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BRETON

The Breton language in education in France

| 3rd Edition |

| Regional dossiers series |



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Glossary

CAPES	<i>Certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat de l'Enseignement du Second degré</i> [Secondary School Teaching Certificate]
DDEC	<i>Direction Diocésaine de l'Enseignement Catholique</i> [Diocesan Direction for Catholic Education]
DSDEN	<i>Direction des services départementaux de l'Éducation nationale</i> [Directorate of Departmental Services of the National Education]
ESPE	<i>Ecole supérieure du professorat et de l'éducation</i> [Higher School of Teachers and Teaching]
INSEE	<i>Institut Nationale de la Statistique et des Études Économiques</i> [National Institute of Statistics and Economical Studies]
OPAB	<i>Ofis Publik ar Brezhoneg</i> [Public Office for the Breton Language]
TES	<i>Ti-Embann ar Skolioù</i> [School Publishing House]

Prefatory Notes: in this dossier the word Brittany refers to the historical boundaries of the country which are wider than the actual administrative Region of Brittany which depends of the *Académie de Rennes*. It includes the department of Loire-Atlantique which is part of the Pays de La Loire Region and depends of the *Académie de Nantes*. Both academies, Rennes and Nantes are local administrative branches of the ministry of Education and develop a different approach towards the teaching of Breton: from low support to clear enmity.

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

Breton (*Brezhoneg*) is an indigenous Celtic language spoken only in Brittany (a peninsula in western France). From its linguistic background, Breton is a part of the Brittonic branch of the Celtic languages to which Welsh and Cornish also belong. Breton used to be the language of the largest part of Brittany, but over the centuries the linguistic boundaries have gradually moved westwards as it was progressively replaced by French. As a language from the Brittonic branch, similarities with Cornish and Welsh are still obvious, even though French has influenced Breton through the time, especially in its vocabulary, and more recently in its pronunciation.

Nowadays most Breton speakers live in the western part of Brittany (*Breizh-Izel*, also called 'Lower Brittany'). However, there are also speakers in the eastern part (*Breizh-Uhel*, 'Upper Brittany'), especially in and around the main cities.

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Breton is formed by 2 main dialects: *Kerneveg*, *Leoneg*, *Tregerieg* (KLT) in the centre and north-western part of the country, and *Gwenedeg* (G) in the southeast. Throughout the 20th century a unified language has emerged thanks to the work of scholars, grammarians and writers. The development of bilingual education since the end of the seventies and the media have also reinforced this evolution. Today, illiteracy in Breton is decreasing sharply and almost all speakers under 50 can read and write their language to some extent. There can, however, be some communication problems between young generation speaking the unified form of the language and older people who has maintain a dialectal based way of speaking.

population

The use of the Breton language has been declining rapidly through the 20th century. It is preserved to a greater extent in the western part of the country but remains in danger everywhere. As a result of an aging population, we know for

sure that the number of Breton speakers is still decreasing and will continue to decrease in the years to come.

Several factors have contributed to the decrease in numbers of speakers. Most Breton speakers were farmers, fishermen and people from the rural areas. Breton was affected particularly by economic changes such as migration towards cities or/ and other parts of France in the last 150 years. Furthermore, the Breton language has been persecuted by the French state since the French Revolution. French authorities have consistently repressed its users. 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 (that is to say Corsican) 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" (here, "patois" means all the languages and dialects used in the territory and different from the standard form of French) and universalizing 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 (...) represent the barbarism of centuries past and need to be obliterated and replaced by standard French'.

The Compulsory Education Law of 1882 was adopted in a time when the 3rd Republic aimed to unify the country through French language. In schools, teaching practices resulted in the prohibition of the use of minority languages, and thus installing shame in children's minds of their own mother tongue and of their own culture. Those practices lasted up to the 1960s. In 1925, the French Minister of Education Anatole de Monzie, declared: 'For the linguistic unity of France, the Breton language must disappear'. In 1972, Mr Georges Pompidou, President of France, stated that there was no place for regional languages in France. These policies and attitudes are reflected in various

legislative measures that have restricted and diminished Breton language use to the extent that the French state has been criticized for conducting a campaign aimed at eradicating Breton.

At the beginning of World War I, the Breton-speaking part of Brittany counted 900,000 monolinguals Breton-speakers, with some 400,000 more bilinguals. There were only 50,000 unable to speak Breton (mainly civil servants, army men or members of the bourgeoisie).

Nowadays, from a total population of 4,687,381 (INSEE, 2018, December 27) in the 5 departments of Brittany in its historical boundaries, it is estimated that around 225,000 can speak Breton as well as French. Half of them live in the Department of Finistère, West Brittany. More than three quarters of the speakers (78%) are over the age of 60. However, it has to be noted that today, there are more young Breton speakers aged under 20 than those aged between 20-35. This was not the case 10 years ago. Unfortunately, language proficiency remains very low: less than 2% of those aged 20 can speak Breton indeed.

Notwithstanding, the growing number of bilingual schools is slowly changing the linguistic situation. Every year, more and more children and young adolescents are able to speak the language due to the regular increase of matriculation in bilingual curriculum.

There is currently a lack of data to measure the real place of the Breton language in society due to absence of questions mentioning language practice in the French population census. However, the Regional Council of Brittany ordered, for the first time, a sociolinguistic survey of which results were published in October 2018. With regard to language skills, it emerges from this study that among the Breton population over 15 years old, 210,000 people can speak Breton. 350,000 people are able to understand Breton. With regard to language use, 22% of the speakers use it every day, coming down to 45,000 speakers.

This percentage adds up to 42% if we add speakers who speak Breton at least once a week.

The number of Breton speakers is declining and speakers are aged, but the level of practice remains stable. Speakers under 40 years old use Breton more frequently.

The survey also provided some information about the Breton society's opinion of the language. It appears that Bretons are strongly attached to their language. Most of them wish that the language has a bigger place in everyday life. For example, 73% of Bretons agree with more Breton education in schools, and 73% agree with bilingual road signs (TMO Régions, 2018).

language status The factors listed above have led to Breton becoming a threatened language. In the last forty years, the official attitude to refer to the language seems to have changed. However, a strong ideological opposition, deeply rooted in Jacobin's French ideology, is still present in the administration, the mind of politicians and at the head of the state. The French state has changed little upon this aspect and minority languages have to face this state of mind every day.

A huge amount of energy has been spent for twenty years by lesser used languages activists to enhance their status in France asking for specific laws or for the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages to be ratified. All those efforts remained useless, any demand being eventually thrown out by the argument that it would threaten equality between the French citizens or would be dangerous for the indivisibility of the state.

Indeed, a strong opposition is embodied in the first articles of the French Constitution (La Constitution du 4 Octobre 1958): art. 1, "*France shall be an indivisible, secular, democratic and social Republic. (...)*"; art. 2, "*The language of the Republic shall be French*" (this sentence was added to art. 2 by the *Loi Constitutionnelle* [Constitutional Law] of 1992). There was

hope, however, when a new article (75-1) was added to the Constitution in 2008, reading: “*Regional languages are part of French heritage*” (*Loi constitutionnelle de modernisation des institutions de la Ve République*, 2008). However, in the end, this did not change anything. French *Conseil Constitutionnel* (Constitutional Council, the supreme jurisdiction in French law) enacted in 2011 that “this article does not establish a right or freedom that the Constitution guarantees”. Furthermore, in 2018 the French President, Emmanuel Macron, refused the Corsican language to be co-official, arguing there could be only one official language in France.

In some aspects it would be easier to promote Breton language teaching at a local scale but, unfortunately, local competences are limited in France. The Brittany Region is the most favourable authority towards the promotion of Breton. This administrative Region gathers four out of the five departments of historical Brittany (Côtes-d’Armor, Finistère, Ille-et-Vilaine and Morbihan), the fifth department, Loire-Atlantique, is part of another administrative Region known as the ‘Pays de la Loire’ Region.

Some positive actions have been taken by the Region of Brittany. In December 2004, a language policy plan was unanimously adopted for the first time, in which the Region recognised the very existence of Breton and Gallo as languages of Brittany. However, this did not lead to any official status because of the lack of a separate legislative authority and the limited power of the French Regions. As such, the Breton language remains the only Celtic language without a legal status.

The regional language policy was the subject of an update report adopted in March 2012 (*Région Bretagne*, 2012). This report set specific objectives for the transmission of the Breton language and its presence in people’s everyday life. A new update of the language policy is to be released in 2018. The Brittany Region allowed 7,300,000 euros to finance language policy in 2017, representing less than 0.5% of the whole Region’s budget.

Every year, the *département* of Finistère also allocates funds to help language associations. It has been the most active *département* concerned with promoting the Breton language, although its investment remains roughly unchanged from many years (2,250,000 euros for 2017). Another important measure was taken by this *département* in 2015. That year, it launched a participatory approach involving partners from different areas to build up a scheme for a language policy. The Council unanimously adopted the scheme in 2016. This project has confirmed former actions already in practice in education, aiming to increase the number of bilingual students in primary (*premier degré*) bilingual schools from 10 to 15%. It also aims to enhance generation links and to set bilingual road signs. Moreover, it opens new domains of action for its language policy such as a specific grant for adult intensive Breton language learning, an equal presentation of the two languages in bilingual supports, a financial help for townships when installing bilingual signs.

In order to enlarge language use at a local level, the *Ofis Publik ar Brezhoneg* (Public Office for the Breton Language; hereafter: OPAB) has since 2004 promoted a charter named *Ya d'ar Brezhoneg* (Yes to the Breton Language) to municipalities in Brittany (nearly 1.450), considering the influence they have on everyday life. This charter is a kind of ready-to-use practical language policy. To this day, 199 towns have already signed it, representing 39% of Brittany's population (the biggest cities have endorsed the charter).

**status of
language
education**

Language teaching policies are strictly regulated in France. Breton language has suffered from these state policies that delay a real dynamic in language transmission.

Since the implementation of the *Loi relative à l'enseignement des langues et des dialectes locaux* (Law on the teaching of local languages and dialects; hereafter: Deixonne law) in 1951 and its subsequent measures, the Breton language and culture may be taught for one to three hours a week in public schools and only if the teacher is willing and able to do so. Therefore,

extra teaching hours are offered outside the school timetables. In fact, this law had very little impact on the teaching of the language, but opened the way for the future status of the language as teaching Breton was no longer completely out of the law anymore.

The first independent school with associative status and management (Diwan school) was created by parents and militants in Lampaul-Ploudalmézeau in 1977. For the first time, Breton was taught using language immersion principles. Five years later, in 1982, the Savary circular (*Circulaire 82-261 du 21 juin 1982*) confirmed a State commitment to teaching regional languages, but on a voluntary basis; that year, some public schools began to introduce Breton in their curriculum. Since 1990, Catholic schools have also developed bilingual classes.

In 2001, the state circular *Modalités de mise en oeuvre de l'enseignement à parité horaire* (methods of implementing hourly bilingual education) was acted to specify how teaching regional languages can be organised in France. This circular specifies the terms and conditions for implementing bilingual teachings in public and catholic schools.

In 2005, the Law for the future of the school (*Loi d'orientation et de programme pour l'avenir de l'école*, 2005) established that this teaching “can be provided throughout the schooling according to procedures defined by agreement between the state and the local authorities where these languages are in use”. While such agreements exist in the Region of Brittany, this is not the case in the department of Loire-Atlantique, because there is no convention in Pays de la Loire in spite of the Law. In 2013, the *Loi d'orientation et de programmation pour la refondation de l'école de la République* (Law for the refoundation of the school of the Republic) specifies that teaching regional languages “is favoured primarily in the Regions where they are used” and that the “families are to be informed”.

The development of any teaching policy in schools remains totally under control of the state, although local authorities can sometimes manoeuvre to influence the decision making

process. For the Breton language classes, the state policy has led to a slower development than expected. Nevertheless, a covenant signed in 2015 between the Region of Brittany and the state (specific covenant for the transmission of the languages of Brittany and the development of their use in everyday life 2015-2020) has improved the conditions for learning Breton in schools, essentially by removing some rules which made it more difficult to open new bilingual classes as others were made more flexible. These changes immediately accelerated the development of the public bilingual system. Unfortunately, the state and local authorities of Loire-Atlantique have not yet set up a covenant of that kind for the *Académie* of Nantes.

**education
system**

Schooling is compulsory for all children between the ages of 6 and 16, but children may be accepted in schools from the age of two. All compulsory school levels follow a centralised curriculum. The basic principle is free public education and that education should provide opportunities for every young person to take up vocational training before they leave the system. It is important to note that the percentage of early schooling is very high in Brittany (31% of the 2 year-olds in the *Académie* of Rennes compared to 10% in France). Payment of family allowances depends on the registration and the regular school attendance of their children.

**private and
public**

The French Constitution advocates the idea of state education in order to promote the French Republic itself. All teachers are paid by the national government through its Education Department (*Education Nationale*). The majority of children in Brittany attend public schools. Alongside the public education system, there are also private schools. The most common ones are the confessional, catholic schools. Most of these schools have signed a contract with the state which attributes them substantial support for teachers' salaries and teacher-training. However, they must accept and apply public education rules, including school timetables and curricula. They rely on the Diocesan Direction for Catholic Education (*Direction Diocésaine de l'Enseignement Catholique*; hereafter: DDEC).

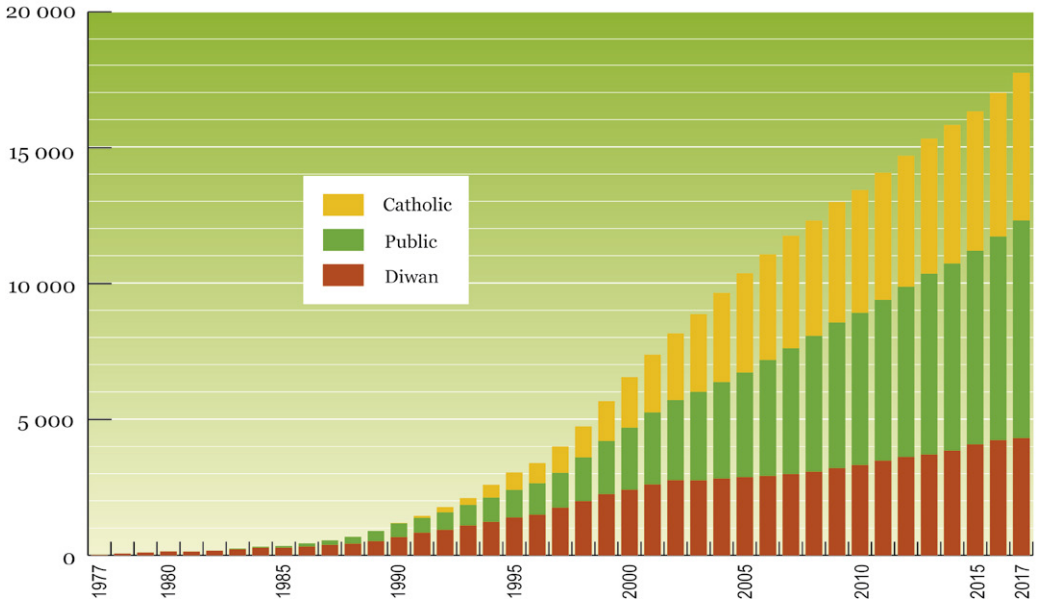


Figure 1 Number of pupils in bilingual schools in 2017 from all educational levels. Data from OPAB, 2017.

The number of children attending Catholic schools is very high in Brittany, with a steady 39% of all students attending this form of private schooling (compared to 17% in France).

In Brittany, education in/of the minority language is not related to either public or private schools.

bilingual education forms

Both public and confessional schools have their own bilingual system. In these schools, timetables are organised based on a time parity practice (according to the 2001 circular): half of the weekly school-time in Breton and the other half in French.

One educational system which deserves special attention is Diwan (lit. 'seed'). Diwan is a parents association that purposes to create cultural surroundings favouring the Breton language by means of schools practicing immersion teaching.

Diwan 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-school and primary school levels and later on, in 1988, also at secondary level. Diwan schools have had a constant yearly increase in pupils (close to +4% on average, for the last 10 years). In 1997, the first pupils at Diwan schools passed their *baccalauréat* exam (the final exam for secondary education).

In 2002, the *Conseil d'Etat* (Council of State) decided to block the incorporation of Diwan independent schools into the public sector (state schools funded by government), following complaints of the French Teachers' Union.

The pedagogical principle of this network is language immersion. In primary schools, children initially learn to read and write in Breton with French being introduced in the second year. For Diwan, the principles of immersion make a real bilingualism possible.

Diwan principles and teaching policy are explained in a Charter. In 1994, Diwan signed a contract with the state and, since then, Diwan schools have the status of private schools under agreement. The state pays the salaries of teachers excluding all the administrative and non-teaching staff as well as monitors in charge of extracurricular activities.

To open a new school, Diwan does not count on any state financial support. There is a delay of at least five years before being financially supported by the state (teachers are paid by the National Education Payroll). This policy obviously makes the creation of new schools very difficult. With the signature of the covenant between the Region and the state in 2015, this period was brought back to 18 months which actually means at least 2 school years. This is a real challenge for Diwan development.

From the total of 897,089 pupils in all educational levels, 17,758 (2% of the Breton total) are attending education with Breton as language of instruction (bilingual and immersion) in 2017.

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

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 teacher staff. The state regulates matters dealing with management and supervision. The majority of private schools are required to comply with those decisions. Through the decentralization laws of 1982, the education system has slightly evolved. The role of Regions, departments and local communities has increased a little. Nowadays, the Regions are responsible for building and maintaining the premises of secondary schools for the 3 final years (*lycées*) and institutes for vocational training. Departments have the same responsibilities for the four initial years of secondary education (*collèges*). Local communities or town councils are responsible of primary schools. However, managing the teachers, determining the school programs, and establishing the educational policies as well as the decision of opening or closing classes remain under a close state control.

A particular characteristic of the French educational system is the administrative unit of education, the *académie*. The 28 units roughly correspond to the 22 former Regions of France (in 2015, a law reduced their number from 22 to 13, but this change did not apply to the *académies*). 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 decisions concerning Breton language teaching policies are under the responsibility 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.

**inspection
structure**

L'Inspection Académique is the body responsible for inspecting and reporting on the quality of education at all levels of provision from pre-school through primary and secondary.

The General Inspector 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 Rector is supported by Regional Pedagogic Inspectors who assess teaching at secondary schools. In each *département*, an Academic Director of National Education Services, head of the *Direction des services départementaux de l'Éducation nationale* (Directorate of Departmental Services of the National Education; hereafter: DSDEN), applies ministerial directives (and those of the Rector of the *Académie*) and manages primary school education. These directors are in charge of the assessment of primary school and secondary teachers and they are assisted by pedagogical counsellors. For Catholic schools, inspection and counselling services fall under the responsibility of the DDEC.

support

There are several advisory bodies related to the different levels of education system. They give advice, make proposals and provide the Ministry of National Education with information about various educational topics. A Pedagogical support for Breton is provided by the School Publishing House (*Ti-embann ar Skolioù*; hereafter: TES), a publishing house for bilingual and Breton-language schools which is a section of the national *Canopé* network (the educational creation and accompaniment network) since 1993.

TES is financed by the National education and the Region of Brittany. It edits teaching materials to be used in all three systems: public, catholic and Diwan schools. It publishes on average twenty textbooks a year as well as audio-visual materials in collaboration with the teachers from first and second degree of the three systems.

Catholic schools have their own counselling service for primary and secondary levels. This service employs two teachers who mainly help their colleagues on bilingual programme matters. They also give advice for teaching Breton as well as for the development of teaching material.

One of the major objective for the OPAB is to contribute to the development of Breton language education. For this purpose, it works in close relation with representatives of the Ministry of Education, the local authorities and numerous parents associations. In order to promote Breton language teaching, the OPAB organises information meetings and creates documents for parents to make their choice among the language teaching options. It also provides technical advice to help forward the opening of schools in public, catholic and Diwan networks.

Parents associations are also concerned with Breton language teaching. They have created specific associations for this purpose: *Div Yezh Breizh* (Two Languages Brittany), a public schools' association, and *Dihun Breizh* (Reawakening Brittany), a catholic private schools' association.

2 Pre-school education

target group Pre-school education is provided for children from two to six years old.

structure In the French educational system, l'enseignement primaire ("primary education") covers both pre-school and primary education and is divided in three *cycles* (key stages). The pre-school levels make up the first learning *cycle* (*Cycle* one: two to five years old). This *cycle* focuses on child development and discovery approach.

The *Education Nationale* finances schooling for children between two to six years old. It is possible to extend this pre-school period by opening an infant class in a primary school either in "*classes enfantines*" or in separate nursery schools called "*écoles maternelles*". Pre-school education is optional in France, but nearly 100% of the children aged three attend pre-schools. It is important to note that most pre-schools are merged with primary schools. Therefore, the figures for "primary education" in Brittany usually include the pre-primary level.

legislation The *Loi d'orientation sur l'éducation* (Framework Law on Education) from July 10th 1989 states that every child at the age of three should be attending a pre-school near to his or her home. However, this is not an obligation. In rural areas, there are peripatetic teachers catering to a small number of children. Primary school teaching represents roughly 26 hours per week. According to the law, teachers at pre-school level receive the same training as teachers in primary schools. The 1951 Deixonne law established that regional language and culture may be taught from one to three hours per week if the teacher wishes to volunteer and, of course, if they are capable of doing so. The 2013 Law for the refoundation of the school of the Republic stated that teaching regional languages "is favoured primarily in the Regions where they are used" and that the "families are informed". This provisions, however, have not yet been put into practice.

language use

In nearly all of pre-school education in Brittany, French is the language of instruction. Only a few pre-schools make use of the legal possibility to spend one to three hours a week to teach regional language and culture. In the school yards, the use of Breton is even lower, even at schools that pay particular attention to encourage the use of the Breton language outside the classrooms. This is due to the fact that Breton is no longer the language used to communicate at home for the vast majority of children. Only a small percentage of children speak Breton at home.

Breton is used as a medium of instruction in two ways: it is the main language used during the classes (immersion teaching method) or it is used half and half with French.

At pre-school classes in public bilingual schools, children spend one half of their school-time in French and the other half in Breton. In the northern Basque country and in Corsica, some public schools now practice immersion in pre-schools, but this is not yet the case in Brittany. Since 1990, analogous “half and half” bilingual pre-school classes have been created in catholic schools. Such bilingual pre-schools must be open to everyone, irrespective of his/her home language.

On the other hand, the immersion teaching method is used by Diwan in its schools: children are immersed in a Breton language environment which enables them to quickly pick the language and then speak it efficiently.

Classes/introduction courses have been created in the 1990s for pre-school children who do not attend bilingual schools (96% of Breton students and 90% of the pre-school children in Finistère) to get a first contact with the language. They are proposed on the basis of an hour session a week. Their content is previously established and defined by the *Département*, the associations that provide the peripatetic teachers, and the *Académie*. This is mainly a ludic approach to learn the Breton language by using songs, rhymes, games, simple sentences

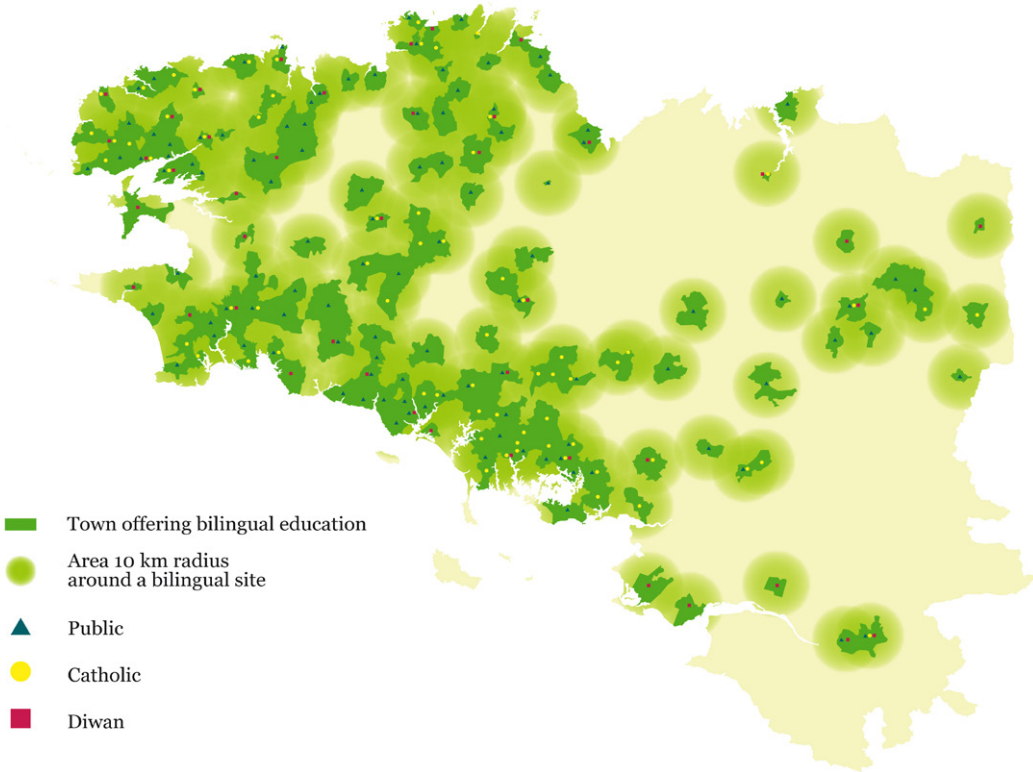


Figure 2 Offer of bilingual education in pre-schools. Data from OPAB, 2017.

and daily vocabulary. These classes are part of the school pedagogic project, and are supported by the teaching staff. The school is committed to offer these interventions over a minimum period of three years. Nowadays, this way of learning Breton is available in nearly a third of the public schools in Finistère. There used to be similar initiatives in the catholic schools of Finistère (until 2007) and in the public schools of Morbihan (until 2009) and of Côtes-d'Armor (until 2010), but this is not the case anymore.

teaching material

Breton pre-school teaching material is mainly prepared by teachers themselves. They frequently use illustrated books provided by different publishers. A few websites like eskolaer.org share useful resources. Though TES mainly deals with primary and secondary education material, they also offer a few items for pre-school education, like the series “*Ober e brezhoneg*”, “*Jakez Vras*” and some online games.

statistics

In 2017, there were 116 bilingual public pre-schools (7.3% of all public schools in Brittany) and 72 catholic ones (6.8% of all catholic schools). The public bilingual network is the widest one, and also more developed in the western half of Brittany and in the south of Ille-et-Vilaine but less developed in Loire-Atlantique. The catholic bilingual network is mostly developed in Morbihan and in the North-West of Finistère. Diwan has 47 pre-schools established in the more populated areas in Brittany (on the coast and in the large and medium-size cities) from Nantes to Brest and from Rennes to Quimper.

12 new bilingual sites opened in September 2017, ten of them in the public sector, making it one of the best academic years ever for bilingual schools in Brittany.

In the school year 2017/2018, there are 177,428 pre-school (*pré-élémentaire*) students in Brittany: of which 1,440 children attending Diwan schools, 3,369 attending public bilingual schools, and 2,157 attending catholic bilingual schools, giving a total of 6,966 (3.9%) students attending bilingual schools at pre-school level in Brittany. This is a significant increase of 5.4% compared to the previous year and 40.4% compared to 2007.

In 2017, 5,324 children attend Breton language introduction courses in pre-schools in Finistère.

3 Primary education

target group Primary education is provided for children from six to eleven years old.

structure The second cycle of education (Cycle two: six to eight years old) is considered the basic cycle. This cycle begins with the first year of primary school and continues up to the third grade. The basic cycle focuses on language acquisition. Finally, the last two years of primary school and the first year of *collège* form the consolidation cycle (Cycle three: nine to 11 years old). In the third cycle, various subjects are taught to prepare pupils for the *collège* curriculum.

School attendance is free of charge and allows students to make use of and to develop their cognitive and sensitive skills in manual, physical and artistic activities. Primary schools comprise five levels and 24 hours of teaching per week. National curricula are established only for compulsory subjects.

legislation Primary education is ruled by the Framework Law on Education (1989) and, since 2013, by the Law for the refoundation of the school of the Republic, which establishes school system organisation and functioning.

language use Most primary schools only use French as language of instruction. There are, however, public and private schools with bilingual classes. There are also Diwan schools, which almost exclusively use Breton. The use of Breton in informal situations outside the classroom environment is not very common, apart from the Diwan schools, even though this is allowed explicitly by the Law for the refoundation of the school of the Republic of 2013.

Teaching through the means of Breton makes up half of the teaching timetables in bilingual public and Catholic schools. In the public bilingual schools, two systems have been adopted: either a regrouping of those students in bilingual sections at certain time of the day with an only-Breton speaking teacher or, a bilingual teacher who both uses Breton and French according

to a pre-established timetable. Some bilingual schools use Breton for teaching mathematics, others use Breton for teaching other subjects. There is no fixed schedule according to which a specific language should be used to instruct a specific subject. In Diwan schools, reading skills are introduced and developed first in Breton and later in French. Catholic and public bilingual schools introduce reading skills in French or Breton, depending on the teacher.

In primary schools, an introduction to the Breton language is proposed in about 60 out of 335 primary schools in Finistère under the scheme funded by the *Département* of Finistère, the Region and the town councils.

**teaching
material**

In Diwan schools, teachers have done a lot of work to create most of the teaching materials used in their immersion classes. In 1994, publishing organization TES was created, offering Breton books for various school subjects (mathematics in particular). There are also CD-ROMs and other digital material. Free copies of these books are sent to all schools with Breton language courses.

statistics

In 2017, there are 296,916 students in primary schools in Brittany. From those students, 1,606 attend Diwan schools, 3,485 attend public bilingual schools and 2,566 attend catholic bilingual schools, giving a total of 7,657 students at bilingual schools (2.6% of all the primary pupils). This number of bilingual students is an increase of 2.5% compared to the previous year and an increase of 51.8% compared to 2007.

Moreover, 2,338 children attended the introduction courses programme in 2017. They represented nearly 0.9% of the total number of students in primary level and 8% of all children in public primary schools in Finistère.

4 Secondary education

target group Secondary education is provided for young people from eleven to eighteen years old.

structure Secondary education is divided into two levels: 4 initial years (*collège*) and 3 final years (*lycée*). The *collège level* has four grades for students from eleven to fourteen years old and is compulsory. Teaching hours cover 22-28 hours per week. Completing *college* gives access to either vocational education or to *lycée*. In the last year of *collège*, the knowledge and skills acquired by the pupils are evaluated. This assessment allows to obtain a national diploma called “*le diplôme national du brevet*”.

The *lycées* are non-compulsory secondary schools for the final years of secondary education (for students from fifteen to seventeen years old) and, after completion, give admission to higher education. Weekly teaching time is between 29.5 and 31.5 hours per week. Students can choose from three main programmes for general education: literature, scientific or economic & social. There are also technical *lycées* that offer a range of specialisations, as well as vocational *lycées*. They all prepare for the *baccalauréat* or for a technical certificate.

legislation The *Loi relative à l'éducation* (Education Act) of 1975 defines how the *collèges* are organised.

This law created the “*collège unique*” (single college) concept, a preparation of general nature within compulsory education. This Education Act also states in article 12 that the teaching of regional or minority languages may take place at school. *Collèges* have the status of local public institutions. The *Décret relatif à l'organisation des enseignements au collège* of 2015 (Decree on the organization of teaching at the college) brought some changes in the organisation of teaching. At first, this reform did not deal with regional languages at all, which threatened regional language education teaching. Thanks to the cultural associations, this lack has finally been filled.

Nevertheless, this reform has led to a decline of the Breton language in secondary education.

language use

At Diwan secondary schools, Breton is the main language of instruction. The language covers two thirds of teaching timetables, especially in history, geography, natural sciences, mathematics, visual arts, sports, music, and computer sciences. The Breton language environment is strengthened by the fact that all *collèges* and *lycées* offer students the possibility to attend boarding schools, especially those coming from relatively long distances (e.g. from Nantes to Carhaix- 230 kms).

In some *collèges*, it is possible to learn Breton the first year (*sixième*). Classes for beginners are proposed as introduction courses aiming at teaching both the Breton language and culture. From the second year onwards to the fourth year (*cinquième, quatrième, troisième*), Breton can also be taught as optional subject (one hour in “*cinquième*” and two hours in *quatrième, troisième*). But in practice, this is rarely the case. At *lycée*, Breton language can be chosen as a second or third language (three hours of teaching per week).

Since 1994, it has been possible to take the history and geography *collège* certificate exam in Breton, which started as experiment in Lannion and in Quimper (*Arrêté du 23 juin 1994*). Besides the examination for the Breton language itself, “history and geography” is the only exam that the students can take in Breton, even in *collèges* where other subjects are taught in Breton.

According to the 2001 circular, bilingual education at public and catholic secondary schools should include at least three hours of Breton classes and one or more other subjects taught in Breton. The aim of this circular was to gradually reach time equality between the two languages (“*Ces sections offrent un enseignement (...) permettant d’atteindre progressivement un enseignement à parité*”). In fact, nearly 30 years after the first secondary bilingual stream was created (1989), only five out

of 25 public *collèges* actually reach this parity; none of the 21 bilingual catholic *collèges* does so, nor any of the six public *lycées* nor the two catholic *lycées* that welcome a bilingual site department.

The new circular of 2017, (*Circulaire relative à l'enseignement des langues et cultures régionales* [Circular concerning the teaching of regional languages and cultures]), has backed down on its ambitions saying this program aims to reach equal number of teaching hours for both languages which tends towards teaching at hourly parity principle (“*ce dispositif tend vers un enseignement à parité horaire*”). On the other hand, the specific Covenant for the transmission of the Breton language signed by the state and the Brittany Region in 2015 mentions the possibility to extend the subjects that can be taught in Breton in secondary education instead of the short list that was once allowed. However, this has not yet been put into practise. The goal of the Law for the refoundation of the school of the Republic was to promote Breton language teaching since 2013. However, the offer of Breton as an optional subject in secondary education has declined over the past ten years. Many courses have been shut down everywhere in Brittany. This offer is maintained at schools in the Western part of Brittany, mainly in Finistère (where half of the public *collèges* offers these courses).

teaching material

Publishing House TES mainly publishes teaching material for bilingual education in secondary education. There is only one book, “*Ni a gomz brezhoneg*”, published in 1997, that has been used for beginners at *collège* and *lycée*. New material has not been published since then.

statistics

Figures for the year 2017 show that there were 5,430 bilingual students in secondary schools: Diwan schools had 892 pupils at *collège* level and 380 at *lycée* level. 905 students were registered at public bilingual *collège* education and 250 at *lycée*. These numbers were 629 and 79 respectively for Catholic bilingual education. Overall, this indicates a 6% increase

for *collège* level and an increase of 8% for the *lycée* level, compared to the year before (OPAB, 2017a). Between 2007 and 2017, the figures grew with 72% in *collèges* and 120% in *lycées*.

It is also interesting to analyse the figures for the number of students learning Breton on a regular basis as a school subject in secondary schools. This number has increased slightly during the last ten years, both at *collège* level (+3%) and at *lycée* level (+3%), in a context of growing Breton secondary school population (+11% in ten years). This small increase is due to the Catholic teaching policy: the number of students at catholic secondary schools has increased with 43%. In some catholic schools, Breton has become a compulsory subject which is due to local decisions of some school directors rather than to a global policy of Catholic schools. In contrast, the number of students in public schools has decreased (-27%).

Since 2015, the number of students who learn Breton is higher in Catholic schools (3,361 in 2017) than in public schools (2,346 in 2017). This lower number in public schools can be explained by the shutdown of numerous Breton courses in *lycées*. The number of *lycées* offering Breton classes has been divided by three over the past ten years. As a consequence, in 2017, nine out of ten pupils learning Breton are in *collège* and the vast majority of them only follows introduction language classes.

Table 1 Number of students learning Breton in Catholic and public education

	2016-2017			2017-2018		
	<i>Collège</i>	<i>Lycée</i>	Total	<i>Collège</i>	<i>Lycée</i>	Total
Public	2,337	348	2,685	2,013	333	2,346
Catholic	2,507	238	2,745	3,089	272	3,361
Total	4,844	586	5,430	5,102	605	5,707

Note. Data from the Ministry of National Education, 2018.

Nevertheless, from a global overview of secondary education in Brittany, it is important to mention that the figures only take

into account the Breton teaching offer in the Western part of the country. For the period 2017/2018 the entire Breton *collège* and *lycée* population is 423,197 and from those only 5,707 followed Breton education, which is 1.3% of all secondary school students in Brittany. Breton courses are almost completely absent in East Brittany, where more than 50% of secondary students live.

5 Vocational education

- target group** Vocational education is provided for students from the age of sixteen.
- structure** Vocational education is focused on a number of general subjects. Half of the time in vocational education is dedicated to theory and the other half to professional skills. There are three different vocational streams at *lycées*, which lead to a certificate of professional aptitude (C.A.P.), a certificate of vocational studies (B.E.P.), or, since 1987, to a vocational *baccalauréat*.
- Students who finish the *baccalauréat* have the possibility to continue at higher vocational and technological education for two years, which they can finish with the Advanced Technician Certificate (B.T.S.). Training at this level can be done in an apprenticeship training centre.
- legislation** In France, the Ministry of Education has the responsibility to ensure that every person from the age of 16 is offered the possibility to follow vocational training before they leave the education system. Only agricultural education is under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Agriculture.
- language use** Nowadays, there is no bilingual teaching offered in vocational education at all. It is possible to learn the Breton language as a subject in 3 out of 57 vocational high schools. Two of them are public high schools, one in Rostrenen (Côtes-d'Armor) and another in Lorient (Morbihan). The third one is a Catholic high school in Douarnenez (Finistère).
- teaching material** There is no specific teaching material for teaching Breton in vocational education.
- statistics** According to the figures of the *Académie* of Rennes, there are some 41,871 students at vocational *lycées* in 2017. From those, only 276 students learn Breton in the school year 2017/2018. However, they represent nearly half of the total

number of students learning Breton at the *lycée* level. There is also a Catholic Agricultural *lycée* that offers some Breton classes in the Côtes-d'Armor.

6 Higher education

structure Universities, University Institutes of Technology (I.U.T.) and the Special state Higher Institutes (*Grandes Ecoles*) form the higher education system in France. Students at all forms of higher education have to pay a fee, but they can also get access to financial aid or university scholarships.

The most common degree course in Breton universities is the three year *licence* (license) course. Then, after passing the *licence*, students can continue their academic work by following a master degree for two years and finish with a thesis.

legislation Higher education is under the responsibility of the Ministry of Higher Education and Research.

language use University campuses in Brittany are traditionally located in cities: Brest, Rennes, Saint-Brieuc, Vannes, Lorient and Nantes. Bilingual students are unable to pursue studies in Breton outside specific Celtic of literary studies. Breton is not a language of instruction in any other department (science, law, engineering schools for example). The lack of bilingual policy in universities is as obvious as it was ten years ago.

A Breton language study is offered by Brest and Rennes Universities, as well as in other universities under the administration of the *Université Catholique de l'Ouest* (Western Catholic University [UCO], one in Guingamp and another in Arradon). BTS (Brevet de Techniciens Supérieurs) students may also attend Breton classes in Landivisiau (Finistère). Both Departments of Celtic studies in the universities of Rennes and Brest offer a three year degree (*Licence*) in Breton as well as a Master degree.

Breton language courses for beginners are available to some extent at the University of Rennes II, Lorient, *Université de Bretagne Occidentale* (University of Western Brittany) and UCO. At the University of Nantes, no Breton course have been offered since 2004.

teacher training There are three main centres offering Breton teacher training: *Ecole Supérieure du Professorat et de l'éducation* (Higher School of Teachers and Teaching; hereafter: ESPE), since 2013 previously known as IUFM. The ESPE is located in Saint-Brieuc and is oriented towards students interested in teaching in public school. The *Institut Supérieur de Formation de l'Enseignement Catholique* (Higher Institute of Formation of Catholic Education, ISFEC) in Brest offers a teacher training programme for students wishing to teach in Catholic schools, and *Kelenn* in Quimper does the same for students wishing to become teachers in Diwan schools.

Teacher training is a challenge for the Breton language. The number of students registered in all training centres has doubled in the past ten years. This is due to the language policy of the Region of Brittany, whose first objective is to promote teaching, learning and use of Breton language. In the past 15 years, intensive Breton language courses have become more diversified, making it much easier for adults to learn Breton in each of the Breton *départements*. Local authorities as well as the Region have set up some effective incentive programmes for bilingual teacher recruitment.

Since 2002, the bilingual education streams recruit their teachers through special state exams (the state sets the number of bilingual teaching posts). With the covenant signed in 2015 between the Region and the state, the Region has arranged that the state increased the number of bilingual teaching posts available through the recruitment exams. The goal fixed for the year 2016 was to have at least 15% of bilingual teaching posts in the annual recruitment process organised by the *Académie* of Rennes. This goal was achieved in the public education stream (between 2005 and 2015 this percentage used to be 11% average), not for the others. The aim of the 2015's covenant is to increase that rate up to 20% by the year 2020.

pre-primary and primary training

Teacher training for both primary and secondary levels prepare

future teachers in a two-year course. Candidates must have completed four years of post-secondary education before passing the National Teachers Recruitment Exam. *Kelenn* offers teacher training completely in the Breton language, while in the other centres training is delivered mostly in French.

The ISFEC in Brest offers a teaching training programme for future bilingual teachers wishing to obtain a Master degree and work in Catholic schools. This training also prepares the candidates for the bilingual recruitment exam.

For the immersive education system, Diwan organizes its own two-year teacher training courses. It has its own centre, *Kelenn* (to teach), in Quimper, founded in September 1997. The Centre prepares the Master in two years and the National Teachers Exam-recruitment.

secondary training

Just as for teaching at (pre-)primary level, there is a national recruitment exam for teaching at secondary level. The secondary school teaching diploma is called *Certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat de l'Enseignement du Second degré* (Secondary School Teaching Certificate; hereafter: CAPES). There is no CAPES exclusively for Breton. It has to be Breton plus another subject, since 1986. There is a crucial need for more Breton teachers at *collèges* since the number of bilingual students increases every year. However, the number of posts obtained through this exam remains too low. Only five posts were provided for the public stream for the years 2002 and 2003, and only two posts every year between 2004 and 2014. Since 2015, between two and four posts have been provided every year. The conditions are similar for the private streams (catholic and Diwan): there are between one and four posts provided every year through the national recruitment exam.

In 2017, the highest level recruitment exam - the *agrégation* - for secondary school teachers has been created but will only be proposed once every two years.

in-service training

In-service training courses are organised in the programme of the “Departmental Plan for in-service teachers training” for primary schools. Catholic schools have special long term courses: teacher training consisting of two sessions, each one in a seven week period. Teacher training includes teaching practice as well as classroom framework on how to teach Breton in bilingual schools, as well as how to teach Breton as a subject.

statistics

For the period 2016/2017, figures concerning in-service Breton training students (both as a degree or as a school subject) are as follows: 477 in Rennes, 200 in Brest, 26 in Lorient, seven in UCO and 62 in Landivisiau, with a total of 772. Moreover, 143 students are trained to become Breton teachers, which makes 915 students in total. Breton students have increased compared to ten years ago (+7% in all) thanks to teaching training through Breton language, there are more students able to teach it as a school subject. Breton remains the third most studied language at the University of Rennes (campus two), after English and Spanish. As an indication, there are more students studying Breton than German, Arabic or Chinese at this university.

7 Adult education

structure and language courses

There has been an increasing interest in Breton courses for adults since the 1950s. They are mainly offered as weekly classes and traineeships. Crash courses are also organised every summer. The most well-known of these is the *Kamp Etrekeltiek ar Vrezhonegerien* (KEAV), an immersive summer course that lasts two weeks.

The adult education sector has been professionalised over these past ten years, which has boosted the number of adult Breton speakers. The offer of Breton language classes for adults has diversified. Now, there are language classes offered during working hours and long intensive language training classes (lasting six or nine months, full time).

In 2004, Stumdi was the pioneer organisation that offered Breton long intensive language training classes at two locations (Landerneau and Ploemeur). In 2017, language training courses are available in 15 different locations. In addition to Stumdi, there are four additional organisations offering those intensive courses: Roudour (since 2005), Kelenn (since 2006), Skol, Emsav (both since 2007) and Mervent (since 2011).

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From September 2015 onwards, the national training centre *Centre National de la Fonction Publique Territoriale* (National Centre of the Civil Service of the Territories, CNFPT) offers language training courses for civil servants. First proposed in Finistère, these classes were specifically conceived for the civil service's staff and are now also proposed in the Côtes-d'Armor, Morbihan and the Ille-et-Vilaine. Unfortunately, no training courses of this kind have yet been organised in Loire-Atlantique.

There is no specific legislation for Breton language adult education. However, the development of the long intensive language trainings is the result of language policy of the Region of Brittany for the promotion and use of the language. The Region enhances new speakers learning policies. Since 2012,

the Region of Brittany has made available financial aid to support people willing to train or to improve their language skills in Breton for a professional purpose either to become teachers (Desk Kelenn) or to work in the early childhood sector (Desk Bugaligoù).

There is a state diploma for adult learners since 2011 (Degree of Competence in Language (DCL)), which is another initiative of the Regional Council of Brittany. This has been an important step forward for adult language teaching. 1,660 people have passed this language exam degree since the first session in 2011.

language use

The vast majority of courses and trainings offer Breton as a subject. Occasionally, some trainings on other school subjects or spare-time activities use Breton as a means of instruction such as writing skills or acting.

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statistics

The most common way of learning Breton for adults remains through weekly evening classes. An average of 3,250 adults follow these courses each year (OPAB, 2017b). Nearly 1,200 of them attend their final year of training. The number of speakers trained increases thanks to the development of six or nine months intensive courses. The number of registrants has tripled in ten years to reach 367 for the period 2016/2017.

8 Educational research

The *Rectorat* is responsible for the evaluation of student language skills. The results of secondary school students at both bilingual classes as Diwan schools were compared, but the results of this research have not been made public.

The efficiency of Breton introduction courses at public primary schools in Finistère also was assessed during two years. The results of these evaluations were very positive.

The *Académie* of Rennes did comparative research on the results of the immersion system and the results of the bilingual programmes at the end of primary school too. A survey from 2003 showed that Diwan students scored higher in all of the four tested competences (oral and written comprehension, oral and written production). The results of the last survey (2016) confirm this finding.

9 Prospects

The role of the Breton language in education has made real progress since 2002. Against all odds, Bretons have proved to be able to establish a bilingual educational system on their own. The French state has felt compelled to change its mind with respect to a bilingual educational policy. Those significant improvements are mainly due to the agreement signed between the state and the Regional Council of Brittany in 2015. Another influential element in this change of attitude has been the creation of the OPAB in 2010.

In spite of those improvements and progress on the foundation for a modern bilingual educational approach, bilingual education is still very far from being the norm in Brittany. Those progresses have to be seen in the global context of national education figures. The number of children attending bilingual education still accounts only for less than 2% of the whole student population. If Breton is to regenerate itself following an education-led strategy, it is clear that the provision of Breton language education will need to expand exponentially. There is a clear demand from parents, but this will remain unfulfilled until there will be some kind of paradigm shift in policy and attitude from the French state. It is very important to encourage and to facilitate access to Breton language education. The competences of the Region of Brittany should be reinforced in order to create a permanent Breton language educational policy. However, none of these scenarios appears likely in the near future.

Still, progress is being made on educational policy regarding the Breton language. At the beginning, the bilingual education offer was based on a “demand and supply” scenario. Now it is slowly shifting towards an “offer policy” programme. There also are a few vital challenges in order to maintain and increase both Breton teachers’ posts and the use of Breton as instruction language: “learning Breton and learning in Breton”. A change of mind is crucial: teachers working in the public sector should

be aware of the advantages and outcomes of being bilingual (which is not the case nowadays).

In the previous edition of this Mercator Regional Dossier, the ageing of the Breton speakers' population was pointed out: two-thirds of them are over sixty years old. The 2018 survey shows that more than three quarters of the Breton speakers are now over this age. Little has been done to meet the parental demand for more Breton teaching. Bilingual education as well as inter-generational transmission should ensure that speakers can use the Breton language in their daily life. Otherwise, the language would be falling to a critical level of endangerment in around twenty years. Because of the current speaker age profile, the numbers of speakers are set to fall sharply from a current community of around 200,000 to 100,000 in the next 20-30 years.

Most parents of children attending bilingual schools are French monolingual speakers. Once children go back to their French-speaking households, there is a break-off with the Breton language environment. In any reversing language shift effort, an education-led strategy can be effective, providing that Breton is also being reinforced at home. Although figures show a slow but steady growth of bilingual schools, reassuring families in their choice of bilingual education for their children, the Breton language may still be withering away because of the lack of inter-generational transmission.

The French state is responsible for the continuing decline of Breton language use. France is a European nation-state which intends to be in favour of basic human rights and in which everyone is entitled to use a language without discrimination. This should be the case for the Breton language. Though the state should provide the means to support the Breton language and should help reversing language shift, it is still actively hampering development of Breton in education bilingual policy. It cannot be emphasised strong enough that the next ten years are going to be crucial for the Breton language, it will need all the state support it can muster in order to blossom new speakers or at least to maintain the language community as it is now.

The French position towards the Breton language ranges from indifference to animosity. It is likely that the increase of bilingual teaching policy will not be steady enough to prevent language use from decline. It is difficult to predict what progress the language can make within the current state structures of education. Nevertheless, in order to generalize the offer of Breton language schools, it is imperative that the state services proactively support this expansion and that the other streams (catholic and Diwan) also develop and strengthen their networks. In addition, Breton as a second language needs to be exponentially increased by training new teachers, by retraining existing ones to teach Breton as a subject and to use Breton as instruction language.

Actions have to be taken in order to establish an intergenerational language transmission with both parents and grandparents being actors in their children bilingual education. This is the way to provide a future for Breton.

Furthermore, any development for the future of the language in education will need to be backed by meaningful legislation. This legislation should be designed to protect and promote Breton in the form of a Breton Language Act similar to legislation enacted in Great Britain for Welsh, or Catalan and Basque in Spain, along with an empowered OPAB. Nevertheless, this legislation is absent right now and does not seem to be coming very soon. This is why increasing mobilization of the society for the Breton language remains vital for its future.

10 Summary statistics

The OPAB offers a comprehensive list of statistics on its website: <http://www.fr.brezhoneg.bzh/47-enseignement.htm>.

Table 2 Numbers of pupils in Brittany in all educational levels

	2017
Académie of Rennes	619,586
Académie of Nantes (<i>département</i> of Loire-Atlantique)	277,503
Total Brittany	897,089

Note. Data adapted from Ministry of National Education, 2017.

Table 3 Enrolment figures of pre-school and primary education of immersion and bilingual education streams

	Pre-schools (<i>pré-élémentaire</i>)	Primary schools (<i>élémentaire</i>)	Total
Diwan	1,440	1,606	3,046
Public bilingual	3,369	3,485	6,854
Catholic bilingual	2,157	2,566	4,723
Total	6,966	7,657	14,623

Note. Data from OPAB, 2017.

Table 4 Enrolment figures of secondary education of immersion and bilingual education streams

	Collège	Lycée	Total
Diwan	892	380	1,272
Public bilingual	905	250	1,155
Catholic bilingual	629	79	708
Total	2,426	709	3,135

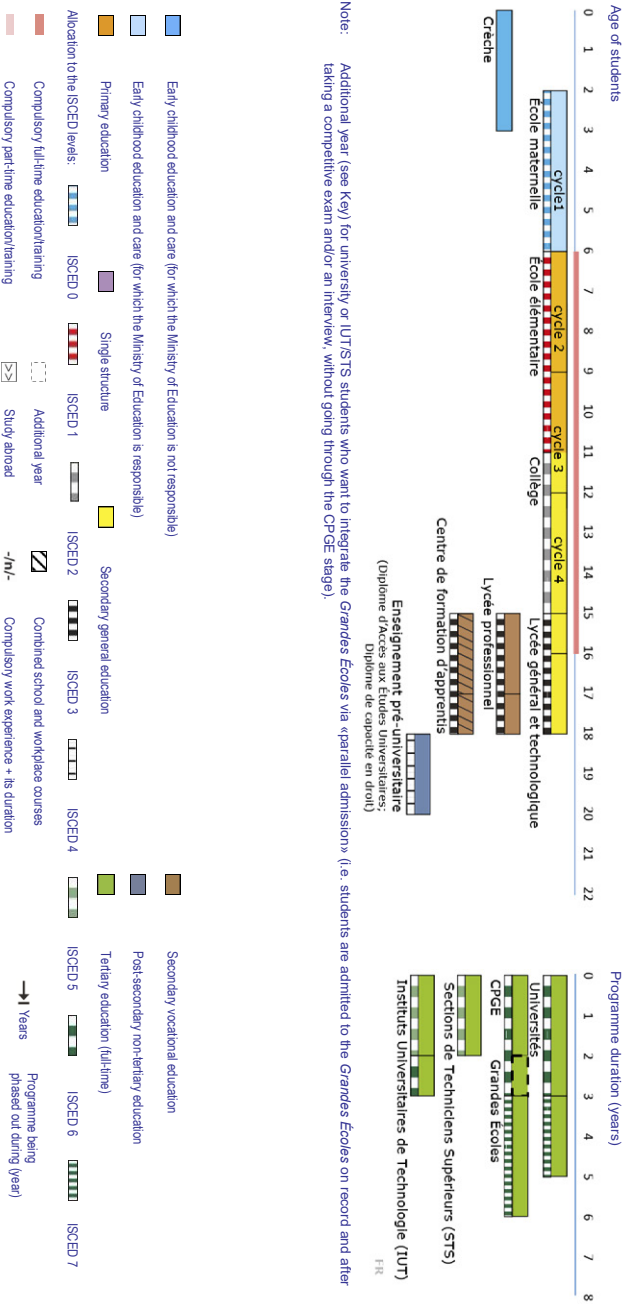
Note. Data from OPAB, 2017.

Table 5 Number of pupils with Breton as subject by class type at public and private schools

Breton initiation (primary schools)	7,662
Breton (subject) (college)	5,102
Breton LV (lycée)	605
Total Breton as a subject	13,369

Note. Data from Ministry of National Education, 2017.

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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Other websites on minority languages

Mercator Research Centre www.mercator-research.eu
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 Network www.mercator-network.eu
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 Commission <http://ec.europa.eu/languages>
The website of the European Commission gives information about the EU's support for language diversity.

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

What can the Mercator Research Centre offer you?

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The research activities of the Mercator Research Centre focus on various aspects of bilingual and trilingual education such as language proficiency in different languages, interaction in the multilingual classroom, and teachers' qualifications for working in a multilingual classroom. Latest developments look at how educational models for minority languages can also cater for immigrant pupils. Whenever possible, research is carried out in a comparative European perspective. Results are disseminated through publications, conferences and publications in collaboration with European partners.

conferences

The Mercator Research Centre organises conferences and seminars on a regular basis. The main target groups are professionals, researchers and policymakers from all member states of the Council of Europe and beyond. Themes for the conferences are: assessment & best practice, educational models, development of minimum standards, teacher training and the application of the Common European Framework of Reference.

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