## Breton

The Breton language in education
in France
(C) Mercator-Education, 1998

Mercator-Education
P.O. Box 54

8900 AB Ljouwert/Leeuwarden
The Netherlands
tel. +31-58-2131414
fax: +31-58-2131409
e-mail: mercator@fa.knaw.nl
website: http://www.fa.knaw.nl/mercator
The contents of this publication may be reproduced in print, except for commercial purposes, provided that the extract is proceeded by a complete reference to Mercator-Education: European network for regional or minority languages and education.

This regional dossier was compiled by Olier ar Mogn (Service de la langue Bretonne, Institut Culturel de Bretagne) and Mark Stuijt (Mercator-Education). Additional information has been supplied by the Inspector for Regional Languages at the Académie of Rennes (M. Yves Evenou) and Diwan, Dihun and Div Yezh organizations. The data reflect the situation in the school year 1997-98 unless stated otherwise.

## Contents

Foreword to the regional dossiers ..... 1
1 Introduction to this issue ..... 2
2 Pre-school education ..... 9
3 Elementary education ..... 10
4 Secondary education ..... 14
5 Vocational education ..... 16
6 Higher education ..... 17
7 Adult education ..... 21
8 Educational research ..... 22
9 Prospects ..... 22
10 Summary ..... 23
Outline of education system ..... 25
Notes ..... 26
References ..... 27
Addresses ..... 30

## Foreword to the regional dossiers

background
aim
target group

For several years now, Mercator-Education has attempted 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 that State and which are traditionally used within a given territory of that State by nationals of that State forming a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population. ${ }^{1}$ To date, Mercator-Education has been successful in establishing a computerized data bank containing bibliographic data, information about persons and organizations involved with minority language issues, and data collected during four inventory studies on pre-school education (Goot, Renkema \& Stuijt, 1994), primary education (Sikma \& Gorter, 1991), learning materials (Tjeerdsma \& Sikma, 1994) and teacher training (Dekkers, 1995). In addition there is a need for documents stating in brief the most essential features of the educational system of regions with an autochthonous lesser used language. With the establishment of regional dossiers it is intended to meet this need.

Regional dossiers aim at providing concise descriptive information and basic educational statistics about minority language education in a specific region of the European Community. 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.

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
(further reading and addresses are included) or as a source of ideas for improving educational provision in their own region.
link with
EURYDICE
contents

## 1

language

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 all levels of education in Member States of the European Union. ${ }^{2}$ The information provided in the regional dossiers is focused on language use at the various levels of education.

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. Sections eight to ten cover research, prospects and summary statistics. These brief descriptions contain factual information presented in a readily accessible way. For detailed information and political discussions about language use at the various levels of education, the reader is referred to other sources.

## Introduction to this issue

Breton, or Brezhoneg, is an indigenous Celtic language spoken mainly in the West of Brittany, but also practised in the main cities of the Eastern part, called Upper Brittany. Traditionally it is the language of a large part of Brittany, but over the centuries the linguistic border gradually moved to the West.
Linguistically, Breton forms part of the Brythonic branch of the Celtic languages, to which also Welsh and Cornish belong. It is commonly agreed upon, that the Breton language is made up of four dialects : Kerneveg, Leoneg, Tregerieg and Gwenedeg. A modern unified form without a particular geographic basis evolved in the last fifty years.
As a language of the Brythonic branch the similarities with Welsh are still obvious, even though the languages have been
isolated for more than thousand years and have been influenced in the last centuries by French and English respectively. At the beginning of World War I, the Breton speaking parts of Brittany counted some 900,000 people only speaking Breton, some 400,000 bilinguals and 50,000 who did not speak Breton at all. Today, of a total population of some $4,000,000^{3}$, about 240,000 can speak Breton to some extent next to French. Only half of them speak Breton on an every day basis. These are estimates ${ }^{4}$, for the French authorities are still not eager to include questions about language in the general censuses.
Several factors have contributed to account for the decrease in numbers of speakers:

- social and economic developments: as the people speaking Breton more often were farmers, fishermen and people in the rural areas, Breton was affected particularly by economic changes such as migration towards the cities during the last 30 years.
- the Breton language has always suffered from oppressive measures. The attitude of the French authorities has been very clear about this. In 1925, for example, the French Minister of Education declared: "For the linguistic unity of France, the Breton language must disappear". In 1972, Mr Georges Pompidou, then President of France, stated that there was no place for regional languages in France.
- the exclusion of Breton from decision making surroundings, the media, administration education, etc. made that Breton is now a threatened language. In the last twenty years the official attitude changed on the surface. It is no longer politically accepted to attempt belittling regional languages. In many cases state representatives declare that, although they would be willing, it is now too late to save the regional languages.
education
system
The French education system is largely state controlled although some decentralization measures were taken in the eighties.

School attendance is compulsory from 6 to 16, but children can be accepted in schools from the age of 2 years. Curricula are being made for all compulsory school levels. 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 ${ }^{5}$. 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 notice that the percentage of early schooling is very high in Brittany ( $92 \%$ compared to $85 \%$ in the whole of France). 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 regular school attendance of their children.
public and private

In its constitution, France advocates the idea of state education in order to promote the values 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. Such schools must adhere to timetables applied to public education.
Most catholic schools adhere to timetables applied to public education. They depend from the Diocesan Direction for Catholic Education (DDEC). The percentage of pupils schooled through catholic education is quite high in Brittany: some $40 \%$ of all pupils attend this form of private schooling ${ }^{6}$.
A special case is formed by Diwan, the Breton immersion schools, which will be discussed separately.
administration
académie
regional
languages and cultures

There are four administrative levels in France: state, region, département 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 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, départements and local communities somewhat increased. Nowadays, the regions are responsible for building and maintaining the premises of upper secondary schools (lycées) and institutes for vocational training. Départements have the same responsibility for schools for lower secondary education (collèges). Local communities or town councils are responsible for primary schools.

A particular characteristic of the French educational system are the administrative units of education (académies). 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 de Loire-Atlantique. There are currently discussions about integrating the plans for regional language and culture within the two académies.

Since the Deixonne law (1951) and subsequent implementation measures, Breton language and culture may be taught for 1 to 3 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.

Besides, there are some public and catholic schools which have adopted bilingual streams or are totally bilingual. These bilingual streams at public schools are being promoted by private initiative, by two organizations: Div-Yezh and Dihun (see under support structures), and have worked out their own bilingual education schemes ${ }^{7}$. Bilingual sections at public education institutes can be created upon the request of at least 15 parents with the consent of the mayor. The most favourable authority towards the promotion of Breton is the Finistère département, which allots Ffrs. $5,000,000$ every year to the maintenance of bilingual classes and the development of leaming materials. Recently 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 regional entities in already taught subjects, but also enhance the possibilities of teaching Breton.
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 are more specifically charged with assessing the teaching at secondary schools. In each département, an inspector of the académie applies the ministerial directives (and those of the director of the Académie) and manages more particularly primary school education and these inspectors are in charge of the assessment of primary school and lower secondary teachers. They are assisted by pedagogical counsellors. Such Inspectors function in the area of the Académie of Rennes. For catholic schools, the inspection and counselling services fall under the responsibility of the D.D.E.C.
Specific mentioning should be made of the catholic education board in Finistère, which adopted a Charter for Bilingual
support
structures

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

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. Specific support for Breton is provided by TES (Ti-embann ar Skolioù Brezhonek, a publishing house for the bilingual and Breton-language schools which functions as a section of the Centre Départemental de Documentation Pédagogique since 1993. TES is funded by the State, the region Brittany 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 5-6 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 with bilingual programmes and the teaching of Breton as well as the preparation of learning material.
The organization of Breton teachers (U.G.B.) collects teachers who wish to enlarge the possibilities of teaching Breton at all school levels and wish to have the competence over education transferred to the region.
The creation of bilingual streams in both public and catholic education is being supported by parents' organizations, resp. Div Yezh and Dihun. These form lobbies to convince local authorities or school boards to setting up bilingual streams, help finding teachers, help bearing extra costs and produce materials.

## Diwan

One organization, which deserves special attention in the framework of education is "Diwan" (literally meaning:
germ). Diwan is an organization 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 preprimary and primary levels, and later on, in 1988, also at secondary level. The Diwan schools have known a constant increase of pupils: some $17 \%$ in the last years. In 1997, the first pupils at Diwan schools have passed their baccalauréat exam.
The educational practice of these schools is based on a pedagogical principle, called immersion education, which implies that young children are first being educated through the medium of Breton and French is being introduced only gradually after. 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 preprimary school and full bilingualism at the end of the elementary school. Its principles as to teaching philosophy are explained in a Charter. 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. Whenever Diwan wishes to create new schools, the State will start supporting these only from the fifth year after setting up, which makes the creation of new schools very difficult. It is the aim of Diwan to become part of the public education system.
target group
legislation
language use

Breton as a medium of
instruction

Education Nationale finances schooling for 2 to 6 years old toddlers, either in classes enfantines within the primary school, or in separate nursery schools, écoles maternelles. Preprimary 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. Currently most preprimary schools are merged with the elementary schools into primary education.

The framework law on education of 10 July 1989 states that every child at the age of three should be admitted to a nursery school near to his/her home. In rural areas there are peripatetic teachers to cater for the minimum number of pupils. Teaching is being done for some 26 hours per week. According to the law teachers at pre-primary level receive the same training as teachers in elementary schools.

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 with a particular attention to Breton, due to the fact that Breton is the home language for only a small percentage of the pupils.

At preprimary classes of public bilingual schools children have 15 hours of activities in French and 12 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.

## 3 <br> <br> Elementary education

 <br> <br> Elementary education}instruction material
target group
legislation

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

Since 1995, the programmes for preprimary and elementary schools have been integrated in the new primary school, consisting of three learning cycles. The first two years make up the first learning cycle. Then, starting with the last year of preprimary 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.

Primary education is governed by the framework law on education of 10 July 1989 and by decree no. 90-788 of 6

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 elementary school comprises five classes with 24-26 hours of teaching per week. National curricula are being established only for compulsory subjects. Since the Deixonne law of 1951, 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
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 regroupment of those pupils in bilingual sections at certain moments 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 soecific 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 as to the teachers involved: while in catholic bilingual schools normally one teacher uses only one language, thus having two teachers teaching at different moments, at 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 done only at 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 implies 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
research
teachers
instruction
material

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 teacher aid 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. ${ }^{8}$

Research has been done by the Académie of Rennes comparing the results of the immersion system and those of the bilingual programmes. Results of the survey have not been made public so far.

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.

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 section TES was created which has published Breton books of high standard already, for various school subjects, in particular for mathematics teaching. There are
statistics

## 4

structure
also cassettes and CD-ROMS. Copies of these books are sent for free to all schools with Breton language courses.

In the whole of the area covered by the Académie de Rennes there are currently (1997) 116,032 pupils in public elementary schools, a further 74,588 in private schools. The number of those who attend either "initiation"or "Breton Culture" is estimated from 6,000 to 15,000 according to various sources. It is important to notice that schools are never assessed as to this form of teaching. In 1995-96 there were four teachers who visited 48 public schools to carry out 'initiation'. The teaching of Breton culture affects 3,142 pupils and Breton language teaching is attended by 870 pupils ${ }^{9}$. Only in Finistère, in 56 catholic primary schools, Breton is taught for half an hour per week to 7,300 pupils by 15 peripatetic teachers in 78 schools ${ }^{10}$. In 1997/98 there were 933 pupils in bilingual classes (421 in catholic schools and 512 in public schools ${ }^{11}$ ). A further 674 pupils follow schooling in immersion Diwan schools.

## Secondary education

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 between a humanities and a technology direction.
The lycées (for the 16 to 18 years old) 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 directions) and vocational lycées (to which agricultural lycées can be added).
legislation

Breton as a medium of
instruction

Breton as a subject

They all prepare for the baccalauréat or for a technical certificate.

With the law of 11 July 1975 collèges were created enabling a preparation of a general nature within compulsory education. They have the status of local public institutions. The weekly teaching is some 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 the choice of a regional language for the baccalauréat is worked out ${ }^{12}$.

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 is possible to sit for the exam of history and geography in Breton (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, esp. with history, geography, natural sciences and mathematics, drawing, sports, music, 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 surrounding is strengthened by the fact that the collèges of Diwan function as boarding schools: students come from relatively long distances.

Although still a marginal issue, Breton is offered in more and more 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 affects some 2,500 pupils at public and 500 at catholic secondary schools. There are no official figures and there are no exams at this level.
- optional subject. From the first year of collège on, Breton can be offered as an optional subject to the limit of three hours per week, but normally it is limited to one hour. There is no systematic evaluating of the results of this teaching.
- 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. In this case a real exam takes place. In the last years a real decline of the number of colleges offering Breton has taken place.
- Breton in bilingual eduaction: 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 to upper secondary education, only about 1,000 students have chosen the option "Breton language". It can also be studied as a second modern language ( 130 students), or as a third modern language ( 1,400 students) or just as an optional subject, which means out of normal school hours.
Last year an assessment of the bilingual systems has taken 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 at catholic secondary education.
instruction
material

A recently published method for students at collège "Plouz Foenn...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 secondary school at Diwan published some 33 manuals in Breton for a large variety of subjects.

## Vocational education

A characteristic of the French education system 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
statistics

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 is 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 in 2 years time the B.T.S. "Certificate of advanced technician". Training at this level can be done in an apprenticeship training centre. Employers cooperate in this training, by offering apprenticeship and training on the job.
Since 1987 the vocational lycées may also award a baccalauréat. Full responsibility for vocational education now lies with the regional authorities.

According to the figures of the Académie of Rennes there are some 40,000 students at vocational lycées in 1997-98 ${ }^{13}$. We have no data whether programmes of this school level include Breton, or subjects taught through the medium of Breton.

## 6

structure
statistics

## Higher education

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 educations pay a certain fee, but they can be eligible for financial assistance by the state. The first two years of university training consist of a basic programme, concluded by a General Diploma of University studies (DEUG), the licence takes one more year, while the maîtrise exam can be done after four years of university studies.

In Brittany the traditional university towns are Brest, Rennes and Nantes. The total number of students enrolled at Breton public Universities is 71,000 in 1997-98, including students at the I.U.T. The teacher training institutes have an enrolment of $2,600^{14}$ students. Breton language courses are available at the University of Rennes II, at the University of Lorient, Brest and, more recently, the one in Nantes. Figures for students who are studying for a degree in Breton are 550 for Rennes, 50 for Lorient, 150 for Brest and finally 31 for Nantes ${ }^{15}$.
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 students can specialize in Breton language alone. In Brest one studies Breton together with one other subject (English, history...)
There are also catholic universities in Brittany: they offer basic courses in Breton for students at two levels.
teacher training
primary level

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 in two years time. Candidates must have completed three years of post-secondary education before getting access to an IUFM.

The IUFM in Rennes has five sections throughout Brittany. Not in all five training centres of the IUFM Bretagne the possibility of studying Breton exists: only the centre in St. Brieuc devotes quite some time to the teaching of Breton ${ }^{16}$. The training of teachers, provided by the IUFM in SaintBrieuc, is linked to the University of Rennes. A special section here caters for the pre-service training for teachers at bilingual schools. 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 can attend the IUFM. The training for the first year is optional.
For catholic schools there are 4 teacher training centres (CFP) in Brittany, of which the centre in Arradon (near Vannes) has specific provisions for Breton language teaching and training at 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 courses at Stumdi, prior to their access at 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 preservice. In 1996-97 there were 30 teachers participating in these courses.
During the first year of training the number of hours in Breton is 50. 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 100-150 hours of Breton are given. At the end of the second year they are appointed as school teachers. There are currently 30 students at the IUFM who follow Breton courses with two teachers.
A new research degree has been created at the University of Rennes: in order to prepare teachers to teach all subjects through the medium of Breton language a new research degree was launched in the year 1996-97. About 15 students were registered for a training to prepare for teaching their subjects through the medium of Breton.
Diwan organizes its own teacher training (two years period). It has one centre, Kelenn, in Kemper/Quimper, since September 1997. Aspirant teachers follow one year of Breton classes and didactics and the second year they train at schools supervised by an experienced teacher. Specialists from various backgrounds participate in the training to assure preparation for immersion teaching. In 1997-98 there are some 15 teachers at primary level who follow their courses at this centre.
secondary
For teaching at secondary education, a certificate for Breton (DEUG) in combination with another subject has been created recently. However, the highest level for secondary school teachers, agrégation, is still not available for teachers of Breton. It should be mentioned that there are regular exchanges with other Celtic students from abroad with some attention towards the teaching of a minority language. The IUFM section of in St. Brieuc devotes quite some time to this 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

In 1997-98 at the IUFM of Rennes (section Saint Brieuc) there are 6 students who sit for the CAPES-exam of Breton. The catholic schools have trained secondary teachers in their own systems but these have merged with the IUFMs in the early nineties. There is no more catholic training for secondary teachers although the DDEC organizes some specific courses for future teachers. There are also in-service training facilities for secondary teachers: from time to time teachers esp. in Finistère unite to discuss curriculum matters.
in service training

Besides, in-service training courses are organised in the programme of the "Départemental Plan for the in-service training of Teachers" (P.D.F.C.M.) for the primary schools. Catholic schools have special long term courses: 2 times 7 weeks in one year with practical training of how to use Breton for teachers at bilingual schools and those who teach Breton as a subject. According to the earlier mentioned Charter for Bilingual Education these teachers should continue to practise their fluency in 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.

## Adult education

Adult education is mainly based on private initiative, sometimes integrated in programmes of community based activities.
It is estimated that there are some 1,200 adults ${ }^{17}$ attending Breton courses. A real increase has been noticed in the last years. In more than 80 places adults can follow such courses throughout Brittany. There are also crash courses organized every summer by the University of Rennes and other by organizations, such as Ar Falz and Sav-Heol. The most well
known is the "Kamp Etrekeltiek ar Vrezhonegerien". Another development was the recent creation of two professional organizations devoted to the teaching of Breton to adults: Stumdi and Roudour, both in the Finistère departement. Stumdi organizes courses for teachers to perfect their knowledge of Breton before entering at the CFP or IUFM.

Apart from the residential courses there are also correspondence courses in Breton, organized by The Open University of Brittany and by Skol Ober, which count some 500 students every year. Furthermore Breton can also be studied outside Brittany, in the Paris area.

## 8

research
One of the developments to take place now is the creation of a body dealing with a structured and coordinated research on this topic.
Evaluation of pupils' results, comparing the outcomes of test by Diwan pupils with bilingual school students at secondary schools have been carried out by the Rectorat de l'Académie. There has not been any evaluation of "initiation". For secondary education threre is now an assessment of the Modern Language option. Results of this evaluation have not been made available to the public.

## 9

## Prospects

The progress of the teaching of Breton remains very fragile and demands for more structured funding are still not being met by the education authorities. In the years to come, it will
be necessary to improve the training of teachers and to change the attitude of all teachers.

Div Yezh explicited its objectives for future development: the organization works towards a number of 10,000 pupils in the year 2000. Based upon surveys on attitudes towards Breton in one département (TMO-Finistère 1992) and an enquiry among the community councils of 1993, it seems reasonable that in 2000 some $1.6 \%$ of the pupils in Brittany will be schooled in bilingual public schools. The most important issue which needs to be resolved is the lack of competent teachers, esp. those in secondary education. Another problem to be solved consists in the lack of continuity in schooling. Only in very few places pupils continue their entire schooling in one town.

## 10

 SummaryTable 1: Enrolment figures of bilingual or immersion streams on pre-primary level

| pre-primary | number of pupils | number of classes |
| :--- | :---: | :--- |
| public education total | 78,032 | 613 schools |
| public bilingual | 581 | 21 sections |
| catholic education total | 46,381 | 69 schools |
| catholic bilingual | 488 | 26 sections |
| Diwan | 752 | 26 schools |

Figures 1997/98 source: Div-yezh, Dihun, Diwan organizations and Académie of Rennes. ${ }^{18}$

Table 2: Enrolment figures of bilingual or immersion stream on secondary level

| total Académie | bilingual streams | Breton subject |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |


|  | schools | students | schools | students | students |
| :--- | ---: | :--- | :--- | ---: | :--- |
| public collège | 209 | 87,533 | 8 | 149 | 8,652 optional; 2,828 $\mathrm{LV}^{19}$ |
| public lycée | 58 | 47,440 | 3 | 41 | 1,245 optional; ${\text { or } \mathrm{LV}^{20}}^{\text {l }}$ |
| catholic collège | 187 | 65,914 | 3 | 33 | 1,102 optional; or LV $^{21}$ |
| catholic lycée | 70 | 34,786 | 0 | 0 | 342 optional; |
| or LV ${ }^{22}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| Diwan collège | 3 | 327 | 3 | 327 | all pupils LV |
| Diwan lycée | 1 | 56 | 1 | 56 | all pupils LV |

Figures 1996-97 for the Académie de Rennes. LV = Modern Language as a subject.
Note that the bilingual streams in public and catholic education refer to parts of the school population, while in Diwan it is the total school population.
Furthermore, in the area of Nantes (Loire-Atlantique) there are 12 secondary schools (collèges and lycées) offering Breton as a subject for some 200 students. Outside the area of Breton speech, some lycées in the Paris area also prepare students for the baccalauréat in Breton. In five such schools were 3 teachers taught Breton to almost 100 students in 1994-9523.

Table 3: Division of bilingual students in school types and levels in Brittany

|  | pre-primary | elementary | collège | lycée | Total | growth (in \%) | number of <br> sections |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Diwan | 752 | 674 | 268 | 56 | 1753 | $255(17 \%)$ | 26 |
| Public | 581 | 512 | 149 | 41 | 1283 | $133(11,6 \%)$ | 23 |
| Privé | 488 | 421 | 65 | 1 | 975 | $204(26 \%)$ | 26 |
| Total | 1821 | 1607 | 482 | 101 | 4011 | $592(17,5 \%)$ | 75 |

Source: folder of Div Yezh

Figure 1


Source: folder of Div Yezh

Education system in France, from Structures of the Education.

1 Source: European charter for regional or minority languages. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. November 1992. European Treaty Series/Série des traités européens 148

2 This document called "Structures of the education and initial training systems in the European Union" has been prepared jointly by EURYDICE and CEDEFOP.
Website: (partly also in French) http://www.eurydice.org. Tel.: +32-2-238 3011; Fax. +32-2-230 6562.
Address: EURYDICE European Unit, Rue d'Arlon 15, 1050 Brussels, Belgium.
3 This is of the four dépatements which make up the current région de Bretagne: the historical region of Brittany included the densely populated département Loire Atlantique.
4 source: Le Breton tel qu'on le parle ...... 1997 on a sample of 2,500 persons in the West of Brittany, more or less $20 \%$ of its population.
5 Source: Structures. In this document details about the educational system in France are not mentioned. See also entry on France in the International Encyclopedia of Education (2nd ed.) of Húsen \& Postlethwaite, 1994.

6 Figures from the Rectorat e l'Académie's website. According to the level of education this percentage varies between $37.2 \%$ in preprimary education to $41.6 \%$ in upper general secondary education.
7 The firstDiwan school has been set up in Lampaul-Ploudaalréau in 1977, the first public one in St. Rivoal in 1982 and the first catholic one in Vannes in 1990.
8 Some schools prefer to teach Breton Culture instead of "initiation".
9 Un outil, figure from 1994-95.
10 Enseignement, p. 28.
11 figures annexed by Yannig BaronLa Rentrée dans les trois DI; communication of M. Ar Mogn : 906 pupils concerning preprimary and elementary bilingual schools in 1997-98: 906 in catholic, 1092 in public schools; the figure for pupils enrolled in Diwan all-primary schools is 1426.
12 Published in Bulletin Officiel de l'Education Nationale n. 28 of 14 July 1994 and the special edition n .10 of 28 July 1994.
13 Distributed over 50 public schools with 22,000 students and 19 private schools with 18,000 students.
14 These figures refer to the territory of the Académie of Rennes.
15 Evenou, pers. communication
16 The number of students preparing for their Breton translation test at the end of the first optional year of IUFM is 13 (incl. 4 teachers intending to teach at Diwan schools: source Evenou 1997). In Brest and Vannes this happens on a less frequent basis.
17 Un Outil, p. 27
18 figures from the Académie of Rennes website: http://www.ac-rennes.fr/som.htm.
19 Un outil, p. 24, Evenou (pers. com.): LV2: 68 pupils in collèges
20 Un outil, p. 24, Evenou: (pers com.) LV2: 130 in lycée, LV3: 1400
21 Lavar ar Vro, p. 11
22 Lavar ar Vro, p. 11 Evenou (pers. com.) : LV3: 1000
23 Un Outil, p. 28.

## References

Main official texts regulating teaching of regional languages and cultures

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

Directive 66-361 of October 21 ${ }^{\text {st }}$, 1966: Academic Commissions for Regional Languages and Cultures.

Haby Law (75-620 of 11.7.75) art. 12 says that teaching of regional or minority languages may be done throughout school career.

Circulaire Savary (76-123 of 29-3-76) Circular allowing to employ pedagogic advisers for regional/minority language teaching since 1982 (circular 82-261) Savary confirmed state commitment to teaching of regional languages, remaining on 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 urban setting.

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

Decree $85-88$ of January $22^{\text {nd }}, 1985$ : Primary school teachers in regional languages and cultures.

Directive 96-134 of May $14^{\text {th }}$, 1986: Formation of primary school teachers.

Departmental order of April $15^{\text {th }}$, 1988: Programmes.
Departmental order of June $23^{\text {rd }}$, 1994: Regional language for the Brevet des Collèges.
publications

## Ophrys.

Broudic, Fañch (1995). La pratique du breton, de l'Ancien Régime à nos jours. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

Cadiou, Hervé (1983). La langue bretonne et l'enseignement. Du Catholicon aux lois scolaires de la Troisième République. Brest: UBO (Mémoire de Maîtrise).

Carrer Ph., Daumer Y., Denez, P. (1986). Permanence de la langue bretonne. De la linguistique à la psychanalyse. Rennes: Institut Culturel de Bretagne.

Charte le l'enseignement bilingue français-breton. Quimper: DDEC, s.a.

Du (Klaoda an) (1991). Histoire d'un interdit: le breton à l'école. Hor Yezh.

Enseignement catholique du Finistère (1997-98). (s.1.): Direction Diocésaine de l'Enseignement Catholique du Finistère.

Favereau, F. (1993). Bretagne contemporaine: langue, culture identité. Morlaix: Skol Vreizh.

Gwegen, Jorj (1975). La langue bretonne face à ses oppresseurs. Quimper: Nature et Bretagne.

Hemon, Roparz (1947). La langue bretonne et ses combats. La Baule: Éd. de Bretagne.

INSEE Propos sur la langue bretonne. Rennes: les dossiers d'Octant, n. 23.

Keleier Servij ar Brezhoneg (1993-..). Actualités de la langue bretonne. Rennes: Institut Culturel de Bretagne, Service de la Langue bretonne, n. $17^{\circ}$.

Kergoat, Lukian (1992). De Stivell à Diwan, de la langue symbole à l'investissement dans la langue. Rennes: Klask $\mathrm{n}^{\circ} 2$.

Lainé, Noël (1992). Le Droit à la parole. Rennes: Terre de Brume Éditions.

Laurent, Loelz (1994). La Connaissance du breton. Rennes: INSEE, Octant n ${ }^{\circ}$ 56-57.

Lavar ar Vro = Dire la Bretagne (1997). Quimper: Direction de l'enseignement Catholique du Finistère, 1997.

Moal, Stefan (1995). Teacher training in Brittany in: A. Dekkers, Teacher training of minority languages for primary and secondary education. Ljouwert: Mercator-Education, 1995. p. 152-167.

Morvannou, Fañch (1988). Le Breton: jeunesse d'une vieille langue. Lannion: Presses populaires de Bretagne.

Un outil pour notre langue: Observatoire de la langue Bretonne (1995). Rennes: Institut Culturel de Bretagne.

Propos sur la langue bretonne (1990). Rennes: Les Dossiers d'Octant no 23.

Quelle école pour la Bretagne? (1989). Rennes: Institut Culturel de Bretagne.

Structures of the education and initial training systems in the European Union (1996²). Luxembourg: Eurydice \& Cedefop.

TMO Ouest (1991). La pratique du breton. Résultats d'une enquête. n. 1582.

## Addresses

publishers

T.E.S. (Ti-embann ar Skolioù Brezhonek)<br>30, hent Brieug<br>22015 Sant-Brieg<br>France<br>tel.: +33-2-96681450<br>fax: +33-2-96681452<br>Preder<br>Penn Menez<br>29700 Ploveilh<br>France<br>Skol<br>16 Straed Hector Berlioz<br>22000 Saint-Brieg<br>France

Keil Vimp Bev
Kervorn
29164 Laz
France

An Here
Kergleuz
Straed Gay-Lussac
29480 Ar Releg-Kerhuon
tel.: +33-2-98281037
fax: +33-2-98283474
Skol an Emsav8 Straed Hoche
35000 Roazhon
France
tel.: +33-2-99387583
fax: +33-2-99638228
Al Liamm
2 banell Poulbriken
29200 Brest
France
tel.: +33-2-98021084
Mouladurloù Hor Yezh
1 plasenn Charles Peguy
29260 Lesneven
France
tel.: +33-2-98831797
Sav Heol
12 Alez Asturiez
35200 Roazhon/Rennes
Breizh
France
tel.: +33-2-99302289
Ar Falz - Skol Vreizh
20 straed Kersko
29600 Morlaix / Montroules
tel.: +33-2-98621720
fax: +33-2-98620238
Skolig al Louarn
B.P. 13
29860 Plouvien
tel.: + 33-2-98400064

## Emgleo Breiz

$40^{\text {bis }}$, rue de la République
29200 Brest
France
tel.: +33-2-98-448942 / 8044970
fax: +33-2-98804970

Ministry of
National
Education
Rectorat de l'Académie de Bretagne
96, Rue d'Antrain
35044 Rennes Cedex
France
tel.: + 33-2-99287878
Département du Breton et Celtique
Campus Rennes 2
Villejean
6, av. G. Berger
25043 Rennes
France
tel.: +33-2-99141703
Civilisation et cultures de la Bretagne et des pays Celtiques
Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Sociales
20, rue Duquesne
BP 814
29285 Brest Cedex
France
tel.: + 33-2-98016349
Conseil Général du Finistère "langue et culture bretonne"
Yann-Bol Konteller
32, bd. Dupleix
29196 Quimper
France
tel.: +33-2-98762020

Direction de l'ensignement catholique du Finistère
2, rue César Franck
29196 Quimper
France
fax: +33-2-98957669
Cultural Centres and Associations

Skol-Uhel ar Vro / Institut Culturel de Bretagne 1, straed Raoul Ponchon
35069 Roazhon Cedex
France
tel.: +33-2-99875800
fax: +33-2-99875808
Diwan
T.A. Sant-Ernel
B.P. 156

29411 Landerne Cedex
France
tel.: +33-2-98213495
fax: +33-2-98213184
Kelenn
18, rue Roger Salengro
29000 Quimper
France
tel.: +33-2-986442260
fax: +33-2-986442261
Unvaniezh ar Gelennerien Brezhoneg (U.G.B.) Union of the
Breton Teachers
Koad Gour'chan bihan
22700 Lounaeg
France
tel.: +33-2-96480154
Roudour
Ti ar C'hoad - Hent Berrien
29690 An Uhelgoad
France
Stumdi (stummadur Dibaouez)
Sant Kadou
B.P. 2
29450 Sizun
France
tel.: +33-2-98241017
fax: +33-2-98241019
Div Yezh (parents ass. in public bilingual schools)
2ter straed Rosa le Hénaf
22110 Rostrenenn
France
tel.: +33-2-96292333
Dihun (parents ass. in catholic bilingual schools)
72 straed Texeir Lahoulle
56000 Gwened / Vannes
France
tel.: +33-2-97464351
fax: +33-2-97407092

Available in the regional dossiers series:
Frisian, the Frisian language in education in the Netherlands
Irish, the Irish language in education in Northern Ireland
Occitan, the Occitan language in education in France
Swedish, the Swedish language in education in Finland
Slovenian, the Slovenian language in education in Austria
North Frisian, the NorthFrisian language in education in Germany
Basque, the Basque language in education in France

