth has been particularly strong in the Galway area where there is a large urban centre (Galway) whose western edge is in the Gaeltacht. Urbanisation and in-migration of non-Irish speaking people are part of the pressures on the language.

There are no reliable audience data covering the development of *RnaG*'s nation-wide audience. More detailed data, available for the three biggest Gaeltacht areas, however, show a considerable increase in market share of *RnaG* after the programme supply was increased. Audience surveys show an interest for Irish programmes also in a younger audience, accompanied by positive attitudes towards purely Irish language radio services.

Between 1995 and 2000, the amount of daily programming in Irish broadcast by Raidió na Gaeltachta more than doubled, from 11.5 to 24 hours. The main outcome for the Irish users in the Irish republic and Northern Ireland was therefore a continuous supply of radio programming in the RML, where programmes had earlier been supplied only part of the day; as for YLE, this can be described, with reference to the "policy-to-outcome path", as an increase in the *opportunity* to use the language of the RMLs concerned.

Several difficulties arise in the production of quantitative indicators. Concentrations of Irish speakers are in the Irish language core areas distributed primarily along the western seaboard. The key areas are Donegal in the northwest, Galway in the west and Kerry in the southwest. There are smaller outlying Gaeltacht areas in adjoining counties, and one in the east, north of Dublin. Though the three biggest Gaeltachtaí account for 65,000 of the total of 86,000 people living in a Gaeltacht, many more people who use Irish daily. In the 1996 census, more than 350,000 respondents (almost 10% of the population) said they use Irish daily. We have, however, been able to establish detailed audience figures for broadcasts in Irish only for the biggest Gaeltachtaí. These figures have to be extrapolated from

the increase in radio listening time at a national scale in combination with figures on market share in the relevant areas. In general, the estimations presented below should be considered as lower-bound estimates—that is, the actual effect is likely to be bigger than the one we are reporting.

Putting together audience figures for the increased radio programme services of *RnaG* is also somewhat more complicated than in the Yle case. We cannot lean on yearly audience surveys reporting development of listening time in different age brackets. Such surveys are indeed conducted, but they are carried out at a national level and prove to be all too crude with respect to the relatively small audiences of Irish language services.

In themselves, these surveys are interesting. Historically, *RnaG* has a 1% share[71] of the national audience of adults aged 15 or older. In the last decade, this has been in the 30-40,000 range in the nation as a whole. Audience surveys conducted on behalf or RTÉ throw more light on the audience pattern. One such survey found that the audience of *RnaG* in the Gaeltacht had increased from a 26% to a 38% share between 1973 and 1979. By the time a similar survey was conducted in 1988, 43% of the adult population in the Gaeltacht were regular listeners of the service, with 56% listening in prime time (between 17.00 and 20.00 PM). The audience is skewed toward adults and older adults. The 1990s were characterised by a clear growth in local radio in Ireland, from 38% in 1990/91 to a breaking of barrier of 50% of total audience in late 1992. Growth has been steady since then, reaching 55% in 2000/01. The greatest inroads have been into the audience of RTÉ Radio 1, the main national public service broadcaster. The period from the mid-nineties has therefore been a challenging one in terms of radio audiences, and a stringent test of the ability of an RML service to survive in a competitive environment. Given the vastly greater competition on the airwaves described above, the steadiness of the national audience for the service is in itself of significance.

For a more detailed analysis, however, we need to lean on audience research showing the relative market share of different radio channels in the three biggest Gaeltacht areas (Donegal, Galway and Kerry) and combine these audience figures with the national survey results on the general development in listening time during the time period concerned. There is, admittedly, a logical gap in this calculation, as there is no guarantee that the population in these three Gaeltachtaí behave in the same way as Irish audiences do in general. We may, however, assume that any resulting bias would

[71] Share means average time used to listen to a particular radio channel, relative to the total time of daily radio listening.

tend to underestimate rather than overestimate the increase in listening time, as there was a considerable increase in Irish language programming during the time period concerned, and as the older segments of the audience—which are particularly faithful listeners of *RnaG*—are likely to spend more time listening to the radio than listeners on average.

A major market research company conducted key surveys for RTÉ in 1995 and 2001 to determine trends in the audience of *RnaG*. These, as indicated in broadcast hours (see further down in this section) were conducted at a time when the service had expanded its hours significantly and provided a good basis for a comparative analysis with other services[72]. According to the data, the average audience[73] of all radio stations has increased in the key *RnaG* areas 1995/2001. It shows a small growth in radio audiences from 87% to 91% of the total population. Overall local radio audience remained steady in the mid 50% range. The pop music station 2FM remained steady at 37%, while in line with trends noted above, RTÉ Radio 1 declined slightly. *RnaG*, by contrast, showed the highest increase of any non-entrant service, with a growth of 9% from 32% to 41%.

Examined by region, the audience figures reveal interesting trends. In Donegal, local radio is even stronger, at 59% for both sample years. Pop station 2FM shows a 4% growth, while in keeping with trends RTÉ 1 declined by 8%. *RnaG* grew by 13%. In Kerry, the pattern is the same for local radio and RTÉ 1. 2FM declined by 4%. *RnaG* grew by a striking 36 points, from 35% to 71%. In Galway, there is a different pattern, with the most dramatic growth being in local radio from 26% to 44%, a slight growth from 33% to 35% for RTÉ 1 and a slight drop in *RnaG* from 32% to 31%. This is an area, as noted before, which contains a significant urban component with Galway city and its environs. But when we look at market share, we see a different pattern.

[72] Source: *Market Research Bureau of Ireland, Radio Listening in the Gaeltacht Areas, a presentation to RTE, by MRBI, Feb 2001.* The research methodology and aims may be summarised as being weighted samples in the three main Gaeltacht areas of individuals aged 15 and older.

[73] Part of the audience recalling that they had listened to a radio station the day before. Figures for single radio stations may add to more than 100 percent, as the same person may during one day listen to more than one radio station.

Table 4.8: Market share in the Gaeltacht, percentages

	REGION			AGE			
	Donegal	Galway	Kerry	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
RnaG	16	40	29	15	27	49	41
RTÉ 1	-	4	8	2	10	9	1
2FM-	27	22	13	40	14	4	-
Lyric FM*	-	5	3	-	6	2	-
Today FM**	15	7	8	20	5	4	-
Any Local	38	19	39	21	40	29	57
Total[74]	96	97	100	98	102	97	99

**Classical; **National commercial service.*

Here we can see that in Galway, *RnaG* is taking a 40% share, while in the other Gaeltachtaí it lags behind local radio. The most significant point, however, is that of all the services, *RnaG* has the larger percentage in the older age groups. Nonetheless, frequency of listening to *RnaG* increased by 3% from 1995 to 2000, including in the 15-24 age group. This is no mean achievement in the broadcast environment of the period. Reasons for listening are local news / info / weather (61%), with a variety of other factors clustering below 19%. Interestingly, there was a very strong response to the contribution of the service in improving language skills, including among the young in the Galway area, where 81% felt it helped to maintain their competence in Irish. The highest score on this variable was for the 15-24 age group. There is a resistance to English-language programming or music being introduced on the service, and sport is among the things that have a broad appeal across the age groups.

As noted above, no detailed figures are available for *RnaG* listening time. We do know, however, that the average time for radio listening increased by 5% during the time period studied (from 222 minutes per day in 1995 to 233 in 2000; see Table 4.9).

Table 4.9: Daily radio listening time in Ireland, 1995-2000

(audience aged 15 and older, Mon-Fri average)[75]

Year	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Minutes	222	226	223	232	227	233

Source: EBU Members Audience Trends 1990-2000, May 2001, EBU Strategic Information Service

If we accept that the listening in the three Gaeltachtaí would have developed according to the national average—which, for reasons

[74] Rounding may lead to that total figures somewhat deviate from 100 percent.
[75] Average time of listening to radio broadcasts in the whole audience in the Irish Republic, measured as minutes per day.

explained above, is likely to be too low rather than too high an estimate—we arrive at the following figures describing average daily listening time for *RnaG* in these areas (Table 4.10). The table builds on *RnaG*'s daily market share in 2000 (see Table 4.8 above), furthermore taking into consideration the increase in average daily listening time in Ireland (Table 4.9) and assuming that the rate of increase is similar in the Gaeltacht areas.

Table 4.10: Estimated change in listening time, RnaG; 1995-2000

(minutes per day)

	Donegal	Galway	Kerry
1995	25	91	31
2000	37	93	67
Difference	+12	+2	+36

The demographic statistics in Table 4.11 show the population and the number of Irish speakers in absolute and relative figures in the three Gaeltacht areas. In total, this represents approximately 65,000 persons, of which a little less than 50,000 consider themselves Irish-speakers. In this case, as audience figures are given in proportion to the whole population in the Gaeltachtaí (but not in proportion to Irish speakers), we compare costs for the entire population in these areas. This is not a problem as long as we remember that in a comparison with the analysis of the Swedish audience in Finland, the latter is measured relative to Swedish-speakers.

Table 4.11: Irish-speakers in three Gaeltacht areas, 1996[76]

	County Donegal		County Galway		County Kerry	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Irish-speakers[77]	17,788	78.1	24,994	75.3	6,132	82.8
No reply	466		1,209		455	
Total population	23,243	100	34,400	100	7,857	100

Source: Census 96 - Volume 9 - Irish Language, Central Statistics Office (Cork). Dublin: Stationery Office, December 1998.

The development of the programme supply, which forms the basis for our calculations of costs relative to programme production and costs relative to listening time within the audience in the three Gaeltacht areas, is described in Table 4.12. The yearly broadcasting

[76] Being dependent on data limited to listening in the three Gaeltacht areas, the analysis is thus not representative for the entire outcome of the project. The total Gaeltacht population is 86,000, while the 1996 Census revealed that 353,663 people used Irish daily, that is, roughly 10% of the population.

[77] Note that the percentage is calculated on the bases of the total number of Irish language speakers and Non-language speakers, as it has not been possible to account for the language skills of those who did not respond.

hours in 1995 were 3,874 hours.[78] In 2000, the amount of broadcasting hours had risen to 8,736.[79] The increase was 4,862 hours, or 125%.

Table 4.12: RnaG broadcasting hours, 1970-2000

1970	2.5 hours daily
1975	3.5 hours daily
1979	5.0 hours including mid-day broadcast for the first time
1986	8.5 hours, with beginning of breakfast time broadcasting
1989	10 hours on weekdays (8.00-13.30 and 15.00 to 19.00), 6.30 hours on weekends
1990	11.30 hours weekdays (08.00 to 19.30), 8.30 weekends (11.00 to 19.30)
1998	16.5 hours
1999	17.5 hours
2000	24-hour broadcasting.

Multiplying the total population in each Gaeltacht (Table 4.11) by the estimated average audience listening times in 1995 and 2000 shown in Table 4.10, we arrive at the following estimated relative changes. In 1995, the audience listened to a total of 3,955,042 minutes per day[80] (581,075 in Donegal, 3,130,400 in Galway and 243,567 in Kerry). Between 1995 and 2000, the audience is estimated to have increased by 630,568 minutes per day to a total of 4,585,610[81] minutes per day (278,916 in Donegal, 68,800 in Galway, and 282,852 in Kerry). This represents a 16% increase. This must be regarded as a lower-bound estimate, as listening time for the audience in the Gaeltachtaí, particularly in the age groups dominating the *RnaG* audience, is likely to increase more rather than less than average, especially when services are increased. Let us also recall that *RnaG* broadcasts nation-wide, with an additional audience in Northern Ireland. Reducing our audience study to the three biggest Gaeltacht areas entails some information loss, but also a systematic overestimation of cost relative to audience. But since we are analysing the figures with respect to *change* in the audience in precisely these areas, as a result of changes in supply associated with additional costs, the calculation remains valid.

Funding, as indicated above, is provided by RTÉ, both capital and running costs. During the time period between 1995 and 2000, the budget provided for *RnaG* also increased by 48% (Table 4.13).

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[78] [(5 × 11h30) + (2 × 8h30)] × 52 = 3,874.
[79] 24 × 7 × 52 = 8,736.
[80] The average daily listening time in the three Gaeltacht areas in 1995 was thus 60.4 minutes (3,955,042 minutes ÷ 60,500 persons).
[81] The average daily listening time in the three Gaeltacht areas in 2000 was thus 70 minutes (4,585,610 ÷ 60,500 persons).

Table 4.13: Costs for RnaG 1996-2000 (m IEP[82] per year)

Year	Running expenditure	Investment expenditure	Total costs	Adjusted total costs, IEP (Nov. 1996 = 100)[83]	Adjusted total costs, € (Nov. 1996 = 100)
1996	2.2	0.2	2.4	2.4	3.05
1997	2.7	0.2	2.9	2.87	3.64
1998	2.9	0.2	3.1	3.01	3.82
1999	3.4.	0.33[84]	3.73	3.6	4.57
2000	3.7	0.23	3.93	3.55	4.51
2001	3.8	0.4	4.2	not available	

The budget figures for *RnaG* include yearly expenditure for running the programmes and for investment. The total costs for the operation do not, however, include a share of the overhead for the whole company. As these figures are not available, we shall assume, on the basis of available breakdowns for other operators in the media field, that an additional 20% to 40% represents an acceptable estimate for the total overhead costs of running a radio channel within a bigger public service company. For the relevant years 1996 and 2000, we would thus get a total annual *estimated* cost of between €3.66 and €4.27 million in 1996, and between €5.41 and €6.31 in 2000.

Using the above estimates, we can calculate costs relative to increased listening time in the Gaeltacht areas. On the basis of these calculations, we estimate an average cost of €0.46 to €0.53 per additional hour of listening time (Table 4.14). The average per-hour cost of listening time can be estimated to have been €0.15 to €0.18 before the investment in additional programming in 1996.[85] In 2000, it would have grown to between €0.19 and €0.22, or by 22 to 27%[86].

[82] 1 euro = 0.787564 Irish pound (IEP)
[83] Consumer Price Indices, Annual, Central Statistics Office, Ireland http://eirestat.cso.ie/disca/CPAA091.html
[84] One-off investment in equipment to allow 24-hour broadcasting.
[85] The total cost per hour listened in 1996 was €3,660,000 to €4,270,000, divided by (61 minutes x 65,500 persons x 365) ÷ 60, that is, 24,305,958 hours. This yields a range of €0.1506 to €0.1757 per person and per hour.
[86] The total cost per hour listened in 2000 was €5,412,000 to €6,310,000, divided by (71 minutes × 65,000 persons × 365) ÷ 60, that is, 28,290,542 hours. This yields a range of €0.1913 to €0.2230 per person and per hour.

Table 4.14: Estimated cost of added listening time, RnaG

(I) Number of Irish-speakers in the 3 Gaeltacht areas	(II) Total additional yearly cost (€)	(III) Increase in daily listening (minutes /person /day)	(IV) Total increase in listening time, (hours per year) [87]	(V) Additional cost per added hour of listening time (€) [88]
65,500	1,752,000-2,040,000	9.63	3,835,955	0.46-0.53

The cost-effect comparison for *RnaG* is presented in Table 4.15. An additional financial investment of between €1,752,000 and €2,040,000 per year (22% to 27%) has resulted in an additional measured increase in actual use of the language in terms of listening time in the three Gaeltacht areas studied from an estimated average of 60.4 minutes per day in 1995 to 70 minutes per day in 2000 (16.3%).

Table 4.15: Effects relative to costs of the RnaG reform of Irish radio programmes (costs per listening hour, 1995-2000)

Unit	Investment (m € per year)	Unit cost before investment	Unit cost after investment	Cost change (%)
Hourly cost per listener	1.75-2.04 per year	€0.15-€0.18	€0.19-€0.22	22%-27%

The total cost estimate per listened hour increased from within a range from €0.15 to €0.18 in 1996 to between €0.19 and €0.22 in 2000. The cost increase would thus be in the range of 22% to 27%.

It should be noted that the basic aim of the increased investments in programming in Irish, studied in this section, was to maintain and increase programme services in Irish for the entire country, also including cross-border listening in Northern Ireland. Being dependent on data limited to listening in the three Gaeltacht areas, the analysis is thus not representative for the entire outcome of the project.

COMPARISON BETWEEN YLE AND RNAG

In this section, we propose a comparison between the expansion of Yle and the increase in the Irish public service radio programme of Raidió na Gaeltachta (RnaG) between 1995 and 2000. The common unit of measurement defined for this purpose is cost per time unit of listening to broadcasts in RML languages within the RML audience.

[87] (IV) = (I) × (III) × 365 days ÷ 60 minutes.
[88] (V) = (II) ÷ (IV).

There are certain problems regarding the comparability of data, and these need to be pointed out. First, the establishment of costs is not always easy, even in the case of a relatively straightforward service such as radio broadcasting. In the first case (Yle), the total costs of the radio programmes of the two channels broadcasting in Swedish in Finland can be established, since the costs reported by the broadcasting company include overhead and investment figures. In the second case (RnaG), direct programme expenses are reported in detail, but the overhead costs related to *RnaG*'s operations within the broader framework of the national broadcaster RTÉ cannot simply be separated. In this case, we need to bring in an estimate on the basis of standard figures for the media sector. In order to be reasonably confident that the estimate is not at variance with actual costs, we use a range between an upper- and lower-bound cost. The assumption made is that the overhead costs add from 20% to 40% to the immediate programme production costs.

Table 4.16 presents a comparison of costs relative to outcomes for the two "media" cases studied. It should be noted that figures do not include the listening time to Swedish programmes in Finland by the bilingual audience registered as Finnish speaking, nor does it include the audience of *RnaG* outside the Gaeltacht areas. Also, cost and audience increase figures for *RnaG* are based on conservative estimates that can be expected to represent a lower-bound value of the effects achieved.

Table 4.16: Comparison of outcomes, Yle and RnaG
(Per-hour and per-person cost)

	Expenditure (m €)	Unit cost before policy	Unit cost after policy	Unit cost change (%)	Effect achieved
Yle 9-34 years	1.38 per year	€0.28	€0.15	-46.4	51.5-min. average increase in daily listening time (141%)
Yle total	5.13 per year	€0.1053	€0.1058	0.5	29-min. average increase in daily listening time (29,3%)
RnaG*	1.75-2.04 per year	€0.15-€0.18	€0.19-€0.22	22 to 27	9.6-min. average increase in daily listening time to RnaG in the three Gaeltacht areas (16,3%)

**: the effect of inflation in Ireland between 1995 and 1996 is ignored.*

In both cases, the investments showed results that were in line with the intentions of policy decisions preceding the measures taken. It can be concluded that the biggest relative change was achieved in investments targeted at a young RML audience that was earlier not served by a profiled supply in the RML. A considerable increase in listening time was, however, achieved in all audience segments.

An important message emerges from the audience surveys. They reveal an increase in audience, also in the only urban environment in the data. The increase in the supply of broadcasting hours resulted in a significant increase in listening hours of programmes in Irish among Irish speakers in the three biggest Gaeltacht areas. It can also be argued that in this particular case, the service is of value in many other regions, and also instrumental in learning and passing on the language. It would be useful to pursue this line of examination to see if the same holds true in other cases, and to see if synergies could be developed with other sectors to achieve this goal.

In the case of both Yle and RnaG, the measures entailed additional expenditure, and resulted in a rise in per person and per hour cost of listening time. As discussed elsewhere in this report, services for RML audiences require a redistribution of resources, and this kind of cultural investment would normally not be possible in pure market conditions, but requires support through re-distributive mechanisms. In these cases, the mechanisms have been based on the remit of a public service broadcaster.

The possible use of cost-effectiveness results in policy development remains a political question. It could, however, reasonably be argued that in a policy planning exercise, the cases presented above should be considered successful. The results from a study related to increased programme volume (RnaG) would encourage additional investments in RML radio broadcasting, and support to the expansion of this sector in societies that do not yet provide a full range of daily broadcasts in the RML. We have also shown a case (Yle) where the profiling of services for smaller audience segments within RMLs has led to lower unit costs.

Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that this positive development has been achieved in a period when private commercial radio broadcasting in English has increased its share of the audience. Without the development in RML programming, it is very likely that RML programmes audiences would have declined.

RADIO AGORA

Radio Agora[89] was set up in Carinthia (Austria) in 1979 as a part-of-the-day radio service in Slovene and German, with programmes also in Spanish, Serbo-Croatian and sometimes English. The station covers a population of 250,000-300,000 people in Austria (Carinthia and South Styria), as well as a population of approximately 50,000

[89] AGORA = Arbeitsgemeinschaft offenes Radio / Avtonomno gibanje odprtega radia

people in Slovenia. The estimates of the size of the Slovene minority in the areas covered by the station in Austria varies between 40-60,000 (estimates by the minority language organisations) and 15,000 (estimate by government statistics).[90]

Radio Agora is a non-profit association, broadcasting 12 hours a day on a shared frequency with the commercial operator, Radio Korotan p.l.c.[91] Radio Agora was originally financed by a special public programme to support ethnic minorities (Volksgruppen-förderung, BKA Abtl. V/7). The financial support for the station has been insecure, and the station has on several occasions sought and received financing from the European Union.

This study presents parts of one such project, *Kultur verleiht Flügel S kultura na krilih* ("Culture lends wings") that was carried out between 1.11.1999 and 31.7.2001 with partial financing from EU (**Connect**). The main objective of this project was to offer a group of young people from different linguistic backgrounds (also RMLs) a possibility to gain comprehensive insights into the sequencing of cultural work as well as the possibility of having them deal with the contents of productions of various cultural disciplines[92] while working at Radio Agora. A main task was to bridge the cleavage between German and Slovene language.

The project included the task to produce 10 broadcasts, parts of which were bilingual. The production of radio programmes was one of 11 project aims, another one being to deal with radio engineering.[93]

Radio Agora carried out this project in cooperation with four different partners (Radio Onde Furlane, Udine, Friulian, Italy; Radio F.R.E.I., German, Erfurt, Germany; Radio Ceredigion, Aberystwyth, Welsh and English, UK and Radio Student, Slovenian, Ljubljana, Slovenia). The key broadcaster in this case was, however, Radio Agora itself.

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[90] According to the Euromosaic report a telephone survey indicated that there were 40,000 Slovene-speakers in Carinthia.

[91] Today, Radio Agora participates in a cooperation project with Radio Korotan and the public service broadcaster ORF that provides programming in Slovenian language during the day. From 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. Radio Agora broadcasts bi- and multilingual radio programmes (mainly Slovene and German).

[92] *Kultur verleiht Flügel S kultura na krilih*, Final Report 2001, Klagenfurt: Radio Agora (Mimeo).

[93] The project aims were (a) using new media/internet, (b) getting to know cultural work, (c) getting to know new professions, (d) using several languages, (e) production of 6-10 radio broadcastings, (f) dealing with radio engineering, (g) work with young people, (h) work in public relations, (i) cooperation with partners, (h) cooperation with schools and cultural initiatives and (i) reducing prejudices of young people towards ethnic groups/minorities.

The Radio Agora project allows us to reflect on how a cost-effectiveness analysis could be carried out in a case that does not provide data portraying audience behaviour and involves in-house activities of different kinds (in this case cultural networking and education, in other cases for example, staff training, recruitment, etc.).

The outcomes of the Radio Agora and partners project can be assessed in at least three dimensions: (1) the value of the media outlets, as estimated on the basis of cost and possible audience of the 10 radio broadcasts, a web-site and CD, (2) the success of the cultural network-building and educational activities of individual participants, as presented through the evaluation report, and (3) the effect of other promotional activities. We are here considering only the first dimension.

The total cost for the project *Culture lends wings* was €159,729. The grant from the **Connect** programme was €131,190. In the project budget, a total of €111,870 is registered as having been covered by EU, whereas €47,859 was covered by the organisers.

The average yearly budget of Radio Agora in the period 1998 to 2001 was €373,000. The cost structure of the normal broadcasting activities of the station is divided into two parts. A low-cost part of the total programming (66% of the total broadcasting time) is based on volunteer work and work by people who participate in a honorary capacity as well as low-cost music broadcasts during night hours (2-6 a.m.). The total annual budget for these broadcasts is €131,400, which would mean a cost per hour of €45.[94] The remaining 33% of the programming would require a bigger contribution of the employed persons working for the station. The annual budget for this part is €176,000, and the yearly broadcasting time amounts to 1,460 hours. The prime time cost for the station would thus be €120.5 per hour.[95]

The EU grant for the project was approximately 30% relative to the yearly running costs for the station. The main part of the project costs were related to personnel and leadership (€102,440). It is not possible to distinguish direct costs for the 10 broadcasts from other project costs relating to the object of cultural network-formation of the participants, but it seems obvious that the actual broadcasts amount to a rather modest share of the total project. Costs related to technical personnel amounted to €4,160, Radio Agora has marked €6,017 of its own contribution for studio use (which in the budget is grouped as part of sending costs, within a broader heading), part of

[94] €131,400 ÷ 2.920 hours = €45
[95] €176,000 ÷ 1,460 hours = €120.5

the sum of €1,637 was used for audio materials, and €2,516 were used for different travel, largely related to the broadcast production. If we add the direct personnel costs and technical costs (€4,160 + €6,017) and include also 50% of the two other costs ((€2,516 + 1,637) ÷ 2)) we get a total cost of €12,254, that would be a lower bound estimate of the total costs of the radio work.[96]

If we compare this to the average cost of the station (approximately 4,380 broadcasting hours per year, a yearly budget of €450,500 = €102 per hour), it is clear that the programme production of the 10 broadcasts is far beyond what is normally possible to do at this station (approximately €1,200-€2,000 per hour, not including costs for supporting other than directly broadcast-related project logistics would mean a cost level approximately ten times higher than the average prime time production costs).[97]

We do, indeed, have to consider that this was first and foremost a cultural networking-and-education oriented project. The main part of the personnel costs, planning costs and costs for supporting costs of the 8 young participants during the 13 months of networking activities would thus have to be considered as cultural network formation and education. This means that a cost-per-hour comparison has limited validity as an instrument to measure effectiveness of production in this case. In addition to this, a considerable part of the costs would be different promotional activities. It is not possible to distinguish these costs from the costs for cultural network formation and education. All in all, the costs for cultural network formation and education plus promotional activities could be estimated to constitute 85-90% of the total project (€135,000-145,000).

In the case of Radio Agora's *Culture lends wings*, we cannot establish unit costs for the broadcasts. Neither do we have estimates of actual audiences of the bilingual broadcasts by Radio Agora itself or its partners. We do, however, get a picture of the potential strength of the stations involved in the project through the following figures (Table 4.17).

[96] In addition to this, a CD and a web-site were established. We do not include this in the estimates of radio broadcasting production costs but assume that this was taken care of within the educational part of the project.

[97] We do not know the exact duration of the 10 broadcasts, nor how many broadcasts were broadcast on the different stations participating in the project. Thus a cost-per-hour estimation has to be substituted with a cost-per-broadcast estimation in this case. This, of course, makes comparisons to average broadcasting costs more difficult. We have assumed that an average programme duration would be approximately an hour.

Table 4.17: Potential radio audiences

CULTURE LENDS WINGS (FIGURES ACCORDING TO THE BROADCASTERS)[98]

	Total population (Ca.)	RML speakers
Radio Agora	300,000	15-60,000
Radio Ceredigion	74,000	36-40,000
Radio Onde Furlane	250,000	50-70,000
Radio F.R.E.I.	250,000	?[99]

All in all, the potential audience for all these stations adds up to 800,000-900,000 people, of which 100,000 to 170,000 use a minority language.

Though we cannot establish a safe estimate of broadcasting costs per hour or a realistic assessment of how many listeners were actually reached, we can establish an argument related to the potential for this type of a project. The actual cost per programme[100] could be estimated to fall in the €1,200-€2,000 range. In the ideal case (the programme is broadcast by all radio stations participating in the project), the audience would at its best (20% of the potential audience in the RML group and 2.5% in the majority population) add up to 40,000-50,000 listeners per programme. A lower bound estimate would estimate a 5% audience in the RML group and 1% in the majority population. This would translate into approximately 20,000 listeners. In the more likely case that programmes are broadcast by only two stations, the figures would be approximately 25% to 50% of the above mentioned.

In the ideal case, the unit cost per listener for a programme would thus range from €0.024 per listener to €0.1 per listener to any given programme.[101] In the less ideal case, the range would be 2-4 times higher, €0.05-€0.4 per listener. Any figure given would include overhead costs for the main broadcaster (Radio Agora), as it can be assumed that the broadcaster in this case has put a value to its contribution to the EU project that is calculated into the figures. There should also be a negative cost for the partner stations, as they

[98] Radio Student (Ljubljana, Slovenia) has not been included as there are no figures available to support an assessment of the potential audience for this station. This station also broadcasts in Slovenia where the broadcasts would not address the main issue of this study (provide opportunity to listen in an RML) but rather would be likely to address the need for a higher degree of understanding matters related to bilingualism among a majority audience.

[99] So called "new minorities", mainly constituted by immigrants. It should be noted, at this point, that a great share of the Radio Agora and partner's project was carried out in majority languages, and directed at a majority audience, thus relating not only to increase in the opportunity to use RMLs but more generally to increase knowledge and understanding of the cultures related to RMLs and bilingualism.

[100] €12,254 ÷ 10 broadcasts = €1,225.40.

[101] €1,200 ÷ 50,000 = €0.024; 2,000 ÷ 20,000 = €0.1.

get the programmes produced by the project for free and can substitute other programmes with these programmes. The negative cost effects for the 10 programmes would, in this case, probably be minor and can thus be considered to fall within the error margin of the broad cost estimate.

The outcome of the cultural network formation and education aspects of the project (especially the 13-months second phase, when eight young participants worked at Radio Agora) was evaluated with the help of a quite detailed attitude panel survey among participants.[102] As the task for this section is not to evaluate cultural networking, this part of the project is not discussed at any detail here. It can, by passing, be of general interest to note that the evaluation showed a high degree of satisfaction among the participants,[103] as well as a high degree of satisfaction among the partner radio stations.

Our assessment of the costs relative to audience potential of the radio broadcasts by the Radio Agora and partners project shows that the cost per achieved listening hour in an RML audience for the programmes produced (if broadcast over all the stations that participated in the project) would come close to the average costs per achieved listening hour of the two public broadcasting channels described above. This is remarkable as the production costs of the type of programmes produced by EU support were quite considerable.

4.4 Culture

DOMAIN RELEVANCE

In terms of the policy-to-outcome path, cultural activities in a regional or minority language constitute, first and foremost, *opportunities* to use it; we may therefore view them as primarily "supply-side" measures. At the same time, the *desire* to use a language is undoubtedly influenced by the image of the language; the latter is, in turn, influenced, among other factors, by its standing and recognition as vehicle for high as well as popular culture. "Culture", however, is an eminently stretchable concept. In certain

[102] Radio Agora Culture Lab: Kultur verleiht Flügel. S kultur na krilih. Culture lends wings. Evaluation. Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Qualitätsmanagement und Psychotherapie. F. Flaggl and W. Mohl, July 2001, Mimeo.

[103] On a scale from 1 (positive) to 5 (negative), the overall assessment by participants was 1.5. The only component that was lower than 3 was the social component, due to difficulties in group dynamics. The increase in tolerance and communication between different ethnic groups was achieved on a supra level (interest in culture initiatives in neighbouring countries) but not at an individual level.

ways, media ventures such as Radio Agora, described in the preceding section, are cultural too. In this section, however, we have chosen to focus on culture in a narrower sense.

Cultural policy in this narrower sense is of course a classical mainstay of the action of national, regional or local authorities in favour of RMLs. A large number of interventions of this kind that are language-relevant (such as subsidies to the publication of poetry anthologies in RMLs or to the Welsh *eisteddfodau*) could certainly be investigated. How far, however, can the Commission support cultural activities, considering that EU action in the field of culture, according to Art. 151 of the consolidated version of the *Treaty establishing the European Community*, requires a unanimous decision of member states? This provision most certainly limits Community action, at least for the present, in any major cultural enterprise. Accordingly, it is relevant to focus here on relatively small projects, of a kind that has already (or still does) benefit from Community support.

EU-supported projects in the field of culture can give RML users opportunities to be culturally active in their own mother tongue. In places where the language is hardly spoken, it also gives them an opportunity to read and hear the language and develop their language and improve their vocabulary. At the same time, for the population not speaking the minority language, cultural outlets provide an opportunity to come into contact with the language and its related culture and might also be an inspiration to learn the language.

Presence and participation in international cultural events are a way to raise the self-confidence of those who participate in the production and continuous re-creation process of the culture of an RML. The European Union has been an active sponsor of different types of international cultural co-operation, in some cases also involving RMLs.

The presence of minority languages in the cultural field is also part of the *normalisation* process (not in the traditional linguistics sense of establishing a language *norm*, but in the language planning sense of making the presence of language *normal*). It contributes to showing that the language is not limited to certain spheres in society and that it can be used at all occasions in all contexts.

After excluding fields such as the visual arts and music of which language is not the most essential part, and books where comparable projects mainly concerned either dictionaries or school books already discussed elsewhere in this report, we decided to in this section present four theatre projects (“Voicing Europe”;

"Offspring"; "COMEd'IA"; and "Second European Marathon"). The mutual comparability of this type of projects is limited. However, they enjoy a prominent position in support to cultural activities, which justifies their being discussed in this report. Such cultural activities are also relevant in terms of the policy-to-outcome path. Theatre plays and tours can enhance the image of a language and there are several good examples of how a theatre or musical can improve the image of a language. Many RML theatres are isolated in their country or region. Co-operation with other RML theatres in Europe can enhance the self-confidence of individuals involved in the performing arts, and be useful channels for information exchange on how problems have been resolved elsewhere.

The projects themselves may be of different kinds. RML theatres may want to interact to develop particular features they have in common, as performers in small languages. RML theatres may also seek contact with theatres operating in majority languages to address common fields of interest while promoting intercultural understanding. The projects discussed here serve different purposes notably the development of skills in all participating theatres and better awareness of the existence of RML languages and of cultural production in these languages. Usually, this awareness spills over to a larger audience as the projects include on-site co-productions, and may later entail visiting performances or other exchanges. It is thus of particular importance for RML theatres to be accepted as project partners, as this may be the only way to gain notice within a larger professional community. The main effect of this type of projects would thus be linked to raising the awareness of the existence and importance of minority languages.

The project ***Voicing Europe***–*Hommage an den "Dramatiker" Pablo Picasso und seinen Freundeskreis* (which took place between 1 October 2000 and 1 November 2001) involved European institutions, theatres and universities of 5 countries, theatre, music and academic research in second language acquisition and European literature. Workshops were organised where participants were taught to discover the beauty, sonorities and expressive capacities of other languages. The aim of the project was to show that people think and reason differently in different languages, according to the organisers. The responsible organiser was TTR –*Laboratorio teatro tra le righe* (Germany—despite the name). Participating institutions were Freie Universtät Berlin (Germany), *Guadalupe lo spazio per le arti* (Italy), Teater Replica (Sweden), *Theater Zerbrochene Fenster* (Germany) and the Universitat de Barcelona (Spain).

During the second "Offspring" (Multi-RML theatre) meeting, held in Nîmes, France, in October 2000, the artistic possibilities for a

multilingual and multilateral co-production to celebrate and promote the linguistic diversity of Europe was explored in a number of workshops. Of the eight companies that were present at this meeting, six brought along young artists who they thought capable of and suitable for participation in the co-production. Eight young theatre makers from various regions will participate in this co-production that will be staged in June 2002 at the theatre festival *Oerol* at Terschelling, Friesland, The Netherlands. This is the largest site-specific theatre festival in Europe. The production will have the nature of a site-specific show and will be aimed at a broad and young audience. A tour along other regions that are represented in the «Offspring» project may follow, but is not discussed here.

The objective of the European Communities for immigration and artistic action-project (***COM.E.d'IA***—*Communautés européennes de l'immigration et action artistique*), which took place from 25 August 2000 to 15 August 2001, was to organise exchange and co-operation between officers responsible for cultural programmes and artists in the field of culture and immigration in Europe. Their aim was to better identify and promote factors of artistic diversity, social participation and integration and to support the know-how of young artists in the field of intercultural relations. The project was carried out through a series of working sessions, meetings, workshops, forums and performances to develop education materials and analysis, and introduce manifestations and co-productions of intercultural projects. The organising institution was the *Établissement public du Parc et de la grande halle de la Villette* (France); co-organisers were ACTO (Portugal), *Institut de cultura de Barcelona* (Spain), *Nes Theatre Amsterdam* (Netherlands), *Theater Zuidplein* in Rotterdam (Netherlands), WUK—*Werkstätten & Kulturhaus Wien* (Austria) and ADRI—*Agence pour le développement des relations interculturelles*.

The ***Second European marathon for theatre creation 1999-2000*** (*Deuxième Marathon européen de la création théâtrale, 1999/2000*) is a European co-operation project between dramatic writers, translators, theatrical companies, directors and technicians. It brought together six young drama writers from five European cities, four translators, six young theatre company directors, as well as around 30 comedians, play directors and technicians in order to closely co-operate in the writing, translation and creation of six new plays. The new pieces were performed before large audiences during one week in September 2000 in Brussels. The aim of the project was to enhance interactive work of young generations of theatre professionals as well as practical experience of linguistic diversity. The institution in charge was *Temporalia* (Belgium); co-organising and participating institutions were the *Centre International de la*

Traduction Théâtrale (France), the *Istituto Galego das Artes Escenicas e Musicais* (Spain) and the Finnish Ministry of Education.

The activities described in this section differ from those described in other parts of this report, in that they are *projects* with a one-off*,* rather than permanent or institutionalised character (as would be the case, say of the radio stations discussed in Section 4.3). Providing an account of the modes of operation of these various projects would require detailed examination of no obvious *general* interest in terms of RML protection or promotion, but a few features are worth pointing out.

Of particular interest to us is the "Offspring" project, since its focus is on RMLs. According to the administrators of the leading partner in the project, the much-needed EU funding went mainly towards covering the travel and lodging expenses of the actors from the participating RML theatres (this allocation of funding is replicated in other projects) At the same time, almost 10% of the entire budget was covered by the sale of theatre seats. This suggests a significant willingness to pay from the audiences themselves. All the shows were reportedly sold out.

None of these projects would actually have flown without support from EU sources—sometimes considerable. For example, in the *Voicing Europe* project, 40% of the total cost was covered from a variety of sources, such as own funding by *Teatro Tra le Righe* (10%, of which about half were ticket sales), and by the participating universities (30%).

The theatre projects described here are modest and the audiences reached relatively small; admittedly, mass entertainment was not the objective pursued in any of them. At least as much as a standard output of the performing arts (as could be measured with audience figures), the aim of these projects was to create the conditions for a mutual learning experience involving creators and performers, while showing, sometimes as an incidental aspect, that theatre can be made in RMLs.

The role of RMLs, however, was secondary in the projects discussed here, with the exception of "Offspring", specifically devoted to RMLs. Participating regions, language communities and companies so far are: Wales (*Bara Caws/Spectacle Theatre*), Occitan-speaking communities (*C*^{ie} *Anne Clément*), the Sorbian language community in Germany (*Deutch-Sorbisches Volkstheater*), Ireland (*Taibhdhearc*), Scotland (*Tosg*), and Sámi Norway (*Beaivvas*).

«Offspring» aims at delivering effects both in terms of audience and performers (taken in a broad sense). As regards the former, play productions supported under the *"Offspring"* project prioritised plays suitable for young audiences, which served to call their attention on the vitality of RMLs.[104] As regards the latter, "Offspring" furthers mutual learning between performers from different RML communities—highlighting, in passing, the major gaps in the experience already accumulated by some (e.g., Welsh participants) by comparison with relative newcomers (e.g., Sámi participants from Norway). With respect to both target categories of the "Offspring" project, however, issues of "image" (of the language) are considered central—underscoring the importance of quality.

The lack of hard data regarding these programmes (for example, the recipients of the subsidies do not even have audience figures for the RML events organised) makes it practically impossible to quantify the effect of these projects. As to expenditure figures, even information about total EU support towards the cost of each project is of limited usefulness, since it cannot be related to measurable output. According to the organisers, the first three cases ("Voicing Europe", "COMEd'IA" and the "European Marathon") mentioned here have received funding from the European Union programmes **Culture 2000** and **Kaleidoscope**. The fourth case ("Offspring") received financial support from the European Union in 1997, 1998 and 2001. "Voicing Europe" benefited from a subsidy of just over €138,000; "COMEd'IA" received €122,415; "European Marathon" received €142,785, all from Culture 2000; "Offspring" received €6,000 from the **Youth programme (2001)**, while the rest of the necessary funding was raised locally.

The absence of quantifiable results in the case of the cultural activities concerned, however, must not be seen as a serious cause of concern, because for the most part, quantifiable indicators would simply not be relevant. The concept of audience figures is one that makes sense for majority-language cultural productions (even though some of the latter would typically appeal only to fringe audiences). All other things being equal, minority-language cultural productions cannot be expected to meet audience targets that are even remotely comparable to those that could in principle we applied to majority-language productions.

In the case of minority language performing arts, *other* indicators would be more relevant. A first and rather obvious one is that minority language performances take place at all—as opposed to not

[104] Participants in the *Offspring* project note that majority language audiences can also be sensitised to RML issues in this way, but that the project's main concern is with RML audiences.

existing at all; this creates opportunities to use the language, and what is more to use it in a context which carries sociolinguistic implications that more banal, everyday contexts would not. Another indicator should attempt to capture the ensuing sense of worth which the very existence of this cultural offer gives rise to. This sense of (self-) worth, according to the "policy-to-outcome path", often works as encouragement for RML speakers (or potential speakers) to have a favourable attitude towards their language.

Hence, the cultural activities that we report on in this section ought to be seen in this perspective. The absence of data prevents us from making any judgement as to whether they have really contributed to improved attitudes among the public towards the RMLs concerned; however, the mere fact that they have taken place does, from an analytical standpoint, constitute a relevant outcome.

4.5 Administration and economic and social life

DOMAIN RELEVANCE

A common symptom of the imperilled position of RMLs is the fact that their use is confined to private domains—where the term "private" refers not only to family life and interpersonal relations, but to the whole range of non-public activities. Their use in other domains, such as public administration, courts of justice, is limited. Sociolinguistic research amply documents the fact that over a period of time, this can have a severe constraining effect on the use of a language. It can convey the impression to its users that it is somehow "inferior" to the dominant language and contribute to the RML's decline. The fact that majority language are used, say, in administrative domains, but that many RMLs are not (while some never have) does not authorise the conclusion that there is something "artificial" about efforts to give RMLs a certain visibility in administration and other formal domains. The frequently made criticism of "artificiality" simply omits the fact that there is *nothing* "natural" about the pre-eminence of dominant and/or majority languages. The fact that some languages are in a dominant position is also the result of power relations and political processes (this point, which is increasingly accepted in language policy research, is made most thoroughly by May 2001). In the same way, the notion that some RML promotion measures should be rejected *because* they are contrary to market logic (incidentally, a debatable point in itself) does not stand up to the simple rejoinder that the currently dominant languages have achieved their dominance through unquestionably *non*-market means, like military conquest.

Hence, efforts to stabilise or enhance the use of RMLs in such domains as public administration and economic activity are of

particular importance. Although it coincides with the upper levels of reversing language shift in terms of Fishman's *Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale* (GIDS; see Chapter 3), it should not be seen as trivial matter, because it can have a direct effect on language use. In terms of the policy-to-outcome path, the introduction (or the restoration) of the use of a language in public administration, far from having a merely symbolic significance, is primarily an *opportunity*-creating measure. At the same time, it legitimises the RML, encouraging people to use it (the "*desire*" factor of the policy-to-outcome path); finally, the use of an RML in public administration carries with it various terminological exigencies, and provides a context in which users can develop relatively specialised language skills. As such, the presence of an RML in public administration has a *capacity*-building component. All three determinants of language use highlighted in our theoretical model (capacity, opportunity and desire) are therefore present. Although the opportunity aspect tends to dominate (Grin, 2002b), the relative importance of these various channels will largely be a function of the measure considered.

"Economic and social life" is a meta-domain of possibly even greater importance for the vitality of a language. Some initiatives have been launched as grassroots community projects, helping to anchor the language in non-purely private contexts which are, however, outside the purview of the authorities. These contexts (coinciding, to a significant extent, with what is often referred to as "civil society"), include social interaction taking place outside of strict confines of family and friends, and, of course, the somewhat catch-all category known as "economic life" (work and production; market exchange, including advertising; consumption). "Normalising" (in the sense of "making normal") the use of an RML in these contexts also has an effect on the capacity, the opportunity and the desire to use it, with the relative importance of each channel depending on the nature of the specific measure considered.

In this section, we examine four interventions:

- the production of a **Welsh dictionary** for use in political life and public administration;
- the production of an **Italian-German dictionary** of legal terms in South Tyrol;
- community projects in Wales known as ***Mentrau iaith*****,** or "language initiatives", which promote the use of the language in community and business life;
- the ***Glór na nGael*** scheme in Ireland, which rewards the innovative use of Irish in community and business life.

Facilitating the use of RMLs in regional assemblies is one instance where all three determinants of language use are present, with a relatively higher role for capacity building. In 1999 elections were held for the National Assembly for Wales (*Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru*). The National Assembly is the first ever all-Wales democratic forum and the first time Wales enjoyed self-government since the 16th century. The powers and functions hitherto exercised by the Secretary of State for Wales were transferred to the National Assembly. The use or lack of use of the Welsh language in the National Assembly evidently has major implications for the future of Welsh as a language of government and administration. The Welsh dictionary, which did not benefit from EU funding, specialises in terminology needed for such functions.

The Welsh language skills of the sixty members of the National Assembly range from native speaker ability to hardly any at all. Welsh became an official and working language of the Assembly and simultaneous translation facilities were made available.

One of the greatest challenges was to make the use of Welsh easy for those who wished to use it. Because of the marginalised position of Welsh in parliamentary debates, the lack of suitable and standardised terminology was one of the key problems. Conscious of this, the Welsh Language Board (*Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg*), on behalf of the Welsh Office, and following on the decision of the Secretary of State for Wales to allocate additional funds in the year 1998-1999, decided on a special project to produce standard terminology in Welsh in specific subject areas. This included a dictionary of terms relating to the procedures of the National Assembly. The contract was awarded to *The European Language Initiative* (ELI). The Dictionary of Procedural Terms (with c. 5,000 terms) was published in 1999 by the Welsh Language Board and made widely available to the members and staff of the National Assembly.

The *Welsh dictionary* benefited from the involvement of the *European Language Initiative* [TELI]. This English based group has long been engaged in preparing specialist glossaries and dictionaries. The main task of compiling a database was undertaken between July and December 1998 under the direction of a Management Committee, establish by the Welsh Language Board. When awarded the contract to produce the Dictionary of Procedural Terms, TELI also brought together a team of consultants, not only from Wales but also from Ireland. When it was later decided to produce a Scottish Gaelic version of the dictionary, this panel of consultants was expanded to include experts on that language. As many of the procedural terms used in the three jurisdictions are the

same, this methodology avoided unnecessary duplication of effort. It was agreed to produce a printed version first; an updated version in electronic format would later be made available. Both the *Welsh Language Board* and the *European Language Initiative* (TELI) are conscious of the fact that the current Dictionary is not a definitive work and will require development and refinement. Comments and suggestions from users are invited. The Dictionary is in bilingual format i.e. a Welsh word-listing, followed by the English equivalent and then an English word-listing, followed by the Welsh equivalent.

The main objective of the dictionary was to provide tools to facilitate the effective functioning of the 60-member Welsh National Assembly but also the many public officials and members of the general public whose daily lives are influenced by the workings of the Assembly. The publication is available to the public on the Internet as well as in printed form, and it is impossible to say how many users there are, or indeed how many may use them over the years. This alone precludes estimations of outcome and, consequently, cost-effectiveness evaluations. Nonetheless, a number of informational elements can serve to assess more informally what is being achieved, and at what cost, starting out from the assumption that, language skills permitting, the entire population of Wales is liable to use the dictionary: our calculations therefore includes only those people who speak Welsh, as arguably English-speaking monoglots would not have any need for the dictionary[105].

The cost of the Welsh dictionary was entirely covered by the Welsh Language Board. It amounted to £ 25,000 (a little over €40,000). 2,000 copies of the dictionary were printed. An enlarged version with some 8,000 head-words, costing another £ 10,000 (a little over €16,000) was made available on the internet in 2000. The per-copy cost of the dictionary was therefore just above €20, although this figure is of little meaning, given the availability of the text on the Internet. It is more relevant to consider the total expenditure in public funds of some €57,000 and to compare this with the target public—which we have restricted to the Welsh residents who are able to speak Welsh. given a total number of Welsh speakers of 523,319, the per-capita cost stands at about 11 cents. One may also consider this dictionary to be an expenditure normally part of government operations. The total expenditure would then be divided

[105] The Welsh dictionary may be less directly useful to others, but nonetheless provide valuable experience that can be replicated elsewhere. It is interesting to note that a Scottish Gaelic counterpart work has been published and is in use in the new Scottish Parliament. An Irish counterpart, for use in the houses of parliament in the Republic and in the Legislative Assembly in Northern Ireland, has also just been published. A Scots/Ulster-Scots edition has been proposed. Enquiries have been received concerning similar publications for Frisian, Gallego and Basque.

by the total resident population (estimated at 2,946,000 in mid-2000); the per capita-cost falls under 2 cents. If allowance is also made for the fact that such dictionaries remain useful for many years, their cost can be amortised on a longer period, setting the unit cost at nearly zero.

THE ITALIAN-GERMAN DICTIONARY

This project presents similarities to the Welsh one, but is quite different in many respects. The *Dizionario terminologico del diritto societario italiano/tedesco*, was published jointly by four publishing houses in Munich, Vienna, Bolzano-Bozen and Bern. Its focus, rather than on the vocabulary of political life public administration, is on legal and social affairs, and is useful to lawyers and civil service servants as much as to politicians and analysts. Its emphasis, rather than being on the promotion of a particular language, is on the dynamic partnership of two languages in a bilingual setting. Unlike the Welsh dictionary project, it received EU funding in the form of a subvention from **Interreg II**. It was co-funded by the Autonomous Province of Bolzano-Bozen and produced by the European Academy in Bolzano-Bozen.

The *Dizionario terminologico del diritto societario italiano/tedesco* is intended for use not only in Bolzano-Bozen, but throughout the entire Alpine area, where both German and Italian are spoken. Its use will by no means be limited to assemblies, be they at national, regional or provincial level, but should also be of benefit to all those engaged in areas such as law, administration and the economy. Although considerable degrees of bilingualism and even trilingualism can be found in parts of the Alpine area (particularly in the Ladin-speaking areas of Northern Italy and the Romansch-speaking areas of the Grisons/Grischun), the majority of people would not have nearly the same degree of fluency in all languages.

The dictionary is set out in nine sections, covering different aspects of legal, administrative and societal activity e.g. constitutional affairs, budgeting, activities and obligations and public representation.

It is more informative than the Welsh Dictionary in that it explains how terms are used and their changing meanings in different contexts. The use of various terms is also well referenced, bibliographically and otherwise. Indices in both German and Italian help users make the most of this truly bilingual tool.

The idea to develop an *Italian-German terminological dictionary* came from the project “Terminologia e lingue speciali” of the European Academy in Bozen/Bolzano. The EU funding, which it

received, came from the **Interreg II** programme. The objective of the programme was to overcome the linguistic barriers in the Alpine region by creating a bilingual dictionary of legal, administrative and economic terminology. An expert editorial committee was established under the direction of Felix Mayer. In addition, a small group of legal advisors assisted the lexicographic work. The idea originated in 1993 and the editorial committee completed its work at the beginning of 2000.

As regards the characterisation of its goal, the Italian-German dictionary, just like the Welsh one just discussed, is to facilitate the effective functioning of a regional assembly (the 70 members of the South Tyrol Council), as well as that of public officials, other specialists (e.g. private law firms) and the public at large. Here again, the dictionary is available on the Internet as well as in printed form, making it impossible to give precise figures for the number of users, particularly over time. This precludes estimations of outcome and, consequently, of cost-effectiveness. A more informal assessment, however, will enable us to make some general inferences from this experience.

Let us therefore take the target public as a whole as a unit of measurement. We have taken the entire population of the province of Bolzano-Bozen, as the vast majority[106] use either Italian of German in their everyday lives. It should also be borne in mind that people outside the target publics will almost certainly benefit from the dictionaries. This benefit can be more or less direct. The German-Italian dictionary can be useful to inhabitants of other Alpine regions where—despite language territoriality—there is a significant degree of interlinguistic contact.

The total cost of realising the (favourably reviewed) *Italian-German dictionary* was €236,500, of which €132,000 came from public sources, including €66,000 from the European Commission. The balance came from the publishers: the Dictionary was published jointly by *C.H. Becksche Verlagsbuchhandlung* of Munich, *Verlagsanstalt Athesia* of Bozen, *Linde-Verlag* of Vienna and *Verlag Stämpli AG* of Berne. It will be marketed commercially in Germany, Switzerland and Austria, as well as in Italy. If the target public is entire population in the region (465,264 in 2,000),[107] then the per-capita cost is about €0.51. The cost to public sources taken together (including the EU) is just above €0.28. The EU contribution proper is a little over €0.14 per person in the target public.

[106] Even the small Ladin speaking community, which constitutes 4.2% of the population of the region, finds itself obliged to use either of the other two languages in many domains.
[107] Source: http://www.provincia.bz.it/astat/jb2001/JB01_K3.pdf

There again, the cost of the operation is very small, and becomes negligible if it is amortised over a longer-period, to take account of the relatively long usefulness and shelf-life of such products.

THE MENTRAU IAITH

The use of RMLs in local communities (neighbourhood) is a critical factor in language maintenance (Fishman 1991, 2001). While government can engage directly in acquisition planning and indeed in corpus planning, the actual use of RMLs depends largely on ordinary citizens. As economic and social life is largely outside the sphere of direct influence of the authorities in liberal, market-driven societies, civil society input in supporting RMLs can have a major importance.

With the almost total collapse of the mining industry, Wales was faced in the late eighties and early nineties with the decline of many strongly Welsh speaking communities in mining valleys. This phenomenon was by no means unique as the decline of rural RML-speaking communities, owing to various socio-economic reasons, is a common feature across Europe. However, the decline was felt very sharply in Wales because many of the affected communities had an industrial base (that is, mining) and its collapse was sudden. It was this that led to the establishment of the *mentrau iaith*. The first *menter* were established in 1991 with funding from the Welsh Office. They now function under the aegis of the Welsh Language Board. No fewer than 13 *mentrau* are now functioning.[108]

The *Mentrau iaith* operate on the sound premise that just like any other, the Welsh language does not exist in a vacuum. Every development that impacts upon the community has a corresponding effect on the language, particularly in areas where there are high densities of Welsh speakers. The meaning of this is that the *mentrau* have from the outset had to adopt holistic methods of community language planning that reflect socio-economic as well as linguistic and cultural factors.

The *mentrau* do not of course possess political or statutory powers to develop or promote policies in areas such as economic development, health and social care, housing and planning or education and training. However, what the *mentrau* are able to do through partnerships with public and statutory bodies is to seek to influence policy-making and to raise awareness amongst policy-makers of the effects of their decisions on the Welsh language. This

[108] Abundant information about the *mentrau iaith* is available on-line on: http://www.mentrau-iaith.com/prif/index.html

requires a significant degree of political sensitivity and familiarity with a range of policy areas. It is nevertheless an important area of work for the *mentrau* if they are to gain recognition as effective and highly respected agencies in the field of language and community regeneration.

The *mentrau* define their missions as encouraging people to use Welsh and assist them in doing so in a number of ways. A *menter iaith,* which is *per se* language-oriented, is a community agency charged with the responsibility of extending and expanding the use of Welsh as a medium of social and institutional interaction. In theoretical terms, the work of the *mentrau* could be described as an attempt to develop a model of community language planning in specific geographical areas that are in the main coterminous with local authority boundaries. As it is not possible to separate a language from the people who speak or learn it so the *mentrau* can be considered to be interventionist agencies that contribute towards community regeneration.

Essentially the *mentrau* are grass roots organisations that have grown out of the collective aspirations of people in various localities to safeguard the future of the Welsh language in areas where it is spoken as the main language; they also seek to extend and strengthen the use of Welsh in community networks beyond these areas. As a result, the *mentrau* are an integral part of the social fabric of the communities they serve and thereby accountable to them in the fulfilment of aspirations and realisation of objectives.[109]

Depending on their constitutional status, each *menter* is answerable in some way to a managing committee or takes into consideration the views of an advisory committee. The size and membership of committees such as these varies from area to area. What is certain is that the *mentrau* are fortunate to have the support and enthusiasm of a host of local volunteers The work of the *mentrau* can be summarised as follows:

- helping to ensure adequate opportunities for children, young people and adults to use Welsh in their leisure time;
- providing information about Welsh medium playgroups and schools;
- advising new parents on raising their children bilingually;
- helping public, private and voluntary organisations to use Welsh;
- undertaking translation work, or putting you in touch with translators;

[109] See presentation made by *Mentrau Iaith Cymru* to the Culture Committee of the National Assembly of Wales in November 2001.

- providing information about Welsh for Adults courses and helping to ensure that learners can practice their Welsh outside the classroom;
- increasing the use of Welsh in the Welsh tourism industry;
- offering practical advice and help, often free of charge.

The *mentrau* facilitate literally hundreds of various projects each year with the aim of increasing the use made of the Welsh language at a community level. A major evaluation of the programme was carried out in 2000 and while some criticism were voiced and a number of recommendations made on how improvements could be wrought, the evaluators concluded that in general, the *mentrau iaith* have a positive influence on the use made of the Welsh language at the community level.[110] In the year 2000/2001, the *mentrau* received £430,390 (about €700,000) from the Welsh Language Board, £321,348 (€525,000) of which was earmarked for employment costs. In addition, they received a further £200,973 (almost €330,000) from local authorities. This amounts to a total income of £631,363 (about €1,033,000).[111]

While the project in itself does not receive EU funding for its normal operation, the EU did, however, partially fund a conference organised by the Welsh Language Board on "Community language planning: practical guidance for strengthening and developing the use of minority languages".[112] The *Mentrau Iaith* project was the main focus of the conference but the participants were from all over Europe and the purpose of the event was to disseminate information rather than directly support the *mentrau*.

We can assume that each *menter* aims to serve the entire Welsh-speaking population in its area. Although the entire Welsh-speaking population of Wales stood at 523,319, some parts of Wales (those where the proportion of speakers is lowest) have no *mentrau*. Let us therefore define the target population as the Welsh speakers in "authorities" (geographical subdivisions of Wales since 1996) where *mentrau* have been set up.[113] The target population is 499,143 which we round up to 500,000. The per-capita expenditure is therefore 1,033,000÷500,000—that is, barely over €2 per person in

[110] "Venturing Onwards – Review of the Mentrau Iaith 2000" – Kathryn Jones and Gareth Ioan [Castell Newydd Emlyn 2000].
[111] Exchange rate as of 25 February 2002.
[112] Project No. 98-06-CON-0093-00.
[113] In practice, we have multiplied the rounded population figures of the authorities in which no *mentrau* exist (Blaenau Gwent, Merthyr Tydfil, Monmouthshire, Newport, Torfaen, Vale of Glamorgan) by the percentage of speakers published by the Welsh Language Board on its website. These percentages, dating from the 1991, have been assumed to be constant. This total (24,176) is then subtracted from the total number of Welsh speakers in Wales.

2000-2001. This figure suggests that a broad range of activities in favour of RMLs in economic and social life can be supported at a very reasonable cost.

As the areas covered by the *mentrau* do not correspond to administrative areas, it is difficult to accurately say how many people are reached by the projects. Some alternative approximations can be ventured for specific regions. For example, we do know that six *mentrau* operate within Carmarthenshire and that the entire population of the county (c. 195,000 persons) can be described as constituting the "target population". £280.000 (€459,016) was spent in this county—or €2.35 per person.[114]

GLÓR NA NGAEL

This project has for many decades been promoting the use of Irish in local communities. It was initiated in 1962 by *Cumann na Sagart*, an association of Irish-speaking Catholic priests. Its objective is to encourage local communities to promote the use of Irish among themselves, hence its name of *Glór na nGael* ("Voice of the Irish"). It is organised in the form of an annual competition to discover what communities have done most in the previous year to promote the Irish language. It has grown steadily over the years.

The situation of the Irish language, while different in a number of respects from the situation of the Welsh language, nevertheless bears a number of similarities—one of these being the challenge of having the language actually used in daily life in local communities. While the 1996 Census returns show that 41.1% of the population of the Republic claimed to be able to speak Irish, the increase in reported ability since independence in 1922—19.3% claimed to be able to speak Irish in the 1926 Census, the first taken after independence—is not matched by a comparable increase in actual usage.

Glór na nGael takes the form of a yearly competition where local communities present various projects they have engaged in to promote the use of Irish. As the number of entrants grew, it became necessary to employ a full-time staff and the programme was handed over to *Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge*, the coordinating body of voluntary Irish language organisations. The competition is directed by a broadly representative committee drawn from experienced and well-known figures in the Irish language movement.

[114] Source information supplied in February 2002 by Cefin Campbell, Director of *Mentrau Iaith Myrddin*.

Originally, there were different categories for towns and villages of varying population. After a major review in 2001, the competition has now been reorganised to cater for population centres with varying degrees of success in language normalisation. There are now four levels and entrants are categorised according to their level of advancement. This is done in consultation with the entrants themselves and with the assistance of independent assessors. There are approximately 30 entrants in each of the three lower levels and ten at the highest. Level 1 is intended for local communities that are only embarking on systematic language planning projects. On the other hand, Level 4 is intended for those centres that have already achieved a high degree of success e.g. the establishment of an Irish-medium school, an enterprise, such as a café or restaurant, operating primarily through Irish or having paid employees for language promotion.

Participating communities follow a programme of activities set out by the organisers. This programme is domain based—family, schools, shops, local associations, churches, clubs etc. Entrants can draw on the advice of a small team of field workers and are adjudicated independently twice a year. Winning centres are awarded cash prizes, which must be spent the following year on language projects. The prizes are presented by a public dignitary at a major public event in the overall winning community.

As in the case of the Welsh *mentrau iaith*, the aim of the Irish community project can be said to be the active promotion of the RML at local community level and with the direct and indirect involvement of the communities in question. Even people who may not feel any commitment to the projects will inevitably hear and see more of the RMLs in their local communities. The key success of *Glór na nGael* over the years is that it has succeeded in harnessing widespread public support for and involvement in language promotional work. In the earlier years, under-resourcing led to a fall in the level of activity in certain centres, which had earlier been to the forefront in the competition. A marked increase in funding for Glór na nGael in recent years has enabled a more structured and professional approach to be adopted.

Each year, *Glór na nGael* awards prizes to the value of many thousands of €. In 2001, the prize-fund reached €44,450. The prizes are given to winning centres and the prize money must be spent on language promotional projects. *Glór na nGael* has been particularly active in setting up Irish-medium primary schools, drawing on its network of contacts to enable interested groups of parents to access and benefit from the experiences of other communities. In more recent years, money has also been invested in other ongoing

institutions e.g. a café, conducting its business through Irish in Derry (Northern Ireland) and *Áras Chrónáin*, an Irish-medium community centre, used for educational, cultural and social events in the Dublin suburb of Clondalkin.

Glór na nGael is funded primarily by a government yearly subsidy, amounting to €436,790 in 2001. Given the extreme heterogeneity of the community projects encouraged through the scheme, it would be very difficult to find assumptions on which estimates of a specific target population could be based. It is therefore relevant to divide this figure by 1,430,205, that is, the number of Irish speakers according to the 1996 census.[115] This is about 30 cents per speaker.

4.6 Transfrontier cooperation

DOMAIN RELEVANCE

In this section, we shall be looking at the issue of transfrontier cooperation, in order to be able to examine whether such projects result in (i) higher effectiveness or (ii) lower cost and hence (iii) higher cost-effectiveness than if they had been done separately on both sides of the border.

In principle, transfrontier cooperation can lead to any of the three main goals outlined in the P-TOP model (see Chapter 3 above): capacity development, opportunity creation and attitudes improvement ("desire"), the three main routes towards increasing language use by its speakers. Having said this, it will soon become apparent that it is the second route—creating opportunities for speakers to use or consume the language—that is, in this context, the main one.

Transfrontier cooperation is an important component of international relations in some parts of the world, particularly where international borders have tended to be mobile and have left people, in greater or smaller numbers, living outside their kin-state. Such cooperation can help to reduce the negative impact felt by such people: the sense of isolation, of becoming a minority, of being immersed in another culture, with which neighbourly relations have not always been fluid.

It should have become apparent in this chapter that the size of a linguistic minority is usually an important variable. In sheer market terms, many initiatives become prohibitively expensive for smaller communities: how can a full television service be offered to a population of, say, 20,000 people, particularly when they may be

[115] http://eirestat.cso.ie/diska/CEML100.html

bilingual or trilingual and thus already have access to well-funded (and thus higher quality) alternatives?

There are two means of trying to offset the handicap that a small demographic weight brings with it. Some language communities speak the language of a neighbouring kin-state, and thus cooperation across international borders may be a means of effectively incorporating the smaller group into initiatives originating in the larger community (examples abound: German- and Hungarian-speaking minorities are the most numerous in fact). This can greatly help for training professionals (linguists, teachers, broadcasters, journalists) and offering wider markets to writers, for instance. But in other cases, the language community speaks a unique language, that is, it cannot draw on the resources of a kin-state. In such cases there is another way of reducing the costs of new initiatives: sharing know-how and resources in order to make them have a greater impact. Thus, whereas producing a high quality illustrated children's book in a single language may be too expensive, making a large scale run of the illustrations, and separate short scale runs for each language version, may drastically cut unit costs and help otherwise economically nonviable projects off the ground.

Although it is, of course, possible to characterise forms of transfrontier cooperation along different dimensions, one has particular relevance here. It is possible to distinguish between:

1. cooperation between authorities and organisations astride of an international border, and therefore between direct neighbours, with respect to the *same* language (or very similar forms).
2. cooperation between authorities and organisations in different States, and thus separated by one or more international borders, with regard to *different* languages.

It is interesting to note that international instruments seem more concerned with the former kind and do not seem to be very aware of the relevance or potential of the latter. For example, Art. 14 of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, requires the parties to "apply bilateral and multilateral agreements [..] in such a way as to foster contacts between the users of the same language [..]", and "for the benefit of regional or minority languages, to facilitate and/or promote co-operation across borders". Art. 7.1 also enjoins parties to favour "appropriate types of transnational exchanges". A particularly interesting reference to transfrontier cooperation is made in the Charter to the issue of Media. Thus Article 11.2 states that:

> "The Parties undertake to guarantee freedom of direct reception of radio and television broadcasts from neighbouring countries in a language used in identical or similar form to a regional or minority language, and not to oppose the retransmission of radio and television broadcasts from neighbouring countries in such a language".

The second case is somewhat different, and refers to transnational cooperation involving speakers of different languages. In fact, there are many excellent examples of speakers of different RMLs working together, and of services or products being developed for a variety of languages.

The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities also makes reference to transfrontier contacts, but seems to focus on "kin" minorities too, e.g. in Art. 17 which states that "The Parties undertake not to interfere with the right of persons belonging to national minorities to establish and maintain free and peaceful contacts across frontiers with persons lawfully staying in other States, in particular those with whom they share an ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious identity, or a common cultural heritage".

In this chapter, we look into cases of both intra-linguistic and interlinguistic cooperation across borders.

However, given that several examples of the second sort have already been considered in earlier sections of this chapter (e.g. Euroschool, in our section on education), we have decided to limit the discussion in this section to the first kind, that is, co-operation across borders, between authorities or organisations in whose territory the same language is used in identical or similar form, as defined in Article 14.2 of the Charter. In this way, moreover, comparisons—and, where applicable, estimates of cost-effectiveness—between cases will be simplified, the range of language being kept down to one.

The three cases examined here are the following:

a. The extension of Basque television reception into the French Basque country
b. Slovenian television cooperation across an external EU border
c. The Northern Ireland involvement in the Columba initiative

All three share one important feature: as a result of history, an international border was forged which lopped off part of the

language community from the other. In all three cases the demographic difference is great, the community in the minority condition being only a fraction of the size of the other. Most members of the ethnic community in the minority situation, being relatively small groups, they have only a limited capacity to develop initiatives to promote and safeguard their culture. If only for this reason, they need to rely heavily on support from the other side of the border, at least in linguistic, cultural, educational and media initiatives. This range of cases also illustrates the scope of transfrontier cooperation. In the Basque case, cooperation allows the smaller linguistic community (in south-western France) to pick up programmes made by the television station in the larger community (in northern Spain). In the Slovenian case, cooperation allows a programme, produced by the *smaller* linguistic community (in Carinthia, in southern Austria) to be seen by viewers of the national television station in the larger community (Slovenia). The third case highlights shows that transfrontier cooperation need not be limited to a single domain.

The rest of this section will be somewhat different from preceding ones. Transfrontier cooperation constitutes a special case that should not be seen as a "domain" of intervention of the same analytical nature as the others. Transfrontier cooperation is a more indirect type of measure, whose function is to enhance the effectiveness of interventions taking place in education, the media, culture, administration, or economic and social life. In general, without such cooperation, many projects already exist. Consequently, the investigation of transfrontier cooperation revolves around the question: "does the fact that a particular measure (e.g., in the field of media) occurs in a coordinated manner across a border as part of a transfrontier cooperation programme enable the measure considered to be more effective or to cost less?" In the examples we shall analyse to illustrate the policy-to-outcome path model, production takes place on one side of the border, while broadcasting or distribution takes place on both sides. What we are concerned about assessing is not the whole of the action, but merely that part which entails the cross-border element.

BASQUE TELEVISION RECEPTION IN THE FRENCH BASQUE COUNTRY

There are a considerable number of projects involving cooperation between Basque people on each side of the French-Spanish border. These range from membership of the language Academy (*Euskaltzaindia*)—whose present president is in fact from the north—to sociolinguistic surveys co-financed by institutions on both sides, and educational projects bringing together pupils and students together for particular projects, summer camps, etc. The example chosen falls within this tradition, but has not, like some other

initiatives, received EU support, for reasons that will become apparent.

The EiTB group[116] is the leading media group in the Basque Country with four television channels and four radio stations. It has been running since 1982. On 20 May 1982 the Basque parliament unanimously approved the law that set up *Euskal Irrati Telebista* and on 23 November *Euskadi Irratia*, its first radio station, started broadcasting. The first TV channel, *ETB-1*, reached Basque households at midnight on 31 December 1982 and regular broadcasting began on 16 February in the following year.

The formal geographical scope of ETB is the Basque autonomous community—that is, in Spain. Thanks to the support or tolerance of the government of a neighbouring autonomous region in Spain, Navarra, ETB can also be picked up in most areas in that region. However, about 76,000 Basque-speakers or passive bilinguals are from the French Basque country, in the immediately adjacent areas across the border to the north. There was naturally a demand for ETB broadcasts to reach these areas.

An agreement was signed on 22 July 1998[117] in Donapaleu (Saint Palais), which was to allow the full reception in this, the last remaining area in the French Basque country (called Iparralde in Basque) where Basque Television (Euskal Telebista, or ETB) could not yet be picked up, on account of the mountainous terrain in the region. This agreement ended the process started in 1991, at which time ETB began to be picked up more regularly and normally than before, mainly along the coastal areas. At that time the *Conseil supérieur de l'audiovisuel*[118] rejected a request for a relay station to be installed in Zuberoa so that ETB1 could be picked up in the region. The argument given was that ETB cable would be the only admissible means.[119] The French Socialist party intervened, and the situation later became easier. In 1997, ETB, the Regional Syndicate for the Support of Basque Culture and the Technical Service of French Television had signed an agreement to install 27 relay

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[116] http://www.eitb.com

[117] The 1998 agreement was signed by the representative of Basque govermment for Exetrnal Relations, Sr. José María Muñoa; Sr. Iñaki Zarraoa, Director General of Basque Public Radio and Television (EITB); M. Jean Grenet, president of the Regional Syndicate for the Support of Basque Culture; M. Jean Jacques Loustaudaudine, mayor of Donapaleu; and M. Jean-Marie Larroque, president of the Community of Amikuze.

[118] An independent administrative authority created by the Law of January 17th, 1989 to guarantee broadcasting freedom in the conditions laid down by the modified Law of September 30th, 1986. Source: http://www.csa.fr/html/english_conseil.htm

[119] http://www.argia.com/siglo/crono/1991.htm

stations which allowed ETB to be picked up in most of the French Basque country.[120]

In practice, in each of these agreements, access was given to the infrastructural TV network that was already at the disposal of the other television channels in the French Basque country.

EITB viewed the agreement as falling within the framework of the European Union's policy of fostering transfrontier cooperation, in this case benefiting the Basque language and culture.

Let us now turn to a cost-effectiveness evaluation of the reception, in the French Basque country, of Basque-language programmes produced south of the border. As we shall see, a modest additional expenditure has made the television service available to audiences who could not tune in to the service before.

Before estimating the increase in the number of viewers in France, let us see how successful ETB-1 is in Spain. EGM has been quoted[121] as putting the number of TV viewers of ETB-1 in the whole of Spain at 211,000 in 1990, and 315,000 in 1997 (compared to 471,000 viewers of the Spanish-language ETB-2 in 1990 and 613,000 in 1997). This same source actually gives figures for Navarre: 22,000 ETB-1 and 13,000 ETB-2 viewers in 1990, and 24,000 and 59,000 respectively in 1996. It is not clear whether the figures are limited to over audiences aged 14 or more, or if they include younger viewers, who are specially targeted by ETB-1.

Figures for the audience for EiTB in the Basque autonomous community, to which its services are primarily aimed, are available for 2000.[122] According to this report, carried out by the prestigious organisation *Estudio General de Medios*, ETB-1 took 6.1% of the audience aged 14 or over in this region in 2000 (the same as in 1995, and up from 4.7% in 1990). The population aged over 14 in 2000 totalled 1,845,849 (*op. cit.*, p. 4), so the ETB-1 figure amounts to 113,000 viewers in the Basque autonomous community, which hardly seems comparable to the source mentioned in the last paragraph. It is worth noting that the share of the Spanish language Basque channel, ETB-2[123], is somewhat larger: 10.8% (in 1990), up to 16·9% in 2000.

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[120] http://www.argia.com/siglo/crono/1997.htm

[121] http://www.lander.es/~cerro/comuni5.html

[122] http://www.aimc.es/aimc/html/marco/general.html: Marco general de los medios en España 2001. File is: *Estudio general de los medios en España 2000.* http://www.aimc.es/aimc/html/marco/marco01.exe

[123] Which started broadcasting on 31 May 1986.

Another source, Sofres AM,[124] gave the following average figures for each channel's share (over 24-hour periods):

Table 4.18: Share of television viewers in Basque country, 2000

CHANNEL	TOTAL SHARE	SHARE AMONG BASQUE-SPEAKERS
ETB1	4.6%	9.6%
ETB2	16.2%	17.6%

Let us now look at the impact of the initiative in the French Basque country. In March 2000, a survey was commissioned to the research institute *Siadeco* (Sozio-Ekonomi Ikerketa Elkartea) to analyse the coverage and audience of the EiTB group's media in the French Basque Country. The survey of a representative sample of households found that in 87% of households, the existence of ETB-1 was known. In 78% of households, ETB-1 could be and had been picked up. 49% claimed to watch ETB-1 at some stage every day (this is equivalent to about 100,000 people, given a total population of approximately 210,000). Finally, 2% of households claimed that ETB-1 was their most watched channel (equivalent to about 4,000 people).

The ETB-1 projects, particularly in the later years, simply involved the television signal being added to existing infrastructure built by the French audiovisual authorities for the French-language media, in the context of the agreements referred to in Chapter 4. The following figures from the EITB Group budget for 2000[125] are relevant to our examination:

Table 4.19: Expenditure in Basque television channels, 2000

	Million Pesetas	Million Euro	Share of total budget (%)
EiTB Ente	605	3.64	4.0
ETB (ETB1, ETB2, ETB-Sat, Canal Vasco)	12,514	75.21	83.5
EiTB Irratia (radio)	1,873	11.26	12.5
TOTAL	14,992	90·.4	100

[124] Quoted in http://www.eitb.com/pdfs/EITBtxos00.pdf, p. 17. 24-hour share, up to Dec. 17th 2000.

[125] http://www.eitb.com/pdfs/EITBtxos00.pdf, p. 16.

Table 4.20: Yearly number of hours broadcast by Basque television channels, 2000

ETB-1	8,760
ETB-2	7,665
ETB-Sat	8,760
Canal Vasco	5,040

Even if this was our purpose, it would seem impossible, on the available information, to quantify the cost per viewer of ETB-1 programmes. It would be unsatisfactory to work out a percentage of the total cost of TV broadcasts on the basis of the number of hours of broadcasting on each channel, for many programmes are repeated on different channels. Nevertheless, the issue here is different, since what we are really looking at is the *additional* cost of broadcasting in the northern Basque country. Let us turn to this point, bearing in mind, of course, that given that the action has resulted in an increase in the number of viewers thanks to the inclusion of the Northern Basque Country, the cost per viewer has undoubtedly gone down. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to establish for this report the exact expenditure on the relay stations or their total cost. It seems clear that in the early years following 1991, new masts and transmitters had to be installed specifically for ETB, but that in 1997 an agreement was reached for new transmitters to be placed on 27 existing masts. Strictly speaking, "transfrontier cooperation" can be said to have reached culmination only in the latter phase.

Our estimate of the corresponding costs runs as follows, using cost figures from Catalonia as a basis.

In 1992-1993, two relay stations were assembled in North Catalonia, to allow TV-3 (the main public Catalan-language television station broadcasting from Catalonia, south of the hills along the border) to be picked up in the Riberal and the Conflent districts in the French department of Pyrénées-Orientales, where a significant number of Catalan-speakers live. These relay stations, built with EU assistance, cost 200,000 French Francs (approx. €30,488), rounded here to about €15,000 each[126]. We can thus estimate that the 1997 agreement (see Chapter 4) between EiTB, the Regional Syndicate for the Support of Basque Culture and the Technical Service of French Television, covering the installation of 27 relay stations on *existing* aerials, must have cost somewhat less, taking account of the fact that the infrastructure was already in place. Although available data do not contain specific information regarding the precise cost of

[126] Source: Joan-Pere Le Bihan, general director of the "Le Bressola" school movement, personal communication.

relay station, common price figures for this type of infrastructure indicates that €12,000 each can be considered as an acceptable, if rough, approximation of exact cost. This generates an estimated total cost in vicinity of €324,000 for the initial investment in relay stations. Of course, this cost needs to be amortised over a certain period, because the flow of services from this equipment will continue for many years until they need to be upgraded or replaced. Given a reasonable amortisation period of 20 years, the equipment cost amounts to €16,200 per year.[127]

It is necessary, of course, to add to this figure the cost of annual maintenance, which includes fixed amounts, in the form of insurance policy and standard maintenance, and variable amounts, in particular the cost of repairs as necessary. On the basis of usual cost figures for this type of infrastructure, we estimate it at €6,000 per year and per installation. This generates a maintenance cost of €162,000 per year, which must be added to the depreciation, yielding a total annual cost of €178,200, which is rounded up to €180,000.

What outcome is obtained for this outlay, in terms of additional audiences? Let us recall that the population living in the coastal areas could already tune in to ETB-1 before these additional relay stations were installed. However, though they are heavily populated areas, nearly all the population are French-speakers. A 1996 Basque sociolinguistic survey found that perhaps only 8,400 Basque speakers lived in these coastal areas—that is, about 9% of its total population; see below.

The *Siadeco* survey quoted above yielded fully 49% of households in Northern Basque country claiming to watch ETB-1 every day. Given that the total population of the area is about 240,000, this amounts to virtually 120,000 people. Taking this figure of 120,000 viewers as a basis for calculations, an annual cost of about €180,000 implies that some 50,000 people *more* (those who do not live in the coastal regions, see below) can watch ETB-1 every day. This works out at about €3.60 per person per year, which is the lower limit for the cost.

Our impression, however, is that the *Siadeco* survey over-estimated the number of viewers, because it seems disproportionately high as compared to available figures from the southern side of the border. The 1996 Basque sociolinguistic survey found that in the northern Basque country, 26% of the population could speak Basque (in all,

[127] We are deliberately abstracting from questions of inflation, opportunity cost of capital, discounting ("actualisation"), and assuming straight-line depreciation.

35.8% claimed to understand it, which makes them potential viewers of television programmes in the language).

Table 4.21: Basque-speaking population in the northern Basque Country

REGION	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Lower Navarre/Zuberoa	20,300	63.9
Lapurdi (interior)	27,500	31.1
Bayonne, Biarritz & Anglet (coast)	8,400	9.1
TOTAL	56,200	26.4

The disparity between the 26% found here and the 49% quoted above may lie in the fact that many households have at least one Basque-speaking member (usually elderly) who in some cases may be the only person in the home who watches ETB programmes daily.

The coastal area, and part of the remainder of the Lapurdi district, could already pick up ETB-1 without the need of special boosters. This means that thanks to the installations discussed here, ETB-1 probably reached around 40,000 *more* Basque-speakers (all the Basque speakers in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa, and most of those in inland Lapurdi). Dividing the extra cost of €180,000 by these 40,000 viewers, we get a per-year cost of €4.50, that is, about 1.23 cents per person and per day. At the same time, it is unlikely that all of them will have become regular viewers of ETB-1 just because it has become available; yet if we assume that half of them do, the per-viewer and per-year cost is €9, that is, less than two and half cents per day.

The increase in potential audience size generates indirect savings too. It should be borne in mind that television expenditure by EiTB as a whole (including the Spanish language channel ETB-2) was €75.21 million, for an TV audience of about 750,000 (20.8% of the Basque autonomous community, plus neighbouring areas): that is, €100 per person per year. The per-viewer cost, as a result of the expansion of ETB-1 into the Northern Basque Country, dropped from this figure (to be more precise, €100.28) to between €95.20 and €97.68, depending on which estimate for the increase of the number of viewers is adopted.

The Basque case illustrates one of our key points: thanks to the use of existing infrastructure, the geographic reach of ETB programmes in Basque into France has expanded considerably at a very low per-person and per-year cost. The increase in the number of viewers is impossible to state precisely, because of the different methods and criteria used on each side of the border to assess it; but on the basis of the various demolinguistic and audience figures quoted here, it

can be confidently assumed to be well over 10%. Furthermore, it is worth underlining once again that the number of speakers of Basque in the northern Basque country, while having motivated some programmes on French state television, is far too small to make a full television service in Basque specifically for this market a viable proposition. In this instance, transfrontier cooperation is undoubtedly an attractive strategy, whether in terms of overall resource allocation or from the perspective of the authorities on the northern side of the border, who otherwise might have been called upon to provide an alternative way of providing Basque-medium television—probably at a much higher cost.

SLOVENIAN TELEVISION COOPERATION

Under the Slovenian television cooperation across an external EU border, the *Österreichischer Rundfunk*[128] (Austrian Broadcasting Corporation) runs a regional Centre in Klagenfurt, ORF Kärnten, the capital of a region, Carinthia, adjacent to Slovenia, where a small proportion of the local population are Slovenian-speakers. According to the Euromosaic report[129] a telephone survey indicated that there were 40,000 Slovene-speakers in Carinthia. The 1991 Census gave 14,850 regular speakers of Slovenian. Catholic priests within the region have suggested that as many as 50,000 understand the language, with 33,000 speaking it on a fairly regular basis. The area of highest density of speakers is to the south-east of a line between Klagenfurt and Villach on the border with Slovenia. In 1991 the total population of the province was 547,798.

This centre produces programmes regularly in Slovenian,[130] Slovenski Spored,[131] including a weekly magazine programme on Slovene activities in Austria during the period, which is broadcast locally. The interest of this particular case lies in the fact that there is a standing arrangement with Slovenian TV, Televizija Slovenija,[132] whereby this magazine programme is retransmitted by Channel 1 for viewers throughout Slovenia.

The programme (in Slovene, without subtitles or synchronisation) is estimated by informants to have some 80,000 viewers in Austria and as many as 500,000 in Slovenia. The amortisation of the investment made by Austrian television in the programme is remarkable—a

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[128] http://orfprog.apa.at/ORFProg/
[129] http://www.uoc.es/euromosaic/web/document/eslove/an/i2/i2.html
[130] http://volksgruppen.orf.at/kaernten/slow/naslovi/urednistvo/fs_urednistvo.htm
[131] The service is run by Mirko Bogataj, who is also President of the EEBA European Ethnic Broadcasting Association, European Broadcasting Association of Smaller Nations and Nationalities, an organisation founded in 1995. For some of its activities, see http://www.circom-regional.org/copro/copro32.html
[132] http://www.rtvslo.si

programme made for a market of 80,000 (a figure higher, however, than the number of speakers found in the surveys mentioned earlier) reaches at least seven times as many viewers.

The programme does not receive any specific financial support from the Austrian government or the EU, since the Austrian Broadcasting Corporation[133] is financed on the basic of regular licence fees. The service is thus financed within the regular activities of ORF. Furthermore, what interests us here is the additional cost, for an outcome we would like to quantify, of broadcasting the programme in Slovenia. And this additional cost is zero, according to director Mirko Bogataj: rather, we might add, the Slovenian television makes a large saving by receiving a programme free of charge. It is not even a matter of considering the distribution costs of the programme: it is incorporated into the regular programmes. Moreover, the costs of Televizija Slovenija making its own weekly programme on the activities of the Slovenian-speaking community in Austria, even if it were felt there was sufficient demand to warrant such an investment, would undoubtedly be very high.

This is not only an excellent example of practically zero-cost European transfrontier co-operation, but it is also curious in that it might well be expected that the cooperation work in the opposite direction: the kin-state would typically produce programmes for a minority in a neighbouring State. The Slovenian television cooperation experience is interesting in another way, because it goes against the current found in most cases. Here the zero cost makes the venture very well worth while for Slovenia, but produces no immediate effect for the minority group itself. However, the programme can help the situation of the Slovenian minority in Austria to get publicity in the kin-State (though it is of course ORF's view that is conveyed), and they may feel more integrated in the cultural community.

NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE COLUMBA INITIATIVE

The involvement of Northern Ireland in the Columba initiative[134] represents a perhaps unique case of cooperation, within a now-unique political context. In the context of a highly politically charged Northern Ireland, its incorporation into a wider framework involving the governments of Ireland and Scotland is highly significant, as will become clear below.

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[133] http://www.orf.at/

[134] Source of information: Malcolm Scott, Northern Irish Project Officer.

The Columba Initiative[135] arose from the celebrations in 1997 of the 1400th anniversary of the death of St Columba (521-579 AD). It initially involved the government of the Republic of Ireland and the government of Scotland. In the second phase, which is the main centre of attention in this section, the Ultach Trust, a charitable trust based in Northern Ireland, obtained EU co-funding, and also provided a small amount of matching funding, to become the host organisation for the Initiative in Northern Ireland. A highly significant event took place once the Initiative was functioning: the 1998 Good Friday Agreement,[136] signed between the governments of Ireland and the United Kingdom. Within the Agreement structures and commitments regarding the Irish language are included.

Whereas the aims of the first two projects are clear (to increase the number of people having access to particular TV stations in a particular language, or individual programmes) in the third case the aims have had to be formulated explicitly:

1. To develop strategies and projects in which the Gaelic language in Ireland and Scotland can draw together people from diverse backgrounds within and between each country and region;
2. To develop new relationships between communities and speakers;
3. To facilitate practical and sustainable cooperation between community networks and speakers of Scottish Gaelic in arts social cultural and economic affairs.

The Northern Ireland involvement in the *Columba initiative* has objectives that are far more difficult to submit to the identification of numerical outcomes. Moreover, as the *Initiative* is, in principle, a single organisation operating over three regions, its programmes apply to Northern Ireland as much as the other two regions. This makes it virtually impossible to make clear distinctions and to prize out the real effect of the extension of the Initiative to that area. What is abundantly clear, however, is that the inclusion of Northern Ireland has allowed its inhabitants access to all the activities of the Columba initiative, as well as making Northern Ireland projects viable. Thus, the largest event to have taken place in Northern Ireland to date was *Parlaimint na nÓg* 2000, a youth parliament held in Derry for Gaelic-speaking students from the three regions, and addressed by ministers from the three regions.

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[135] Iomairt Cholm Cille/ Columba Initiative http://www.calumcille.org

[136] Signed on 10th April 1998. Text: http://www.belfastloughmedia.com/artikel/agreement.shtml, http://www.reform.org/belfast.htm.

An example of an EU project particular to Northern Ireland is *Féis nan Óran/Féile na nAmhrán.* This is a festival of Gaelic song from Ireland and Scotland was held in Northern Ireland in May 2000 and in September 2001. This has been the only festival of Gaelic singing in Ireland north of Dublin and Galway[137], and has been a key arts event. EU funding was the source of the Northern Irish contribution in May 2000.

The Initiative along with the National Gaelic Arts Agency of Scotland are partners in a unique project, Leabhar Mór na Gaeilge ("the big book of Gaelic") which will come into full operation in 2002-3. This project includes an exhibition of art and texts of Gaelic poetry from Ireland and Scotland from the 6th to the 21st century. It will involve a bound manuscript, a printed volume, and radio and TV programmes.

The EU funding came via the *Northern Ireland Office*, EU funding was received in 1998-1999 and in 1999-2000, via the *Central Community Relations Unit*, in the *Northern Ireland Office*, in the context of the **Community Relations measure of the Physical, Social and Environmental Programme (PSEP)**. Since April 2000 (when the then-current tranche of PSEP funding came to an end) exchequer funding has been in place. In 2000-2001, it came from two sources: the *Central Community Relations Unit* in the Office of the First and Deputy First Ministers, and the *Linguistic Diversity Unit*.[138] Overall funding has been as follows:

[137] Although other major music festivals such as the *Fleadh Cheoil na hÉireann* have of course been held north of this line before.
[138] This Unit had been set up in January 2000 in the Department of Culture Arts and Leisure of the Northern Ireland Executive.

Table 4.22: Columba Initiative Funding

	Northern Ireland government	Republic of Ireland[139]	Scotland	Ultach Trust[140]
	Figures in €			
1998 – 1999	79,205[141]	81,164[142]	162,000	27,000
1999 – 2000	127,344[143]	35,998[144]	192,305	33,748
2000 – 2001	109,350[145]	?	?	?
2001 – 2002	243,000[146]	259,200	259,200	8,100

Figures for Scotland and for the Republic of Ireland in 2000-2001 were still awaited at the conclusion of this *Report*. In principle, the Republic matches the Scottish contribution.

EU funding for 2000 included a special grant of £15,000 (approx. €24,000) for the *Youth Parliament*. EU funding was the major source for the original Northern Irish contribution of £5,000 (approx. €8,000) to the development of the *Leabhar Mór na Gaeilge* project.[147]

The variety of activities make it difficult to pin down suitable indicators on cost-effectiveness. We shall however quote an external assessment report. An evaluation of the *Columba Initiative* was carried out by the Research and Evaluation Service (RES) of Northern Ireland for the sponsoring government Departments, (November 1999-June 2000). It found that the Initiative had made measurable positive impacts in strategically important geographical areas and sectors; succeeded in linking previously isolated communities; and contributed to rebuilding personal and community esteem in relation to language and cultural issues. In a word, it had achieved its aims. Following this report, a *2001-4 Strategic Plan* was drawn up, and presented to the sponsoring Departments. Principles of the strategic plan are that each area should make equal financial contributions to the budget, and that the Initiative should be an equal partnership between the three regions. The Initiative has had to overcome considerable obstacles, including two currencies,

[139] The funding from the Republic does not follow the same financial year, and core costs are met from within the budget of *Údarás na Gaeltachta*.
[140] Funding from the Ultach Trust had to cover the 20% required for PSEP (Physical, Social and Environmental Programme) funding.
[141] EU funding.
[142] Funding from the Republic for grant aid and projects, not including core costs.
[143] EU funding.
[144] Funding from the Republic for grant aid and projects, not including core costs.
[145] Northern Ireland exchequer funding.
[146] Northern Ireland exchequer funding.
[147] EU funding has been crucial in Northern Ireland: in 1998, there was no separate budget line for the Irish language, and no mechanism other than EU funding through which the Initiative could have been financially supported.

different financial years, and differing government practices. Northern Ireland has progressed from being junior to an equal partner. Northern Ireland has played a significant role in the development of the Initiative, partly through the existence of models of cooperation with the Republic of Ireland. The Linguistic Diversity Unit of the Department of Arts and Leisure played a key role in setting up the evaluation and the arrangements for developing the strategic plan.

The initiative as a whole has been technologically innovative in the context of Irish and Scottish Gaelic: as the staff of four are split between four offices, hundreds of miles apart, it depends on e-mail and audio-conferences for effective internal communication.

Chapter 4: Essential points for the policy-maker

- The evaluation of the actual effects of a policy is made more difficult by the fact that in the realm of language policies, the ultimate outcome aimed for (language revitalisation) is a very complex one, which depends on many factors other than the policy being analysed. **17 selected interventions** in favour of RMLs are examined, covering five broad "domains". In many cases, lack of data makes a full-fledged cost-effectiveness evaluation impossible. In some cases, combining expenditure figures with indicators of output provides approximations of cost-effectiveness. These approximations are typically expressed in Euros per user of a given minority language good or service.
- In the field of **education**, three projects are analysed. One *(Euroschool)* brings together children from various RML communities for joint summer camps; its main effect is to reinforce, over the long-term, feelings of self-confidence among RML children; this is achieved at a cost of approximately €600 per child. *Fabula*, a software for computer-assisted language learning, can contribute to RML maintenance by raising language awareness. Since the software can be used over many years, the per-user cost (assuming a 10-year horizon) is under €20. Test results confirm that the *naíonraí* (partly-subsidised Irish-medium pre-schools) help children increase their competence in Irish. The per-head cost depends on the relative contribution of the *naíonraí* to this increase in linguistic competence, which data do not enable us to assess; the gross per-year cost per child of simply attending a *naíonra* can be estimated at about €400.
- In the **media**, the broadcaster for the Swedish-language minority of Finland *(Yleisradio)* has successfully expanded its audiences (particularly among the young) at a per-person and per-hour cost of 10 to 15 cents. This compares with about 20 cents for *Radió na Gaeltachta*, the official Irish-language radio channel, which has also been successful in increasing audience figures. Such figures are directly relevant, since a person-hour of radio listening can (making allowance for different programme contents) be considered as actual RML use. In the case of *Radio Agora*, which serves in particular the Slovene-speaking minority in Austria, such precise estimates cannot be offered for lack of data. However, circumstantial evidence points to unit costs of the same order.
- The sphere of **culture,** as well as projects in this "domain", are characterised by a pronounced absence of hard data, making any kind of cost-benefit evaluation impossible. For example, audience figures for EU-supported RML productions are not available. However, it is important to remember that the effect of cultural support (particularly given the very small amounts usually involved) is intended as a very roundabout one (operating e.g. through people's representations of the relevance of RMLs as vectors of a lively culture), thereby reducing the relevance of cost-effectiveness evaluation.
- In the combined domains of **administration** and **economic and social life**, the production of two RML dictionaries for specialist use (in

particular legal and administrative) have been examined. Such forms of support facilitate the use of RMLs in activities where their presence is strategically important. The specific contribution of such dictionaries is almost impossible to assess. However, it is useful to estimate, even if roughly, per-user cost. Owing to the modest level (and typically one-off character) of the expenditure, this cost is negligible. Two community projects in Wales and Ireland have also been studied. Of particular interest are the Welsh *Mentrau Iaith* (language initiatives), which support the use of Welsh in a broad range of community projects and in small business, at an average net cost of €2 per Welsh speaker and per year.

- Although not a "domain" in its own right, **transfrontier cooperation** helps to make intervention in other fields considerably cheaper. We consider three cases: the extension of BASQUE TELEVISION RECEPTION into the French Basque country; SLOVENIAN TELEVISION cooperation across an external EU border; and the Northern Ireland involvement in the COLUMBA INITIATIVE. Even if expenditure figures are available, cost-effectiveness assessments will remain very contingent on one's interpretation of the aim of these actions. However, the case of Basque-language television produced south of the border is more straightforward: it has become available to viewers in France through the installation of masts and transmitters at a total cost of less than 2.5 cents per viewer and per day. This goes to show that transfrontier cooperation holds considerable potential for making RML products and services available to more users at negligible cost.

5. SUPPORT TO RMLS: GUIDELINES FOR PRIORITIES AND SELECTION

5.1 Deriving policy priorities

TOWARDS A NEEDS-BASED TYPOLOGY

Not all languages have the same needs; it follows logically that priorities are case-dependent. Such priorities can of course be derived from a purely case-by-case analysis of individual language communities. However, what we are aiming at here is a more general approach to policy priorities. The analytical model captured by the policy-to-outcome path (P-TOP), the corresponding cost and effect estimates, and the dynamic perspective contained in the graded intergenerational disruption scale (GIDS) can be used to formulate this general perspective on priorities.

In Chapter 3, we have proposed a model where language use results from the conjunction of three conditions: the capacity to use the language, the opportunity to use it, and the desire to do so. Using the policy-to-outcome path, we have shown that intervention can target any of these three conditions. In Chapter 4, we have seen that intervention (whether as part of long-run state language policies, or through one-off projects taking place under actions set up by a supranational organisation like the EU) can make a significant contribution to language vitality. What is more, this effect can be achieved at modest cost, as shown by the estimates provided in the preceding chapter; hence, it does not just make sense theoretically for society to engage in RML protection and promotion; it also makes sense empirically—and it is politically defensible.

This perspective already points to one set of priorities: because of the complementarity between the three necessary conditions of "capacity", "opportunity", and "desire", a priority of policy intervention must be to "plug the holes". It follows that an assessment of the relative strength or weakness of "capacity", "opportunity" and "desire", in a particular language community, provides the first of the keys needed to set priorities for intervention in favour of the corresponding language.

We have seen with the GIDS, also in Chapter 3, that efforts at protecting and promoting RMLs must aim at restoring what has been called a "self-priming mechanism of language reproduction". The closer a language is to this goal, the less necessary support measures are. However, languages find themselves more or less far away from that goal, and even if this self-priming mechanism is

present in the case of a given language, this desirable situation may be more or less firmly established. Whereas the policy-to-outcome path emphasises, at a general level, the complementarity between areas of intervention, the GIDS stresses the links between domains, showing in particular that the position of a language in certain domains must be secured before new measures are implemented to strengthen its presence in further domains. It follows that an assessment of a language along the GIDS provides the second necessary set of keys needed to set priorities for intervention in favour of the corresponding language.

Combining both criteria, a proposed policy or project must be located at a level which is relevant to the situation of a particular language community, both in terms of the policy-to-outcome path and in terms of the graded intergenerational disruption scale.

In the rest of this section, we discuss the application of this guideline in practice, by confronting our criteria with sociolinguistic information on minority languages in Europe collected through the *Euromosaic* project.

EUROMOSAIC AND LANGUAGE-SPECIFIC NEEDS

The *Euromosaic* report on the production and reproduction of the minority language communities in the European Union did not produce a typology of their needs, but rather a scaled rating of each community on the basis of seven variables regarded by the authors as essential components for the healthy survival of a language group. A higher rating implies a healthier position. The variables used are the following:

1. Education: the extent to which the presence of the language as a subject and as a medium of instruction at different educational stages ensures fluency.
2. Family: the extent to which the language is being transmitted from one generation to the next, bearing in mind the frequency of linguistically mixed couples.
3. Cultural reproduction: the extent to which there is a consolidated and varied range of programmes, radio stations, TV channels in the language, as well as published press.
4. Legitimisation: the extent to which the language has official status, with bodies for its development and promotion, and legal support.
5. Institutionalisation: the extent to which the presence and use of the language in various public fields is taken for granted as being normal, rather than the exception.
6. Prestige: the extent to which fluency in the language is associated with socio-economic advancement.

7. Community: the extent to which the language is used in informal social relations and contacts, and by clubs, associations, etc. in the immediate environment.

The *Euromosaic* report has showed that there is no hard-and-fast rule associating the linguistic strength of an RML community with its demographic size. Nevertheless, many of the smallest groups were losing speakers at an alarming rate, and their future remains very much open to doubt. At the other end of the rating were several of the German-speaking groups in trans-frontier situations where access, for instance, to majority German media could serve to bolster the language. These groups shared membership in the cluster of the most robust RML communities with speakers of Luxembourgish, whose language enjoys very strong institutional support, and Catalan in Catalonia.

We now combine the *GIDS* and *Euromosaic* scales for each of the 55 RML communities identified in the *Euromosaic* report, which had found them to be concentrated in five clusters. It has not been therefore possible to include non-territorial languages such as Roma and Sinti. The *Euromosaic* list of languages is not established once and for all, and there have been efforts to expand the list of RMLs. The reason for this expansion is not least an effect of developments towards recognition of RMLs within EU states. The colouring is used to mark the *kin-state languages*. The result is presented in a two-way table (Table 5.1), which indicates a strong convergence between the two ratings.[148]

[148] The notion of "kin state", though used rather freely in the literature and in much of the legal commentary on minority rights, should be handled with caution. It appears to be based on the notion that two groups speaking the same language on either side of an international border are "kin", or perhaps belong to the same "nation". This primordialist view does not stand up to closer examination, since the implied notion of "kinship", though apparently relevant in the case of Hungarian minorities in Slovakia or Romania, is meaningless in other cases. Examples are the Swedish-speaking Finns (who do not consider themselves Swedish), or the French-speaking Swiss, who do not consider themselves French; interestingly, the latter have never been part of France while the former have been part of Sweden. More generally, if once accepts the notion (as in Anderson, 1991) that nations are *imagined* communities, it follows that there is no such thing as a national "essence", that nations and kinship are constructs that are usually correlated with language and culture, but whose existence can only be inferred from subjective representations, and that therefore the "kin-state" concept has at best limited, but certainly not general validity.

Table 5.1: RML communities in EU, by Euromosaic report clusters

(Cluster 1= strongest, cluster 5= weakest)

Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3
1 Swedish in Finland	10 Ladin	22 German in France
2 Catalan in Catalonia	11 Slovenian in Italy	23 Friulian
3 German in Belgium	12 Slovenian in Austria	24 Frisian
4 German in Italy	13 Turkish in Greece	25 Croatian in Austria
5 Luxembourgish	14 Basque in Navarre	26 Sorbian
6 Welsh	15 Danish in Germany	27 Basque in France
7 Basque in the BAC	16 German in Denmark	28 Sami in Finland
8 Catalan in Mallorca	17 Catalan in Valencia	29 Finnish in Tornedal
9 Galician	18 Irish	30 Catalan in France
	19 Occitan in Spain	31 Catalan in Aragon
	20 Asturian	32 Corsican
	21 Gaelic	

Cluster 4	Cluster 5
33 Hungarian in Austria	43 N. Frisian
34 Franco-Provençal in Italy	44 Dutch in France
35 Irish in Northern Ireland	45 (Slavo)Macedonian
36 Albanian in Italy	46 Occitan in France
37 Sami in Sweden	47 Sardinian
38 Czech, Slovak in Austria	48 Pomak in Greece
39 Catalan in Italy	49 East Frisian
40 Occitan in Italy	50 Portuguese in Spain
41 Mirandese	51 Albanian in Greece
42 Breton	52 Aroumanian
	53 Greek in Italy
	54 Cornish

The scores reported here are the result of a thorough review of the original scores (1994-5) that was undertaken by the authors of the *Euromosaic* report in 1998, following a supplementary report motivated by the entry of Austria, Finland and Sweden into the European Union in 1995. The review was necessary first to take on board some developments which justified scores being changed (usually for the better); second, the definitions of each of the values of the variables were in some cases refined, in order to allow sharper analytical discrimination between cases. The ratings were based on thirty-five such definitions (Berber in Spain was unwittingly omitted, and is given number 55 in Table 5.4).

It is quite possible that developments since the time of data collection for the Euromosaic report might justify a rescoring in some cases. However, few would probably change cluster as a result, and the table has not been altered for the present report. Note that several communities which have since then gained some

kind of recognition are not included in the *Euromosaic* report: for example, Scots, including Ulster Scots, in the United Kingdom, and Lower German in Germany.

To our knowledge, there had hitherto been no attempt to systematically assign a GIDS score to the RML communities of the EU. Therefore, what follows must be regarded as a first step in this direction. The communities speaking unique languages fall approximately into the following GIDS levels (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: "Unique" language communities, by GIDS stages

(1= STRONGEST, 8= WEAKEST)

Stage 1	Catalan in Catalonia, Luxembourgish, Welsh, Basque in the BAC
Stage 2	Catalan in Mallorca, Catalan in Valencia, Galician
Stage 3	Frisian, Sámi in Sweden, Sámi in Finland, Basque in Navarre, Irish, Occitan in Spain, Gaelic, Corsican
Stage 4	Friulian, Sorbian, Basque in France, Ladin, Asturian, Catalan in France
Stage 5	Irish in Northern Ireland, Franco-Provençal in Italy, Mirandese, Breton, Catalan in Aragon
Stage 6	N. Frisian, Occitan in France, Sardinian, Occitan in Italy, Catalan in Italy, Pomak in Greece, Berber in Spain
Stage 7	East Frisian
Stage 8	Aroumanian, Cornish

The other communities, speaking languages which are official in a "kin state", fall approximately into the following GIDS stages (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: RML communities with a "kin state", by GIDS stages

(1= STRONGEST, 8= WEAKEST)

Stage 1	Swedish in Finland, German in Italy
Stage 2	German in Belgium, Danish in Germany, German in Denmark
Stage 3	German in France, Finnish in Tornedal (Sweden), Slovene in Italy, Turkish in Greece
Stage 4	Slovenian in Austria
Stage 5	Czech and Slovak in Austria, Croatian in Austria
Stage 6	(Slavo)Macedonian in Greece, Hungarian in Austria, Albanian in Italy
Stage 7	Dutch in France, Portuguese in Spain, Albanian in Greece, Greek in Italy
Stage 8	-

Let us now combine the results of both scoring systems (Table 5.4). The communities are identified by numbers, as in Table 5.1.

Table 5.4: RML communities in the EU, by GIDS scores and Euromosaic clusters

(colouring denotes RML communities with a "kin state")

GIDS score						
Strongest: *The language is used in higher education and in the higher reaches of government, media and professional life.*	Stage 1					1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7
The language is used in "lower govern-mental services" and the mass media, but "not in the higher spheres of either".	Stage 2				15, 16, 17	3, 8, 9
The use of the minority language is re-legitimised in the "lower work sphere", thereby recovering another domain.	Stage 3		37,	22, 24, 28, 29, 32	11, 13, 14, 18, 19, 21	
The language gains some official recognition and moves into mainstream formal education.	Stage 4			23, 26, 27, 30	10, 12, 20	
Literacy in the home, school and community, but restricted to the confines of the community: the language has virtually no official recognition and support.	Stage 5		34, 35, 38, 41, 42	25, 31		
The intergenerational family functions in the language. It is crucial to "home-family-neighbour-hood-community" reinforcement.	Stage 6	43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 55	33, 36, 39, 40			
Speakers of the language are socially integrated, but are mostly past child-bearing age.	Stage 7	44, 49, 50, 51, 53				
Weakest: *The language only has vestigial speakers (and often no written standard).*	Stage 8	52, 54				
		Weakest		→		Strongest
		5	**4**	**3**	**2**	**1**
		EUROMOSAIC CLUSTERS				

As might be expected, most of the linguistic communities are located along a fairly narrow diagonal band across the chart. The discrepancies are due to a number of factors: firstly, the score values for the *Euromosaic* linguistic communities does not assign weight to the seven underlying variables: there being no better means, each were accorded the same weighting. By contrast, the

stress is placed, in the *GIDS*, on different domains according to the degree of disruption in the normal processes of linguistic and cultural reproduction. Thus, at stage 6, the score is closely linked to a high value for *family*, at stage 4 *education* is crucial, while at stage 2 it is *institutionalisation* of the language that is the key issue. The *GIDS* therefore gives a clearly differentiated weighting to the scores on each of the seven variables used in the *Euromosaic* tables. In the latter, the total score, which is a sum of the seven values, often hides considerable internal differences between the individual values.[149]

It is, however, reasonable to argue that the two classifications applied in Table 5.4 are coherent enough, so that in most cases a policy plan could be formed on the basis of only one of them. For the reasons specified above, we would suggest that the *GIDS* scale be used as a tool for needs assessment, whereas the *Euromosaic* report (with possible future amendments, as discussed earlier in this section) be used as a base for the list of languages that would qualify as entries for this scale. The *GIDS* scale can in uncertain cases be validated with the help of *Euromosaic* categories as well as other methodological tools mentioned earlier in this chapter.

A PROVISIONAL MATCHING BETWEEN NEEDS AND POLICIES FOR RML COMMUNITIES

Let us now move on to a tentative matching between the needs of RML communities and the types of interventions. It should be clear that this procedure can only serve an auxiliary function in actual decision-making. As in any language planning process, consultation with members or representatives of the communities concerned are necessary to review and fine-tune action plans before putting them into effect.

Some of the language communities included in the list above share their language with a so called “kin state”; this is the case of, for example, minority users of German, Danish, Hungarian, Slovene or Turkish. Their needs will be considered below. Particularly important communities for the purposes of this study, however, are those that speak a “unique” language like Frisian, Sámi, Basque, Welsh, etc.. Speakers of such unique languages cannot rely on the support of any other State, and the State in which they are spoken may or may not have the resources, or perhaps even the political will, to meet all the needs that the language community expresses, at least in terms of financial support for initiatives to promote the language in question. Let us apply our two criteria sequentially, calling on first

[149] Discrepancies between the two scales may be due to incorrect classification of some communities on the GIDS, this being to our knowledge the first attempt to classify the languages identified by the Euromosaic study according to this scale.

on the GIDS, then on the triple condition of capacity, opportunity, and desire.

At the lower reaches of the GIDS (stages 6, 7 and 8, which coincide with the *Euromosaic* clusters 4 and 5), the stress should be on achieving and reinforcing intergenerational transmission of the language, providing support to local initiatives to encourage and support such an aim, and (particularly in Stages 7 and 8) on work to record and develop the language. Dictionaries and other status-linked measures, the recording of oral literature and the development of linguistic maps may be priorities. Support will be needed for local initiatives in the field of publishing literature, especially for children. In many cases, the achievement of such transmission also depends on the existence of quality play-groups and primary school initiatives to use the language. This is particularly apposite for the following unique language communities:

> Occitan in France, N. Frisian, Sardinian, Occitan in Italy, Catalan in Italy, Pomak in Greece, Berber in Spain (GIDS stage 6); East Frisian, Greek in Italy (7); and Aroumanian and Cornish (8).

The middle reaches of the GIDS (**stages 4 and 5**; 6 could also be included) correspond in the main to the *Euromosaic* clusters 2 and 3, but also 4. In such cases, the emphasis must be on achieving quality teaching material and trained teachers to consolidate the presence of the language in schools. Also relevant are measures that enshrine the formal recognition of the language and those that pave the ground (particularly for stage-4 languages) for its general acceptance into at least the “lower” work sphere and the “lower level” of governmental services. This concerns in particular:

> Friulian, Sorbian, Basque in France, Catalan in France, Ladin, Asturian (GIDS stage 4); and Franco-Provençal in Italy, Breton, Catalan in Aragon (5).

At levels of lesser disruption, on GIDS **stages 2 and 3** (most cases belong to the *Euromosaic* clusters 2 and 3), the needs seem to concentrate on two areas in order to create the conditions for a future shift to stage 1: anchoring the language in the higher level work spheres (including its presence in business and commerce) and in the upper reaches of the administration (which will often mean regional or local administration), and developing technologically advanced mass media. These priorities are relevant for:

Catalan in Mallorca, Catalan in Valencia, Galician (GIDS stage 2); and Corsican, Frisian, Sami in Sweden, Sami in Finland, Basque in Navarre, Irish, Occitan in Spain, Gaelic (3).

At **stage 1** of the *GIDS* scale (and to some extent at stages 2 and 3; the cases coincide with *Euromosaic* clusters 1 and 2), we find language communities attempting to find, or keep, a place for their language in the information society. These communities are often concerned both with developing digital resources and technologically advanced software, and with making sure that their terminological needs are covered. Two factors are worth bearing in mind here: first, that terminological development for the 11 official languages of the EU (and, for that matter, its dissemination as well) enjoys not only the political support of member States, but also, and significantly, the full technical backing of the terminological services of the European Parliament, Commission and Council. Moreover, the development of competitive products in RMLs requires considerable resources, because market forces will generally work against them and tend, in most cases, to create or maintain monopolies for products in the hegemonic languages.

Turning now to the other RML communities speaking "kin-state languages", we find two different categories. In the first one, the language of the community is the official language of an EU member state, and thus an official and working language of the Union (with the exception of Irish). This concerns Danish, Dutch, French, Finnish, Greek, Portuguese, Swedish and particularly German.

In these cases, the EU could be expected to ensure that the benefit of more permeable internal borders operates in practice for the communities listed. Their need for financial support can generally be expected to be much lower than in the case of the "unique" languages considered above. In fact, the existence of international agreements or treaties (in the case of the Danish- and German-speaking communities in Schleswig-Holstein or the German community in South Tyrol, for instance) has largely ensured that contact with the kin-state has continued to be fluid, without European Union assistance.[150]

The second group consists of communities whose language is official in a kin-state which, however, is not (yet) a member state of the

[150] This also concerns languages that have no kin-state but can seek cooperation with a stronger language community on the other side of a state border. For example, in the case of Basque and Catalan in France, resources can be spared by adapting materials already developed in Spain for those languages. Sámi in Sweden and Finland can gain from the larger Sámi community in Norway. There are also cases of within-state cooperation across regional borders, as for Catalan in Aragon.

Union. This concerns users of Slovene, Turkish, Slovak, Croat, (Slavo-) Macedonian, Hungarian and Albanian. It is likely that with enlargement, Slovene and Hungarian will change category (Strubell 2001b). At the same time, it is worth bearing in mind that with enlargement, the number of minority language communities in the Union will greatly increase, mainly on account of cross-border kin communities.[151]

In some of the cases in this second category, exchanges are not altogether fluid, partly because of the different standard of living across what for many years was the iron curtain. The case of minorities in Greece is particularly problematic, given the sometimes strained international relations in this part of Europe. As a general rule, the Commission's policy should, in our view, aim at facilitating the inclusion of language-related issues in cross-border or trans-frontier relations: in teacher training, in access to audiovisual broadcasts, with the press, and books (including teaching materials). This may entail agreements to cover the costs of installing relay stations, extend existing distribution networks, adapt and republish textbooks and other educational material.

Once priorities have been set on the basis of the GIDS, as outlined above, we can call upon the model underpinning the policy-to-outcome path and concentrate on the presence of its three core conditions: capacity, opportunity, and desire. More precisely, in the case of a language community assigned to GIDS stage 3 (say, Scottish Gaelic), where priorities include measures aiming at making the use of the language normal in the lower work sphere, specific measures *of this kind* should concentrate on "filling the gap", which will be very case-specific.

In a setting where members of the language community generally know their language and want to use it, but have few opportunities to do so, the emphasis must be on opportunity-creating policies, and policies must prioritise, for example, language promotion in the media, in the administration and in business. This situation is more likely to arise in language communities with a proud sense of identity (fostering the desire to use the language), a strong "home-neighbourhood-family-community" complex (which helps carry intergenerational transmission, even if the provision of RML education is inadequate) but where the RML is marginalised out of

[151] Directorate General for Research, European Parliament (2001). *Lesser-Used Languages in States Applying for EU Membership (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia)*. Education and Culture Series, EDUC 106 EN Rev.1.

the spheres of work, government and justice.[152] If we were to find the above characterisation to apply to Scottish Gaelic, a scheme helping companies to provide a bilingual working environment to their employees (instead of a majority-language only environment) will, as an opportunity-creating measure, be particularly appropriate. The degree of relevance of specific interventions considered will very much depend on the appropriateness of the characterisation of the situation of a language community (whether Scottish Gaelic of any other) in terms of capacity, opportunity, and desire.

Reciprocally, in a setting where the minority language is widely taught in schools (by and large guaranteeing "capacity") and where existing policies already support the continued existence of a wide range of opportunities to use it, a pattern of language decline is likely to be a symptom of a lack of desire to use it. This lack of desire must not be taken at face value or used as an excuse to leave a language to its sorry fate. Apart from the fact that the maintenance of linguistic and cultural diversity *per se* is an objective that enjoys increasing support (to wit, the development of legal instruments such as the *Charter*), it bears repeating that the marginalised position in which many languages find themselves is in no way some kind of "natural" phenomenon, but the result of power play in the course of history. It is not surprising that this results in feelings of linguistic insecurity, denigration, and a "de-legitimisation" of these languages. Hence, once a (political) decision has been made to support and sustain linguistic diversity, it is a perfectly consistent policy choice to engage in language promotion measures that aim at restoring people's respect for their own language. In such cases, the priority is to adopt measures that strengthen people's desire to use their language.[153] Returning to the example of Scottish Gaelic, if this language community is found to offer adequate educational resources (which foster "capacity") and plentiful opportunities to use the language, but where the image of the language remains low, then *among those that are relevant to GIDS-5 languages* (like Scottish Gaelic), the priority should go to measures that have a

[152] This situation can of course arise when use of a language is deliberately restricted, as was the case for many Western European minority languages until the 20th century, and as still is the case for Kurdish in many of the countries where this language is spoken.

[153] Particularly effective measures in this respect are those that bank not only on people's possibility to feel proud of their language, but also on the creation of practical advantages associated with the use of the language. This can operate indirectly, for example through the establishment of a minority-language television channel which results in the creation of employment opportunities, or directly, by offering wage premia in the public service for bilinguals whose language repertoire includes the relatively threatened language (irrespective of whether it is their first language or not, as long as they are fluent in it). This solution is used by the Canadian federal civil service to promote English-French bilingualism.

strong symbolic content which can restore speakers' feeling of cultural self-worth and linguistic confidence. This can imply the officialisation of the language, a strong commitment of the Scottish administration to the "visibilisation" of the language in the civil service, etc.

Prioritising policy measures for a particular language community therefore cannot dispense with careful terrain analysis, which must serve to confirm (or possibly correct) the *a priori* placement of the community on the GIDS, and to identify the relative strength of capacity, opportunity and desire in the conditions that govern observed patterns of language use. Once this information is available, it becomes possible to apply the general guidelines described above.

Two caveats are in order before closing this section:

- first, the foregoing discussion focuses on the identification of priorities. It does not mean that a measure that does not come out at the very top of a list of priorities is useless. Rather, this list of priorities must be understood as a sequencing device, which helps to rank-order possible interventions; however, those that turn up further down on a list may be extremely valuable as well;
- second, let us repeat that language policy is a complex matter, and that the problems it raises cannot be solved with simple, ready-made decision rules. Much policy choice will be influenced by the practical conditions on the ground. However, reference to the twin set of instruments offered by the GIDS and the policy-to-outcome path can provide a valuable help towards developing more systematic support measures.

THE ROLE OF AN INDUCTIVE APPROACH

An effort has been made throughout this report to propose fundamentally deductive instruments to guide policy choice. However, an inductive approach can help to make up for the relative lack of data, and complement the more formal approach embodied in the policy-to-outcome path (Chapter 3) and the corresponding effectiveness and cost-effectiveness assessments (Chapter 4).

In fact, it is the complementarity, rather than the opposition between the two families of approaches that we would like to stress here. The costs and effects of various forms of intervention in favour of RMLs result from a variety of factors and conditions. Not all of them could be included in the essentially deductive approach encapsulated in the policy-to-outcome path, and, from there, in the cost-effectiveness evaluations. It follows that even if one particular project emerges as measurably and demonstrably more cost-effective than another, it is not quite enough to enable us to draw

more general conclusions about the type of programmes and actions that ought to receive financial support. Such generalisation would be risky for two reasons.

First, the success of an intervention may be due to features that are specific to the nature of the measures themselves and the domain within which they (primarily) operate. Second, success depends not only on the intrinsic features of the intervention, but also on a more or less favourable context. Ultimately, what can make or break the success of an intervention in favour of RMLs is the complex interplay between its intrinsic features and the broader context.

Taking account both of the data situation and of this methodological point, we have decided to reassess the interventions analysed in Chapter 4 from another angle and using another tool, namely, that of "success condition".

This concept requires a few words of explanation.

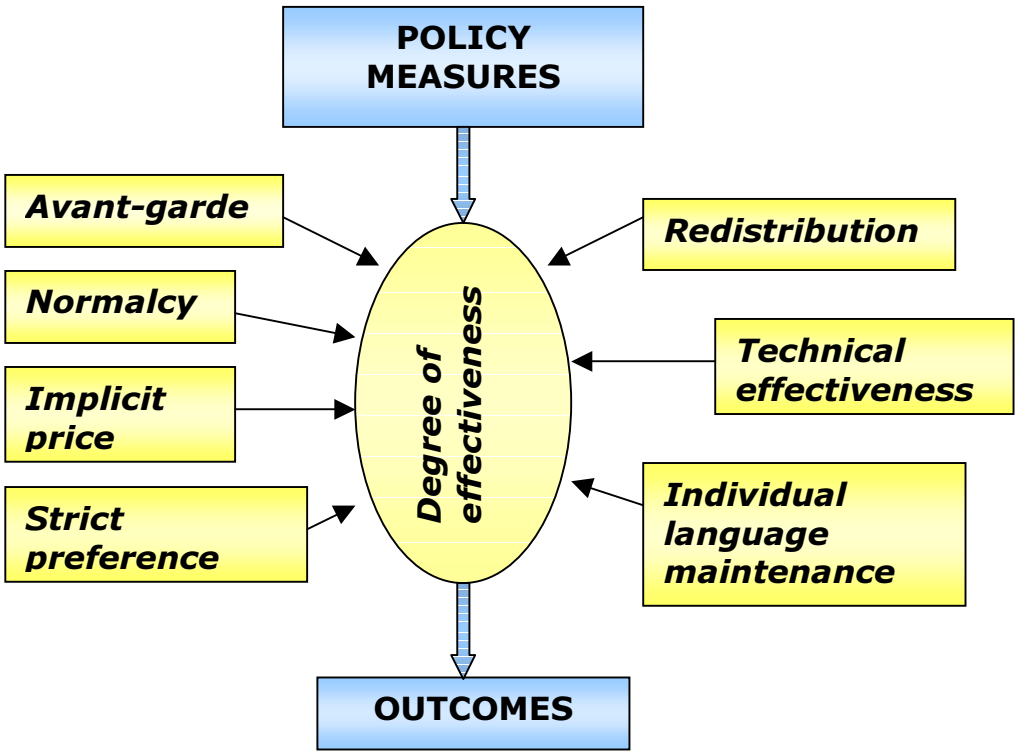
A particular condition can be relevant *in general* to intervention in favour of RMLs, and prove critical in the success of the intervention. This would be the case, for example, if the general social and political climate of a country, at a certain point in time, is sympathetic to RML promotion, or if upcoming elections move politicians to express solidarity with RML speakers more vocally than they would have at other times. Some success conditions, however, are domain-specific. It may be the case, for example, that an ongoing process of school reform affecting the education system as a whole provides a "window of opportunity" for launching or expanding RML-medium education streams. In this case, the broader reform amounts to a domain-specific success condition concerning education, but probably not the media or the courts. Finally, some success conditions are narrowly measure-specific. For example, a particular cultural project may have got off the ground only thanks to the dedication of volunteers who were interested in this very project (and willing to devote their time and energy to it), combined with one-off support from one generous sponsor. A favourable conjunction can therefore help along one intervention, but not be relevant for another, even if it looks very similar and concerns the same domain. In practice, it is difficult to label success conditions as "general", "domain-specific", or "case-specific"; rather, they must be thought of as positioned along a continuum.

Undoubtedly, the range of success conditions is potentially endless. For this reason, we have adopted a two-pronged strategy for the identification of such success conditions. First, in order not to shoehorn a complex reality into ready-made categories, we have

asked ourselves whether, on the basis of the observation of the cases studied in Chapters 4 and 5, we could freely infer (or "induct", as opposed to "deduct") success conditions. Second, in order not to end up with a list of completely idiosyncratic features of heterogeneous projects, we have asked ourselves whether some pre-defined success conditions could be said to have operated in the cases at hand.

This, in turn, raises the problem of identifying and formulating such pre-defined success conditions, that would *a priori* make sense with respect to RML protection and promotion. For this purpose, we have decided to use a set of seven "success conditions" initially proposed by Grin and Vaillancourt and inferred from their research on four policy interventions (1998; see 1999, 98 ff.). The degree of success of these interventions (bilingual road signs in Wales, Welsh-medium television, the bilingual education system of the Basque autonomous community, and the use of Irish-language signs by businesses in Galway) was correlated with the presence of conditions recurring across different settings. The seven conditions are presented in a diagram (Figure 5.1) and commented below.

Figure 5.1: The Seven Success Conditions



Readers will observe that many of them coincide with the joint requirements of "capacity", "opportunity" and "desire" highlighted in the policy-to-outcome path.

1. *The "avant-garde condition"*: success depends on the involvement, or at least existence, of an active and well-organised language avant-garde made up of associations independent from the State apparatus, and whose goals explicitly feature RML protection and promotion.

2. *The "redistribution condition"*: success depends on the willingness of the authorities to redistribute resources, both financial and symbolic, in the direction of RML users or the RML community; by implication in democratic settings, majority opinion must be willing to countenance this redistribution.

3. *The "normalcy condition"*: success depends on the willingness of the authorities and the funding bodies (which may or may not be the same) to endorse and defend RML protection and promotion. They must also be ready to disseminate the notion that the use and visibility of RMLs is a *normal* state of affairs—a notion that can be linked up with the concept, central in Catalonia's language policy experience, of "normalització".

4. *The "technical effectiveness condition"*: the design and implementation of the measures at hand must be "professional"—that is, specialists of the domains in which intervention takes place must be involved in the process.

5. *The "implicit price condition*": the range of RML activities, products, etc. generated by the intervention must become significantly cheaper than before, or even cheaper than majority-language equivalents (for example, subsidising RML children's books must result in a perceptible drop of the cost of accessing RML entertainment for children).

6. *The "individual language maintenance condition"*: intervention in favour of RMLs, all other things being equal, ought to strive for long-term effects. Consequently, the design of intervention should not be entirely focused on one target public (such as schoolchildren), but should spill over to a wider public. This is conducive to the maintenance of RML skills by individuals with very varied profiles, whether in terms of age, social class, etc. For example, a programme targeting RML acquisition by schoolchildren has higher effectiveness if parents are also involved and engaged.

7. *The "strict preference condition"*: this final condition may be the most important of all: it implies that the target public, *all other things being equal*, must display a net preference for carrying out at least some of their activities in the RML *rather than in the majority language*. If this condition is not (or only weakly) met, protection will be ineffectual and promotional measures will make barely a ripple. An absolute requirement, then, is to focus on people's attitudes (that is, on their "desire" to use their RML), as indicated in the policy-to-outcome path.

Clearly, all seven conditions may not be present in a given context, but some are likely to have been, and a general assumption is that effectiveness and cost-effectiveness are positively correlated with the presence and the strength of these conditions in any given case. Hence, the question addressed in the following section is whether one or another of these "success conditions" has been present, and whether it appears to have played a determining influence in the success of a given intervention.

It is important to note that these success conditions are not at variance with the policy-to-outcome path. However, whereas the policy-to-outcome path can be thought of as an *ex ante* approach, allowing for deductive evaluation, the "success conditions" are ingredients in an *ex post* approach based on induction.

The complexity of the issues at hand prevents us from deriving formal demonstration (whether logically or statistically) regarding the more or less determining character of case-specific features or of one or the other of the contextual "success conditions". Hence, the focus of the following discussion is on plausible inference rather than iron-clad proof. Nonetheless, we have attempted to make this discussion as useful as possible, making sure in particular that it resonates with practitioners' experience of intervention in favour of RMLs.

5.2 Features of measures and domains and the presence of success conditions

EDUCATION

Let us first consider the presence of case-specific features. In chapter 4, three measures in the domain of education have been analysed: Euroschool (biennial meeting of schoolchildren), Fabula (software for storybooks for young children) and *naíonraí* (Irish pre-schools). All three measures are quite different in nature, even though they have all yielded noticeable results. Specific positive conditions can be inferred from the operations of these projects. For **Euroschool**, it is clear that the opportunity to meet and exchange

with members of other minority language groups as part of their educational process for the school children does have a great, and sometimes lasting, impact and contributes to the attractiveness of the event. The conviviality associated with the event has therefore certainly played a part. The success of **Fabula** can be explained in part by the fact that it rides on the prestige of new technological developments in education, as well as the attractiveness of the format of the software; hence, a perceived association with prestige-laden technology probably helps a project along. The strong suit of the ***naíonraí***, which offers parents the opportunity to give their children an all-Irish pre-school education, may be linked to the relative simplicity of the scheme, reflected in its financial and organisational structure.

Each case also presents some features that have presumably impacted negatively on its effectiveness. In the case of Euroschool, size matters, because the project only ever reaches a tiny proportion of the school population in a certain region. Dissemination of the effect throughout the communities concerned is only possible to a limited degree, for example through media coverage of the event. Lack of regular professional support from a central office in Europe makes the activity less successful than it could be. In the case of the Fabula project, a factor hampering success is the range of technical difficulties encountered in developing a stable platform for the software. The slower developments have delayed the successful introduction on a broad scale. Negative features of the *naíonraí* may include the fact that they are privately run and only indirectly state-funded. Accordingly, participation is concentrated in the Irish-speaking areas, which may also slow down their success in other areas of the state. Only 3% of the possible target group does, in the end, participate. Euroschool, as a grass-roots initiative that has developed in Brittany, and Fabula, an initiative undertaken by educational experts, are both very much dependent on European funding. Without that kind of funding both projects would not have taken place. The case of *naíonraí* is different, in that although it is a private sector initiative, it has the support of the state. The negative features seem rather case-specific, although problems of size, technique, funding and limited geographic location do of course also occur in other cases.

Any intervention in the domain of education will have to take certain specific RML constraints and conditions into consideration. The measures studied are quite different in character, but their relevance for the domain of RML education as a whole lies in the fact that they exemplify ways of enhancing sorely needed language awareness. Creating opportunities for children to directly meet and exchange with other children from minority language groups could perhaps

also be enhanced by other ways, e.g. through virtual meeting places at the internet. Creation of an all-minority language school system, as in the case of the *naíonraí*, seems to be one of the few strategies that can help re-create a minority-language environment—a very important form of support for languages that have undergone severe decline.

Let us now consider the possible role of the "seven success conditions" in the educational measures analysed here.

The avant-garde condition: there is no doubt that the "avant-garde condition" has played a role in the three education projects studied in Chapter 4. It is particularly clear in the case of Irish pre-school education, though also present in the other two projects. The goal of the actors, in each case, was explicitly to foster regional or minority languages.

The redistribution condition: this condition was only partly met in the sense that the European authorities were the sole providers of financial resources for the Fabula project, and were co-financing the Euroschool activities. In the latter case, the language communities themselves, through the participating schools and voluntary organisations are making a contribution as well. States are not involved—or certainly not directly. The is different in the case of Irish pre-primary schools, where the emphasis may be on a semi-voluntary organisation, but where the state plays an important role in covering a substantial part of the cost.

The normalcy condition: in the case of the three educational measures, it seems that the "normalcy condition" is met, albeit partly. Authorities and funding bodies have endorsed protection and promotion of the RMLs concerned. The notion that the use and visibility of regional or minority languages is a normal state of affairs in education is present in all three projects. However, this does not detract from the emphasis generally also placed, mainly by the state authorities, of the importance of the majority language in the educational system.

The technical effectiveness condition: educational specialists are involved in all the cases studied, but with significant differences. Euroschool functions according to a rotating scheme and is thus dependent on new organizers every time. They may be excellent educationalists, but more or less experienced in organizing an international event of such size. In the case of Fabula, high standards for technical quality were set, and computer specialists were hired to meet them. Nevertheless, it turned out that implementing those standards was not an easy task.

The implicit price condition: young children who have access to internet in school have been given, through the Fabula project, an inexpensive opportunity to use technologically advanced learning materials otherwise not available. In that sense, this activity has become available for a low price. In the same way, the network of pre-schools in Irish has offered parents an opportunity that would have been out of reach otherwise—even taking into account the somewhat lower tuition (40% less per month) inside the Gaeltacht areas. This condition, however, does not seem to apply to Euroschool.

The individual language maintenance condition: it has been shown that participation in the Euroschool event can have a lasting and long-term effect, in the sense that some children who took part in it have become active minority language promoters later in life. Other evidence is not hard or clear-cut, but it seems obvious that the awareness created by participating in such an exciting European event must have lasting effects on a great deal of the participants, not only the children but also their teachers and parents. By contrast, such an effect cannot be established in the case of Fabula, nor should it be expected. Using a computer programme as part of the educational process can only have long-term effects if this becomes integrated into the whole curriculum, and this is not (yet) the case. A similar reasoning can even be applied to children going through an all-Irish preschool: if this is not followed by adequate provisions at primary and secondary level, the investment of the first years may easily be lost later on. In general, the difficult issue of how to transform positive attitudes into proficiency, and from there, to transfer the latter to actual language use, can only be indirectly addressed by such measures. Learning the language at school is no guarantee for use later in life (or even outside the school context).

The strict preference condition: in all three cases, there is a positive influence on the desire of the participants to use their minority language. During participation in the activities, whether this means using computer software, attending an international event or frequenting pre-school, the preference for carrying out the activities in the minority language is clearly present. One can observe that attitudes are positively influenced. In some cases, this can turn out to have a lasting effect on language preferences (Euroschool). In other cases, it is not clear how long the effects will last, in the absence of a continuously renewed offer of enticing learning materials, or through later RML-medium schooling.

Summing up, the most relevant success factors in the education domain turn out to have been the a*vant-garde condition* and the *normalcy condition*. The relevance of the other success conditions for the domain of education can be clearly pinpointed, but it is not clear whether they have played a part in all cases.

PRINTED AND AUDIO-VISUAL MEDIA

The three media projects studied in Chapter 4 rest on quite different success conditions. In the Yle and RnaG cases, the promotional measures put in place benefited from new developments in radio production techniques, as well as from a change in the European radio market due to the growth of commercial competition in this field. This allowed more cost-effective programme production, at the same time requiring broadcasters to adopt an innovative attitude *vis-à-vis* their audiences. The new competition ushered in by private broadcasting was countered by public service broadcasting through strategies to profile channels for defined audience segments.[154] It can be inferred that the particular success in raising audience figures observed in the Yle case was due to the fact that resources were made available for an (almost) full-scale profiling of the same type that had been carried out in the services for the majority. It is evident that these forms of investment in the new media competition become more pertinent, since the national media institutions do not have resources to provide additional funding. The Radio Agora case exemplifies another logic, as the station itself is an offspring of radio deregulation. The financing of the radio station is dependent on continuous fund-raising initiatives, of a type that the European Union has participated in through different programmes (not only the Connect programme, as in this example, but also in the project financing of lesser used languages).

The apparently limited impact of some measures, in particular Agora, should be viewed with due understanding of the nature of these measures. Agora was in fact less a media than an educational programme, which explains why it had only moderate effects in terms of the production of media outputs.

Generally, radio competition has changed the market for radio programmes in minority languages. Where it earlier might have been sufficient to provide niche programmes in RMLs, profiling different programmes for different sub-audiences, requirements have changed, and now amount to a demand for full-fledged

[154] By profiling we mean the designing of a programme supply (of a radio station/channel) for a particular audience (i.e. young/old, men/women, urban/rural etc.). The concept should be distinguished from the narrower concept of *formatting*, usually meaning that different (music) tastes are catered to by programming.

channels, and even profiled channels for sub-audiences in the minority languages. This change has been illustrated by the studies in section 4.4. Today, there are clear indications that the need for more specific and more easily available services in the domain of minority media in the future will also concern other types of media. One example is television, where the profiling that has been used by radio broadcasters since the mid-1980s is increasingly starting to appear.

Let us now assess the role of the seven success conditions in the media projects analysed.

The avant-garde condition: though there is an avant-garde presence, at a general level, in support of RMLs both for Swedish in Finland and Irish in Ireland, the measures studied were not the direct result of intense activism. This is largely due to the fact that the interests represented had already been institutionalised within the public service realm. In the third case, however (Radio Agora and partners), the initiative would clearly not have occurred were it not for persistent activist involvement.

Redistribution condition: media in minority languages are generally dependent on a redistribution of resources for content production and distribution. Electronic media services in minority languages are seldom spontaneously provided by the market. Hence, the redistribution condition is necessarily present in promotional projects operating through the media.

Normalcy condition: principles of public service radio and television normally require services in RMLs to be provided by the broadcaster. In Finland as well as in Ireland, the services are supplied as part of the remit of the public service broadcaster; they reflect the fact that the presence of these RMLs is generally considered normal, and contributes, in turn, to this perception. Operating on a different sociolinguistic plane and being a privately owned enterprise, Radio Agora does constitute an illustration of the normalcy condition (or at least certainly not to the same extent), although the station has benefited from state funding.

Technical effectiveness condition: as a relevant proportion of the listeners is bilingual, in all three cases the programme services provided would have to meet at least the same level of excellence as the programme supply in the majority language to stand competition.

Implicit price condition: in the Yle and RnaG cases, the increased availability of services in RMLs has reduced the implicit price of

consuming radio programmes in these languages, making the RML radio channels more equal to the channels broadcasting in majority languages. A difference remained, though, as the supply of different types of programmes at any time of the day remains higher in the majority language, particularly in Ireland where profiled channels for different age groups are not available in Irish. Measured in these terms, the implicit price condition for the broadcasts of Radio Agora cannot be assessed as we do not have a data set allowing for a "before v. after" analysis in this particular case.

Individual language maintenance condition: interestingly, in all cases studied there were clear indications that bilinguals—irrespective of age—are actively interested in developing new behavioural patterns. This can be observed in cases where opportunity (Yle and RnaG) or capacity (Radio Agora) are stimulated, even when competing services in the majority language exist. This supports the notion that these promotional measures could be interpreted into a pattern of long-term change—and benefit from it.

Strict preference condition: in the two case-studies providing actual audience data the net preference to use the new services provided was found to be present in a relevant share of the audience.

Turning now to the issue of the domain relevance of success conditions 1-7, it can be argued that the *avant-garde condition* is particularly pertinent in situations where the services in RMLs are not secured through institutional arrangements like public service radio and television. With respect to media in general, a distinction can be made with respect to the type of media (TV, radio, written press). In systems with a public service tradition in electronic media, the *redistribution condition* and the *normalcy condition* seem to be less crucial, as does the *technical effectiveness condition*. In publicly owned institutions, the technical effectiveness condition is usually met, but sometimes to an extent such that one may wonder if the resources are used in the most efficient manner, or if a shift of emphasis from technical sophistication towards content production might not, in fact, be advisable.

The empirical examples from the two cases studied in Ireland and Finland yield surprisingly robust evidence as to the readiness of the audience to invest in radio listening in an RML where basic conditions are reasonably met. As argued in our presentation of the P-TOP model, in situations where such conditions are not at hand, obviously an increased supply of media services will not be successful without substantial accompanying measures that address the issue of people's desire to use the language.

The cultural projects presented in Chapter 4 are both very small in scale and very specific. An important factor in explaining their success, however, is the involvement of theatre enthusiasts, whether professionals or amateurs. The role of active cultural organisations and of dedicated individuals concerned with the promotion of regional or minority languages cannot be overestimated. Undoubtedly, financial support from the authorities is very necessary, because artists and the persons who support them cannot rely on private sponsorship alone; the role of the state has been described by informants as "fundamental" in the case of the "Offspring" project, but less so in "Voicing Europe".

Of the seven success conditions, the first three are not particularly relevant here. The necessity of (at least partial) state support would *a priori* underscore the importance of an *avant-garde* to help secure it, although the information gathered is not sufficient to warrant general statements in this point. On the other hand, the *redistribution condition* appears not to have played any major role—essentially because the financial amounts concerned are negligible. Given the small scale and often local character of the projects, it is difficult to talk of a *normalcy condition* being met.

Although this information can hardly be transposed in terms of a formal indicator, the accounts we have collected all suggest that the projects were carried out with a high degree of professionalism. The actors and scriptwriters taking part in the "Offspring" project are trained professionals with a minority language background. The Catalan participants in "Voicing Europe" included linguists and professional translators; this suggests that the *technical effectiveness condition* was generally present in these cultural projects. Also present, in our view, was the *implicit price condition*. These initiatives have not only advanced the idea that it is possible, as a matter of principle, to offer cultural events in RMLs. They have actually provided audiences with opportunities to enjoy such events, making them available and accessible. Organisers claim that audiences are willing to pay to see minority language plays. This suggests that the implicit price condition, reflected in the easier availability of minority language cultural events, need not rely entirely on public support but that it can be met over the long term, provided the essential state support is there to cover part of the production costs.

The projects considered are one-off events, and their success is therefore measured in the short-term, for example through audience sizes, critics' comments, etc. Therefore, the *individual language maintenance condition* is not central. However, it can represent,

indirectly, an important dimension of cultural policy, because the success of minority-language cultural performances also resides in the fact that it can whet people's appetite for more, and encourage them to maintain and develop their minority language skills. In this sense, the success of a cultural event has a long-term character, because it is correlated to the success of earlier events and paves the way for future similar occasions.

Finally, the *strict preference condition* is particularly important in the field of culture—largely because culture is an area in which people have a particularly high degree of choice. One does not downgrade culture to the position of a mundane good that people simply *consume* by observing that it denotes a range of activities in which people can choose to get involved or not. Hence, bilinguals (as most RML speakers in Europe are) will attend minority-language plays only if they have a genuine inclination for them and a preference, at a given point in time, for attending a minority-language rather than a majority-language cultural event. Incidentally, this preference is not systematically associated with high-level fluency in the minority language. Informants point out that many participants or members of the audience simply came "in contact with" the language—implying that it would not necessarily have been the case otherwise.

ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE

The two cases examined under the heading of Administration can be said to have been effective in that they have undoubtedly facilitated the use of RMLs in regional assemblies. Their success in both instances rests on the fact that legislative provisions had already provided for the use of RMLs. However, making legal provision for the use of an RML is not the same as ensuring that it is either practicable or easy to actually use it. In the case of the Italian-German dictionary, the use of both languages in administrative affairs in South Tyrol has long been an established practice. It should also be borne in mind that both are widely used national languages in other states. The challenge being met was to facilitate the use of both languages and to ensure their accurate usage.

The situation in Wales was different in that Wales had hitherto not had a National Assembly. It was also different in that Welsh was not a major language anywhere but rather a unique RML. The establishment of a National Assembly was seen positively as an opportunity and a challenge to further the normalisation of Welsh.

The two cases also differ in that the Italian-German Dictionary received EU funding whereas the Welsh-English Dictionary was funded from UK sources. It is also interesting to note that the template of the Welsh-English has already been used to produce

similar dictionaries in Scotland and Ireland and may in the future be used elsewhere.

The two examples of community development (*Mentrau iaith* and *Glór na* nGael) are similar in that they are aimed at promoting the use of RMLs at local community level in situations where both languages are under severe pressure from a major language—English, in both instances. They differ in that in the Welsh case the use of the RML had been under pressure, largely because of economic decline in the areas in question, whereas in the Irish case the use of the RML was not increasing in proportion with increased levels of ability.

In both cases, a reasonably modest investment of public funds touched large numbers of citizens and furthermore generated impressive levels of voluntary involvement, a monetary valuation of which is not possible to calculate but which would undoubtedly be substantial.

It is difficult to pinpoint precise unfavourable conditions in either of the public administration cases chosen. It might be argued, however, that if better preparation had been made in the Welsh case for the provision of adequate translation facilities, the impact of the dictionary would have been more visible. In the two community development cases, no direct negative aspects were evident. However, indifference or a lack of a sense of urgency concerning sociolinguistic matters among the general public did pose a challenge.

One can conclude that the use of an RML in public administration in almost all cases can be effectively promoted by providing the necessary tools and by doing this at a modest cost. The promotion of RMLs at local community level is an area that does not seem to have been adequately researched. The will of the users of RMLs to conserve their languages is a critical factor. If this exists to any reasonable degree, effective intervention at local community level would seem to hold out very real possibilities.

The avant-garde condition was present in all instances, although the cases studied are perhaps characterised not so much by the involvement of a small group of committed persons acting as the bulwark of RML revitalisation, as by a broader involvement of the citizenry. In the Südtirol instance, the linguistic balance between Italian and German is not only something that touches all citizens of the region, but is a key factor underlying the political and everyday life of the region. The two Celtic language communities in question

have probably the oldest “third-sector” movements among European RMLs.

The redistribution condition arguably played a much smaller part in the projects studied here, if only because, owing to the relatively modest amounts involved, the extent of redistribution was negligible. This is not to say, however, that cases like that of the Südtirol are characterised by significant redistribution—but the latter is deployed in the context of other interventions.

The normalcy condition is an essential dimension of RML promotion in the administration and in economic and social life. This issue is exemplified by the cases presented in Chapter 4. It is particularly manifest in the case of the *Mentrau Iaith*, whose aim is precisely to foster such normalcy, but whose success banks on the degree of normalcy already achieved. It should be pointed out that authorities committed to RML promotion would normally regard the normalcy condition as essential not only in terms of the effectiveness or cost-effectiveness of interventions in favour of RMLs specifically, but also for maintaining social cohesion in the multilingual communities in question.

The *technical effectiveness condition* was undoubtedly met in the case of the two dictionaries and no serious criticism has been made of either. In the two community development cases, the need for more and better training was recognised but it should be stressed that the best available people were engaged in both instances.

The implicit price condition is undoubtedly relevant in the case of the Welsh dictionary, because in the absence of the latter, the cost to Assembly members (or other social actors) of locating, accessing and using the information would have been much higher. In the Südtirol case, the Italian-German dictionary would not appear to be competing with any other product, implying that the savings to users from having such a tool is also significant. However, the fact that both German and Italian are major languages implies that the linguistic information consolidated into the dictionary would probably have been accessible in other ways. The implicit price condition certainly also plays a part in the *mentrau iaith*, which offer services in or about the Welsh language that may otherwise not be available, or only at the cost of much greater personal effort or expense. However, this is difficult to estimate globally, given the broad range of activities developed in the context of the *mentrau*. Finally, the implicit price condition seems only secondary in *Glór na nGael*, whose function is not to make available a good or service that people could otherwise not access.

The presence of the *individual language maintenance condition* is difficult to assess *a priori* in the cases studied. In principle, we would assume that it is met in the case of the Welsh dictionary, because the status-enhancing effect of having the RML used in the affairs of regional assemblies is of great importance and can only impact favourably in other areas. The two community projects, however, are more problematic. Some authors observe that "the problem then is to guard against this number [*the number of RML speakers*] going down as people lose their language skills through lack of use after leaving schools, eventually slipping back into the group of non-speakers of the minority language". The question of "slippage" has been one of the central problems of the Irish language revival, and as more and more L2 Welsh-speakers are being generated by the education system, it is becoming a major issue also in Wales. Neither of the two community language projects examined has fully overcome this problem even they both hold their own quite well in tackling it.

The strict preference condition is probably the most difficult to evaluate and one about which generalisations should be avoided. It is quite clear that many members of the two regional assemblies in question have very definite preference as regards the use of the RML, but these may constitute a minority. However, there are many others, particularly in the case of Welsh, who have much goodwill for its use and who do occasionally use it they feel they can adequately do so. Lack of fluency, rather than lack of willingness, may be the key factor in some instances. While many bilinguals have a definite preference for the RML, because of patriotic or sentimental reasons, this preference is not automatically translated into practise because of a wide gamut of factors—[perceived] lack of fluency, a desire not to embarrass another person who may not know the language, a psychological blockage about using the RML in a certain domain of life [e.g. dealings with a public authority] in which the majority language has been in a dominant position for generations. This is an issue which is addressed very directly by the *Mentrau iaith* schemes.

TRANFRONTIER COOPERATION

One critical condition for the success of transfrontier cooperation, by definition, is the political goodwill of the authorities of the countries involved. If this goodwill is present, it appears to be much more important than EU support. In fact, the cases of transfrontier schemes studied in Chapters 4 and 5 indicate that this often local-level cooperation does not usually rely on EU co-funding, though relay stations in French Catalonia did receive such support.

Another relevant factor is that of the commonality of language; in the main, and certainly from the case studies considered, there

seems to be a greater deal of cooperation where the same language is spoken in two or more states. The generalisation has to be qualified, though, because the amount of formal cooperation with respect to German, say, is higher (and much more institutionalised) in the case of German-speaking minorities in northern Italy and southern Denmark than it is in the Alsace. It may be that a lesser degree of language commonality can be compensated by increased financial support from sources other than the states involved (that is, by support from the EU). The Northern Ireland involvement in the Columba initiative, spearheaded by a private organisation, would certainly not have got off the ground without EU subsidies.

As regards cooperation between distinct but unique languages, several cases have been considered in other sections of Chapters 4 and 5. Hardly any seem to have been government initiatives, and many have relied heavily on EU funding. This has allowed projects to come into being which otherwise would never have got off the ground.

In the three cases considered in this section, no specific feature stands out as a clear hindrance to the success of intervention; it is also difficult to disentangle specific cases from the general theme of transfrontier cooperation (which, contrary to the preceding four, does not constitute a "domain" in the usual analytical sense). Hence, only general observations regarding favourable conditions for successful transfrontier cooperation will be made here.

Popular and local political support have clearly played a role in the Basque television case, but where official policies are lacking, transfrontier cooperation relies heavily on an active language *avant-garde*. This may be linked to the fact that some national governments seem to be wary about their nationals cooperating with foreigners (often acting in an official capacity) that speak the same language.

The role of the *redistributive condition* also varies greatly, depending on the type of transfrontier cooperation considered; in fact, the amount of redistribution involved can be negligible (as in the case of Slovenian television). Sometimes, as in the Columba initiative, a private organisation has managed to mobilise official funds, revealing the importance, in specific cases, of private sector initiatives in moving policies along.

The *normalcy condition* is more easily achieved when transfrontier projects rely more on EU funding than on the State devoting resources to minority languages. This observation is not innocuous: by stepping into a transfrontier cooperation project, the EU gives a

strong signal to the effect that it considers the presence and visibility of an RML as a *normal* state of affairs, not in a space defined within national boundaries, but more generally, in a given part of the *European* space.

The *technical effectiveness* condition is not usually a stumbling-block in transfrontier cooperation, where the neighbouring kin-state is often willing to devote considerable resources and know-how to support the minority in the neighbouring state.

The fifth success condition, *implicit price*, is often fulfilled in these projects, where the more powerful partner tends to be unwilling to place a financial burden on the minority population, and where the latter realise that without that support, the project might never have existed. In other words, transfrontier cooperation generally amounts to a sharp reduction in the cost of accessing certain RML commodities.

The *individual language maintenance* condition does not seem to be a core feature of most of the transfrontier projects we have looked at. Their success hinges crucially on the durability of the transfrontier arrangements made, and there exists the possibility, at least in theory, that such arrangements might be revoked (for example, a television station may stop sharing its products, and aerials may be dismantled). However, such developments seem highly unlikely, at least between EU member states. It follows that the transfrontier cooperation projects considered here are likely to deploy their effects in the long run. Only at a later stage, however, will it be possible to assess the extent to which they have contributed to a stable, long-term increase in the use of the RML in the regions concerned.

Finally, the *strict preference condition* is necessary for the success of many of these measures. For example, speakers of Basque in the south-west of France will start watching ETB only if they have a strict preference for watching programmes in Basque instead of French—or in whatever language was already available to them on the airwaves. Again, only figures regarding increases in audiences will constitute a (relatively direct) test of the presence of the strict preference condition in these transfrontier cooperation contexts. It is interesting to note, however, that this condition is less likely to be fulfilled where the State applies normative pressure on its citizens, and regards the use of other languages (particularly in border areas) as suspect. Yet direct attitude-enhancing projects would probably come up against serious official obstacles, so projects may influence attitudes only in indirect ways. For example, it is possible that members of the Slovene minority in Austria have their self-esteem

raised by knowing that a programme about them and their activities is seen on the national television in another country.

AN INTEGRATIVE ASSESSMENT OF SUCCESS CONDITIONS

The foregoing discussion regarding the conditions that have played a particularly important part in the success (or lack thereof) of various interventions is one that reflects *only* those cases that have been studied in Chapter 4. Therefore, it would be inappropriate to offer more than the most cautious generalisation on the basis of this discussion. Furthermore, if one is true to the inferential and qualitative rationale underpinning the concept of "success conditions", it would be irrelevant to propose something like a "league table of success conditions". What can be offered, however, is a more synthetic discussion of the role of these success conditions, as they appear to have impacted on the cases studied.

One success condition stands out in all the domains, namely, the *strict preference* condition. This condition converges with the "desire" or "willingness" issue highlighted by the policy-to-outcome path. It must be remembered that almost all the speakers of RMLs in the EU are *bilinguals*. In other words, they have a choice to carry out their various activities in the RML *or* in the majority language. Owing to a variety of amply documented factors (political, sociological, economic, even psychological), it is tempting for many RML speakers to "go with the flow" and to settle for activities *through the majority language*. If an RML alternative becomes available, possibly as the result of a promotional programme, this alternative will be chosen if and only if actors decidedly want it. Should there be any doubt, when contemplating a proposed intervention in favour of a particular RML, as to the existence of this strict preference, the intervention is likely to fail. It does not follow that such proposals should be dismissed, but rather that accompanying measures are should be developed in parallel.[155]

Two other success conditions appear to have played an important role in the interventions studied. The first is the *implicit price condition* (or "shadow price condition"). Assuming that the target public of an intervention (most of the time, bilinguals belonging to the RML community) has a preference, all other things being equal, for doing things in the RML *rather than in the majority language*, it must also be worth their while. In other words, if taking advantage of RML-medium offers is too costly, these offers will not be taken up. It is interesting that many of the interventions presented in Chapter 4 actually result in a sharp cost drop in RML-medium activities (such

[155] The reason for referring to a "strict" preference is derived from formal models of language choice by bilinguals; see Grin (1990, 1992).

as “watching television”). It follows that when projects in favour of RMLs are under consideration, one presumably essential element is whether these projects will result in an actual, perceptible drop in the cost, to the individuals, of accessing the service (or some comparable alternative).

The *avant-garde condition* also appears to have played an important role in the interventions studied. The lesson, basic as it is, is nonetheless useful: when a project in favour of an RML is being considered, it is probably useful to make sure that there will be some committed actors willing to help the project along and win over to it other members of the RML community.

In several of the cases studied, the *technical effectiveness condition* was mentioned—less, however, as a crucial issue (with the possible exception of some media development projects) than as a condition that was, apparently, present. This does not call for any further commentary, apart from the fairly obvious reminder that RML protection and promotion, particularly when it is advanced through more complex forms of action, needs professionalism to succeed.

Finally, the role of the *redistribution*, *normalcy* and *individual maintenance* conditions appears to have been less in the cases studied.

As regards the first of them (redistribution), one may suspect that the reason it did not come to the fore is, quite simply, that the monetary amounts are modest, not to say negligible. If anything, this study has helped to show that (contrary to ill-informed, though widespread perceptions), many of the interventions that can be launched in favour of RMLs are surprisingly cheap. Let us recall the example provided in Chapter 3: moving from a unilingual to a bilingual education system (covering primary, secondary I and secondary II education) is likely to entail an increase in total education spending for these tiers of less than 5%. Generally, the various measures considered in this report were considerably cheaper. It is therefore unsurprising that the redistribution condition did not stand out as crucial. This being said, the redistribution condition remains fully relevant for two reasons. First, many RMLs remain in danger. Consequently, *if* their long-term survival *is* regarded as policy goal, support in their favour needs to be stepped up, with appropriate financial resources. This can only raise the profile of the redistribution condition. Second, even when financial support remains modest, this support is liable to be attacked as mollycoddling from some sectors of the press and of the political class. If only for this reason, it is essential for the funding bodies (national authorities as well as international or supra-national

organisations) to firmly stand by their decision to commit resources to RML protection and promotion. Although this issue may not be central in the projects (often very small ones) that the EU is typically asked to co-finance, it may be worth considering when the project in question is linked to a wider language promotional strategy.

Much the same can be said about the (very macro-level) *normalcy* condition. It applies to large-scale policies rather than to local cultural projects or community initiatives that the Commission may support. In many of the cases studied, the general dispositions of the public and of the authorities seemed to be already won over to the notion that whatever RML-medium activity encouraged or made possible by a particular intervention was "normal". However, members of minority communities are aware that attitudes can change, particularly if the normalcy of the RML is expected to expand beyond a given (and possibly rather narrow) range of activities. There again, it is useful for projects to appraise the state of affairs at this level. One should point out, however, that the cause-and-effect relationship may, in this case, be seen differently: it is not so much that a particular intervention *needs* the normalcy condition in order to be successful, but that the intervention can help this particular condition to emerge—undoubtedly a major gain for any RML.

Finally, the *individual maintenance condition* does not seem to have played a major role in the cases studied here. In our view, this simply reflects the fact that these interventions are recent, and that it is too early to discuss their long-term effects. Nevertheless, there should be little doubt that in terms of RML protection and promotion, it is preferable for a project to have a long-term rather than a short-lived impact.

5.3 Towards an Integrative Selection Procedure for Proposed Programmes and Actions

A STEP-WISE EVALUATION SYSTEM

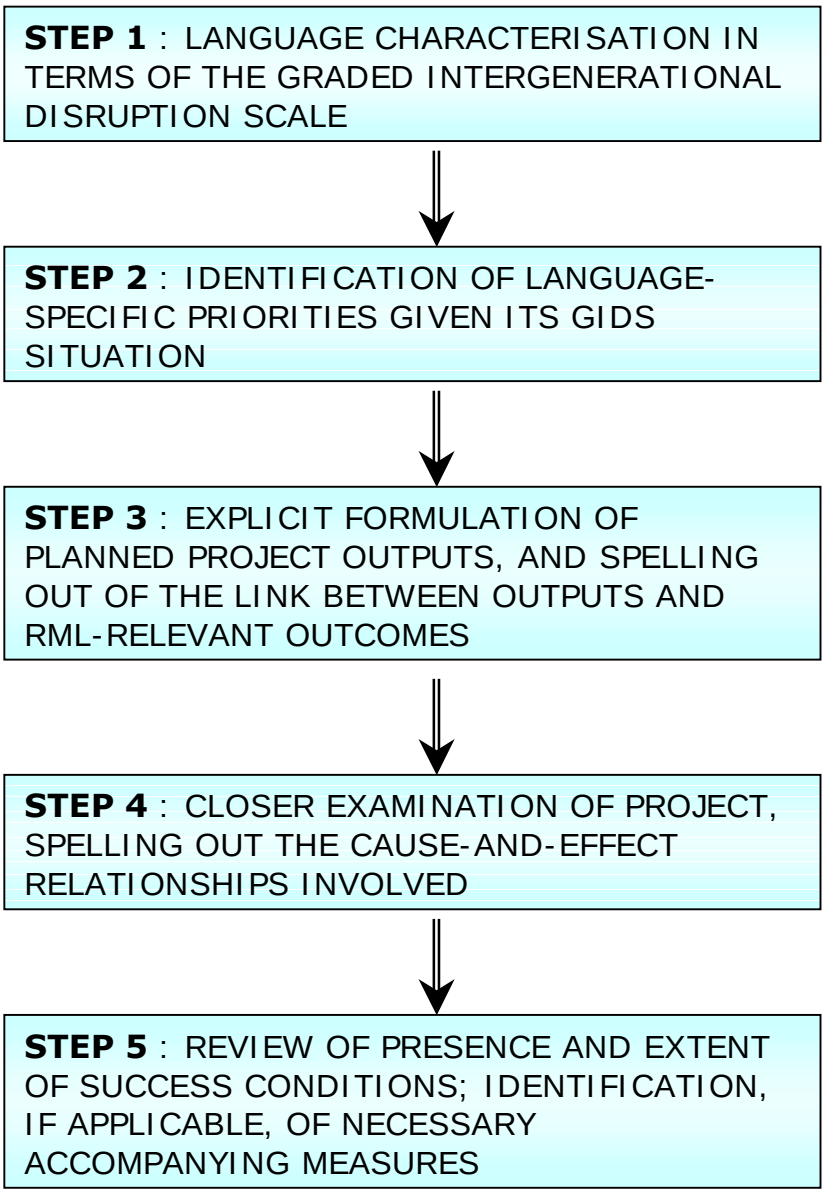
The time has now come to combine the various analytical and informational elements used in this report into an integrative instrument that can help prioritise and select interventions in favour of RMLs.

In this section, we focus on two classes of "interventions", namely, broad *programmes* and narrower *projects* fitting into these programmes. The reason for this is that this instrument is primarily intended for use by the European Commission. At this stage, it would be premature to reason in terms of full-fledged policy selection, because in the current institutional context, as reflected in

the relevant legal basis, the involvement of the Commission does not extend to policy concerning RMLs, whereas it does in the case of member states. Rather, the involvement of the Commission, in terms of RML protection and promotion, essentially takes the form of financial support for individual projects and possibly, in the future, for full-fledged programmes or budget lines. Consequently, the instrument sketched out here is defined with respect to issues of vetting and selection, as they are likely to arise in this context.

We propose a five-step procedure for project and programme evaluation, which for short shall be called LAAP, for *Language Action Assessment Procedure*. The five steps in the evaluation procedure are intended to clarify the goals and operations of a project, and to bring to light, in particular, the link between the contents of a particular project and the effects it may have in terms of RML protection and promotion. For those projects that are selected and are given funding, an additional condition would be for those responsible for the project to set up a structured system for monitoring and data gathering, for the benefit of the Commission, of other projects, and also for their own. The LAAP is summarised in Fig. 5.2.

Figure 5.2: The Language Action Assessment Procedure (LAAP)



The relevance of this assessment structure depends on the magnitude and complexity of the project or programme considered. For a very small-scale project, it is hardly justified to lavish too much time and energy to the preparation of a proposal, or to its evaluation. The five stages of the LAAP, therefore, are meant for relatively large-scale projects and programmes. The LAAP can be operationalised as follows.

In **STEP 1**, the situation of the language or languages that would benefit from the proposed project or programme needs to be characterised with sufficient precision. What we mean by this is that mainly legal considerations about the position of language in some

existing body of international or national law tells us very little regarding the priorities for language survival. At the same time, a detailed sociolinguistic account, even if it describes with genuine knowledge and insight the situation of the language, may not be enough (just as well as it might, in a sense, be more than is required for the purposes of efficient project selection). What matters, rather, is the *nature* of the information supplied. From a policy analysis standpoint, the recommendation is that it should focus on the current position of the language along the *Graded intergenerational disruption scale* (GIDS), because the latter provides a crisp and convenient way to identify priority areas for policy.

Different social and political actors may approach an institution such as the European Commission to request or suggest financial support for RMLs. Proposals for specific projects or broad programmes may come from concerned individual citizens, grassroots associations, non-governmental organisations, local or regional authorities, or member states governments. They can also come from within the Commission and its staff. No matter where a proposal originates, however, it is relevant to request a detailed case to be made, indicating the analytical reasons and the empirical observations on the basis of which the language (or languages) who would be the recipient of support is (or are) categorised as being “at stage 3”, or “at stage 4”, etc. Of course, the positioning of a language is not always a clear-cut affair, and some positioning assessments may, perfectly validly, turn out to be more complex. However, if applicants are unable to provide this type of assessment, the question does arise of whether it is possible at all to formulate a protection or promotion project that would be appropriately targeted.

The careful identification of the position of a language along the GIDS makes it possible to move on to **STEP 2**, in which priorities for action are explicitly derived from the result of STEP 1. For example, if a language is convincingly shown to be “at stage 6” of the GIDS (but not at stage 5), the proposed action must be germane to the needs associated with such a position. This implies that proposals should focus on manifestations of language use that differentiate stage 5 from stage 6. More precisely, this means that the project could variously aim at: (i) reinforcing literacy in the home, local schools and community; (ii) expanding the visibility of the language to beyond the strict confines of every day community life, for example by encouraging its use in a broader range of community projects; (iii) paving the way, through corpus development, for the future use of the language in the administration and in formal education. It would be premature, however, to propose an

investment in high-level, very specialised functions in the judiciary or in academia.

The requirements of **STEP 3** may sound obvious, but the clarity of purpose that it calls for is indispensable. What is essential here is for the actors submitting a proposal to make reference to the policy-to-outcome path (or any similar type of tool) and to formulate clearly (i) the ultimate, RML-relevant objective being pursued; (ii) its linkage with the proposed measure. The primary function of this effort is to move beyond the surface. Suppose for example that an association applies for support to set up a non-profit language advisory service, where all RML speakers can receive help in handling private or official correspondence in their language. This type of project would, in principle, be particularly relevant for languages at GIDS stages 3, 4 or 5. This is not to say that it would cease to make sense for a language located at GIDS stages 1 or 2, but for the latter, such support is likely to be already provided by other institutions, such as regional authorities—not to mention the fact that the language would presumably be already well established in the mainstream education system. A language advisory service for citizens would therefore have a lower degree of priority, though perhaps a higher-level, technical advisory service for businesses and administration would still serve a purpose.[156]

In a case such as this, applicants ought to state clearly what should, in their view, be considered an indicator of success, and be encouraged to view the latter not in their perspective as prospective suppliers of the advisory service, but in the perspective of their users and, ultimately, with respect to the macro-level position of the language concerned. For example, what matters is not just the "number of letters" written or corrected by the staff of the advisory service: what matters is the resulting increase in the actual use of the language, which may be reflected in the number of people who actually call on their services, the frequency with which they do so, and the precise nature of the language tasks for which they request assistance. In turn, these *a priori* sensible indicators of success must be reinterpreted with respect to the broader picture of minority language vitality. If the advisory service is set up in a general context of language revitalisation policy, its success will be measured not by the growth, but ultimately by the *decline* in the number of its clients, because one would expect literacy to be effectively imparted by the education system, thereby reducing citizens' need for the language advisory service. Perhaps a more appropriate indicator of success, in the mid-term, is the variety and complexity of the tasks in which citizens require assistance, because this would constitute a reflection of the fact that the minority

[156] Just such a service is available in settings such as Catalonia, Wales, etc.

language is gaining a foothold in a broader range of domains where higher-level language skills are necessary.

Returning to an example used in Chapter 3, if a local administration sets up a minority language course for civil servants in order to increase their capacity to discharge their duties through the language, enrolment figures (even if participation is voluntary) constitutes a perfectly circular, and hence quite uninteresting, indicator. More relevant is the increase in the proportion of interactions (of a given level of duration and complexity) between the administration and the people living under its jurisdiction.

The clarification of the link between direct outputs and ultimate outcomes paves the way for a closer examination, in **STEP 4**, of the operations of the proposed action. Again, this examination can be carried out with reference to the policy-to-outcome path, or using some equivalent instrument. It ought to explain, in explicit cause-and-effect sequence, why a proposed intervention can be expected to actually result in the predicted outcome.

Of course, clarifying the workings of any type of human intervention in the social fabric, particularly in the sphere of language, is an exceedingly difficult task, and it goes without saying that applicants should not be held to absurdly high standards. What can be expected of them, however, is that they pause to identify carefully (and perhaps reconsider) the assumptions that they make—some of which are likely to be implicit. The channels through which a form of intervention should be beneficial to the vitality of a small language implies a discussion of whether the intervention considered would primarily build up people's *capacity* to use the language, create new *opportunities* to use it, or strengthen their willingness or confidence in doing so—what we have called the *desire* to use a regional or minority language. Of course, many forms of intervention operate through all three of these channels, but the reasons why it should be so ought to be spelled out nonetheless.

It is important to remember that capacity, opportunity and desire all represent necessary, but not sufficient, conditions for minority language use. Actors will use their language if and only if all three conditions are present. Consequently, the fact that a proposal convincingly establishes that it will, say, give rise to manifold opportunities for RML speakers to use the language constitutes no guarantee that it will actually result in an increase in language use. Much depends on whether social actors are also capable of using it, and on whether they actually want to. For this reason, a discussion of the cause-and-effect relationships that link an intervention with an expected outcome must also include consideration of the

presence (or absence) of the channels not directly associated with the proposed intervention. Should one of these necessary, though not sufficient, conditions, be lacking, the project is likely to fail. It does not follow, however, that the project ought to be rejected. Rather, the examination may reveal the need to devise accompanying measures. Let us return to the example of the language advisory service. This service is primarily a capacity-building mechanism. It would in principle encourage people to use the language in writing. However, if the latter is still stigmatised or branded as backwards, it is unlikely that many people will use the service. In such a case, the possibilities to heighten the prestige and legitimacy of the language through other measures should be investigated.

This examination paves the way for the setting up of a light, yet effective monitoring system focusing on the outcomes of the project, should it be funded. This point is taken up again below.

We have insisted before that the main function of the policy-to-outcome path (or of any comparable instrument) is to provide a logically structured analytical framework. Causal relationships are never pure and unidirectional; reality is complex and idiosyncratic; and the deductive instrument can be supplemented by a more inductive approach, for example in the form of the "seven success conditions". Therefore, **STEP 5** in the preparation of an action proposal should turn to an examination of the presence and absence, with respect to the contexts in which the action would be implemented, of each of these conditions.

This type of examination bears strong resemblance with that suggested under STEP 4. However, there are differences between them. The prerequisites examined in STEP 4 amount to necessary conditions. Taken jointly, they constitute a necessary *and* sufficient *set* of conditions. They are also located at a relatively high level of generality. By contrast, the "success conditions" called upon in STEP 5 operate on a logically less exacting plane, and they are not characterised as necessary and/or sufficient, whether individually or as a whole. In general, because of their less analytical and less abstract character, it is easier to assess their presence or their absence. However, given their correlation with *capacity*, *opportunity*, and *desire*, they can usefully complement the assessment of the likelihood of success, and do so at a more hands-on level.

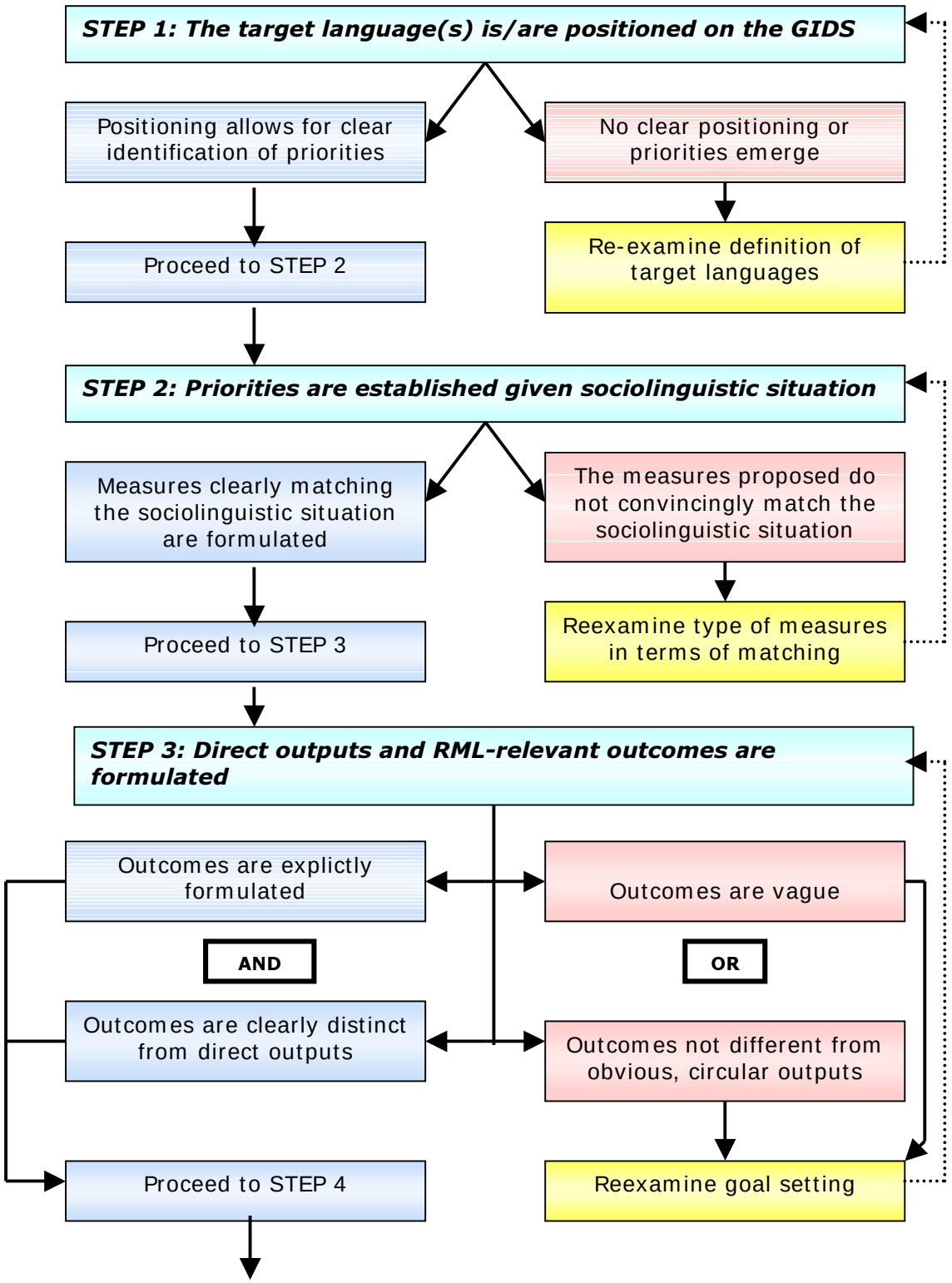
In practice, those submitting a project or programme proposal should assess, for the contexts concerned, the presence or absence of each of the success conditions. Since none of them is defined as strictly necessary, the absence of just one would not fatally

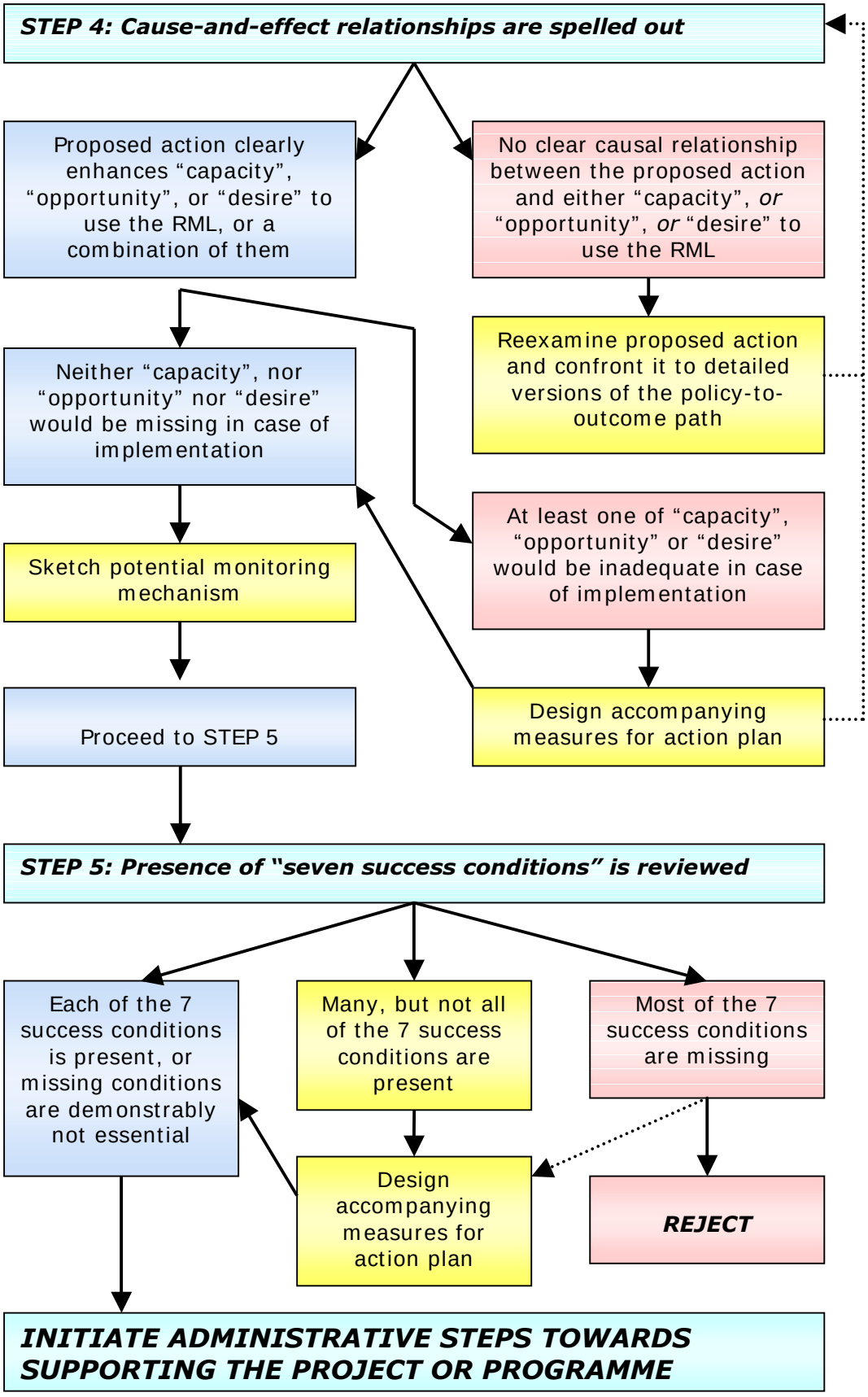
undermine the proposal: some of these conditions have played no major role in some of the quite successful interventions examined in this report. However, if most of these success conditions are lacking, one would be led to seriously question the prospects of a project, at least in the form in which it is proposed. Here again, the conclusion is not that the proposal should be turned down, but that ways should be sought to develop accompanying measures to increase the likelihood of success—that is, the probability that the project or programme will bring about a genuine improvement in the vitality and use of the RMLs concerned.

Decision-making with the Language Action Assessment Procedure

The five steps just described can be fitted into a decision tree, which is represented in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3: The Language Action Assessment Procedure as a decision tree




STEP 4: Cause-and-effect relationships are spelled out
Proposed action clearly enhances "capacity", "opportunity", or "desire" to use the RML, or a combination of them
No clear causal relationship between the proposed action and either "capacity", or "opportunity", or "desire" to use the RML
Reexamine proposed action and confront it to detailed versions of the policy-to-outcome path
Neither "capacity", nor "opportunity" nor "desire" would be missing in case of implementation
At least one of "capacity", "opportunity" or "desire" would be inadequate in case of implementation
Sketch potential monitoring mechanism
Proceed to STEP 5
Design accompanying measures for action plan
STEP 5: Presence of "seven success conditions" is reviewed
Each of the 7 success conditions is present, or missing conditions are demonstrably not essential
Many, but not all of the 7 success conditions are present
Most of the 7 success conditions are missing
Design accompanying measures for action plan
REJECT
INITIATE ADMINISTRATIVE STEPS TOWARDS SUPPORTING THE PROJECT OR PROGRAMME

When a project and programme proposal meets the successive requirements highlighted in Figure 5.3, it can be seriously considered for funding, and some features of the project can be examined at closer range.

In the case of large-scale actions—in particular those that mobilise a significant amount of financial resources—it may be appropriate to engage in ex ante estimates of cost-effectiveness. For this purpose, the techniques presented in Chapter 4 of this report are useful. The explicit identification of outcome (Stage 3) and the formulation of causal links (Stage 4) make it possible to venture orders of magnitude for the outcome. In practice, rather than just one figure, one would propose a lower-bound and an upper-bound prediction. Let us return to the example of language advisory service. Given the size of the RML population, its average level of RML literacy, the average frequency of letter-writing in the population, the range of typical situations in which letters can, in principle, be sent in the RML, and indications regarding people's desire to expand the use of the RML in writing, potential demand can be estimated, for various price levels at which the service would be billed.

This information can then be confronted with the amount of the subsidy requested—practically, the output figure would be divided by the cost figure, yielding a unit cost figure, and the latter compared with the unit cost figure emerging from competing or past projects pursuing similar objectives. We hasten to add that this approach must be used with caution. It would not be reasonable to seal the fate of a proposal on the grounds of conjectural cost-effectiveness estimates. The aim of the exercise, rather, is to identify possible weaknesses and draw attention to possible efficiency gains. For example, figures in Table 4.16, comparing the unit cost of radio programmes (Swedish in Finland and Irish Gaelic in Ireland), indicates a per-hour and per-person cost ranging from 10 to 22 cents. This of course does not mean that that all proposals concerning RML radio services should generate an estimated per-hour and per-person cost in this range. However, if the estimate is wildly divergent from the above figures, it is worth examining whether, say, a much higher cost is due to the smaller demographic size of the target public, or on significantly more expensive operations.

The possibility to draw on existing experience to assess the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of new actions is predicated on the existence of an adequate body of quality data. As we have seen in Chapter 4, most of these data are sorely lacking, and there is no better opportunity to collect them than during the implementation of

actions themselves. For this reason, a monitoring requirement is built into our recommendations. Preparations towards complying with this requirement are an integral part of STEP 4 of the LAAP. If a decision is eventually made to support a given action, the latter's implementation plan should make provision for an orderly monitoring procedure, a question to which we now turn.

MONITORING REQUIREMENTS

Proposals receiving funding should be required to collect information, store it in a convenient fashion and make it available for easy integration into a large, publicly accessible data base on language policies. The aim of this requirement is to progressively build a strong knowledge base that can be of use to many actors:

- to the language communities themselves, by (i) keeping track of the effects of initiatives that directly concern them; (ii) providing a valuable record of hands-on experience in a variety of actions, which can help improve the design of future initiatives;
- to the Commission, for (i) evaluating *ex post* the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of its support; (ii) acquiring relevant information for future *ex ante* evaluations; (iii) building up the necessary knowledge base for macro-level policy evaluation; (iv) controlling the appropriateness of the use of its subsidies;
- to the scientific community, by providing much-needed precise information to (i) stimulate theoretical work; (ii) allow for the empirical testing of analytical representations.

Therefore, the rationale of the monitoring requirement discussed here must not be confused with bookkeeping rules, administrative control, or political surveillance. Its functions are intrinsically and exclusively analytical and public policy-oriented: it must serve the development of knowledge about language policies and help improve future human action in this area.

At a time when institutional insistence on constant "evaluation" is sometimes getting out of hand, increasingly forcing civil servants, teachers, and researchers to engage in time-consuming report-writing, the authors of this study feel very strongly that the monitoring requirement which they advocate should not be misconstrued. What is needed here is not another gush of report-writing, but an orderly procedure for data collection as part of the implementation of a project or programme. This data collection can (and should) be very simple, and help to fill precisely the information gaps that this Report has identified.

In some cases, the requirement hardly extends beyond keeping track of simple information, such as audience figures for RML cultural events, or the number of clients served per year by a language advisory service. In other cases, more structured information management is necessary. For example:

- *Euroschool* organisers might be asked to collect basic information from participants, covering their normal language use patterns, their perception of the value of their own language or of RMLs and in general, and of possible changes in those patterns by the end of the Euroschool event.

- Radio projects like *AGORA* could be asked to keep track of which programmes are broadcast by which partners, to provide "reach" figures (which depend on technical and demographic factors) and, if available, audience figures—along with the share of RML speakers associated with both figures[157].

- Moving to a hypothetical example, suppose that a Sardinian organisation receives funding for a relatively large-scale programme designed to replicate aspects of the Welsh *Mentrau iaith* experience; one condition of support may be the commitment to keep a logbook of essential facts (description of the type of services offered to the community; record of the relative popularity of different types of services; evolution of the number of users of the service in different parts of the region; if possible, basic information about users' patterns of language use and language attitudes).

The type of information to be collected is clearly project-dependent; this suggests that a case-by-case formulation of the monitoring goals and methods is necessary. Limited as its scope may be, we recommend that this formulation be explicit.

To the extent that the most important information, from a policy standpoint, is not the direct output figures (which those implementing the action can generally observe directly) but outcome figures (which are outside their control), the significance of the monitoring requirement should not be overstated. However, project implementation often constitutes an excellent opportunity for data gathering. The Commission may avail itself of this opportunity to

[157] Radio stations like *Raidió na Gaeltachta* are not funded by the EU. However, the case of RnaG alerts us to the fact that funding for a radio project in Ireland could be accompanied by the requirement that information be supplied about audience figures and listening habits not only for the Gaeltacht, but for Irish speakers in other parts of the country.

negotiate with funding recipients a more elaborate data gathering design—providing, however, adequate resources to this end.

Implementing the Language Action Assessment Procedure: a Vademecum for language actions

The recommendations made above should not be considered final. They merely constitute a basis for discussion over ways to improve the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of EU support for RMLs. At the same time, we believe that these recommendations, which draw both on a general theoretical model and on an empirical examination, raise vital practical issues. One question to address, therefore, is how and in what form these recommendations, or a suitably improved form of the latter following discussion about them, can be implemented in future procedures for the selection and design of programmes and projects.

One practical proposal is for a booklet to be published and disseminated, detailing the LAAP for all users. This short, non-technical *vademecum* would be of use to different actors:

- individuals and groups involved in the preparation of programmes and projects, by telling them clearly what is expected of their application, and according to what precise criteria;
- internal and external experts of the Commission, both in the ex-ante work of project and programme selection, and in the ex-post work of project and programme evaluation;
- language planning officers and authorities, who would have at their disposal a compact guide for RML policy selection and design.

Although the *vademecum* should present and explain some of the analytical instruments presented in this report (in particular the policy-to-outcome path, the graded intergenerational disruption scale, and the seven success conditions), its pitch should not be a scholarly one. Its function must clearly be that of providing a wide public with a practice-oriented instrument for more effective planning and action.

It is both necessary and appropriate to conclude this *report* with a reminder—and a call for action. The great sociolinguist Joshua Fishman once wrote that the meaning of being a minority was that a disproportionate share of social resources had to be devoted to maintaining the status quo—lest the language and culture of the minority be further marginalised and, ultimately, eliminated. It bears repeating that the long-term preservation of minority languages and cultures requires support, often urgently so. If Europeans do

consider linguistic and cultural as a worthwhile goal of the European ideal and of European construction, it is time to act.

Chapter 5: Essential points for the policy-maker

- This report shows that a **typology of the needs** of RMLs, in terms of the type of support that they are most likely to benefit of, can be constructed and also applied in practice. It has here been applied to 54 RMLs in the EU.
- From this typology of needs, we develop a **decision rule** for prioritising interventions. This rule requires two steps based on the examination of the specific position of a particular language. First, one needs to position the language along a scale identifying the weakest links in the intergenerational transmission of the language, in order to identify the priority *domains* within which a policy must be deployed. Second, according to our decision rule, one needs to assess whether the "capacity", the "opportunity" or the "desire" to use an RML is the aspect that requires most urgent attention, in order to identify the most relevant *type* of policy.
- This decision rule is based on a framework that emphasises analytical consistency. However, reality is complex, and additional, case-specific aspects must be taken into account in order to tailor intervention to the actual needs of each case. We therefore revisit our list of 17 cases to ascertain the role of **additional conditions** that earlier empirical research has shown to be relevant. This enables us to pinpoint conditions that are likely to have a significant influence on the success of a policy.
- Combining all the instruments developed in this study, we formulate a four-step **language action assessment procedure** (LAAP). The LAAP is then expanded into a decision tree. When particular policy measures are proposed, the decision tree shows how case-based information is to be used to select the most appropriate measures for RML protection and promotion.

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Annex 2.1

The "A-list" of projects including financing for RMLs.

The A-list is limited to projects that are directly aimed at the promotion and development of RMLs.

Programme/Action	Programme / Action budget	Year	RML projects	Projects with only one partner	Projects with two partners	Projects with three partners	Projects with four partners or more	Projects with only RML partners	Projects where RML partners form the majority	Projects whit a minority of RML partners	Projects wit a turnover under €30.000	Projects with a turnover between €30.000 and €10.000	Projects with a turnover over €10.000
Multilingual Information Society	€ 15'000'000	1998	MELIN			139'925		139'925					139'925
		2000	METEO				310'000			310'000			310'000
			Speedata				131'250			131'250			131'250
			Dart				66'500	66'500				66'500	
Econtent 2001-2005	€ 100'000'000	2001	MNM				81'000	81'000				81'000	
Interreg II 1996-2000	€ 56'634'000'000	1998	Festivals on the top of Europe				186'000		186'000				186'000
		1998	Sustaining and supporting the Lesser Used Languages. Sami Languages in Scandinavia and Gaelic Languages in Scotland			178'351		178'351					178'351
			"Überwindung der Probleme aufgrund verschiedener Sprachen, Verwaltungs-verfahren und Rechtssysteme"			66'000		66'000				66'000	
		1998	Chentu Paraulas										
		1999	Hundert Begegnungen beiderseits der Grenze										
		2000	Internationales Plenair für Malerei und Grafik										
		2000	Folkfest Cottbus										
		1996	Xuxen II Zuzentzaile ortografikoaren bigarren bertsioa	10'277				10'277			10'277		
		1996	Dokumentazio zerbitzu informatizatua	6'010				6'010			6'010		
		1996	Antoine D'Abadie zenaren gairiekoikerketa historiaren egunaratzea	9'100				9'100			9'100		
		1996	Informatika	24'040				24'040			24'040		
		1996	Cooperación Behe Nafarroa Goierri, Sakana	15'030				15'030			15'030		
		1996	Itsas Garbia	12'020				12'020			12'020		
		1996	Euskal Herriko produktoen azoka berezia Doniban Lohitzune-Tafalla-Tolosa	3'606				3'606			3'606		
		1996	Día de Txingudi	23'590				23'590			23'590		
		1996	Encuentro de coros infantiles de Euskadi y Aquitania	6'010				6'010			6'010		
		1996	Duatlon intercultural	8'024				8'024			8'024		
		1996	Kometa 8/12 urte arteko haurrentzako bihilabetekaria	10'818				10'818			10'818		
		1996	Udako Euskal Unibersitatearen XXIV. Udako Ikastaroak	6'010				6'010			6'010		
		1996	Atlas lingüistico vasco	9'015				9'015			9'015		
		1996	Pastoral Sabin Arana	24'040				24'040			24'040		

		1996	Gizartean euskararen presentzia areagotzeko proiektua	7'813	7'813	7'813	
		1996	Arnetsa	7'513	7'513	7'513	
		1996	Eskuz Esku	5'469	5'469	5'469	
		1996	Elkar Hitz	12'020	12'020	12'020	
		1996	Hik Hasi euskal heziketarako aldizkaria	12'020	12'020	12'020	
		1996	Zerain Kultur Trukaketarako Nukleoa	10'518	10'518	10'518	
		1996	Gerta: Formación Continua / Estrategias de desarollo empresarial transfronterizo	4'267	4'267	4'267	
		1997	Nazloarteko Terminologia Biltzarra	10'518	10'518	10'518	
		1997	Kulturaren Gaineko Datu Basca	3'005	3'005	3'005	
		1997	Euskal Herriko Produktuen azoka berezia Donibane Lohitzune-Tafalla-Tolos	3'005	3'005	3'005	
		1997	Euskal Itsasertza – Costa Vasca – Côte Basque	3'005	3'005	3'005	
		1997	Magazine TV Iparralde	36'061	36'061		36'061
		1997	Proyecto de cooperación entre la Maison de la vie Croyenne y Berpitzu elkartea	6'010	6'010	6'010	
		1997	Mugi-mugi	6'010	6'010	6'010	
		1997	Conocer Zuberoa	36'061	36'061		36'061
		1997	Jumelagi Kulki	22'100	22'100	22'100	
		1997	Encuentros Culturales Getaría-Guethary	6'010	6'010	6'010	
		1997	Euskarak eguneroko harremanetan duen erabilpenaren neurketa zuzona eta azterketa sozial gonbaratzailea	6'010	6'010	6'010	
		1997	Xirrista-Kometa	15'050	15'050	15'050	
		1997	Antoine d'Abbadierren mendeurrena. – Nazioarteko Kongresua eta beste ekintzak	3'003	3'003	3'003	
		1997	Bidal Liburua – Mentura Liburua	7'092	7'092	7'092	
		1998	Zubiak	8'000	8'000	8'000	
		1998	Potenciación del destino turistico Euskal Itsasertza - Costa Vasca	7'513	7'513	7'513	
		1998	Hezkuntzako Thesaurus Enziklopediko baten euskarako egokitzea	7'513	7'513	7'513	
		1998	Conocer Euskal HerriaBaja Navarra	36'061	36'061		36'061
		1998	Magazine TV Iparralde	24'045	24'045	24'045	
		1998	"Bat, bi…" Alcedo Producciones	18'030	18'030	18'030	
		1998	"Sormenari leiho"	18'030	18'030	18'030	
		1998	Kulki: Kultura y deporte	9'015	9'015	9'015	
		1999	Xuxen II	3'003	3'003	3'003	
		1999	Euskal Herria 3	12'020	12'020	12'020	
		1999	Vasco-Aquitano	1'202	1'202	1'202	
		1999	Zubiak II	7'500	7'500	7'500	

		1999	Euskararen Festak	400			400			400		
		1999	America Latina en Euskera	15'030			15'030			15'030		
		1999	Sormenari Leiho	18'030			18'030			18'030		
		1999	Danzas tradicionales	4'800			4'800			4'800		
		1999	Eskola Ibiltaria 2000	1'742			1'742			1'742		
		1999	Olentzero	18'030			18'030			18'030		
		1999	Euskonews and Media	12'020			12'020			12'020		
		1999	Quark	12'020			12'020			12'020		
		1999	Ikastola Asti-Leku	2'404			2'404			2'404		
		1999	Thesaurus	6'010			6'010			6'010		
		1999	Michel Labegerie	3'005			3'005			3'005		
		1999	Euskaraz egindako	19'503			19'503			19'503		
		1999	Sormenari leiho	18'031			18'031			18'031		
		1999	Euskal Herria zuzenean	3'005			3'005			3'005		
		1999	Toboggan	30'050			30'050				30'050	
		1999	Zubiak III	6'010			6'010			6'010		
		1999	Manuales Escolares	18'030			18'030			18'030		
		1999	Sistema internet	1'400			1'400			1'400		
		1999	Lapurdi	10'518			10'518			10'518		
		1999	Mugatik	15'000			15'000			15'000		
		1999	Euskonews and Media	16'828			16'828			16'828		
Leader II	€ 1'400'000'000	1997	Sorbian culture, leverage For development	No figures available								
Connect 1999	€ 15'000'000	1999	Kultur verleiht Flügel			131'190	131'190					131'190
			Pyrenne		131'190		131'190					131'190
Leonardo 1995-2000	€ 620'000'000		Vocational Terminology for Less Widely Used and Taught Languages		No figures avalable							
			Terminologie professionelle pour des langues moins fréquemment utilisées et enseignées		No figures avalable							
Comenius 1 and 2 1995-2005	under Socrates	2000	Adjuk, le petite grenouille			87'000		87'000			87'000	
		2000	Rombase – Elektronische Lehr- und Informaterialien für und zu Roma			170'000	170'000					170'000
		2000	Arcomin – Articulation, complémentarité, innovation: une dynamique d'hyperprojet pour la scolarisation des enfants tsiganes			880'400		880'400				880'400
		1998	Decoprim 2 – Développement des Communications Orales et Escrites à l'Ecole Primaire			180'000			180'000			180'000
		1998	Imeachtai Ealaiona			50'000		50'000			50'000	
Lingua 2	under Socrates	2000	Dialang - Diagnostic testing of 14 languages on the Internet			460'000			460'000			460'000
Adult Education	under Socrates	1997	La Toponymie urbaine: lieu de mémoire des identités régionales et d'une culture européenne		81'605			81'605			81'605	

		1998	La Toponymie urbaine: lieu de mémoire des identités régionales et d'une culture européenne			120'000		120'000			120'000
Culture 2000-2004	€ 167'000'000		Författarsentrum Öst	81'665				81'665		81'665	
			Fondation Royaumont	144'194				144'194			144'194
			Argitalexte Hiru S.L, Der Schein trügt by T.Bernard	10'818				10'818		10'818	
			Edicions El Jonc, Mokkedem/L'interdite, Des Rêves et des Assassins, La Nuit de la Lézarde	15'264				15'264		15'264	
			Sinnos Cooperative soc. F.E. Aboezen/Bisousig Kazh An Tevenn, A.Duval/ Rouzig Ar Gwinver	1'339				1'339		1'339	
			Poet 2000, DUBCIT Ireland	2'000				2'000		2'000	
Kaleidoscope 1996-1999	€ 26'000'000		Territori letterani		70'000			70'000			70'000
Ariane 1997-1999	€ 30'000'000	1998	Der Kreis ist jetzt mein Fenster, by Gustav Janus	2'536				2'536		2'536	
		1998	Sansibar der Letzte Grund, by Alfred Andresch	1'412				1'412		1'412	
		1998	Errata: An Examined Life, by George Steiner	2'188				2'188		2'188	
		1998	Les Voleurs de la Beauté, by Pascal Bruckner	2'303				2'303		2'303	
		1998	The Good Soldier, by Ford Madox	1'911				1'911		1'911	
		1998	Four letters of love, by Neil Williams	2'328				2'328		2'328	
		1998	The Defense, by D.W. Buffa	2'505				2'505		2'505	
		1998	Letters of love, by Girban Kahlil	918				918		918	
		1998	Antologia privata, by Giacomini Amedeo	1'996				1'996		1'996	
		1998	Binan Bonan Soga Suonaid, by Risten Sokki	1'996				1'996		1'996	
		1998	Dubliners, by James Joyce	3'978				3'978		3'978	
		1998	Schachnovelle, by Stefan Zweig	1'555				1'555		1'555	
		1998	Portrait of the Artist as a Young Dog, by Thomas Dylan	3'036				3'036		3'036	
		1998	Doberdob, by Voranc Prezihov	9'392				9'392		9'392	
		1998	Recopilación de Cuentos Cortos, by Mrozek Slawomir	734				734		734	
		1998	Das Blütenstaubzimmer, by Jenny Zoe	720				720		720	
		1998	An experiment in love, by Hilary Mantel	1'697				1'697		1'697	
		1998	Letteratura e interculturalità project Organiser: Associazione Culturale Cenobio Fiorentino	5'132				5'132		5'132	

		1997	La Cultura occitana en el Mediterraneo en las Fuentes Impresas y en los Manuscritos: Herencia del Pasado y continuidad en el presente. Organised by the city council of Castelló	68'750		68'750		68'750
		1997	La vie modo d'Emploi by George Perec	9'065		9'065		9'065
		1997	La premier Siècle après Béatrice by Amin Maalouf	2'115		2'115		2'115
		1997	Le Due Zitelle by Tommaso Landolfi	907		907		907
		1997	Katz und Maus by Günther Grass	2'840		2'840		2'840
		1997	Anthologie by several authors	1'854		1'854		1'854
		1997	Il Sogno di una Cosa by Pierpaolo Zabaleta	2'493		2'493		2'493
		1997	Il Sistema Periódico by Primo Levi	3'887		3'887		3'887
		1997	Gör mig levande igen by Kirsten Ekman	4'714		4'714		4'714
		1997	Der Vorleser by Bernhard Schlink	1'380		1'380		1'380
		1997	De Papagei um Kaeschtebam by Roger Manderscheid	6'377		6'377		6'377
		1997	Rogha Danta, selected poems by Georg Heym	2'648		2'648		2'648
		1997	Gwydellod by Eilis Ni Dhuibhne	24'280		24'280		24'280
European Year of Languages 2001 € 5 144 768 14,73 %		2001	Dix mots pour dix langues	83'250		83'250		83'250
			Rassegna Europea di Musica, Lingua e Cultura	80'000		80'000		80'000
			A.I.L- Anno Lingue Infanzia – Imparare lingue straniere non é mai troppo presto	83'250			83'250	83'250
			Spectaculum popurum – A tour by a puppet theatre company in germanophone Belgium	50'000		50'000		50'000
			K.E.L.T.I.K – Knowing European Languages To Increase Communication . Promoting regional, minority and foreign languages in Asturias.	50'000		50'000		50'000
			All Ireland Language Bus	35'000		35'000		35'000
			Die Rolle der Nachbar- und Minderheitensprachen in einem mehrsprachigen Europa	30'000			30'000	30'000
			Wales by means of marketing and publicity materials	10'000		10'000		10'000

			Udgivelse af saerligt temanummer af sprogforum “Det mangesprogede Danmark”	9'201				9'201			9'201			
			Cymro Mewn 1 Ewrop	16'000				16'000			16'000			
			Festival da Lengua Mirandesa	10'000				10'000			10'000			
			Langue régionales de France: parler d'Europe	10'500				10'500			10'500			
			Festa das Linguas	40'000				40'000				40'000		
			Meertaligheid in Fryslan en Europa	12'834				12'834			12'834			
			Het nationale Talenfestival	35'000					35'000			35'000		
			Web of Words	11'000				11'000			11'000			
			In other Words	35'000				35'000				35'000		
			Langues régionales infos	80'000					80'000			80'000		
			La fete de toutes les langues	14'485					14'485		14'485			
			Univers Langues Minoritaires	10'000				10'000			10'000			
			Proyecto lenguas, comunicacion y paz	10'878				10'878			10'878			
			Sprachenfreundliche Gemeinde	14'430				14'430			14'430			
			Parole per confezionare il futuro	27'180				27'180			27'180			
			Total	**1'964'883**	**70'000**	**717'071**	**2'733'340**	**2'756'304**	**1'647'740**	**1'081'250**	**960'541**	**1'362'253**	**3'162'500**	
Promotion and safeguard of regional and minority language sand cultures €9 182 860 100 %		1997	Germany 5 projects	95'900				95'900				95'900		
		1997	Austria 7 projects	116'682				116'682					116'682	
		1997	Belgium 3 projects	50'400				50'400				50'400		
		1997	Denmark 2 projects	110'000				110'000					110'000	
		1997	Spain 42 projects	787'571				787'571					787'571	
		1997	Finland 4 projects	37'000				37'000				37'000		
		1997	France 39 projects	474'252				474'252					474'252	
		1997	Greece 1 project	58'400				58'400				58'400		
		1997	Ireland 4 projects	31'615				31'615				31'615		
		1997	Italy 28 projects	450'228				450'228					450'228	
		1997	The Netherlands 4 projects	42'000				42'000				42'000		
		1997	United Kingdom 13 projects	298'350				298'350					298'350	
		1997	Acad, Assoc and Org	1'174'460				1'174'460					1'174'460	
		1998	Frisian didact. mat.	20'300				20'300			20'300			
		1998	Nordfriisk Instituut	9'500				9'500			9'500			
		1998	Nordfriesisches und Niederdeutsches Bilderwörterbuch	10'000				10'000			10'000			
		1998	Öömrang Selskap för Spriak an Skraft	1'300				1'300			1'300			
		1998	Aufbau des Öömrang	20'000				20'000			20'000			
		1998	Stiftung für das sorbische Volk	171'500				171'500					171'500	
		1998	Internationale Medientage europäischer Volksgruppen 1998	13'500				13'500			13'500			
		1998	Gesellschaft zur Förderung eines sorbischen Kultur	40'000				40'000				40'000		

		1998	Neuauflage der Informationsbroschüre zum sorbischen Kultur – und informationszentrum	24'200	24'200	24'200	
		1998	Nordfriisk Instituut	23'000	23'000	23'000	
		1998	Helgoländisches Gebrauchwörterbuch	25'000	25'000	25'000	
		1998	Slowenischer Kulturverein Borovlje	7'000	7'000	7'000	
		1998	Laientheaterspielgruppen für Erwachsene und für Kinder; gemeinsame slowenisch-deutsch Kulturveranstaltung	5'000	5'000	5'000	
		1998	Kuga Kulturverein	20'000	20'000	20'000	
		1998	Kindergarten Ferlach	8'400	8'400	8'400	
		1998	Kindergarten mit Vorschulcharakter	7'900	7'900	7'900	
		1998	Kuga Kulturvereinigung	40'000	40'000		40'000
		1998	Agora	75'000	75'000		75'000
		1998	Verein der Freunde aus Sprachinseln	10'800	10'800	10'800	
		1998	Wörterbuch der Sprache von Tischelwang-Timau in Oberitalien	11'300	11'300	11'300	
		1998	Mora Manjinski otvoreni radio	9'600	9'600	9'600	
		1998	Offenes Minderheiten	5'600	5'600	5'600	
		1998	Slovenska prosvetna zveva	2'900	2'900	2'900	
		1998	Aufarbeitung des Jugendtheaterstückes “Herr der Fliegen” von William Goldin.	6'600	6'600	6'600	
		1998	Slowenischer Kulturverein Srce	9'000	9'000	9'000	
		1998	Basque education project	3'700	3'700	3'700	
		1998	Basque media project	16'200	16'200	16'200	
		1998	Centre d’animation en langues	20'000	20'000	20'000	
		1998	Espace découverte des autres langues d’Europe	20'000	20'000	20'000	
		1998	Onderzoekscentrum Meertaligheid	30'000	30'000	30'000	
		1998	Contact and conflict: Language planning and minorities	54'900	54'900		54'900
		1998	Agora	9'000	9'000	9'000	
		1998	Agora –Stücke 4,5,6,7	10'000	10'000	10'000	
		1998	Centro Gallego de Bruselas	30'000	30'000	30'000	
		1998	L’emigration Galicienne en Europe	25'000	25'000	25'000	
		1998	Denmark media	8'800	8'800	8'800	
		1998	Material didact.	6'200	6'200	6'200	
		1998	Höjskolen Östersöen	35'000	35'000		35'000
		1998	The Minority Course 1998	53'300	53'300		53'300
		1998	Fundación Iniciativa Aragonesa	13'120	13'120	13'120	
		1998	Seminario sobre normalización legislativa del aragonés y catalán en Aragón	1'980	1'980	1'980	
		1998	Nafarroako Ikastolen Elkartea	4'480	4'480	4'480	

		1998	Evaluación educativa desde el Euskera	39'000	39'000		39'000
		1998	Universidad del País Vasco	9'900	9'900	9'900	
		1998	Curso de verano: fusión/ separación de códigos lingüísticos en el bilingüismo precoz: la adquisición del euskera y otras lenguas.	10'000	10'000	10'000	
		1998	Associació cultural del Matarranya	6'000	6'000	6'000	
		1998	Conferencia – Coloquio para padres y madres de escolares bilingües en los pueblos de la comarca natural del Matarranya, en Aragón	6'000	6'000	6'000	
		1998	Patronat Granja Soldevilla	30'000	30'000	30'000	
		1998	III Intercambio Catalano-Occitano santa perpetua de Mogoda – Labège 1998	2'400	2'400	2'400	
		1998	Conselh Generau d'Aran	4'700	4'700	4'700	
		1998	Cours de Gascon-Aranés au Val d'Aran et Gascogne française	10'000	10'000	10'000	
		1998	Universidad del Pais Vasco	8'000	8'000	8'000	
		1998	Un Programa Educativo para fomentar la expresión oral en lengua vasca	9'500	9'500	9'500	
		1998	Asociasión Cultural Arturo Campion	22'000	22'000	22'000	
		1998	Tirriki Tarraka	10'000	10'000	10'000	
		1998	Xaloa Elkartea	8'000	8'000	8'000	
		1998	Xaloa Telebista	9'500	9'500	9'500	
		1998	Ajuntament de Reus	12'000	12'000	12'000	
		1998	Vivir en Reus en Català. Proyecto para incrementar el uso social y el conocimiento del Catalán en Reus	3'400	3'400	3'400	
		1998	Universidad de Lleida	20'000	20'000	20'000	
		1998	Elaboración y difusión social des occitano aranés	6'000	6'000	6'000	
		1998	Ttipi-Ttapa Fundazioa	7'900	7'900	7'900	
		1998	Desarollo y creación de medios de información local transregionales en lengua vasca.	40'000	40'000		40'000
		1998	Acció Escolar del Congrés de Cultura Catalana	1'500	1'500	1'500	
		1998	Campanya "El País a l'escola"	29'500	29'500	29'500	
		1998	Institut d'Etudis Catalans	26'000	26'000	26'000	
		1998	Atles Linguistic del domini català	4'500	4'500	4'500	
		1998	Eusko Ikaskuntza – Sociedad de Estudios	25'000	25'000	25'000	
		1998	Semanario de información general en euskara a través de Internet	12'000	12'000	12'000	
		1998	Fundació de la radio e de la televisión	23'000	23'000	23'000	

		1998	No hi ha fronteres per a la llengua a través de les once	71'700	71'700		71'700
		1998	Asociación Cultural Arturo Campión	11'400	11'400	11'400	
		1998	DHK – Durngaldeko Herri Komunikabe	30'000	30'000	30'000	
		1998	Asociación socio-pedagoxica Galega	25'700	25'700	25'700	
		1998	Enciclopedia-Antoloxia da Literatura Galega	10'000	10'000	10'000	
		1998	Viceconsejería de política lingüística	6'000	6'000	6'000	
		1998	Creación de una red de agentes responsables de política lingüística de diferentes comunicadas lingüísticas minorítarias	20'000	20'000	20'000	
		1998	Instituto de estudios altoaragoneses	4'700	4'700	4'700	
		1998	Tesoro de la lengua aragonesa. Diccionario de diccionarios	30'000	30'000	30'000	
		1998	Asociación Cultural Xorroxin Elkartea	15'200	15'200	15'200	
		1998	Kontsuma Ordua	8'250	8'250	8'250	
		1998	Nova Escola Galega	50'000	50'000		50'000
		1998	Normalización Lingüística en el ambito de la educación	4'500	4'500	4'500	
		1998	Asociación Cultural Xorrorin Elkartea	5'000	5'000	5'000	
		1998	Eskolako Irratia	10'000	10'000	10'000	
		1998	Asociación Cultural Xorrorin Elkartea	35'000	35'000		35'000
		1998	Ur Eta Lur	5'500	5'500	5'500	
		1998	Generalitat de Catalunya	35'000	35'000		35'000
		1998	European Minority Languages Web Site	15'600	15'600	15'600	
		1998	CEFOCOP de Ferrol	3'100	3'100	3'100	
		1998	Rega	9'000	9'000	9'000	
		1998	Doika Kultur Elkartea	11'400	11'400	11'400	
		1998	Hitzkontzi 98: Estancias idiomáticas en Euskara para jóvenes	1'500	1'500	1'500	
		1998	Cercle per a la defensa	19'400	19'400	19'400	
		1998	Difusio de projecte Joan Palomba	9'000	9'000	9'000	
		1998	Arrasate Komunilabideak	20'000	20'000	20'000	
		1998	III Jornadas sobre medias de Comunicación local	7'000	7'000	7'000	
		1998	Leidor Abesbatza	33'000	33'000		33'000
		1998	Leidor Opera Vasca	15'000	15'000	15'000	
		1998	Prensa Escolar	15'000	15'000	15'000	
		1998	Arabaldea Prensa	3'500	3'500	3'500	
		1998	Institut Europeu de Programes d'Immersio	10'000	10'000	10'000	
		1998	Els programes d'immersio: una perspectiva europea	20'000	20'000	20'000	

		1998	Aretxabaletako komunikabideak Loramendi Elkartea	35'000	35'000		35'000
		1998	Creación de una televisión local destinada al fomento de la lengua y cultura vasca	20'000	20'000	20'000	
		1998	CIG – Confederación intersindical Galega	20'000	20'000	20'000	
		1998	Actuaciones de promoción de la lengua gallega en el mundo laboral gallego	10'000	10'000	10'000	
		1998	Institut de recerca per l'ensenyament de la filosofia	17'000	17'000	17'000	
		1998	Cuentame: Narración oral y educación reflexiva	25'750	25'750	25'750	
		1998	Fundacio Jaume Bofill	17'000	17'000	17'000	
		1998	Diversidad lingüistica y democracia: entre el mercado de las industrias culturales y la subvención de las administraciones públicas.	12'000	12'000	12'000	
		1998	Unesco Etxea	18'000	18'000	18'000	
		1998	Adaptación de las Unidades Didácticas Linguapax y póster conmemorativo del 50 aniversario de la Declaración de los derechos humanos.	6'995	6'995	6'995	
		1998	Contribución a la normalización socio-educativa de la lengua asturiana	46'100	46'100		46'100
		1998	Ciemen IV Simposio Internacional de Lenguas Europeas y Legislaciones	55'100	55'100		55'100
		1998	Ciemen	25'000	25'000	25'000	
		1998	Ciclo de conferencias	18'700	18'700	18'700	
		1998	Ligallo de Fablans de l'Aragones	45'700	45'700		45'700
		1998	Escuela de lengua aragonesa "Caxico" de Monzón.	50'000	50'000		50'000
		1998	Comcat	5'600	5'600	5'600	
		1998	ARSIS - Amics del Raval i de Sistrells	25'000	25'000	25'000	
		1998	Renacimiento del teatro popular en los barrios de Badalona: Camino de Alegria Pesebre Viviente	3'500	3'500	3'500	
		1998	Euskal Kulturaren Batzarrea – EKB	30'000	30'000		30'000
		1998	Digitalización e indexación de los originales de prensa recogidos desde 1987 en el servicio de documentación	16'700	16'700	16'700	
		1998	Tinko, Euskara elkartea	20'000	20'000	20'000	
		1998	Zinea Tinko. Promoción de la lengua vasca a través del cine entre el público infantil y juvenil.	5'000	5'000	5'000	
		1998	Associación Cultural AMAIA	19'450	19'450	19'450	

		1998	Actividades de acción y comunicación literaria	15'000	15'000	15'000	
		1998	Confederació de Comerç de Catalunya	6'000	6'000	6'000	
		1998	Promoción de la lengua en la señalización	6'000	6'000	6'000	
		1998	Diomira	10'000	10'000	10'000	
		1998	Edición de la revista – Papers de Joventut	34'750	34'750		34'750
		1998	Concello de Melide	45'000	45'000		45'000
		1998	Toponimia del concello de Melide	40'000	40'000		40'000
		1998	Ekintza	15'000	15'000	15'000	
		1998	Ikasnet	18'000	18'000	18'000	
		1998	Ausiàs March	4'500	4'500	4'500	
		1998	Cusos de lengua Carles Salvador	11'000	11'000	11'000	
		1998	Ttakun Kultur Elkartea	20'000	20'000	20'000	
		1998	Aprendizaje del vasco entre amigos en zonas geográficas vascoparlantes	40'000	40'000		40'000
		1998	Associació Conèixer Catalunya 20 Anys del Congrés	4'000	4'000	4'000	
		1998	Catalunya i Rosselló Monumental en Imatges	18'000	18'000	18'000	
		1998	Departamento del Interior Gobierno Vasco	40'000	40'000		40'000
		1998	Banco de terminología	2'600	2'600	2'600	
		1998	Confederación de Empresarios de Galicia	35'000	35'000		35'000
		1998	Proyecto de Normalización Lingüística del Gallego en el ámbito empresarial: GALEM	21'400	21'400	21'400	
		1998	Unión General de Trabajadores de Catalunya	7'000	7'000	7'000	
		1998	Manual sindical para confeccionar textos administrativos y de ùambito labora	12'000	12'000	12'000	
		1998	Romaniväestön koulutusyksikkö Opetushallitus	24'000	24'000	24'000	
		1998	International Romany conference “Brotherhood across borders”	15'000	15'000	15'000	
		1998	Centre Culturel Universitaire, Ciclope	5'250	5'250	5'250	
		1998	Diwan 20	14'700	14'700	14'700	
		1998	Diwan 20, bilan et perspectives de 20 ans de système éducatif immersif breton – français	16'300	16'300	16'300	
		1998	ADOC	66'800	66'800		66'800
		1998	Langues moins répandues en Europe et Enseignement – transmettre la langue	7'300	7'300	7'300	
		1998	Dihun	6'300	6'300	6'300	

		1998	Formation préparatoire au métier d'instituteur Breton/Français	60'000	60'000		60'000
		1998	Tremenvoe	35'000	35'000		35'000
		1998	Théâtre de marionnettes pour enfants "Ar wezenn rous"	30'000	30'000		30'000
		1998	Teatre Comedia dell Oc	15'000	15'000	15'000	
		1998	"Lo diables a quatre" la legenda de Sant Mèn	59'000	59'000		59'000
		1998	Associacio ComteGuifre	25'000	25'000	25'000	
		1998	Escola secundaria	20'000	20'000	20'000	
		1998	La Bressola	37'000	37'000		37'000
		1998	Echanges entre élèves de Catalogne du Nord (France) et Catalogne du Sud (Espagne) et du pays Valencien (Espagne)	20'000	20'000	20'000	
		1998	Parcursu cummerciale e ecunuminu	4'500	4'500	4'500	
		1998	Omnium Cultural Catalunya Nord	5'600	5'600	5'600	
		1998	Nit Literaria de Sant Jordi	2'880	2'880	2'880	
		1998	Keit Vimp Bev	4'400	4'400	4'400	
		1998	Création musicale pour et par les enfants	10'000	10'000	10'000	
		1998	Institut culturel de Bretagne	28'100	28'100	28'100	
		1999	Ferlach Zweisprachiger Kindergarten	26'400	26'400	26'400	
		1999	Verein der Freunde aus Sprachinseln	28'000	28'000	28'000	
		1999	Agora	35'800	35'800		35'800
		1999	Verein Mavrica	32'000	32'000		32'000
		1999	EBLUL Study visit programme 1999-2000	69'900	69'900		69'900
		1999	ECMI Evaluating policy measures for minority languages in Europe	31'900	31'900		31'900
		1999	Sorbisches institut e.V Interaktives deutsch-niedersorbisches Internet Lernerwörterbuch	50'000	50'000		50'000
		1999	Förderverein für Jiddische Sprache und Kultur e.V. Jiddische Sprache –Selbstudium im Internet	70'000	70'000		70'000
		1999	Ostfriesische Landschaft – Mehrsprachigkeit in der Vor- und Grundschulperiode (2000-2004)	11'064	11'064	11'064	
		1999	Höjskolen Östersöen - The minority course 2000	58'700	58'700		58'700
		1999	Sonderjyllands Erhvervs Center	25'000	25'000	25'000	
		1999	Acció Escolar del Congrés de Cultura Catalana "el país a l'escola"	70'000	70'000		70'000
		1999	Institut Europeu de Programes d'immersió	5'500	5'500	5'500	

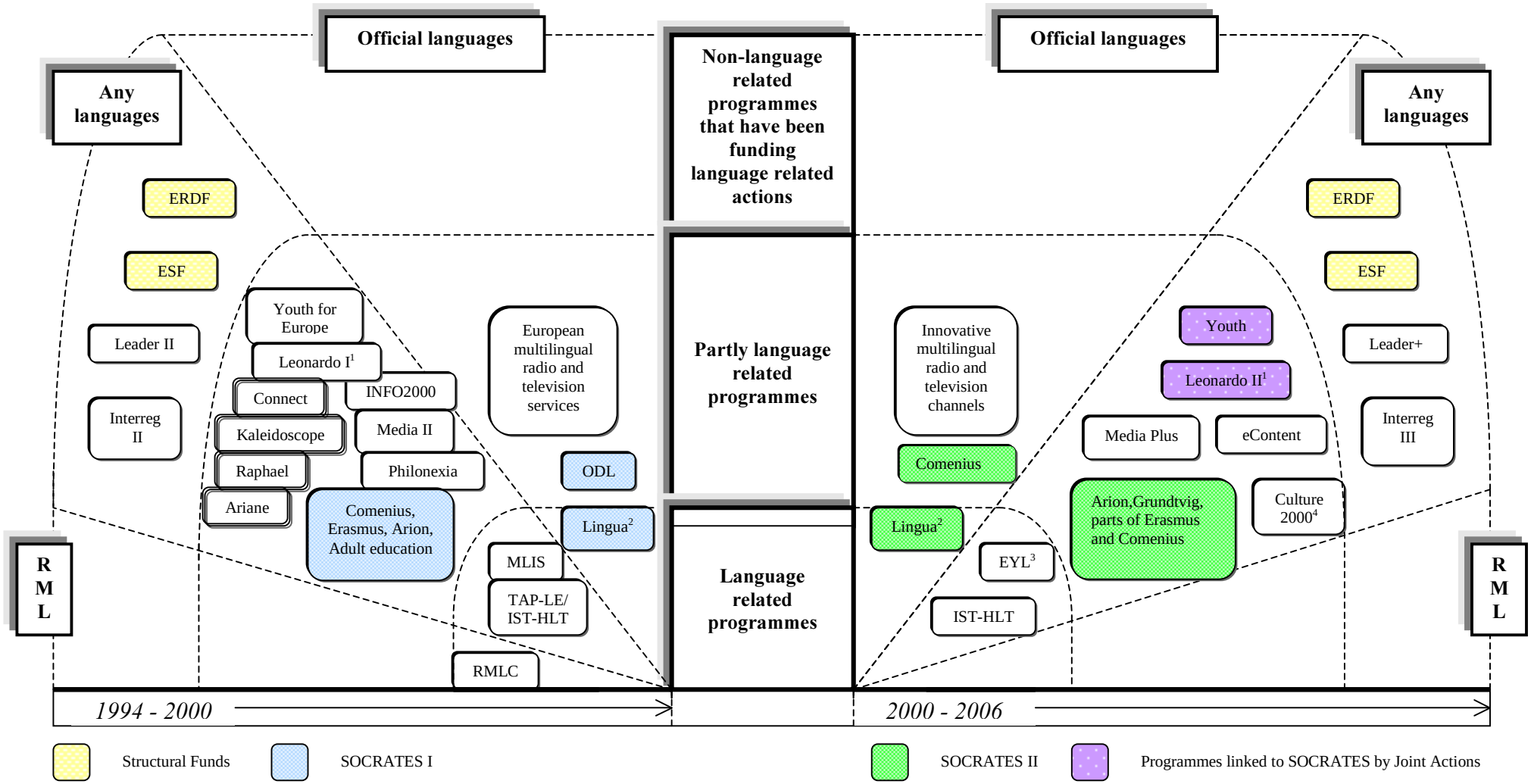
		1999	Generalitat de Catalunya – Direcciùon general de polùitica lingüística	41'000	41'000		41'000
		1999	Grup d'Innovacio i recerca per I Ensenyament de la Filosofia - Cuentame: Narración oral y Educación reflexiva	13'900	13'900	13'900	
		1999	Union Romani – Recuperación del romanò-kalò, lengua de los gitanos de España, Portugal y el sur de Francia	42'928	42'928		42'928
		1999	Associacio Nous Temps – proyecto a favor de la consolidación y el intercambio de la cultura y las lenguas minoritarias	45'000	45'000		45'000
		1999	Generalitat de Catalunya - Edición de una revista en catalán	15'000	15'000	15'000	
		1999	Fala I Cultura " A fala na escuela"	25'000	25'000	25'000	
		1999	Amics de Nonasp – Literatura oral de la comarca del Matarraña	3'800	3'800	3'800	
		1999	Universidad del Pais Vasco – programa educativo para fomentar la espresion oral en lengua vasca	10'000	10'000	10'000	
		1999	Ttipi-Ttapa	57'000	57'000		57'000
		1999	Centro de Orientación Pedagógica Pat-Cop Vitoria Gasteiz – "Arabaldea" Eskola Prentsa –Prentsa Escolar	3'000	3'000	3'000	
		1999	Universitat de Lleida – dep. de Filologia I – Difusión social del occitano aranés-evaluación del proceso de planificación lingüística	26'000	26'000	26'000	
		1999	Associació Cultural	5'100	5'100	5'100	
		1999	Ligallo de Fablans de l'Aragonés	6'200	6'200	6'200	
		1999	Fundación Iniciativa Aragonesa – Ascuitando l'Aragonés	14'000	14'000	14'000	
		1999	GAIA, Asociación de las Tecnologías y de la información del País Vasco	45'000	45'000		45'000
		1999	Viceconsejería de política lingüística del Gobierno Vasco – Red de agentes	50'000	50'000		50'000
		1999	Confederación de empresarios de Galicia Normalización Lingüística del Gallego en el ámbito empresarial. Galem II	50'000	50'000		50'000
		1999	Federación de centros xuvenis Don Bosco de Galicia "Entre nosotros: en gallego"	8'000	8'000	8'000	

		1999	Enontekiön kunta – Kaksikielisten perheiden saamen kielen elvyttäminen äidinkielenä ei luonnostaan tue kielen jatkuvuutta; rakennetaan perheille kieliympäristö saamelaisten rajakuntien kanssa.	32'000	32'000		32'000
		1999	Conseil Général des Hautes-Pyrénnées “Garona Ador II”	24'000	24'000	24'000	
		1999	Lycée Diwan	25'000	25'000	25'000	
		1999	An here – Ar Geriadur Brezhoneg II	35'000	35'000		35'000
		1999	France 3 Sud – Doublage en occitan de 20 épisodes de la sùerie de dessin animé “Les Kikekoi”	20'000	20'000	20'000	
		1999	Aldudarrak Bideo – Ispar Euskal Herriko Antzerkien bilduma	14'310	14'310	14'310	
		1999	Centre de ressources culturelles Celtiques – Kreizenn Dafar Sevenadurel Keltiek	32'198	32'198		32'198
		1999	Bibliothèque Medem – Edition du nouveau dictionnaire yiddish-français	18'000	18'000	18'000	
		1999	Euskal Irratiak – Lecoin des enfants et des jeunes.	19'000	19'000	19'000	
		1999	The British Institute in Paris – Teaching and learning minority languages as second languages: a multinational seminar	9'500	9'500	9'500	
		1999	LAU BOI, Pitchot Labo de musique “Tzigale”	12'000	12'000	12'000	
		1999	Mairie de Perpignan – Soutien à la diffusion de l’information en catalan de Parpignan vers la Catalunya –sud (Espagne)	24'003	24'003	24'003	
		1999	Association Erantzun – Herritartzen Apprendre le basque à la radio avec la méthode ASSIMIL	11'400	11'400	11'400	
		1999	Institut Occitan – Annuaire Culturel Occitan	20'250	20'250	20'250	
		1999	CRDP de Corse – Deux Cdrom pour l’apprentissage du Corse: - “Fole pà I Ziteli” – “U Corsu bellu bellu”	24'300	24'300	24'300	
		1999	Eltern 68 – Promotion et renforcement de l’éducation bilingue Français-langue régionale en Alsace; dans le cadre scolaire et familial	16'400	16'400	16'400	

		1999	University College Dublin – Linguistics department – Verbs of existence in Irish and Scottish Gaelic: a cross-generational and cross-linguistic investigation of English interference.	45'127	45'127		45'127	
		1999	Gaelscoil na gceithre Maisti	30'000	30'000		30'000	
		1999	Istituto Culturale Ladino – Risorse linguistiche ed infrastrutture per il trattamento automatico delle lingue Ladina e Sarda	40'000	40'000		40'000	
		1999	Chambra d'Oc – Viure la Lenga	16'000	16'000	16'000		
		1999	Amministrazione provinciale di Belluno – recupero e valorizzazione culturale della lingua ladina	17'000	17'000	17'000		
		1999	Amministrazione provinciale di Belluno - recupero e valorizzazione culturale della lingua plodarisch	8'000	8'000	8'000		
		1999	SLORI – Le lingue minoritarie tra la scuola e la vita quotidiana	14'000	14'000	14'000		
		1999	Europäische Akademie Bozen – Future Co-operation of Minority Dailies	33'656	33'656		33'656	
		1999	Piana degli Albanesi	39'036	39'036		39'036	
		1999	Comune di Piana degli Albanesi –Kastriota 2001	39 036	39 036		39 036	
		1999	Paolo Diacono – Parlare, leggere, scrivere. Corso pratico radiofonico di buona lingua friulana.	9'300	9'300	9'300		
		1999	Università della Calabria – Dipartimento di Linguistica – Biblioteca elettronica testi letterari arbëresche	24'000	24'000	24'000		
		1999	Consorzio di Comuni della Grecia Salentina – Grecia Salentina: la lingua, gli oggetti, la storia	126'000	126'000			126'000
		1999	Cricolo Culturale Ghetonia – Ponti d'amore Musicali nel Mediterraneo	40'000	40'000		40'000	
		1999	Fryske Akademy – Trilingual primary education in Europe: overview and selected cases	50'000	50'000		50'000	
		1999	Juventud por el desarollo y la cooperación – Lenguas regionales y minoritarias en el espacio asociativo juvenil europeo –Leaje	19'400	19'400	19'400		
		1999	Instituto de desenvolvimento Social – Lhéngua	65'000	65'000		65'000	

		1999	Studieförbundet Vuxenskolan – Östersundsavdelningen Ordbok över det regionala språket Jämska	29'000	29'000	29'000		
		1999	Eisteddfod – Lllanelli based project to encourage and enhance the learning, use and enjoyment of the Welsh language and culture.	24'000	24'000	24'000		
		1999	University of Wales –Research Centre Wales Bangor. Communication, minority languages and the information society.	46'600	46'600		46'600	
		1999	Leirsinn Research Centre for Gaelic – Supporting the teaching of literacy Skills in the Minority Languages of Bilingual Children	33'500	33'500		33'500	
		1999	Welsh Language Board – Celtic Languages Initiative – CELI - Language learning for young adults entering the world of work.	58'525	58'525		58'525	
		1999	University of Wales Aberystwyth – Mercator Conference on Audiovisual Translation and Minority Languages.	25'000	25'000	25'000		
			Total	**9'182'860**	**9'182'860**	**2'442'282**	**3'031'535**	**3'709'043**

FIGURE 2.1
CATEGORISATION OF EU ACTIVITIES WITH RELEVANCE TO SUPPORT FOR LANGUAGE



[1] <<Leonardo translation only accepts EU official languages>> [2] <<Including Letzeburgish and Irish>> [3] <<EYL language definition wording>>
[4] <<Translation action gives priority to translation in regional or minority languages>>

*Language related programmes are programmes for which the overall objective includes language learning/teaching or multilingualism or any related actio**n**. However it has been possible to differentiate a group of partly language related programmes. When the type of languages addressed by the programme is mentioned neither in the legal texts nor in the action lines, the classification should rely on the range of languages addressed by the funded projects under each programme.*