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CATALAN

The Catalan language in education in France

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| Regional dossiers series |





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Glossary

APLEC	Association for the teaching of Catalan (Associació Per a L'Ensenyament del Català)
CAPES	Governmental exam for secondary school teachers (Certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat de l'Enseignement du Second degré)
CRPE	Governmental exam for primary school teachers (Concours de Recrutement de Professeur des Écoles)
DAEU	Diploma that allows students without a baccalaureate qualification to undertake university courses (Diplôme d'Accès aux Études Universitaires)
DUT	Technological diploma (Diplôme Universitaire de Technologie)
ECRML	European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages
ESPE	Teacher training university (École Supérieure du Professorat et de l'Éducation)
ESPE-LR	École supérieure du professorat et de l'éducation Languedoc-Roussillon (Teacher training university in the Languedoc-Roussillon region)
Generalitat de Catalunya	Government of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia (Spain)
IEC	Institute for Catalan Studies (Institut d'Estudis Catalans)
IFCT	Catalan studies centre at the UPVD (Institut Franco-Català Transfronterer / Institut Franco-Catalan Transfrontalier)
ISLRF	Institut Supérieur des Langues de la République Française (Higher Institute of the Languages of the French Republic)
LP	Vocational training college (Lycée Professionnel)
MEEF	Teacher training masters (Métiers de l'Enseignement, de l'Éducation et de la Formation)
MESRI	Ministry for higher education, research and innovation (Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur, de la Recherche et de l'Innovation)
NOR	Reference system for French legislative texts
RML	Regional or minority language
UCE	Catalan summer university (Universitat Catalana d'Estiu)
UPVD	University of Perpignan Via Domitia

Foreword

background Regional and minority languages are languages that differ from the official state language. The Mercator Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning uses the definition for these languages defined by the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML):

“Regional and minority languages are languages traditionally used within a given territory of a state by nationals of that state who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the state’s population; they are different from the official language(s) of that state, and they include neither dialects of the official language(s) of the state nor the languages of migrants”. The Mercator Research Centre aims at the acquisition, application and circulation of knowledge about these regional and minority languages in education. An important means to achieve this goal is the Regional Dossiers series: documents that provide the most essential features of the education system of regions with a lesser used regional or minority language.

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aim The aim of the Regional Dossiers Series is to provide a concise description of European minority languages in education. Aspects that are addressed include features of the education system, recent educational policies, main actors, legal arrangements and support structures, as well as quantitative aspects such as the number of schools, teachers, pupils, and financial investments. Because of this fixed structure the dossiers in the series are easy to compare.

target group The dossiers serve several purposes and are relevant for policymakers, researchers, teachers, students and journalists who wish to explore developments in minority language schooling in Europe. They can also serve as a first orientation towards further research, or function as a source of ideas for improving educational provisions in their own region.

link with Eurydice The format of the Regional Dossiers follows the format of Eurydice - the information network on education in Europe - in order

to link the regional descriptions with those of national education systems. Eurydice provides information on the administration and structure of national education systems in the member states of the European Union.

contents

Every Regional Dossier begins with an introduction about the region concerned, followed by six sections that each deals with a specific level of the education system (e.g. primary education). Sections eight and nine cover the main lines of research into education of the concerned minority language, the prospects for the minority language in general and for education in particular. The tenth section gives a summary of statistics. Lists of regulations, publications and useful addresses concerning the minority language, are given at the end of the dossier.

1 Introduction

language

Catalan is a Romance language, descended from varieties of Vulgar Latin spoken around the Eastern Pyrenees. There is evidence that Catalan was distinct from its parent language by at least the fifth century CE, and it had clearly diverged from neighbouring Occitan varieties from the ninth century CE (Amorós & Francés, 2011, pp. 63-64). Catalan varieties were first spoken in and around the areas that this dossier examines, and spread south, west and east over subsequent centuries to cover present-day Catalan-speaking areas (Catalan, *Els Països Catalans*, see figure 1). Northern Catalonia (Catalan, *La Catalunya (del) Nord*) is the name given to areas of southern France where Catalan is an autochthonous variety. For centuries, Northern Catalonia was ruled by the Crown of Aragon (subsequently, the Kingdom of Spain) and only came under French jurisdiction in 1659 with the signing of the Treaty of the Pyrenees. Northern Catalonia specifically refers to the historic districts (Catalan, *comarques*, singular *comarca*) of Roussillon

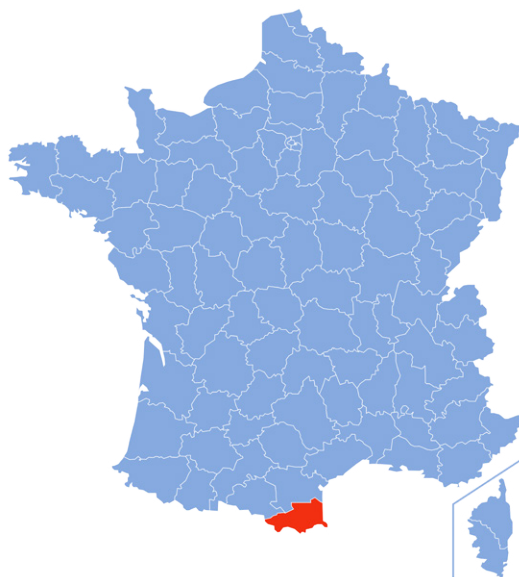


Figure 1. Location of the Pyrénées-Orientales Département within France. Data from Wikimedia commons, user: Marmelad, 2007.

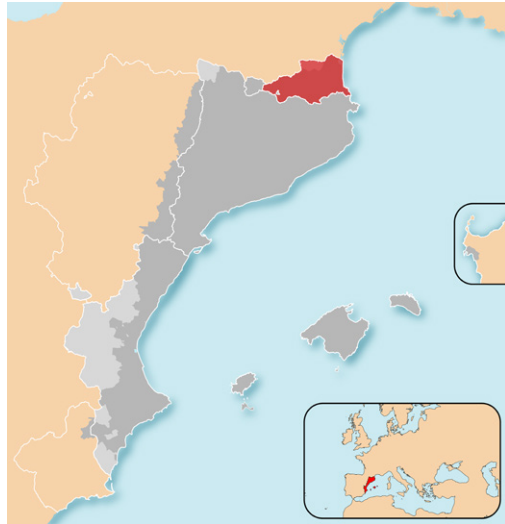


Figure 2. Location of the Pyrénées-Orientales Département (indicated in red) within the Catalan Countries (indicated in grey). Data from Wikimedia commons, user: Mutxamel, 2010.

(Catalan, *Rosselló*), Conflent, Vallespir, Capcir and Cerdagne (Catalan, *Alta Cerdanya*). Today, these areas are all found in the French administrative department (French, *département*) of Pyrénées-Orientales (see figure 2). However, Northern Catalonia and Pyrénées-Orientales are not coterminous, since the latter also contains the small, traditionally Occitan speaking area of Fenouillèdes (Catalan, *Fenolleda*, Occitan, *Fenolhedà*).

population

Today, Catalan is spoken by just over ten million people, including second language speakers (Plataforma per la llengua, 2018, p. 5) across Spain (the autonomous communities of Catalonia, Valencia, the Balearic Islands, and small parts of Aragon and Murcia), Andorra (where it is the sole official language), Italy (in the city of L'Alguer in Sardinia) and France.

The most comprehensive recent data regarding Catalan competence in Northern Catalonia was gathered by the Generalitat de Catalunya (the regional government of the autonomous

community of Catalonia in Spain), in association with the University of Perpignan Via Domitia and the departmental council of Pyrénées-Orientales in 2015 (table 1):

Table 1 Number of speakers of Catalan in Northern Catalonia

Total inhabitants (2015)	Catalan speakers	Can understand Catalan
369,590	130,979 (35.4%)	225,445 (61%)

Note. Speaker number data for the year 2015. Adapted from Generalitat de Catalunya et al., 2015, chapter 4.

These findings are presented with the caveat that reliable statistics on speaker numbers for Regional and Minority Languages (RMLs) in France are difficult to ascertain for two reasons. Firstly, French census data does not ask questions about RML competence or usage. Secondly, competence data is necessarily self-reported, and participants may over- or underestimate their level of Catalan. Indeed, an overstating of Catalan language competence was empirically demonstrated in Col·lecció Setelcat (2007, pp.75-78). Therefore, actual speaker numbers may be lower than those indicated above.

language status Language policy in France has proved detrimental to RMLs such as Catalan, instead promoting a monoglossic 'one nation, one language' ideology, in favour of French. Since the French Revolution, there have been repeated attempts to stamp out RMLs, in order to cultivate a monolingual populace, for whom the French language would serve as the sole vehicle for French Republican ideals. In the 1880s, the Jules Ferry Laws came into force, establishing free primary education through the medium of French for both sexes, ensuring the spread of French competence into Northern Catalonia. Mandatory conscription in World War One then brought men from the region into contact with other French speakers from throughout France, resulting in processes of dialect levelling (Weber, 1979, p.19). Moreover, the rallying of all French soldiers behind a common cause instilled a greater sense of French nationalism in the citizens of Northern Catalonia than ever before. In the aftermath of World War Two, RMLs spoken in southern France were viewed with suspicion, given their (limited) support under the Vichy regime, even despite

a lack of evidence of collaboration on the part of Northern Catalans (Amit, 2014, p. 69). The Constitution of the Fifth French Republic (1958) foregrounds the importance of the French language: article 2 decrees that 'the language of the Republic is French.' It is this constitutional context that explains the fact that France has not ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML), a document which obligates signatory governments to adopt general and specific measures to protect the usage of designated RMLs in their territories. While the specific measures were not deemed problematic, the *Conseil constitutionnel* ruled that the recognition of minority group rights (as well as the use of RMLs in state affairs) was in direct contravention of essential French Republican principles. All of this has created an environment in France where monoglossic ideologies prevail (Hawkey, 2018, p. 100). French occupies dominant social positions and Catalan is relegated to the status of a language with little support and limited instrumental value.

As regards education, the French Constitution also states that universal access to 'secular, free, public education at all levels is a duty of the State', thus ensuring that the education system is aligned with French Republican principles. Given the language policy context outlined above, it is unsurprising that Catalan only plays a very minor role in the education system in Northern Catalonia. The *Loi Deixonne* of 1951 in theory constituted an important step towards linguistic pluralism in France by permitting one to three hours of RML teaching in public schools. However, this was not implemented until 1969, and even then, the law simply allocated the time for teaching, without providing any practical means of support for such classes. An arguably more meaningful step was the 2001 rebranding of the 'Grand Delegation for the French Language' to include 'and the Languages of France'. For the first time, a dependent entity of the French Ministry of Culture and Communication was dedicated to the recognition and promotion of linguistic diversity in France, including the support of RMLs such as Catalan. However, given that the Delegation represents over a hundred different linguistic groups, concrete

support for increased presence of Catalan in education in Northern Catalonia was not especially forthcoming. As we shall see throughout this dossier, the presence of Catalan in schooling, albeit limited, is assured by two factors: cross-border collaborative projects with the Generalitat de Catalunya, and external actors from the private sector.

**education
system**

Education in France (either in schools or, rarely, at home) is obligatory up to the age of 16; as of September 2019, compulsory education starts at age 3. Primary education is divided into two cycles: pre-school (*école maternelle*) until the age of 5 or 6, and then elementary school (*école élémentaire*) until the age of 10 or 11. At this point, the student enters secondary education, initially consisting of four years of *collège*, at the end of which the *brevet* certificate is awarded. At this point, the student continues their studies at *lycée*, typically for three years until the sitting of the *baccalauréat* at 18. Obligatory instruction ends at 16, usually after the first year of *lycée*, and a student may choose to withdraw from education at this point with no further qualification than the aforementioned *brevet*, though few do.

Higher education in France is divided between public universities and *grandes écoles*. The former are obliged to accept students who have passed the relevant baccalaureate stream. *Grandes écoles* are also publicly funded, but are highly selective, and students are usually required to undertake years of preparatory training (*classes préparatoires*) before sitting entrance exams. Tuition is funded by the state, and fees are therefore relatively low in public institutions (often around €400 annually, including obligatory insurance).

**private and
public**

As stated above, the French Constitution guarantees access to 'secular, free, public education.' The majority of private education in France consists of Catholic schools which have entered into a 'contract of association' with the State. Such schools receive funding from the State for teachers' salaries (staff at these institutions are nevertheless considered private employees, rather than civil servants). Parents of children in

private education also contribute school fees, but these are more modest than in other countries (often around €500 per year). In 2017, private establishments accounted for 10.8% of primary schools and 31% of secondary schools in France (Éducation Nationale, 2018a, p. 28, p. 32).

In 2017, there were 68 public universities in France, as well as several hundred specialised institutes, many of which are private in nature (for example, of the 265 higher education institutions dedicated to engineering, 86 were private). In addition, there are seven private Catholic universities in France. As with primary and secondary education, private higher education institutions are partly funded by the State.

**bilingual
education forms**

For the political and ideological reasons given above, Catalan has a very limited presence in education in Northern Catalonia. In the school year 2015/16, 26.7% of primary school pupils and 6.9% of secondary school students in mainstream education received some form of Catalan instruction, usually consisting of sporadic foreign language classes (Observatori de la llengua, 2015). This teaching is provided by APLEC (*Associació Per a l'Ensenyament del Català – Association for the teaching of Catalan*), a voluntary association which aims to bring Catalan classes to residents of Northern Catalonia. APLEC receives limited public funding from the administrative region (French, *région*) of Occitanie and the *département* of Pyrénées-Orientales, but is largely dependent on support from the Generalitat de Catalunya.

By far the most successful Catalan-medium programmes in Northern Catalonia are the *Bressola* and *Arrels* networks of private schools. The Bressola network is the most extensive, consisting of seven primary schools and one *collège* throughout the region. The Bressola is entirely independent of the French State, since any agreement would be contingent on 50% of teaching being delivered through the medium of French (La Bressola, 2007, p. 24), a condition that the Bressola was unwilling to accept. Recent years have arguably seen a slight move towards embracing France's linguistically plural heritage in the sphere of education. In 2008, an amendment was

made to the Constitution (article 75.1), which decreed that RMLs 'belong to the cultural heritage of France.' In light of this development, the Ministry of Education has (at least in theory) acknowledged the benefits of bilingual education with an RML: "teaching of the RML bilingually alongside French contributes to the development of students' intellectual, linguistic and cultural skills. In addition to allowing for the transmission of RMLs, this [approach] strengthens French language skills, as well as preparing students to learn foreign languages" (Éducation Nationale, 2017). However, this recent change in sentiment is yet to translate to meaningful support in terms of teaching resources for RMLs.

Concerning higher education, the University of Perpignan Via Domitia houses the Franco-Catalan Cross-Border Institute (Catalan, *Institut Franco-Català Transfronterer*), which offers a range of qualifications, including a bachelor's degree in Catalan studies, and taught 185 students in 2015/16.

administration

France is divided into 101 *départements* which are in turn organised into 18 *régions*. From 1970, there had been 27 *régions*, but these were consolidated into the current 18 on September 1st, 2016. As stated above, Northern Catalonia is found entirely within the *département* of Pyrénées-Orientales. Until 2016, Pyrénées-Orientales was within the Languedoc-Roussillon *région*, but is now part of the larger region of Occitanie. The naming of the new *région* caused uproar in Northern Catalonia, which has never formed part of Occitan cultural or linguistic territory. On 10th September, 2016, around ten thousand people marched through the streets of Perpignan, to lobby (unsuccessfully) for the addition of 'Pays Catalan' to the new regional name.

The French education system is governed by a hierarchical system of state-level administration. Seventeen of the present 18 *régions* correspond to *régions académiques*, which are further subdivided into 30 *académies*. These different units of academic administration are responsible for school management and the application of state-level regulations. Both *région académique* and *académie* are presided over by their own director (*recteur*),

who is a representative of the Ministry of Education. Northern Catalonia finds itself within the *académie* of Montpellier, which in turn is within the *région académique* of Occitanie.

inspection

Monitoring of education is undertaken by National Education Inspectors (IEN, *inspecteurs de l'Éducation nationale*), civil servants who perform school visits and are responsible for ensuring that education policy is consistently applied, as well as evaluating the performance of teachers and providing guidance to senior management teams (Éducation Nationale, 2018b). These inspectors are managed by local Academic Directors (DA-SEN, *directeurs académiques des services de l'Éducation nationale*), who in turn report to the aforementioned regional *recteur*.

**support
structure**

In addition to the National Education inspection structures given above, a number of bodies provide advice and guidance on the subject of language teaching in Northern Catalonia. The national *Canopé* network provides tailored and generic teaching materials, and is organised at the level of each *académie* (Northern Catalonia falling within the *académie* of Montpellier). This replaced the previous national, regional and departmental documentation centres in 2014. Teacher training and support is provided by dedicated higher education institutes (ESPE, created in 2013, formerly IUFM). The Superior institute for the languages of the French Republic (ISLRF) offers masters-level teacher training in five RMLs, including Catalan, awarding on average thirty degrees a year. APLEC is a voluntary association offering extensive Catalan language teaching and resources in Northern Catalonia. Several cultural centres providing audiovisual materials in Catalan can be found through Northern Catalonia, including the Bibliothèque Bernard Nicolau in Perpignan and the Médiathèque Ludovic Massé in Céret.

2 Pre-school education

target group	The French State <i>Éducation Nationale</i> offers free schooling from the age of three (in some areas, from two). In 2014, 11.8% of two-year-olds attended these classes, with this figure rising to nearly 100% for children aged three to five (<i>Éducation Nationale</i> , 2018c). Despite these high rates of participation, before 2019, education was not obligatory in France until the child reached six years of age. As of September 2019, mandatory education begins at age three.
structure	Pre-school is referred to as <i>école maternelle</i> and, together with <i>école élémentaire</i> , makes up primary education (<i>enseignement primaire</i>) in France. <i>École maternelle</i> is divided into three or four sections: where present, the youngest (<i>toute petite</i>) section is for students from the age of two, followed by the young (<i>petite</i>) section, middle (<i>moyenne</i>) section, and older (<i>grande</i>) sections. Children progress through these sections according to age and level of development. The framework law on education (<i>Loi d’Orientation</i>) of 1989 determined that the final year of pre-school education simultaneously forms part of the ‘early learning cycle’ (<i>cycle des apprentissages premiers</i>) and the ‘foundation learning cycle’ (<i>cycle des apprentissages fondamentaux</i> , also including early primary education), thus acting as a bridge between pre-school and primary education). In 2017, there were 14,333 elementary schools (14,179 public, 154 private) as well as 19,968 primary schools (establishments including both pre-school and elementary school; 14,927 public, 5,041 private) (<i>Éducation Nationale</i> , 2018a, p. 29). In terms of classroom content, there are five key focal points at the pre-school level in France: linguistic development (in terms of oral communication and literacy), physical development (through activity and play), artistic development, problem solving, and discovery (<i>Éducation Nationale</i> 2018c),
legislation	The Framework Law on Education (<i>Loi d’orientation sur l’éducation</i>) was adopted and promulgated in 1989 by Lionel Jospin and lays out the guiding ideological and organisational principles

of the education system, covering matters of universal access to schooling and the active role of the student in their own learning. In 1991, Jospin decided to create a National Education Code (*Code de l'Éducation*), which is continually updated and wherein all laws and decrees relevant to the education system in France are contained. The original 1989 Framework Law was codified and brought into the wider National Education Code in 2000, and as such, all fundamental tenets of the French education system (including specific decrees governing the different phases of education outlined in sections 2-6) are found in the Code.

The current programme of pre-school education is laid out in the appendix of the 2015 decree NOR: MENE1504759A. This document outlines the key strategies for curriculum development at this level of education, focusing on learning through play and reflective problem solving (Éducation Nationale, 2015a). As part of literacy objectives, this decree puts forth that children should acquire “knowledge that communication can take place in languages other than French: for example, in regional languages” (Éducation Nationale, 2015a, p. 8, my translation). The aforementioned *Loi Deixonne* of 1951 allows for the possibility of one to three weekly hours of RML classes, but resourcing for Catalan teaching is not forthcoming from the French State. The decision to lower the starting age for compulsory education from six to three (thus making the *école maternelle* mandatory) was announced by President Emmanuel Macron at the ‘Foundations of pre-school education’ (*Assises de l'École Maternelle*) conference in March 2018 (more information is provided in Éducation Nationale, 2018d). The most detailed governmental guidance regarding recommended content of RML curricula is contained within the 2017 circular NOR: MENE1711397C, which sets out differentiated proposals for how regional languages and cultures are to be addressed at various levels of the curriculum. In the pre-school setting, the emphasis is placed on raising awareness of the RML, either by the class teacher or a visiting educator (Éducation Nationale 2017, section II). Since the focus is on awareness of the existence of Catalan, rather than acquisition of competence,

levels of Catalan remain low, even after Catalan instruction (Baylac Ferrer, 2016,p. 40). It should be remembered that while the State makes pedagogical recommendations, few to no resources are provided that would practically help the diffusion of Catalan language teaching in France, at this or any other level.

language use

Throughout this overview, it should be borne in mind that the vast majority of teaching in Northern Catalonia is delivered monolingually through French, as demonstrated by the statistics that follow (see table 2). The discussions of RML usage in education here therefore only refer to situations in the select cases where Catalan is at all present. A clear distinction must be drawn between 'immersion education' (entirely delivered in Catalan), 'bilingual education' (in theory equally divided between French-medium and Catalan-medium) and Catalan as a school subject. The private Bressola system pursues an agenda of early immersion (starting at the ages of two to four) in order to make students aware of the instrumental value of Catalan. Teachers at the Bressola place emphasis on Catalan also functioning as a language of socialisation by playing with the students during breaktimes (Le Bihan, 2005, Peix, 2017). In bilingual education programmes, teaching is to be divided equally (in practice, 12 weekly hours in Catalan and 13 in French, or vice versa), as dictated by the 2003 decree NOR: MENE0301049A. This same decree states that French must be present to some degree in all disciplines, except for the teaching of the RML itself, and so subjects are not divided by language. In practice, a shortage of trained bilingual teaching staff (and a lack of government sanctioned posts) renders this a difficult target to meet. In order to teach Catalan as a subject, institutions may make use of external, peripatetic classroom assistants (*intervenants*), chiefly provided by APLEC.

teaching materials

Demand for a wide range of teaching materials in Catalan far outstrips supply, and teachers are faced with a limited selection of suitable resources in Catalan. Since the majority of Catalan language education is concentrated at primary level, issues that are of relevance to all age groups will be discussed in section 3.

statistics

Table 2 Presence of Catalan in Pre-School Education in the School Year 2014/2015

Type of instruction	Number of students	Number of pre-schools
Catalan as a school subject	3,320	46
Catalan bilingual education	901	20

Note. Data adapted from Baylac Ferrer, 2016, p. 38, p. 48.

All statistics regarding Catalan language use in education are found in Baylac Ferrer (2016), and were originally compiled from data provided by the *académie* of Montpellier.

The relative presence of Catalan in the primary education system (given as a percentage of the total number of institutions in the Pyrénées-Orientales) is found in table 4 (section 3). Please note that figures for the Bressola immersion programme have been included with elementary schools (table 3), rather than pre-schools (as in Baylac Ferrer, 2016).

3 Primary education

target group Primary education (*enseignement primaire*) is made up of pre-school education (*école maternelle*, ages 2-6) and elementary schooling (*école élémentaire*, ages 6-11), the focus of this section.

structure Elementary education is divided into two cycles. The 'foundation learning cycle' (*cycle des apprentissages fondamentaux*) includes the *grande section* (GS) of pre-school, followed by reception class (*cours préparatoire*, CP), and the first and second elementary classes (CE1, CE2). The 'consolidation cycle' (*cycle de consolidation*) is made up of first and second middle school classes (CM1, CM2). This cycle is then completed in secondary education. In 2017, there were 16,576 elementary schools (16,295 public, 281 private), as well as 19,968 primary schools (establishments including both pre-school and elementary school; 14,927 public, 5,041 private) (Éducation Nationale 2018a, p. 29).

The most important goals of elementary education are literacy (in French) and numeracy, treated by the education system as the 'fundamental building blocks of knowledge' (Éducation Nationale, 2018e). During this period, students are also introduced to a foreign (or regional) language, art, physical education, science, technology, history and geography.

legislation At present, the guiding principles of curriculum content for students aged 6-16 are laid out in the 2015 decree NOR: MENE1506516D, known as the Common Basis of Knowledge, Competence and Culture. This framework consists of five key target areas: the first of these is 'languages for thought and expression', and focuses on (among other things) "learning the French language, as well as foreign languages and, where required, regional languages" (Éducation Nationale, 2015b, article 1, my translation). The decree states that, if chosen, the RML will replace one of two required foreign languages (so students either study two foreign languages, or one foreign language with the RML). No obligation is placed on

establishments in areas where an RML is spoken to choose the RML, and specific resources are not accorded for this purpose. Therefore, many schools in Northern Catalonia teach two foreign languages, thus neglecting Catalan teaching. Indeed, given geographical proximity to Spain, there is a strong argument in Northern Catalonia to teach Spanish in addition to the ubiquitous English, not just in terms of the instrumental motivations of students to want to engage with these two global languages, but also due to the limited resources accorded to RML teaching. Catalan is thus often overlooked in the current system. As with pre-school education, the 2017 circular NOR: MENE1711397C makes pedagogical proposals for primary teaching of RMLs, including raising awareness of the language by focusing on local cultural traditions (Éducation, Nationale, 2017: section II). Previous recommendations (Éducation Nationale, 2001, section II,1b) call for somehow linking RML learning to the study of other 'related' languages (so presumably Spanish in the case of Catalan, and maybe German in the case of Alsatian in Alsace), though this approach is notably absent from the 2017 document. Once again, these are all merely pedagogical recommendations, and no concrete financial support is offered by the French State to help put these into practice. According to this document, weekly teaching of RMLs would be set at somewhere between 1.5 and 3 hours, depending on local legislature.

language use

As in pre-school education, a distinction is drawn between Catalan as a school subject, bilingual education streams and immersion systems such as the Bressola. A full discussion of general patterns regarding language use in RML education in Northern Catalonia is found in section 2. As regards initial literacy, immersion systems adopt the 'direct method' (Peix, 2017), wherein Catalan literacy is taught first, using Catalan source materials (all teaching is of course delivered in Catalan). Bilingual streams use either the 'source method', in which literacy is initially taught in French, and the skills are transferred to Catalan, or the 'simultaneous method', wherein both French and Catalan are used (but with priority usually given to French

literacy). In the Arrels schools, students start by acquiring Catalan literacy, and only when sufficient progress has been made, do they move onto French (Peix, 2017).

**teaching
materials**

Peix (2017) has undertaken a thorough ethnographic study of Catalan language teachers in Northern Catalonia, which discusses the lack of appropriate resources. This is a particular challenge at the primary level, since this is where the majority of RML teaching is concentrated in this scenario. Catalan teachers (particularly in the Bressola immersion system) are faced with a choice regarding textbooks: either they use resources from the Autonomous Community of Catalonia, or they translate and adapt existing French textbooks. The former is problematic since the content, aims and objectives are not aligned with the needs of the Bressola, given that the Spanish education system follows an entirely different structure, and so these must be extensively modified. The latter is time-consuming since educators not only have to adapt materials to meet the Bressola's specific learning objectives, but also must translate them all from French (Peix, 2017). Teachers of bilingual classes (or those offering Catalan as a school subject) can use French language textbooks, which, while far from ideal, have the potential to develop students' abilities to think comparatively and critically across the two languages (Peix, 2017). However, it should be noted that foreign language classes are conducted using textbooks that are in the target language, and not French, therefore putting Catalan at a disadvantage if Catalan classes were to make extensive use of French language resources. As a result of these concerns, the majority of Catalan language materials used in France are somewhat homespun booklets compiled using both of the time-consuming processes mentioned above, containing adapted exercises from textbooks from the Autonomous Community of Catalonia as well as resources originally in French, painstakingly translated by teaching staff. Peix (2017) also discusses the knock-on effect this lack of visibility has for the perceived prestige of the Catalan language among students. It is a concern that the lower quality of materials in Catalan reinforces the ideological situation that

students (and Catalan speakers in France more generally) face on a daily basis: that Catalan is a language of low prestige and low instrumental value relative to French. For this hegemony to be reproduced within the RML classroom by virtue of the quality of materials used is deeply unfortunate, to say the least. These concerns also hold true for Catalan teaching at all pre-university levels.

statistics

Table 3 Presence of Catalan in Elementary Schools in the School Year 2014/2015

Type of instruction	Number of students	Number of schools
Catalan as a school subject	4,110	61
Catalan bilingual education	1,668	21
Catalan immersion (Bressola)	766	6

Note. Data adapted from Baylac Ferrer 2016, p. 38, p. 48

20

As stated above, primary education is made up of pre-school education (addressed in section 2) and elementary schooling (addressed here). The following data compares the findings from tables 2 and 3 with numbers of primary students throughout Northern Catalonia, to give an overview of the scale of the presence of Catalan in the primary schooling in the region.

Table 4 Presence of Catalan in Primary Education, given as Percentages of the School Population of Northern Catalonia in the School Year 2014/2015

Type of instruction	No. (%) students	No. (%) establishments
Catalan as a school subject	7,430 (17.3%)	107 (34%)
Catalan bilingual education + Bressola	3,335 (7.8%)	47 (15%)
Total receiving Catalan classes	10,765 (25%)	154 (49%)

Note. Data adapted from Baylac Ferrer, 2016, p. 38, p. 48

In short, almost half of primary schools (including pre-schools) offer some limited form of Catalan classes, but in terms of student numbers, this only reaches a quarter of all eligible children in Northern Catalonia.

4 Secondary education

target group	Secondary education (<i>enseignement secondaire</i>) lasts for seven years in France (ages 11-18), and is divided into four years of <i>collège</i> and three years of <i>lycée</i> .
structure	<p>At <i>collège</i>, secondary education is structured by subject area, covering French, maths, history, geography, citizenship, languages, science, technology, physical education, art and music. Then, three years of <i>lycée</i> culminate in students sitting baccalaureate exams, which allow them to pursue further education, to enter professional training, or to directly join the workforce (these different exams will be addressed in sections 4 and 5). The first year of <i>collège</i> concludes the 'consolidation cycle' started in elementary education. The next three years make up the 'developmental cycle' (<i>cycle des approfondissements</i>) and culminate with the <i>brevet</i> exam at around age 14. This then dictates which baccalaureate stream the student enters, with different institutions catering to different pathways. Academic (i.e. non-vocational) training is offered in either 'general/technological schools' (<i>lycées d'enseignement général et technologique</i>) or in 'multi-purpose schools' (<i>lycées polyvalents</i>), which provide both vocational and non-vocational training. There are three 'general' baccalaureate streams (i.e. academic, non-technological and non-vocational, referred to as the <i>voie générale</i>): literary (L), social/economic (ES) and scientific (S). There are eight 'technological' baccalaureate streams (<i>voie technologique</i>), some more technical in nature (laboratory sciences, industrial sciences) and others more vocational (hospitality, management). Given their organisation into distinct institutions from those which offer strictly vocational training, this section deals with all general and technological baccalaureate streams. In France in 2018, 52% of baccalaureate students followed one of the general pathways, with a further 20% completing technological courses (Éducation Nationale, 2018f). In June 2018, 88.3% of candidates sitting the baccalaureate obtained the 50% pass mark (Éducation Nationale, 2018f). In 2017, there were 5,294 public <i>collèges</i>, and 1,859 private</p>

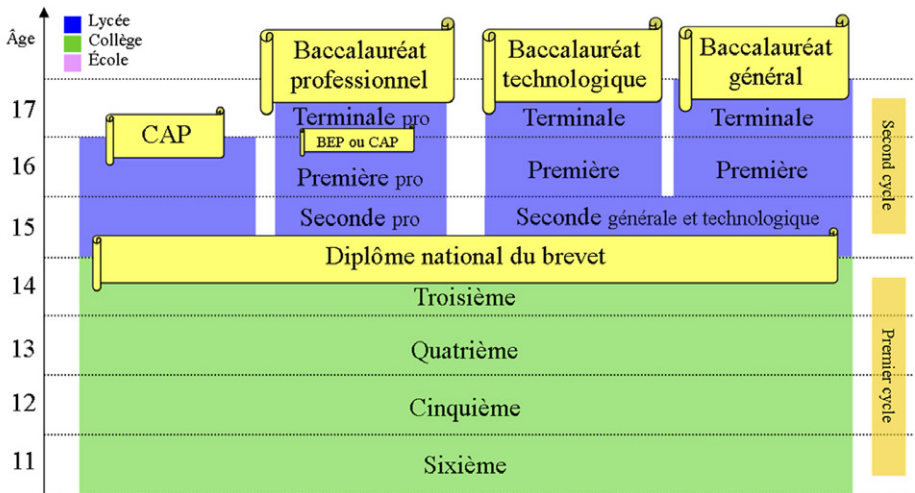


Figure 3. Secondary education structure in France. Data from copyright Wikimedia commons, user: Tiraden (2009).

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ones. There were 1,608 public *lycées* offering ‘general’ and/or ‘technological’ baccalaureate streams, as well as 1,046 private institutions. Additionally, there were 80 secondary institutions for students with special educational needs and disabilities (79 public, 1 private) (Éducation Nationale 2018a, p. 33).

legislation

Regarding RML teaching at secondary level, the 2017 circular NOR: MENE1711397C makes further specific pedagogical recommendations, underlining the optional nature of RML teaching (it remains unclear whether these decisions are to be made at an institutional or parental level), and firmly integrating it within foreign language teaching (Éducation Nationale 2017: section II). Also see section 3 for discussion of the Common Basis of Knowledge, Competence and Culture (NOR: MENE1506516D), which governs secondary education up to the age of 16. As before, these texts constitute recommendations, not promises of funding.

language use

As outlined in the 2017 circular NOR: MENE1711397C, students at *collège* have the possibility to undertake a beginners’ course in Catalan at the start of the consolidation cycle for up to two

hours a week. Alternatively, for students who have studied Catalan at primary level, there is a more advanced secondary option as part of the *Bi-langue* stream, in which two foreign languages are taught as a subject (the legislation stipulates that the other language must be English) for a combined total of six hours a week. RML study can then be continued through *collège* as the student's second foreign language. At *lycée*, RMLs can be taken as the second modern language (excluding French), either as an optional or obligatory component for examination in the 'general' baccalaureate streams (Éducation Nationale, 2017, section II). Baccalaureate exams are produced yearly for Catalan as a second modern language, both for schools in France and French schools in Spain. Baccalaureate exams are also produced annually for Catalan as a first language, but this is because Catalan is the sole official language of Andorra, where students can follow the French education system. It should be stressed that the options regarding secondary Catalan education are only available to very few students in Northern Catalonia (see statistics below). Moreover, the concerns outlined above about a lack of adequate teaching materials still hold true for secondary education, and this can have an adverse effect on the amount of Catalan used in classrooms. Therefore, even in the limited cases where Catalan is offered as a school subject, its use in the classroom may not be total.

teaching materials See paragraph teaching materials, section 3.

statistics

Table 5 Presence of Catalan in Collèges, Including Percentages of the School Population of Northern Catalonia in the School Year 2014/2015

Type of instruction	No. (%) of students	No. (%) of collèges
Catalan as a school subject	861 (3.8%)	9 (28%)
Catalan bilingual education	711 (3.1%)	12 (38%)
Catalan immersion (Bressola)	146 (0.6%)	1 (3%)
Total receiving Catalan classes	1,718 (7.5%)	22 (69%)

Note. Adapted from Baylac Ferrer, 2016, p. 38, p. 48.

Some percentages differ slightly from Baylac Ferrer (2016), as all calculations are based on the total number of students in both private and public institutions.

At *collège*, we see a massive discrepancy between how many institutions offer some form of Catalan instruction (69%) and how many students take Catalan classes (7.5%) (see table 5). This is due to three key factors. Firstly, Catalan is optional within the offering of modern language teaching. Secondly, the demographics of Northern Catalonia are such that 70% of the population lives in the greater urban area of Perpignan, where the majority of the schools that do not offer Catalan are concentrated. The schools where Catalan is on offer are in more rural communities and have fewer students. Finally, since parents' demand has been shown to outstrip supply in terms of Catalan language teaching (Baylac Ferrer, 2016, p. 37), we can deduce that not enough Catalan teaching posts are being made available, meaning that each institution can only offer a very limited amount of Catalan teaching to a small group of students.

Table 6 Presence of Catalan in Lycées, Including Percentages of the School Population of Northern Catalonia in the School Year 2014/2015

Type of instruction	No. (%) of students	No. (%) of lycées
Catalan as a school subject	519 (3.7%)	8 (53%)
Catalan bilingual education	161 (1.1%)	3 (20%)
Total receiving Catalan classes	680 (4.8%)	11 (73%)

Note. Adapted from Baylac Ferrer, 2016, p. 38)

At *lycée*, we see the same sharp distinction as at *collège* level, with 73% of institutions offering Catalan classes, but only 4.8% of students being able to take them (see table 6).

5 Vocational education

target group	Upon leaving <i>collège</i> (usually at age 14 or 15), students may then progress to a 'professional school' (<i>lycée professionnelle</i> , LP), where they can study a range of two- or three-year vocational qualifications.
structure	At LP, students may choose to follow a professional aptitude certificate (CAP) of two years, with the main objective of direct integration into the labour market as a highly skilled worker. Alternatively, there is an option of a professional studies diploma (BEP), also of two years, which often leads to completion of the professional baccalaureate stream after a third year of study. Of all baccalaureate students in 2018, 28% followed the professional pathway (Éducation Nationale, 2018f). In 2017, there were 1,456 LPs in France (834 public, 622 private) (Éducation Nationale, 2018a, p. 33).
legislation	According to the 2017 circular NOR: MENE1711397C, it is possible to study an RML as a part of the professional baccalaureate (Éducation Nationale 2017, section II). Catalan appears on the list for the professional baccalaureate optional modern language exams, as per the 2010 decree NOR: MENE1009660A, and the <i>académie</i> of Montpellier has organised these exams in recent years.
language use	See paragraph language use, section three.
teaching materials	See paragraph teaching materials, section three.
statistics	The statistics in table 6 (section 4) are composed of data from both LPs and <i>lycées généraux</i> , and therefore include all students following vocational training.

6 Higher education

structure

As mentioned above, higher education in France is divided between public universities and *grandes écoles*. During the first decade of the new millennium, the French government overhauled the university system through the implementation of the Réforme LMD. This resulted in the streamlining of different existing university programmes, following the model of three-year undergraduate programmes (*licences*), with two-year masters and three-year doctorates, thus bringing France more in line with other European countries (cf. Soulas *et al.*, 2005). The current (post-Réforme LMD) structure of higher education programmes in France is as follows:

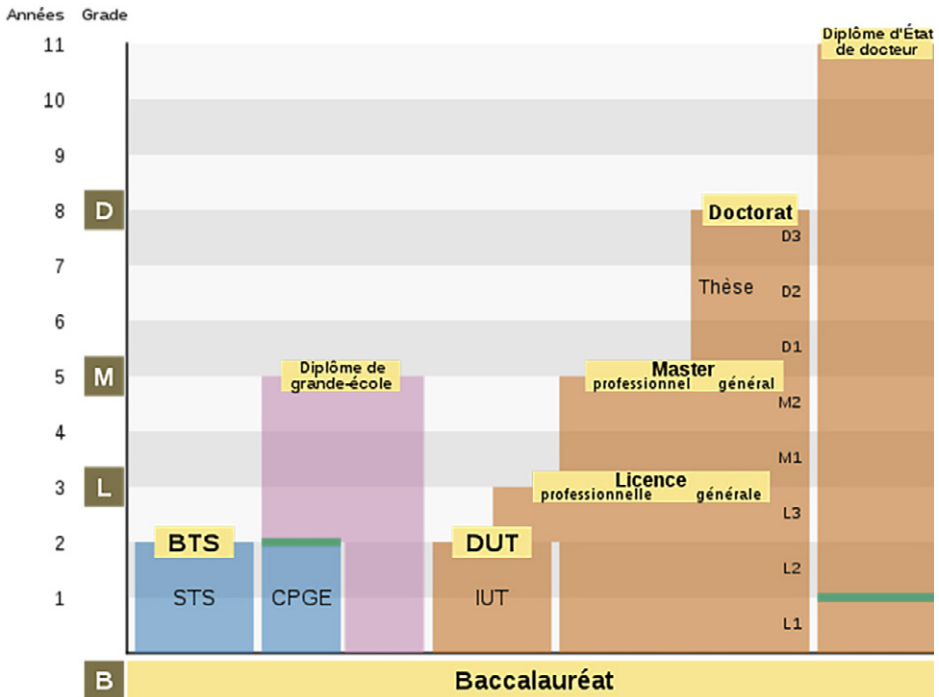


Figure 4. Higher education structure in France. From copyright Wikimedia commons, user: aymolinier (2017).

The only higher education establishment in Northern Catalonia is the public University of Perpignan Via Domitia (UPVD), which offers a broad professional and general bachelor degrees, as well as masters and doctorates. UPVD also offers technological diplomas (DUT) and access courses for prospective students who do not possess the baccalaureate (DAEU).

legislation At present, the guiding principles of higher education in France are laid out in the 2013 Law on Higher Education and Research (NOR: ESRJ1304228L), promulgated by the government of François Hollande. Article 2 states that all teaching and examination should be in French with the exception of “teaching regional and foreign languages and cultures” (MESRI, 2013, article 2.II.1).

language use The *Casa dels Països Catalans* (House of the Catalan countries) is found on the UPVD campus and is home to a number of different organisations that work together to provide Catalan language teaching for all, including the *Institut d’Estudis Catalans* (IEC), APLEC and – most importantly in the context of university teaching – the *Institut Franco-Català Transfronterer* (IFCT). The IFCT offers bachelors, masters and doctoral programmes in Catalan studies, as well as specialised teacher training and language diplomas (statistics given below). Teaching of all specialist Catalan modules at the IFCT is delivered through Catalan.

teacher training Teacher training in France takes the form of a two-year masters course (*métiers de l’enseignement, de l’éducation et de la formation*, MEEF), completed after a three-year bachelor degree. Teacher training takes place at institutes (*écoles supérieures du professorat et de l’éducation*, ESPE), where students can specialise in primary or secondary education, and pursue discipline-specific training. Northern Catalonia is found within the *académie* of Montpellier (explained in section 1), where MEEF programmes are undertaken at the ESPE-LR, which operates in partnership with four universities, including the UPVD. In parallel with this masters qualification, students are required to

undertake competitive public sector exams (*concours*) which, when passed, confer the right to apply to teaching positions. The MEEF masters can include specific preparation for these *concours* (detailed below).

pre-school training

For teacher training at école *maternelle* level, see the 'primary training' section.

primary training

There is a specialist MEEF masters which focuses on Catalan language teaching at primary level. The bulk of training on this course is provided by the ISLRF voluntary association, working in conjunction with the ESPE-LR. The final public sector exam for prospective primary school teachers (sat at the same time as the completion of the MEEF programme) is the CRPE (*concours de recrutement de professeur des écoles*), training for which is provided by the ISLRF.

secondary training

As with primary education, there is a specialist MEEF masters focusing on Catalan language teaching at secondary level. Again, the majority of training is provided by the ISLRF working with the ESPE-LR. The final public sector exam for prospective secondary school teachers (also undertaken at the end of the MEEF course) is the CAPES (*certificat d'aptitude au professorat du second degré*), training for which is provided by the IFCT at the UPVD.

in-service training

Given the lack of institutional support for RMLs in France and the unfavourable constitutional context, in-service training in Catalan is incredibly infrequent in Northern Catalonia, particularly in the light of the lack of requirement to display Catalan competence in almost all sectors. In the rare cases where knowledge of Catalan is preferred, employees can undertake a private lifelong learning course (as detailed in section 7) or travel over the border to the Autonomous Community of Catalonia,

where a far greater range of Catalan language courses is offered. Indeed, this option is often practical, with Girona (in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia) less than a hundred kilometres from Perpignan.

statistics The only higher education institution dedicated to Catalan in Northern Catalonia is the IFCT at the UPVD, which has attracted consistently impressive numbers of students for several years (see table 7).

Table 7 Enrolment on Catalan Studies Programmes in the IFCT at the UPVD in the School Year 2017/2018

Higher education programme	Students enrolled
Bachelor (Catalan Studies)	63
Masters (Catalan and International Studies)	10
Masters (MEEF, Catalan specialism)	11
Doctorate	13
University Diploma (Catalan language)	92
Total	189

Note. Adapted from IFCT, 2018.

In terms of teacher training, there is a very small number of new Catalan teaching posts made available each year upon completion of the *concours*. These are more frequently to replace colleagues who are retiring, as opposed to newly created posts. For the CRPE *concours* (to teach in public primary schools), there were 10 posts made available for RML teaching in the *académie* of Montpellier in 2018, for which only 6 appointments were made (Éducation Nationale, 2018g). Of course, Northern Catalonia only makes up a small area of the *académie*, with the vast majority comprising historically Occitan-speaking areas, and as such most of these 6 appointments will be for Occitan teachers (unfortunately, no more specific data was available). For the *certificat d'aptitude au professorat des écoles* (to teach in private primary schools who have entered into a contract of association with the State), there were 6 posts made available for RML teaching in the Montpellier *académie*, with only 4 appointments made, remembering again that most

of these will be for Occitan teachers (Éducation Nationale, 2018g). For the CAPES *concours* (to teach in public secondary schools), 3 posts are offered for Catalan teachers in 2019 (Éducation Nationale, 2018h). For an extensive discussion of how Catalan teaching staff are in woefully short supply in Northern Catalonia, see Baylac Ferrer (2016, pp. 44-48).

7 Adult education

structure and language courses

Given the lack of governmental institutional support for RMLs in France, lifelong learning of Catalan is dependent on the combined efforts of a range of external and private sector actors. The *Casa de la Generalitat* (the delegation of the government of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia) in conjunction with *Òmnium Catalunya Nord* (the local arm of a large cultural institution based in Barcelona and focused on the promotion of Catalan language and culture) offered an intensive beginners' Catalan course for adults between October 2018 and February 2019, consisting of 45 hours' language instruction, with three hours of classes per week. In 2018/19, the Spanish Centre of Perpignan also provided weekly ninety-minute Catalan language courses for adults, tailored to beginner, intermediate and advanced levels. The Catalan summer university (*Universitat Catalana d'Estiu*, UCE) was established in 1968 and runs courses in Prada (in the Conflent *comarca* of Northern Catalonia) every summer on Catalan culture and linguistics. But of course, the most important contribution to adult learning of Catalan in Northern Catalonia takes the form of the aforementioned degree programmes offered by the IFCT at the UPVD.

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language use

In light of the piecemeal nature of lifelong learning of Catalan in Northern Catalonia due to the lack of French institutional support, most of the offerings outlined here are susceptible to changes in administration and allocation of funding. It is therefore not possible to give details as to the specific pedagogical methods employed in the different types of classes available, given that these programs are subject to change each academic year. A notable exception to this overall precarity is the UCE (given its longevity), where classes have always been delivered through the medium of Catalan.

statistics

Given the fragmented nature of lifelong learning initiatives, it is difficult to provide accurate statistics regarding the uptake of adult education courses.

8 Educational research

The last half of the 2010s has seen an increase in rigorous academic scholarship concerning education in Northern Catalonia, a field that was previously overlooked, with the exception of self-published evaluations by the Bressola network and occasional surveys by the *académie* of Montpellier. By far the most detailed work to date regarding Catalan education in France was undertaken by Rita Peix at the University of Montpellier Paul Valéry. Peix (2017) constitutes a detailed ethnographic study of Catalan language teaching in Northern Catalonia, focusing on the experiences and training of educators, and issues surrounding resourcing. She underlines the need to allow teaching staff space to reflect on their practice, while encouraging the modernisation and diversification of bilingual education strategies. Peix (2017) maintains that future research on RML education in Northern Catalonia should be inspired by the most recent theoretical and pedagogical advances seen in other plurilingual situations (Luxembourg, Spain, etc.), and this can then allow for the most effective and innovative strategies to be adopted in the Catalan classroom. Baylac Ferrer (2016) comprises a detailed statistical overview of the Catalan language education offering in Northern Catalonia based on extensive survey work conducted at the IFCT, the *Enquesta d'Usos Lingüístics de Catalunya Nord* (Northern Catalonia Language Use Survey, EUL-CN) of 2015. Alà Baylac Ferrer of the IFCT presents a wealth of data from the EUL-CN, focusing on the linguistic demography of the region and views concerning RML education. He reveals that 80% of respondents were favourable to the presence of Catalan in the school system (Baylac Ferrer, 2016, pp. 37-8), which is in stark contrast to the limited offering available, as demonstrated by the statistics throughout this dossier. He therefore advocates for greater teacher training as well as an increased presence of Catalan in the media (Baylac Ferrer, 2016, p. 70) and a language policy that is more reflective of the population's desire for representation of their linguistic heritage (Baylac Ferrer, 2016, p. 66). Joan Peytaví Deixona, also of the IFCT, has published research and recommendations on the variety of Catalan to be

used in Northern Catalan classrooms (Peytaví Deixona, 2007), and recently proposed a Northern Catalan standard variety (Peytaví Deixona, 2016), suitable for domains such as RML education. Finally, James Hawkey of the University of Bristol (UK) offers a comprehensive overview of the current sociolinguistic situation in Northern Catalonia, by drawing on attitudinal questionnaire findings, fine-grained phonetic analyses and qualitative ethnographic discussions with participants. Based on these results, Hawkey (2018) evaluates Catalan language education policy in France through a comparison with a number of international benchmarks set out in the Girona Manifesto (a condensed version of the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights), and unsurprisingly finds that representation and visibility for Catalan in France is in dire need of improvement. He recommends an incremental increase in Catalan throughout the education system as well as greater representation in online media, while also suggesting that non-local varieties could be favoured in the delivery of RML education, simply due to the lack of resources available in the local (i.e. Northern) varieties of Catalan (Hawkey, 2018, pp. 201-202). In short, current research addresses issues surrounding language-in-education policy, and highlights the lack of institutional support from the French government (with its particularly harmful consequences for teacher training and materials), while also focusing on the role to be played by specifically local linguistic varieties.

9 Prospects

“La Bressola és una escletxa menuda, però una escletxa dins de l'esfera mono-idiomàtica del francès triomfant” / “The Bressola is a crack, albeit a tiny one, in the monolingual all-conquering fortress known as the French language” (La Bressola, 2007, p. 46, my translation)

The development of Catalan education in France has been remarkable, given the lack of institutional support from the French government. RML education in Northern Catalonia has always been a grass-roots movement: from the early days of the Bressola in 1976, when seven children received classes in a veterinary school on the outskirts of Perpignan, to today with close to fifteen thousand students of Catalan across the region in public and private education programmes. Private and external actors, such as APLEC, the ISLRF and the Generalitat de Catalunya have been instrumental in providing the necessary conditions and resources to deliver Catalan classes to the children of parents who have expressed a desire for the protection and promotion of this element of regional culture. The existence and continued growth of Catalan language classes is all the more impressive when one considers the restrictive French constitutional context. Article 2 states that the “language of the Republic is French”, and the centrality of the French language has far-reaching ideological consequences regarding perceptions of how RMLs should be treated. Indeed, it is for this reason that France still has not ratified the ECRML, as discussed in section 1. While the French constitution was amended in 2008 to include article 75.1, stating that “regional languages belong to the cultural heritage of France” (Conseil Constitutionnel 2008), practical support for the teaching of RMLs is still not forthcoming (cf. Hawkey and Kasstan, 2015). While legislation exists to stipulate national guidelines for RML education, the content of such government texts is not amenable to effective language learning, given restrictions placed on RML classes in terms of hours, and the fact that implementation is always contingent on micro-level decisions regarding foreign language teaching. Importantly, this government legislature

does not come with guarantees of the appropriate funding required to meet specific challenges faced by RML situations in France, namely the need to create, develop and adapt learning resources, etc.

Regarding directions for the future, it is very difficult to see how RML teaching in France can develop further, short of a major constitutional overhaul. The main stumbling blocks to a more widespread offering of Catalan language teaching are due to a lack of funding for teacher training and school resources, as well as limited government teaching posts being made available each year. This is all a result of centuries of centralist French language policy which promotes the ideology that only one language is suitable for all facets of life in France, i.e. French. And yet, as the EUL-CN shows, residents of Northern Catalonia want there to be a greater presence of Catalan in education and daily life. They want greater diversity in education and for the future situation of Catalan to improve. However, in the current context, RML education in Northern Catalonia is limited to the sterling work of grass-roots initiatives, help from local government (many studies have been co-financed at the level of the *département* and the *région*), and cross-border co-operation strategies driven by the Generalitat de Catalunya. While the work undertaken by these groups is undeniably commendable, for any substantive growth in the vitality of the Catalan language in France, there needs to be meaningful support from the French government in terms of financing resources and training for Catalan language teaching, something that is unlikely in the foreseeable future.

10 Summary statistics

Table 1 Number of speakers of Catalan in Northern Catalonia

Total inhabitants (2015)	Catalan speakers	Can understand Catalan
369,590	130,979 (35.4%)	225,445 (61%)

Note. Speaker number data for the year 2015. Adapted from Generalitat de Catalunya *et al.*, 2015, chapter 4.

Table 2 Presence of Catalan in Pre-School Education in the School Year 2014/2015

Type of instruction	Number of students	Number of pre-schools
Catalan as a school subject	3,320	46
Catalan bilingual education	901	20

Note. Data adapted from Baylac Ferrer, 2016, p. 38, p. 48.

Table 3 Presence of Catalan in Elementary Schools in the School Year 2014/2015

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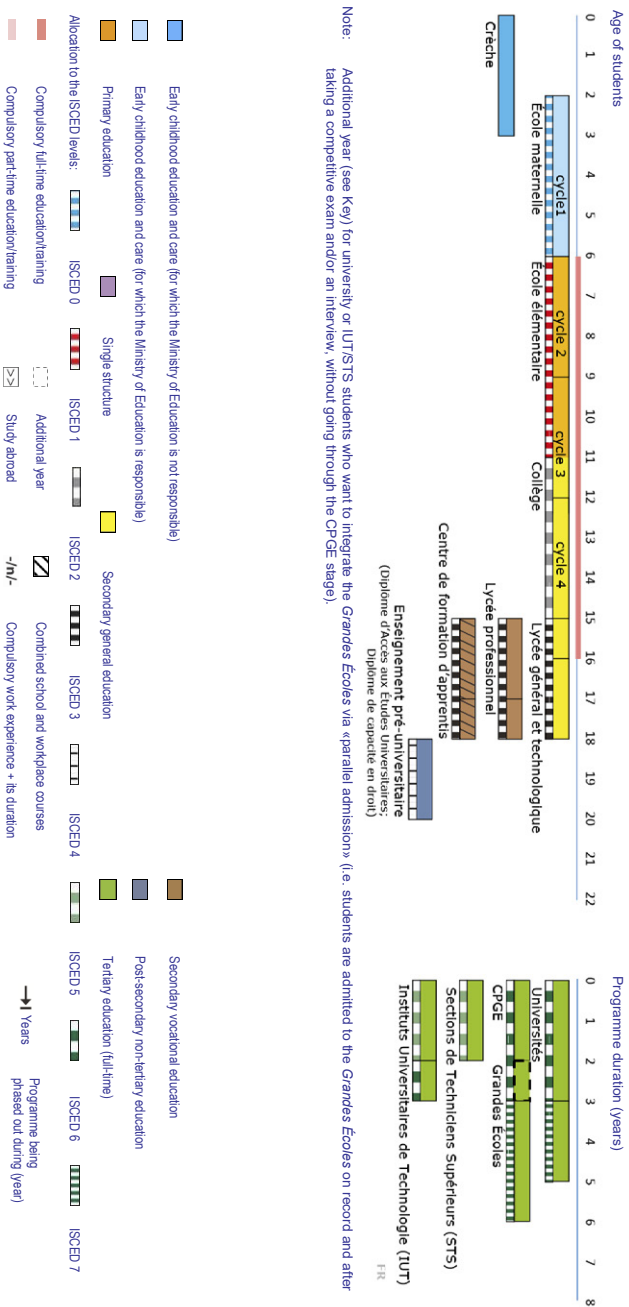
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Masters (MEEF, Catalan specialism)	11
Doctorate	13
University Diploma (Catalan language)	92
Total	189

Note. Adapted from IFCT, 2018.

The structure of the education system in France 2018/2019



Note: Additional year (see Key) for university or IUT/STS students who want to integrate the Grandes Ecoles via «parallel admissions» (i.e. students are admitted to the Grandes Ecoles on record and after taking a competitive exam and/or an interview, without going through the CPGE stage).

Source: Eurydice (2018/ 2019)

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Bibliothèque Bernard Nicolau
(Extensive library for those interested in Northern Catalan culture)

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W <http://www.mediatheques.perpignanmediterraneemetropole.fr/in/fr/les-bibliotheques-lecture-publique/bernard-nicolau>.

Casa de la Generalitat a Perpinyà
(Delegation of the regional government of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia)

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W http://presidencia.gencat.cat/ca/ambits_d_actuacio/casa_de_la_generalitat_a_perpinya/. Twitter: @casagovperpinya.

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Centro Español de Perpignan
(Spanish cultural centre in Perpignan)

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E centroespanol@yahoo.fr
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DSDEN des Pyrénées-Orientales
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ISLRF

(Voluntary association that manages RML teacher training programmes)

Maison de la vie associative – boîte 116

15 rue du Général Marguerite

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E contact@islrf.org

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La Bressola

(Network of Catalan-medium schools in Northern Catalonia)

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E escoles@bressola.cat
W <http://www.bressola.cat>
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La Llibreria Catalana

(Catalan bookshop in Perpignan)

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66000 Perpinyà
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Ràdio Arrels

(Catalan language radio station in Northern Catalonia)

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W <https://www.radioarrels.cat>
Twitter: @RadioARRELS

UCE – Fundació Universitat Catalana d'Estiu

(Catalan summer university that takes place annually in Prades, Northern Catalonia)

Gran Via de les Corts Catalanes 600, 3r 2a
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Twitter: @UCE_CAT.

Other websites on minority languages

Mercator www.mercator-research.eu

Research Centre Homepage of the Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning. The website contains the series of Regional dossiers, a database with organisations, a bibliography, information on current activities, and many links to relevant websites.

Mercator www.mercator-network.eu

Network General site of the Mercator European Network of Language Diversity Centres. It gives information about the network and leads you to the homepages of the network partners.

European <http://ec.europa.eu/languages>

Commission The website of the European Commission gives information about the EU's support for language diversity.

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Council of <http://conventions.coe.int>

Europe European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992) and Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1995). European Treaty Series 148 and 157, Strasbourg.

Eurydice <http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice>

Eurydice is the information network on education in Europe. The site provides information on all European education systems and education policies.

European Parliament Committee – supporting analyses database

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/supporting-analyses-search.html>.

In this database you will find research papers produced by the European Parliament's research service. A study for the CULT Committee, conducted by Mercator, is published in 2017: *Minority Languages and Education: Best Practices and Pitfalls*.

NPLD

<http://www.npld.eu>

The Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity (NPLD) is a European wide network working in the field of language policy & planning for Constitutional, Regional and Small-State Languages (CRSS) across Europe

FUEN

<https://www.fuen.org>

The Federal Union of European Nationalities is the umbrella organisation of the autochthonous, national minorities/ethnic groups in Europe and represents the interests of European minorities on regional, national and European level.

ELEN

<https://elen.ngo/>

The European Language Equality Network (ELEN) is a non-governmental organisation that has as its goal to promote and protect European lesser-used languages, (RMLs), to work towards linguistic equality for these languages, and multilingualism, under the broader framework of human rights, and to be a voice for the speakers of these languages at all levels

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