

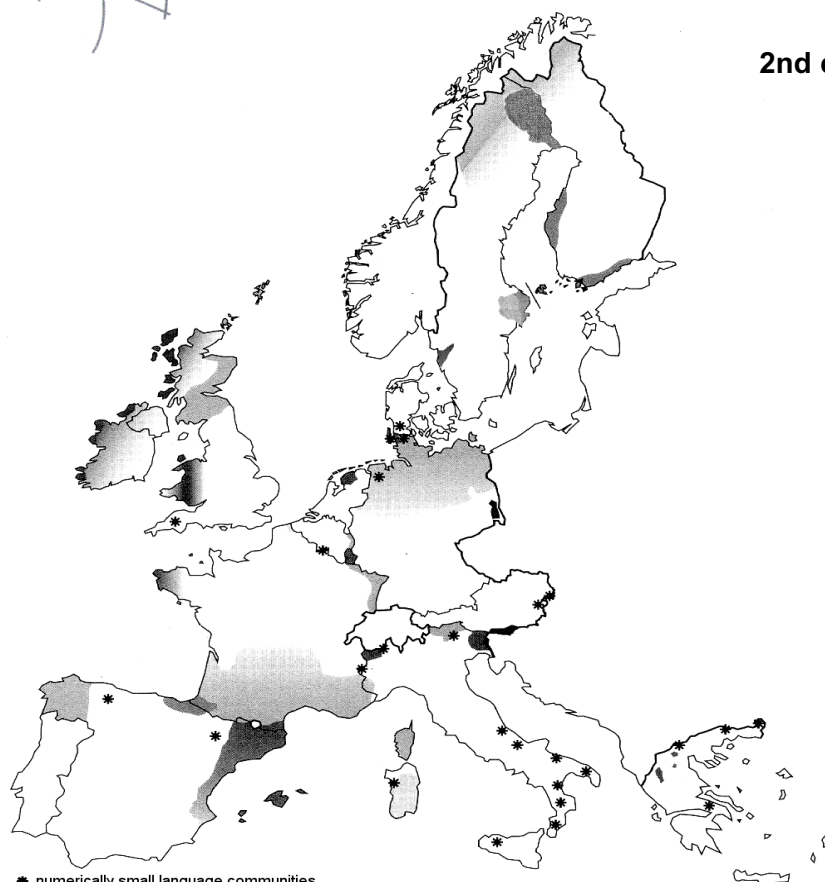


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Breton

The Breton language in education in France

2nd edition



* numerically small language communities

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Alie van der Schaaf has been responsible for the publication of the Mercator regional dossier series from 1999 onwards.

Glossary

<i>CDDP</i>	<i>Centre Départemental de Documentation Pédagogique</i> [Departmental Centre of Pedagogical Documentation]
<i>DDEC</i>	Direction Diocésane pour l'Éducation Catholique [Diocesan Direction for Catholic Education]
<i>INSEE</i>	<i>Institut Nationale de la Statistique et des Études Économiques</i> [National Institute of Statistics and Economical Studies]
<i>IUFM</i>	<i>Institut Universitaire de Formation des Maîtres</i> [University Institute of Teacher Training]
<i>OaB</i>	<i>Ofis ar Brezhoneg</i> [Breton Language Office]
<i>RLS</i>	Reversing Language Shift, referring to J. Fishman's 1991 theories on language regeneration
<i>TES</i>	<i>Ti-embann ar Skolioù Brezhonek</i> [Breton schools' publishing house]

Prefatory Notes

For the purposes of this dossier the department of Loire-Atlantique, containing the former Breton capital Nantes, is included as part of Brittany. It was annexed by the Vichy government during World War II as part of a new French region 'Pays de Loire'. It is important to include it because of the general RLS effort there and the contribution it makes at all levels of Breton education.

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Foreword

background

For several years now, Mercator-Education has made efforts to achieve one of its principal goals: to gather, store and distribute information on minority language education in European regions. Regional or minority languages are languages which differ from the official language of the state where they are spoken and which are traditionally used within a given territory by nationals of that state forming a group numerically smaller than the rest of the state's population.

To date, Mercator-Education has been successful in establishing a computerised data bank containing bibliographic data, information about people and organisations involved with minority language issues. It has published data collected during four inventory studies on pre-school education, primary education, learning materials and teacher training. In addition there is a need for documents stating briefly the most essential features of the educational system of regions with an autochthonous lesser used language. With the establishment of regional dossiers we intend to meet this need.

aim

Regional dossiers aim at providing concise descriptive information and basic educational statistics about minority language education in a specific region of the European Union. This kind of information, such as features of the educational system, recent educational policies, division of responsibilities, main actors, legal arrangements, support structures, and also quantitative information on the number of schools, teachers, pupils and financial investments, can serve several purposes.

target group

Policy makers, researchers, teachers, students and journalists may use the information provided to assess developments in European minority language schooling. They can also use a regional dossier as a first orientation towards

further research or as a source of ideas for improving educational provision in their own region.

link with EURYDICE

In order to link these regional descriptions with those of national educational systems, it was decided to follow the format used by EURYDICE, the European education information network in the European Union. EURYDICE provides information on the administration and structure of education in member states of the European Union. The information provided in the regional dossiers is focussed on language use at the various levels of education.

contents

The remainder of this dossier consists firstly of an introduction to the region under study, followed by six sections each dealing with a specific level of the educational system. These brief descriptions contain factual information presented in a readily accessible way. Sections eight to ten cover research, prospects and summary statistics. For detailed information and political discussions about language use at the various levels of education, the reader is referred to other sources with a list of publications.

1

Introduction

language

Breton, or Brezhoneg, is an indigenous Celtic language spoken mainly in western Brittany, but also spoken in the main cities in east called *Breizh Uhel* 'Upper Brittany'. Traditionally it is the language of a large part of Brittany, but over the centuries the linguistic border gradually moved westwards. Linguistically, Breton forms part of the Brittonic branch of the Celtic languages, to which Welsh and Cornish also belong. It is commonly agreed upon that Breton is made up of four dialects: *Kerneveg*, *Leoneg*, *Tregerieg* and *Gwenedeg*. A modern unified form without a particular geographic basis has evolved in the last fifty years known as KTLG after the initials of the four dialects. KLT was formed in 1907. However, in 1941 *Gwenedeg*

(Vannetais) was included so laying the basis for today's unified form.

As a language of the Brittonic branch the similarities with Cornish and Welsh are still obvious, even though French has influenced Breton more recently.

population

At the beginning of World War I, the Breton-speaking parts of Brittany had *c.* 900,000 monoglot Breton-speakers, with some 400,000 bilinguals. There were only 50,000 unable to speak Breton.

Today, of a total population of some 4,040, 463,¹ it is estimated that about 295,000 can speak Breton to some extent as well as French.² Only half of them speak Breton on an everyday basis and the vast majority of these are over the age of sixty. These are estimates, for the French authorities do not include questions about language in the general censuses. This age profile underlines the urgent need for an education led strategy which will provide new speakers for the language as well as the reinforcement of the inter-generational transmission, otherwise in the next ten years numbers will fall to around 50,000. At the time of writing there seems little hope that such a strategy will be forthcoming from the French government.

Most Breton schoolchildren and young people, while identifying with being Breton and supporting the language regeneration effort, have never been taught in or about the language at school even though many Breton young people in western Brittany will say that their grandparents speak Breton. Despite this effort, few will actually learn to become speakers. This is the heart of the matter, the widespread breakdown in intergenerational language transmission from the pre-war generation to the post-war 1960s generation, the parents of today's children, as society went from being Breton speaking to French speaking. As with Welsh an older generation decided not to transmit their language while the 1960s generation abandoned the language to become more Parisian, more 'modern', and, as

they assumed, more employable. This rapid changeover can be identified because so many western Breton young people speak French with a Parisian French accent.

Several factors have contributed to account for the decrease in numbers of speakers:

- social and economic developments: most Breton-speakers were farmers, fishermen and people in the rural areas, Breton was affected particularly by economic changes such as migration towards the cities in the last 30 years.
- Since the French revolution the Breton language has been persecuted by the French State. The attitude of the French authorities has been consistent in this and it is helpful to mention how the persecution came about. In 1794 Bertrand Barère (member of the revolutionary Committee of Public Safety) stated: 'Federalism and superstition speak Breton, emigration and hatred of the Republic speak German, counter-revolution speaks Italian and fanaticism speaks Basque. Let us break these instruments of injury and error. The language of a free people must be one and the same for all'.

Abbé Gregoire (1794) in his 'Report on the necessity of obliterating the patois and universalising the use of the French language' summed up the linguistic situation where French was a minority language itself with only 15% speaking French as a mother tongue at the time. He stated: 'the patois (Occitan, Provençal and all non-standard forms of French), together with Breton and Basque, represent the barbarism of centuries past and need to be obliterated and replaced by standard French'.

In 1925 the French Minister of Education declared: 'For the linguistic unity of France, the Breton language must disappear'. In the 1950s the infamous official warning signs appeared in schools declaring 'No spitting on the ground or speaking Breton'.

In 1972, Mr Georges Pompidou, then President of France, stated that there was no place for regional languages in

France. Such official attitudes are reflected in various legislation³ to the extent that the French state has been criticised as conducting a campaign aimed at eradicating Breton.

- the exclusion of Breton from most language domains; the decision-making process, the media, administration and education.

language status

The factors listed above have led to Breton becoming a threatened language. In the last twenty years the official attitude has changed on the surface. It is no longer politically acceptable to attempt to belittle regional languages. However, in many cases state representatives have declared that, although they would be willing, it is now too late to save the 'regional' languages. In addition, the November 2002 decision to block the inclusion of the Diwan schools from the public sector reflects a 'jacobin' reality little changed from that of 1794.

In contrast, during the final period of Jospin's administration the Education Minister, Jack Lang, signalled a short-lived change in the State's attitude toward regional languages. One result of this was that an agreement had been reached whereby the Diwan schools were to be included in the public education sector. However, as mentioned above, this progress was blocked by the intervention of the Conseil d'Etat following complaints from several reactionary jacobiniste trade unions.⁴ The decision by the State has left all regional language bilingual education in France open to attack from reactionary forces seeking to enforce the arbitrary law that French is the only language of the Republic. One example of the 'knock-on' effect of the state's decision has been the threatened closure of the St Nazaire Diwan school by the Mairie of St Nazaire which felt that it could not continue to support a school and a method of education deemed 'anti-constitutional' by the State.⁵

status of language in education

Since the Deixonne law (1951) and subsequent implementation measures, Breton language and culture may be taught for one to three hours a week in public education if the teacher is willing and able to do it. Therefore, extra teaching hours are offered outside the curriculum.

In addition, there are some public and Catholic schools which have adopted bilingual streams or are totally bilingual. These bilingual streams at public schools are promoted by two private initiatives: *Div-Yezh* and *Dihun* (see under support structures), and have worked out their own bilingual education schemes.⁶ Bilingual sections at public education institutes can be created upon the request of at least fifteen parents with the consent of the mayor.

The most favourable authority towards the promotion of Breton is the Finistère *département*, which allots money (2.000.000 euros for 2002) every year to the maintenance of bilingual classes and the development of learning materials. The director of the *Académie* of Rennes launched the idea of drafting a cultural charter for all public schools, which should promote the cultural identity of Brittany in teaching, not only by integrating a regional interpretation to subjects already taught, but to also enhance the possibilities of teaching Breton.

Diwan

One organization, which deserves special attention in the framework of education is Diwan (lit. 'seed'). *Diwan* is an organisation of parents and teachers who wish to create cultural surroundings favouring the Breton language by means of schools. In practice it functions as a network of Breton language schools comparable to the *Ikastola* in the Basque Country or the *Calandretas* in Occitania. The network started in 1977 providing education at pre-primary and primary levels and later on, in 1988, also at secondary level. The *Diwan* schools have had a constant yearly increase in pupils of around 17%. In 1997, the first pupils at *Diwan* schools passed their *baccalauréat* exam. There are currently (2003) 164 students at the *lise* / *lycée* level.

The educational practice of these schools is based on a pedagogical principle of immersion education, where the children are educated through the medium of Breton with French being introduced in the second year. *Diwan* wishes to continue the principle of immersion to make real bilingualism possible. French is, however, also a teaching vehicle in secondary *Diwan* schools. It is *Diwan*'s aim to realize a conceptualization competence at the end of pre-primary school and full bilingualism at the end of the elementary school.

Its principles as to teaching philosophy are explained in a Charter.⁷ In 1994 *Diwan* signed a contract with the State and since that time *Diwan* schools have the status of private schools under agreement (according to the Debré Law). The State pays the salaries of primary school teachers but not of support staff members, such as administrative personnel.

However, whenever *Diwan* wishes to create new schools the State will only start supporting it after it has been running for five years. This policy obviously makes the creation of new schools very difficult. It is the aim of *Diwan* to become part of the public education system.

education system

The French education system is largely state-controlled although some decentralization measures were taken in the eighties.

School attendance is compulsory from six to sixteen, but children may be accepted into schools from the age of two. All compulsory school levels follow a curriculum. A basic principle is free public education and the opportunity for every young person to take up vocational training before he or she leaves the system.⁸ During the period of compulsory education, payment of family allowances to parents is subject to registration and regular school attendance of their children. It is important to note that the percentage of early schooling is very high in Brittany. In the late 1990s it was 92% compared to 85% for France, now 99,6% for Brittany. Curricula are being made centrally for all levels of

compulsory schooling. During the period of compulsory education, payment of family allowances to parents is subject to registration and the regular school attendance of their children.

public and private

In its constitution, France advocates the idea of state education in order to promote the ideology of the Republic itself. All teachers are paid by the national government through its Public Education Department (*Education Nationale*). Alongside the public education system, there are various categories of private schools in Brittany. The most common ones are the confessional, Catholic schools. In most cases these schools have signed a contract with the State, allowing them substantial support for teachers' salaries and teacher-training. However, such schools must adhere to timetables and curricula applied to public education. They rely on the Diocesan Direction for Catholic Education (DDEC). The percentage of pupils schooled through Catholic education is quite high in Brittany with some 40% of all pupils attending this form of private schooling.⁹

A special case is formed by *Diwan*, the Breton immersion schools, which will be discussed separately.

administration

There are four administrative levels in France: state, region, department and local community. At state level the Ministry of Education has almost total control: it defines the educational guidelines and curricula, the approval of diplomas, and the recruitment, training and administration of staff. The State produces regulations on questions of management and supervision with which the majority of private schools are also required to comply. Through the decentralization laws of 1982 the French tradition of Parisian presence everywhere in the education system changed and the role of the regions, departments and local communities increased a little. Nowadays, the regions are responsible for building and maintaining the premises of upper secondary schools (*lycées*) and institutes for

vocational training. Departments have the same responsibility for schools for lower secondary education (*collèges*). Local communities or town councils are responsible for primary schools.

académie

A particular characteristic of the French educational system is the administrative unit of education, the *académie*. The 28 units roughly correspond to the 22 regions of France. In each *académie* the director (*recteur*) who represents the Ministry of Education is responsible for the management of primary and secondary schools and for the enforcement of national regulations within the territory of the *académie*. The area of Breton speech lies in the territory of two *académies*: i.e. *Académie* of Rennes (for the four *départements* Côtes d'Armor, Finistère, Ille-et-Vilaine and Morbihan) and the *Académie* of Nantes for the *département* of Loire-Atlantique.

There have been discussions about integrating the plans for regional language and culture within the two *académies*, but with no result.

inspection

The General Inspectorate assesses the school curriculum, the exams and the competitive higher examinations in the name of the Ministry. General Inspectors are appointed by school subject or by administrative service. At the level of the *académie* the director is supported by Regional Pedagogic Inspectors, who assess teaching at secondary schools. In each *département*, an inspector of the *académie* applies ministerial directives (and those of the director of the *Académie*) and manages primary school education. These inspectors are in charge of the assessment of primary school and lower secondary teachers and they are assisted by pedagogical counsellors. Such Inspectors function in the area of the *Académie* of Rennes. For Catholic schools, inspection and counselling services fall under the responsibility of the DDEC.

Specific mention should be made of the Catholic education board in Finistère, which adopted a Charter for Bilingual

Education for all school levels, following the example of *Diwan*. This Charter gives a useful insight into the structure and extension of Breton at Catholic bilingual schools.¹⁰

support structures

There are several advisory bodies related to the different levels of education. They give advice, make proposals and provide the Ministry of National Education with information about various educational topics.¹¹ Specific support for Breton is provided by *TES* (*Ti-embann ar Skolioù Brezhonek*), a publishing house for the bilingual and Breton-language schools which has functioned as a section of the *Centre Départemental de Documentation Pédagogique* (CDDP) since 1993.

TES is funded by the State, the Breton region and the *département* Côtes-d'Armor as well as by a range of private institutions, such as publishers and cultural organisations.

TES functions for all three streams: public, Catholic and *Diwan* and it publishes some five to six text books every year as well as some audio-visual materials in collaboration with the Universities.

Catholic schools have their own counselling service for primary and secondary levels. In Finistère this service employs two teachers who help other teachers on bilingual programmes and the teaching of Breton as well as in the preparation of learning material.

The organization of Breton teachers (U.G.B.) comprises of teachers who wish to expand the teaching of Breton at all school levels and wish to have the control over education transferred to the region.

The creation of bilingual streams in both public and Catholic education is being supported by parents' organizations, regarding *Div Yezh* and *Dihun*. These form lobbies to convince local authorities or school boards to set up bilingual streams, help find teachers, help bear extra costs and produce materials.

2

Pre-school education

target group

Education Nationale finances schooling for two to six year-old children, either in *classes enfantines* within the primary school, or in separate nursery schools, *écoles maternelles*. Pre-primary schooling is optional in France, but 99.6% of the children aged three attend such pre-primary schools. The schools are divided in three sections. It is important to note that most pre-primary schools are merged with the elementary schools into primary education. Therefore when using Breton sources the figures offered for primary education usually include the pre- primary level.

legislation

The framework law on education of 10th July 1989 states that every child at the age of three should be admitted to a nursery school near to his or her home, however, this is not an obligation. In rural areas there are peripatetic teachers to cater for the small numbers of pupils. Teaching takes up around 26 hours per week. According to the law teachers at pre-primary level receive the same training as teachers in elementary schools. The 1951 Deixonne law meant that regional language and culture may be taught from one to three hours per week if the teacher wishes to volunteer and, of course, is able to do so.

language use

In nearly all of pre-school education, French is the medium of instruction in Brittany. Only some nursery schools make use of the legal possibility to spend one to three hours a week on regional language and culture. Outside of school activities the use of Breton is lower, even at schools paying particular attention to Breton, due to the fact that Breton is the home language for only a small percentage of the pupils.

Breton as a medium of instruction

At pre-primary classes of public bilingual schools children have fifteen hours of activities in French and twelve hours in Breton. There are also classes with more Breton used in

the classroom in such schools. All activities directed towards reading are done in French. More recently, analogous bilingual pre-primary classes were also created in Catholic schools. According to the earlier mentioned Charter for Bilingual Education such bilingual preprimaries must be open to everyone, irrespective of his/her home language. A further 49 Catholic preprimaries (and lower sections at primary schools) make use of Breton as a more or less formal subject in Finistère.

But most pre-primary schools where Breton is used as a medium of instruction are *Diwan* schools, and these are mainly based in towns all over Brittany from Nantes to Brest and from Rennes to Quimper. The child is immersed in a totally Breton language environment, so it can quickly understand the language, and then speak it effectively. Reading activities leading towards literacy training are also conducted in Breton at *Diwan* schools.

instruction material

Instruction material in Breton is mainly prepared by the teachers, but some associations or private organizations develop and distribute educational material themselves, such as *Diwan* and the Catholic resource centre S.F.P.P. It should be mentioned that TES produces an anthology of nursery rhymes for the pre-school level called *Enora*, which has had a great deal of success and it continues to produce new material.

statistics

For the preprimary (pré élémentaire) for 2002-2003 *Diwan* has 1,054 pupils, Public bilingual 1,525 and Catholic bilingual 1,250 giving a total of 3,829. It shows a 7.8% increase on the previous year.

3

Primary education

target group

Since 1995, the programmes for pre-primary and elementary schools have been integrated into the new primary schools with three learning cycles. The first two years make

up the first learning cycle. Then, starting with the last year of pre-primary school up to the second grade of elementary school, the basic learning cycle, and the last three years of primary school form the consolidation cycle. In the first of these learning cycles stress is put on general development and discovery. In the second one the stress is put on language acquisition. In the third cycle the various subjects are taught to prepare pupils for access to *collège*.

legislation

Primary education is governed by the framework law on education of 10th July 1989 and by decree no. 90-788 of 6th September 1990, which establishes its organization and functioning. School attendance is free of charge and allows pupils to make use of, and develop, their cognitive and sensitive skills in manual, physical and artistic activities. The primary school comprises five classes with 24-26 hours of teaching per week. National curricula are established only for compulsory subjects. As mentioned above, the 1951 Deixonne law means that regional language and culture may be taught from one to three hours per week depending on the teacher.

language use

As stated above with pre-primary education, most elementary schools use only French. There are, however, public and private schools with bilingual streams. There are also Diwan schools, which use Breton almost exclusively. The use of Breton in informal situations is quite low apart from the Diwan schools.

*Breton as a medium
of instruction*

Teaching through the medium of Breton makes up half of the teaching time in bilingual public and Catholic schools. In the public bilingual schools two systems have been adopted, either a regrouping of those pupils in bilingual sections at certain times of the day with a Breton speaking teacher or, a bilingual teacher who uses alternatively Breton and French according to a fixed time schedule. Some bilingual schools use Breton for teaching mathematics, others use Breton for other subjects. There is no fixed

schedule according to which a specific language should be the medium of instruction of a specific subject. In Catholic schools, Breton is very commonly used as a medium of instruction for religion, but there are no fixed rules. Breton is used for 6-12 hours. There is a difference between the Catholic and public bilingual schools concerning the teachers involved: while in Catholic bilingual schools normally one teacher uses only one language, thus having two teachers teaching at different moments, in public schools the system of one teacher who uses both Breton and French at different times is more frequent. A survey from 1994 showed that some 5% of the parents in the *département* Finistère wish to send their children to a bilingual school if the opportunity is given. First literacy training through Breton is taught only at the Diwan schools, while Catholic and public bilingual schools start with reading in French. In Diwan schools there is a strict rule that one teacher uses only one language, even if this means a sharing of teachers between different classes. The number of hours taught in Breton goes from 14 in the lowest class to 18 in the highest.

Breton as a subject

Catholic bilingual schools try to use mainly unified Breton, although some attention is paid to local dialects. In Finistère the Catholic school board appoints a teaching assistant if a teacher able to teach Breton cannot be found, thus securing the level of language teaching. A less committed form of teaching 'initiation' is carried out by peripatetic teachers.¹²

research

Research has been done by the *Académie* of Rennes comparing the results of the immersion system and those of the bilingual programmes. The results of the survey are not available.

teachers

Finding teachers able to teach Breton or through Breton is a major problem. It can be explained by the fact that the Ministry of Education does not recognize the specificity of

Breton language teacher training at state exams and there are hardly any incentives for the extra burden which bilingual teaching places on teachers.

instruction material

Some organizations publish material (*An Here, Skol Vreizh, Skolig ar Louarn*). The teachers of *Diwan* have done a lot of work to create material necessary for the immersion teaching.

In 1994 the organization TES was created which publishes Breton books for various school subjects, in particular for mathematics teaching. There are also cassettes and CD-Roms. Free copies of these books are sent to all schools with Breton language courses.

statistics

In the area covered by the Academie of Rennes there are (2002) 192,611 pupils in *ecole primaire* schools, a further 71,358 in private primary schools.¹³ The number of those who attend either 'initiation' or 'Breton Culture' is estimated to be from 6,000 to 15,000 according to various sources.

For the 2002/2003 academic year the figures at the primary level have not been published because of a strike by school directors in the primary stage of education. However, in Finistère, because of the policy carried out by the General Council of Finistère where the beginners' courses at the primary stage are organised by various associations such as *Mervent, Sked*, and *an Oaled*, we have the following figures for 2002-2003. Approximately 6,000 primary pupils are taking beginners Breton in Finistère, while an estimated 15,000 across Brittany are taking Breton courses at both the primary and secondary stage of education. It is important to note that schools are never assessed as to this form of teaching.

Those attending Breton medium education at the elementary (*élémentaire*) level for 2002-2003 are *Diwan* 1,073, Public bilingual 1,073, Catholic bilingual 1,053 giving a total of 3,199. It shows an increase of 12.8% on the pre-

vious year. Including those at pre-elementary level the total is 7,028. Nine new sites were opened in September 2002 with five of these in Penn ar Bed (Finistere). Two proposed openings were refused by the authorities. The 7,028 attending Breton medium primary education is out of 182, 015 attending primary school (public and private) in the Academie of Rennes area accounting for [2%] of the primary population.

2003-2004

The figures at the beginning of the school year 2003-4 show continued growth for those entering the Dihun and Div Yezh primary schools. Dihun increased thier numbers by 376 to 2,679, opening two new sites at Josselin and Locmine. Div Yezh have increased the numbers entering their primary stream by 299 to 3,243, opening two new sites at Chateauneuf and Plouzane.

Diwan numbers for the first time showed a small fall dropping by 0.40% from 2768 to 2757 while their secondary sector increased from 641 to 728, a rise of 13.57%. At the time of writing Diwan is facing a cash shortfall and is only able to pay its teachers up until December 2003. However, this is expected to be overcome as some of the schools will have, by 2004, been in operation for five years and so Diwan will be able to pay for its teachers from the public purse. Nevertheless, it may be argued that the various acts taken by the State against the Diwan schools are having two effects. Firstly, the non-inclusion in the public sector is directly impacting on Diwan's financial well being making it potentially unable even to keep up with current provision let alone plan ahead for expansion. Secondly, the effect of the State's actions, which has given rise to the implication that somehow Breton immersion is 'illegal' for example, must be impacting on parental confidence leading to doubts and uncertainty for those who want to put their children through the Diwan system. Similar situations have occurred elsewhere in Europe when there is financial uncertainty e.g. with Scottish Gaelic. Needless to say, any fall in

parental confidence in an institution like Diwan could be extremely damaging.

4 Secondary education

structure

Secondary education is divided into two levels. The lower level, or *collège* has four grades for the 12 to 15 year-olds and is compulsory for everyone. It gives access to either vocational education, or *lycée*. In the last year of *collège* pupils can choose to specialize between either humanities or technology.

The *lycées* (16 to 18 years) form the upper level of secondary education (with three main types for general education: literary, scientific and economic); other types are technical *lycées* (subdivided into several specializations) and vocational *lycées* (to which agricultural *lycées* can be added). They all prepare for the *baccalauréat* or for a technical certificate.

legislation

With the law of 11th July 1975 *collèges* were created enabling a preparation of a general nature within compulsory education. They have the status of local public institutions. Weekly teaching covers 22-28 hours per week. The *lycées* are non-compulsory secondary schools and they give admission to higher education. Weekly teaching time is between 29.5 and 31.5 hours per week. There is an official measure in which facilitates the choice of a regional language for the *baccalauréat*.¹⁴

language use

Breton as a medium of instruction

Bilingual streams include 15 hours of teaching in French and 12 hours in Breton per week in *collège* and 6-7 hours through the medium of Breton in *lycée*, with a different teacher for each language and with some subjects taught in Breton (like history and geography, music and of course Breton language). Since 1997 it has been possible to sit the

exam of history and geography in Breton (started as an experiment in Lannion).

At Diwan schools Breton forms the main medium of teaching. It is used for some two thirds of teaching time, especially with history, geography, natural sciences, mathematics, drawing, sports, music, and computer sciences, but English is also introduced as a teaching language in some classes of the *collège* e.g. for biology courses. The Breton language milieu is strengthened by the fact that the *collèges* of Diwan function as boarding schools with students coming from relatively long distances (e.g. from Nantes to Vannes).

Breton as a subject

Although still a marginal subject, Breton has made progress in this sector and is offered in an increasing number of schools (see summary statistics).

In lower secondary education, there are five options as to the amount of Breton taught:

- *Breton culture*: aspects of Breton culture taught with other subjects, a less demanding subject.
- *initiation*: this is studied for (2002-3) by 2,760 pupils at public and 2,008 at private secondary schools. Initiation comprises an hour or two of Breton per week.

These are the official figures published by the Rennes Academie. There is no exam which recognises this subject. However, after the first four years of Collège, the exam for the Certificate of History and Geography can be taken in Breton following a ministerial judgement on 23rd June 1994.

- *optional subject*. From the first year of *collège* on, Breton can be offered as an optional subject to a limit of three hours per week, but normally it is limited to one hour. There is no systematic evaluation of the results of this teaching. One problem with Breton as an option is that school planners place the subject at lunch break 12.30 or after school 17.30, such times are unlikely to attract children.

- *second/third modern language*. The language can also be chosen as a second modern language in the third and fourth year of *collège*, normally with 2 to 3 hours of teaching per week. For this there is an exam. Recently there has been a real decline in the number of colleges offering Breton.
- Breton is not included in any European studies courses.
- Breton in *bilingual* education: the schools themselves decide the amount of Breton taught. Normally the number of teaching hours equals the second modern language option but it is more intensive.

As for upper secondary education, only 1,007 (*collège* + *lycée*, 2002-3) students have chosen the option 'Breton language' (usually two hours per week out of school hours). It can also be studied as a second or third modern language or just as an optional subject, which means that it is taught outwith normal school hours (see below for numbers). In 1996 an assessment of the bilingual systems took place showing that the level of competence in French between monolingual and bilingual students is quite comparable. However, the results have not been made public. A contest of awareness about Brittany and the Bretons is organized for all students in Catholic secondary education.

instruction material

A method for students at *collège* 'Plouz Foenñ ...war an hent' is in use for students at lower secondary schools at the beginners level. There is also a method for beginners at *lycée* 'Ni a gomz brezhoneg' and a text book for Breton literature called 'Lagad an Hed'. All of these methods and books are published by TES. A working group for Diwan secondary schools published some 33 manuals in Breton for a large variety of subjects.

statistics

For 2002-2003 Diwan had 504 pupils at *collège* with 137 at *lycée*; public bilingual, 268 at college and 78 at *lycée*; Catholic bilingual has 156 at *collège*. Overall it marks a 16.6% increase at the college level and a 6% increase at the

lycée level from the year before.¹⁵ For the year 2003-4 Diwan has 564 at college and 164 at lycée, marking an 14% increase overall.

The different courses teaching Breton as a subject for 2002-2003 in Brittany at lycée and collège level, public and private¹⁶ show an increase on the year overall.

	2001-2002	2002-2003
Initiation	4,713	4,768
Option	1,344	1,007
Second / third modern language (LV2, LV3)	460	825
Breton intensive (LV1 bis)	131	193
Total	6,648	6,793

Table 1: Figures of pupils in different courses Breton

However, it is important to consider that the 2002-3 total accounts for only about 2% of the entire Breton collège and lycée population of 395,562.

5 Vocational education

Under the French education system it is the responsibility of the Minister of Education to make sure that every young person (from the age of 16) is offered the possibility to follow vocational training before he or she leaves the education system. In 1993 this resulted in a new law introducing regional plans for the development of vocational training.

structure

At secondary level there are some vocational streams at *lycées*, which lead to a certificate of professional aptitude (C.A.P.), a certificate of vocational studies (C.B.E.P.), or to a vocational *baccalauréat*. Education at this level includes a number of general subjects, half the teaching being dedicated to general subjects, the other half to professional skills. After the *baccalauréat*, there is a possibility to continue towards higher vocational and technological education in order to prepare after 2 years for the Advanced technician certificate (BTS). Training at this level can be done in an apprenticeship training centre. Employers cooperate in this training by offering apprenticeships and on-the-job training.

Since 1987 the vocational *lycées* may also award a *baccalauréat*. Full responsibility for vocational education now lies with the regional authorities.

language use

According to the figures of the *Académie* of Rennes there are some 35,518 students at vocational *lycées* in 2002. There is no data whether programmes at this level include Breton, or have subjects taught through the medium of Breton.

6

Higher education

structure

Universities, University Institutes of Technology and the Special State Higher Institutes (*Grandes Ecoles*) make up higher education in France. Applicants for all forms of higher education pay a certain fee, but they may also be eligible for financial assistance by the state. The first two years of university training consist of a basic programme, which finishes with the General Diploma of University Studies (DEUG), the *licence* takes one more year, while the *maîtrise* exam can be taken after four years of university studies.

statistics

In Brittany the traditional university towns are Brest, Rennes and Nantes and these are now joined by newer universities at Lorient and Université Catholique de l'Ouest (with sites at Guingamp and Arradon).

Breton language courses are available at the University of Rennes II, University of Brest, Lorient, Nantes (until 2003), Université de Bretagne Occidentale and Université Catholique de l'Ouest (UCO). The 2002/ 2003 figures for students studying for a degree in Breton (including as an option) are 338 for Rennes, 272 for Brest, 47 for Lorient, 22 for UCO and 22 for Nantes to give a total of 709 and a growth rate of 14% on the previous year.

The general diploma of university studies (DEUG) for Breton can be obtained at the Departments of Celtic studies at the universities of Rennes and Brest. The *licence* and *maîtrise* of Breton can be obtained at the same universities. Those who want to specialize further in Breton can follow a preparatory year in research leading to an advanced studies certificate and then towards a doctorate. Only at the University of Rennes can students specialize in Breton language alone. In Brest Breton is studied with one other subject (e.g. English, history).

Breton courses at Nantes University ceased in October 2003.

teacher training

Currently there are three centres offering Breton-medium teacher training: IUFM St Brieuc (public), Arradon (Catholic) and Quimper (Diwan). Since 1991, the training of teachers for both primary and secondary levels in public education has been provided by university institutes for the training of teachers (IUFM). These institutes are linked to the universities and prepare future teachers over two years. Candidates must have completed three years of post-secondary education before getting access to IUFM.

primary level

The IUFM in Rennes has five sections throughout Brittany. However, of the five it is only possible to study to be a

Breton-medium teacher at the St Brieuc centre. The training of teachers, provided by the IUFM in St Brieuc, is

linked to the University of Rennes. In 2002 Centre de Formation à l'Enseignement en Breton (CFEB) was set up as part of IUFM St Brieuc to ensure the training of public school bilingual teachers. Currently (2002-3) it has 70 students.

At the admission tests special attention is given to the level of competence in Breton. After three years of post-secondary education leading to a diploma, candidates wishing to become a nursery or primary school teacher may attend IUFM. The training for the first year is optional.

The Catholic schools have four teacher-training centres (called CFP) in Brittany, of which Arradon (near Vannes) has specific provisions for Breton language teacher-training for bilingual schools. The structure of this centre is similar to that of the IUFM. After the licence, students follow two years of preparation. Those intending to teach through the medium of Breton normally hold a licence in Breton or they follow a year's course at *Stumdi* (an immersion course) prior to entry to the training centre.

The parents' organization Dihun plays a major role in setting up Catholic bilingual schools and plans the teacher-training for these schools. In-service training is far more important than pre-service. In 2002 there were 30 teachers participating in these courses.

During the first year there are fifty hours of training in Breton. At the end of the first year of theoretical and practical training candidates take a competitive recruitment examination, which allows them to enter the second year. In the second year there are 100-150 hours of Breton. At the end of the second year they are appointed as school-teachers.

At Rennes a research degree was launched in 1996-97 to prepare teachers to teach all subjects through the medium

of Breton. About 15 students were registered to train to prepare to teach their subjects in Breton-medium.

Diwan organizes its own two-year teacher-training course. It has one centre, *Kelenn*, in Kemper (Quimper), set up in September 1997. Aspiring teachers follow one year of Breton classes and didactics and in the second year they train at schools supervised by an experienced teacher. Specialists from various backgrounds participate in the training to ensure preparation for immersion teaching. Kelenn enrolment remains stable recruiting on average 15 trainee teachers per year.

secondary

For teaching at secondary level, a certificate for Breton (DEUG) in combination with another subject was created. However, the highest level for secondary school teachers, the *agrégation*, is still not available for Breton teachers. It should be mentioned that there are regular exchanges with other Celtic students from abroad where some attention is given towards the teaching of a minority language. The IUFM section in St Brieuc, for example, devotes quite some time to this form of teaching.

At the end of the first year, candidates for secondary education sit for a national competitive examination leading towards a certificate of aptitude for teaching at secondary level (CAPES) organized by subject area and school type.

In the last five years there have been a steady 5-6 students per year at the IUFM (St Brieuc) who have sat the Breton CAPES exam.

The Catholic schools train secondary teachers with their own colleges (CAFEP) with an average of 8 students per year.

In-service training

In-service training courses are organised in the programme of the 'Departmental Plan for the in-service training of Teachers' for the primary schools. Catholic schools have special long term courses: two seven week courses per year

with practical training on how to use Breton for teachers at bilingual schools and those who teach Breton as a subject.

According to the above-mentioned Charter for Bilingual Education these teachers should continue to practise their Breton.

For public schools there are various courses throughout Brittany organized by the *Académie*, both for teachers and for pedagogic advisers at such schools. It is felt that there is a great lack of teachers who are able to teach several subjects through the medium of Breton. Occasionally teachers, especially in Finistère, meet to discuss curriculum matters.

7

Adult education

Adult education is mainly based on private initiatives and sometimes integrated into community based programmes. This sector has seen a large increase over the last five years. In 2001 there were 5,386 attending evening classes with 2,345 attending stages, giving a total of 7731 compared to 1,200 in 1997.¹⁷

In 1997 there were 80 places with evening classes in Brittany, in 2003 that figure is over 270 with more sites outside of Brittany especially in the Ile de France area.

There are also crash courses organized every summer by the University of Rennes and by organizations such as *Ar Falz* and *Sav-Heol*. The most well known is the *Kamp Etrekeltiek ar Vrezhonegerien* (KEAV). An important development has been the creation of two professional organizations devoted to the teaching of Breton to adults: *Stumdi* and *Roudour*, both in the Finistère department. Apart from intensive courses *Stumdi* also organizes courses for teachers to perfect their knowledge of Breton before entering the CFP or IUFM and arranges for Breton-medium work placements for their students. *Roudour* arranges intensive courses, which can be personalized to suit

individual requirements. There are now 30 sites where intensive 'stages' are offered.

Apart from the residential courses there are also correspondence courses in Breton, organized by The Open University of Brittany and by Skol Ober, which have some 500 students every year.

8 Educational research

Evaluation of pupils' results, comparing the outcomes of exams taken by Diwan pupils compared to bilingual students at secondary schools have been carried out by the *Rectorat de l'Académie*. However, this research has never been made public.

There has not been any evaluation of 'initiation'. For secondary education there has been an assessment of the *Modern Language* option. Results of this evaluation have still not been made available to the public.

9 Prospects

Since the completion of the last dossier it can be seen that Breton in education is making some progress in all sectors. However, this progress has to be seen in the context of the global figures for education in Brittany where all bilingual education accounts for less than 2% of the global figure for those attending school. If Breton is to regenerate itself following an education-led strategy it is clear that the provision of Breton-medium education will need to expand exponentially. There is the parental demand but this will remain unfulfilled until there is some kind of paradigm shift in policy and attitude from the French state to facilitate Breton medium education, or that the Breton region itself gains the power to initiate a Breton medium education programme. Neither of these scenarios appears likely in the near future.

There is the need to establish an infrastructure and for this to be funded. It will also be important to retrain existing teachers in Brittany to teach their subjects in Breton medium. However, the attitude of most public sector teachers to this is less than favourable.

In order to meet demand and maintain growth Ofis ar Brezhoneg have estimated that at least 50 new Breton medium teachers will be needed per year (see Avenir, 2002:151) and that current provision is at best insufficient.

Moreover, following the last Mercator Education Dossier little is being done to meet parental demand for more Breton teaching especially in the light of the ageing population of Breton speakers most of whom are over sixty. It lends a sharp focus to the problem in that if more speakers are not produced quickly, presumably through education and an increase in inter-generational transmission, the language will be falling to a critical level of endangerment in around twenty years. In addition, because of the current speaker age profile, the numbers of speakers are set to fall sharply leaving a community of speakers currently of c. 300,000 dwindling to perhaps c. 50,000 in the next 20-30 years.

The situation with education appears to be worsening following the 2002 Conseil d'Etat decision, especially as it implies that immersion education is somehow 'illegal'.

There is analogical evidence that many parents are depending on the school to impart Breton to the children while the children return home to French-speaking households. In any Reversing Language Shift effort it is essential that Breton is reinforced in the home, while an education-led strategy can work Breton will have little social context unless it has a place in the home. While education figures may look good and send the appropriate political message, on the ground the language may still be withering away because there is no inter-generational language-in-culture transmission of the language.

That the decline in the usage of Breton is happening in a European nation-state, which purports to be in favour of basic human rights, which has the means to support Breton and help reverse language shift, but that is still actively hampering development of Breton in education, renders the French state culpable for the continuing decline of Breton. It cannot be emphasised enough that the next twenty years are going to be crucial for Breton and it will need all the support it can muster in order to create enough new speakers to even maintain the language community. Faced with a state whose opinion of Breton ranges between indifference to overt hostility it is difficult to see what progress the language can make within state structures of education. Hopes have rested with private initiatives such as the Diwan schools but in order to start their necessary expansion it is imperative that the state proactively supports this. In addition, the expansion of Breton as a second language needs to be exponentially increased and courses established to both train new teachers and retrain existing teachers to teach Breton and subjects through the medium of Breton. Only such action coupled with many more Breton parents and grandparents able to establishing inter-generational language transmission with their children will provide a future for Breton. It is recommended that coupled with teaching school children their parents also learn the language, so as to lead to Breton being used in the home.

There needs to be much more pre-schooling in Breton, a sector that is based at the community level and often private so escaping the restrictions of the State. One idea that would get the large number of older speakers involved is that of the Maori *kohanga reos* 'language nest' idea. With this older speakers help out with childcare, teaching and storytelling. It provides a teaching role for the older generation and so maximises the resources available.

Furthermore, any future language in education developments will need to be backed by meaningful legislation designed to protect and promote Breton in the form of a Breton Language Act similar to legislation enacted for Welsh, Catalan and Basque, along with an empowered Breton Language Board. As a start minimal recognition and protection would be afforded by the French ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for National Minorities.

10

Summary of statistics

A comprehensive list of statistics is available from Ofis ar Brezhoneg

	2002
Academie of Rennes	577,048
Academie of Nantes	236,384
Total Brittany	813,432

Table 2: Numbers of pupils in school education in Brittany (2002)

There are 8,171 (0.9% of the Breton total) pupils in Breton medium education – bilingual and immersion.

	Préélementaire	Elémentaire	Total
Diwan	1,054	1,073	2,127
Public bilingual	1,525	1,073	2,598
Catholic bilingual	1,250	1,053	2,303
	Total Primary		7,028

Table 3: Enrolment figures for primary level bilingual and immersion streams: (2002-2003)

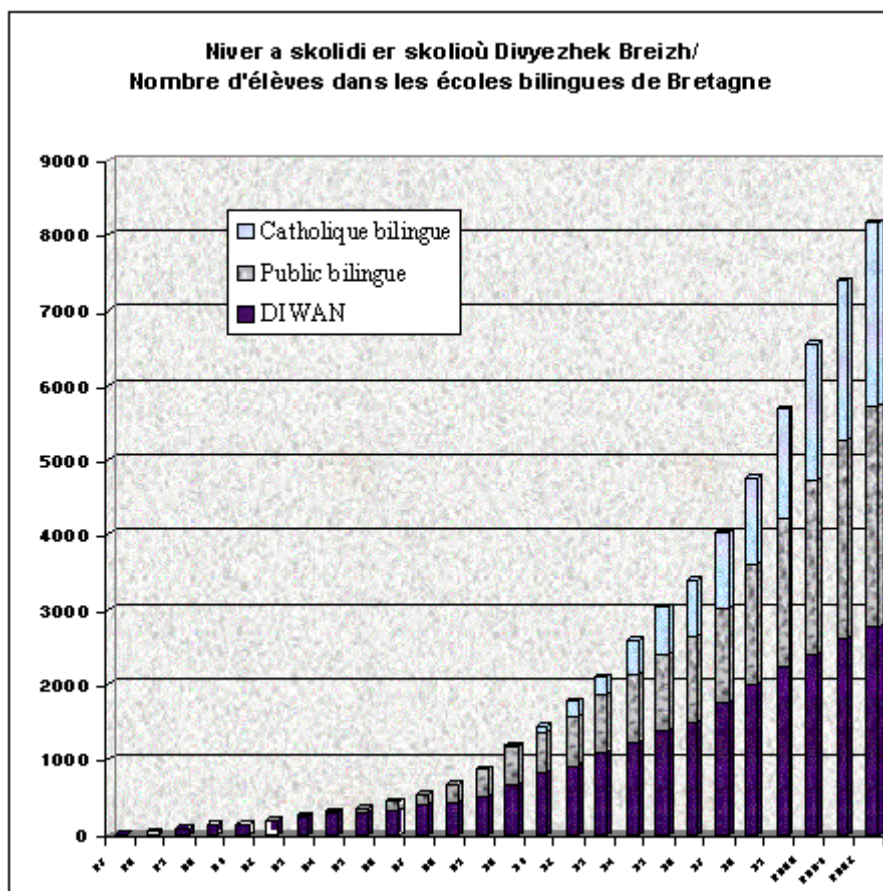
	Collège	Lycée	Total
Diwan	504	137	641
Public	268	78	346
Catholic	156	--	156
	Total Secondary		1,143

Table 4: Enrolment figures of secondary level bilingual or immersion streams: (2002-2003)

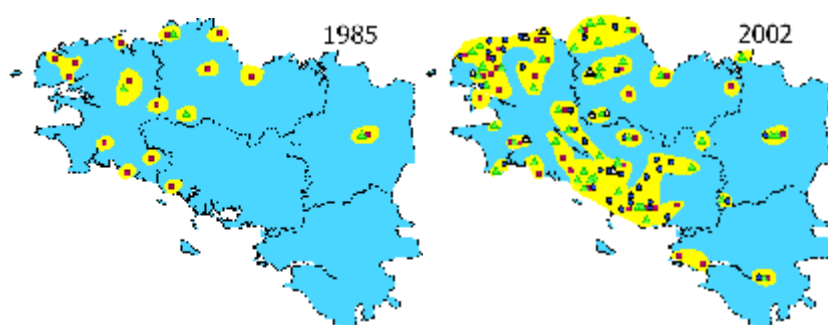
Breton initiation	4,768
Breton LV	825
Breton LV1 intensive	193
Breton Option (3H)	1,007
Total Breton as subject	6,703

Table 5: Number of pupils with Breton as a subject by class type, public and private:2002-3

‘Nombre d’élèves dans les écoles bilingues de Bretagne’ in *Rentrée Scolaire dans la filière bilingue et immersive (2002 :2)*.



'Offre de enseignement bilingue rentrée scolaire' 1985 and 2002 to show growth in provision. In 'Avenir...' (2002:111).



Endnotes

1. See *INSEE* figures 1999.
2. Estimates are drawn from *INSEE* 1999 'Volet linguistique de l'enquête famille associée au recensement de mars 1999'. Cf.2-3: Population census March 1999.
3. See *OaB* (2002:39-47) for a listing and discussion of the various statutes effecting Breton.
4. See the Diwan website for the text of this decision: www.diwanbreizh.org
5. See the article in *Bretagne Hebdo* by A.L. Bouyer, 'Diwan mis a dehors a St Nazaire', 25th-31st December 2002. Currently (2003-4) the school remains open pending talks between Diwan and the French Minister for Education.
6. The first Diwan school was set-up in Lampaul-Ploudalréau in 1977, the first public one in St. Rivoal in 1982 and the first Catholic one in Vannes in 1990.
7. See the Diwan website: www.diwanbreizh.org
8. Source: *Structures*. In this document details about the educational system in France are not mentioned. See also the entry on France in the *International Encyclopedia of Education* (2nd ed.) of Hüsen & Postlethwaite (1994).
9. Figures from the Rectorat de l'*Académie's* website. According to the level of education this percentage varies between 37.2 % in pre-primary education to 41.6 % in upper general secondary education.
10. See: *Karta ar c'helenn divyezhek brezhoneg-galleg, Deskadurezh Katolik Penn-ar-Bed*, contact : DDEC / Service du Premier degré- 2, rue César Franck - 29196 Kemper/Quimper Tél. : 02 98 64 16 00
11. See the *TES* website: www.ac-rennes.fr/tes

12. Some schools prefer to teach Breton Culture instead of 'initiation'.
13. These figures do not include those at ecoles maternelles.
14. Published in Bulletin Officiel de l'Education Nationale no. 28 of 14 July 1994 and the special edition no. 10 of 28th July 1994.
15. Source: 'Rentrée Scolaire dans la filiere bilingue et immersive', Ofis ar Brezhoneg (2002:3)
16. Source: *Un avenir pour la langue bretonne*, Ofis ar brezhoneg (2002:201).
17. Kenteliou Brezhoneg d'an Oadourien 2001-2002, Ofis ar Brezhoneg (2002)

References and further reading

Main official texts regulating teaching of regional languages and cultures

Deixonne Law (51-46 of 11.1.51) allows optional courses of Breton for one hour per week at pre-primary and primary and secondary levels, depending upon the inclination of teachers and parents.

Directive 66-361 of October 21st, 1966: Academic Commissions for Regional Languages and Cultures set up.

Haby Law (75-620 of 11.7.75) Art. 12, says that the teaching of regional or minority languages may take place at school.

Circulaire Savary (76-123 of 29-3-76). Circular allowing the employment of pedagogic advisers for regional or minority language teaching. From 1982 (circular 82-261) the Savary circular confirmed a state commitment to the teaching of regional languages but on a voluntary basis. In this circular the setting up of bilingual classes is made possible with a minimum of 12-15 children in rural areas and 20 in an urban setting.

Decree 85-88 of January 22nd 1985: Primary school teachers in regional languages and cultures.

Directive 96-134 of May 14th, 1986: Training of primary school teachers facilitated.

Loi d'orientation 10th July 1989, teaching of regional and languages and cultures is possible from pre-school to university level.

Departmental order of June 23rd 1994: the exam for the Certificate of History and Geography can be taken in

Breton following a ministerial judgement on 23rd June 1994.

Circulaire Bayrou n. 95.086 (7/4/95) determines the regulations which make regional language teaching official.

While the above may help facilitate minimal Breton provision, two laws act against it. Article 2 of the constitution which made French the only official language of the Republic. Borne from this came the 2002 Conseil d'Etat decision not to include Diwan schools in the public sector.

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Ar Falz - Skol Vreizh
Ar manu
40, kae Leon
29600 Morlaix / Montroulez
tel.: +33-2-98621720
fax: +33-2-98620238
E-mail : arfalz@mygale.org

Skolig al Louarn
75, rue Laennec
29860 Plouvien
tel.: + 33-2-98400064

Emgleo Breiz
10, rue de Quimper/Kemper
29200 Brest
tel./fax : +33-2-98026817

Direction de l'enseignement catholique du Finistère
2, rue César Franck
29196 Quimper
fax: +33-2-98957669

*Cultural Centres
and Associations*

Skol-Uhel ar Vro / Institut Culturel de Bretagne
Kastell an Erminig
6, straed an Nor Bostern
56000 GWENED/VANNES
tel.: +33-2-97683110
fax: +33-2-97683118
www.culture-bretagne.com

Diwan
Z.A. Sant-Ernel B.P. 147
29411 Landerne Cedex
tel.: +33 (0)2 98 21 33 69
fax: +33 (0)2 98 85 19 67
www.diwanbreizh.org

Kelenn

64, boulevard de la France Libre
B.P. 1653
29106 QUIMPER/KEMPER
tel.: +33-2-98955599
e-mail : kelenn2@wanadoo.fr
www.diwanbreizh.org

Unvaniezh ar Geleannerien Brezhoneg (U.G.B.)

Union of Breton Teachers,
2, hent Kreiz ar Vout'h
29270 SAINT-HERNIN/SANT-HERN
e-mail : branruz@aol.com
www.ugbrezhoneg.com

Roudour

Ti ar C'hoad - Hent Berrien
29690 An Uhelgoad
Tel. : +33-2-98997581
Fax : +33-2-98997601
www.gwalarn.org/bbb/roudour.html

Stumdi (stummadur Dibaouez)

Manoir Keranden
29800 LANDERNEAU/LANDERNE
Tel. : +33-2-98213994
Fax : +33-2-98850437
e-mail: kab@brezhoneg.com

Div Yezh (parents association. for public bilingual schools)

10, rue de l'Abbé Gibert
22110 ROSTRENEN
tel.: +33-2-96292333
fax : +33-2-96899466
e-mail: div.yezh.breizh@wanadoo.fr
www.bretagne.net/div_yezh

Dihun (parents association for Catholic bilingual schools)
72 straed Texeir Lahoulle
56000 Gwened / Vannes
tel.: +33-2-97464351
fax: +33-2-97407092
www.dihun.com

*Centre de Recherche et de Documentation sur la
Littérature Orale*
Manoir de Kernault, 29300 Mellac
tel. 33.(0).298.719.060
<http://www.univ-brest.fr/Recherche/Laboratoire/CRBC/franc/preskern.htm>

Other websites on minority languages

<i>Mercator</i>	www.mercator-central.org General site of the Mercator-project. It will lead you to the three specialized centres:
<i>Mercator-Education</i>	www.mercator-education.org Homepage of Mercator-Education: European Network for regional or minority languages and education. The site contains the series of regional dossiers, a database with organisations and bibliography and many rated links to minority languages.
<i>Mercator-Media</i>	www.aber.ac.uk/~merc/ Homepage of Mercator-Media. It provides information on media and minority languages in the EU.
<i>Mercator-Legislation</i>	www.ciemen.org/mercator Homepage of Mercator-Legislation. It provides information on minority languages and legislation in the EU.
<i>European Union</i>	http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/langmin.html At the website of the European Union an explanation is given of its support for regional or minority languages.
<i>Council of Europe</i>	http://conventions.coe.int/ <i>European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages</i> . (1992) and <i>Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities</i> (1995) European Treaty Series/Série des traités européens ETS 148 and 157, Strasbourg.
<i>Eurydice</i>	www.eurydice.org Eurydice is the information network on education in Europe. The site provides information on all European education systems and education policies.
<i>EBLUL</i>	www.eblul.org/ Homepage of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages. This site provides general information on lesser used languages as well as on projects, publications and events.

What can Mercator-Education offer you?

website www.mercator-education.org

network Mercator-Education is part of an information service and research network of three centres. They provide reliable and in-depth information on regional or minority languages in co-operation with many experts throughout Europe. *Mercator-Education* is hosted at the Fryske Akademy, Leeuwarden. *Mercator-Media* resides at the University of Wales (Aberystwyth) and *Mercator-Legislation* at Ciemen (Barcelona).

newsletter An electronic newsletter with current developments concerning regional or minority languages in education is distributed to people and organisations.

Q&A Through the Question and Answer Service we can inform you about any subject related to education in minority or regional languages in the European Union.

publications Regional dossiers are published on a regular base to provide basic information on schooling in minority language regions in the European Union.
The latest *Mercator Guide to Organisations* (MGO) was published in 1998. It contains some 500 relevant addresses of institutes and services.
During the years we have published our extended studies on pre-primary education, primary education, teacher training and learning materials. Topical case studies and a selective bibliography have also been published. A list of all our publications is available.

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