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## **OCCITAN**

**The Occitan language in education in France**

| 2nd Edition |

| Regional dossiers series |



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Ramzië Krol-Hage has been responsible for the publication of this Mercator Regional dossier

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## Glossary

<b>BEP</b>	Professional education certificate ( <i>brevet d'études professionnelles</i> )
<b>BOEN</b>	Official Bulletin of the Ministry of Education ( <i>Bulletin Officiel de l'Education Nationale</i> )
<b>CALR</b>	Academic council for Regional Languages and Cultures ( <i>Conseil Académique des Langues et Cultures Régionales</i> )
<b>CAP</b>	Vocational aptitude certificate ( <i>certificat d'aptitude professionnelle</i> )
<b>CAPES</b>	Professional degree for secondary education teachers ( <i>Certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat de l'Enseignement du Second degré</i> )
<b>CRPE</b>	Primary school teacher selection procedure ( <i>Concours de Recrutement de Professeur des Ecoles</i> )
<b>DA-SEN</b>	Academy director of national education services ( <i>directeur académique des services de l'éducation</i> )
<b>EOE</b>	Occitan summer school ( <i>l'Escola occitana d'Estiu</i> )
<b>EPI</b>	Pedagogic Interdisciplinary Education ( <i>Enseignements Pédagogiques Interdisciplinaires</i> )
<b>ESPE</b>	Schools for professorship and education ( <i>Écoles supérieures du professorat et de l'éducation</i> )
<b>IA-IPR</b>	Académie inspectors / regional pedagogical inspectors ( <i>inspecteurs d'académie – inspecteurs pédagogiques régionaux</i> )
<b>IEN</b>	Inspectors for national education at pre-school and primary education level ( <i>inspecteurs de l'éducation nationale du 1er degré</i> )
<b>IEO</b>	Institute of Occitan Studies ( <i>Institut d'Estudis Occitans</i> )
<b>IGEN</b>	General inspection for national education ( <i>inspection générale de l'éducation nationale</i> )
<b>IUFM</b>	Academic teacher training institutes ( <i>Institut Universitaire de Formation des Maîtres</i> )
<b>JO[RF]</b>	Official Bulletin ( <i>Journal Officiel [de la République Française]</i> )
<b>RERS</b>	Statistical benchmarks and references on teaching, training and research ( <i>Repères et Références Statistiques sur les enseignements, la formation et la recherche</i> )

## 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.

**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 policy-makers, 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

Occitan, or the Oc language, is a Romance language. It is spoken in three countries: in southern France, Italy, and in Spain. The focus in this dossier is on the four regions in France where Occitan is spoken: Nouvelle-Aquitaine, Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes, Occitanie, and Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur.

Occitan in France is subdivided into six dialects: Vivaro-Alpine, Occitan Auvergnat and Occitan Limousin – together called Northern Occitan –, Languedocien (Toulouse, Montpellier) and Provençal (Aix, Marseille, Nice) – together called Southern Occitan – and Gascon (Bordeaux, Bayonne) (Ronjat 1913 & 1930; Bec 1967; Allières 2001; Hammarström, Forkel, Haspelmath & Bank, 2016). Despite the fact that the number of speakers is decreasing, Occitan remains the most widely spoken regional language in France, and the largest one in Europe in terms of territory.

Occitan was one of the first European languages to be recognised as a literary language. This literary presence started during the reign of William IX, Duke of Aquitaine (1071-1127). His reign saw the rise of the 'troubadours': the minstrels. At that time, "the language and the poetry of the troubadours were in fashion in most of the courts of Europe" (Knight 1843, 108). The language, ethics and themes used by the Troubadours had a strong and durable impact on Western Europe, from Petrarch to Tasso through Dante. Because of their chivalric structures, Occitan societies enabled a different relationship to God (a relationship that would be denounced as heretic in the Crusade against the Cathars from 1209 to 1229) and herald the development of the Inquisition based in Toulouse – last Cathar is burned in 1321 – to women – called "lord" – and to the economy, with a rapid development of urban bourgeoisie (Weil [Novis], 1943; Martel, 2002; Lafont 2007). In the sixteenth century, Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, ordered the translation of the Psalms of David and the Gospels into Occitan. This contributed greatly to the rise of baroque literature in Occitan. The Occitan language thus remains anchored in the Renaissance humanism period (Lafont

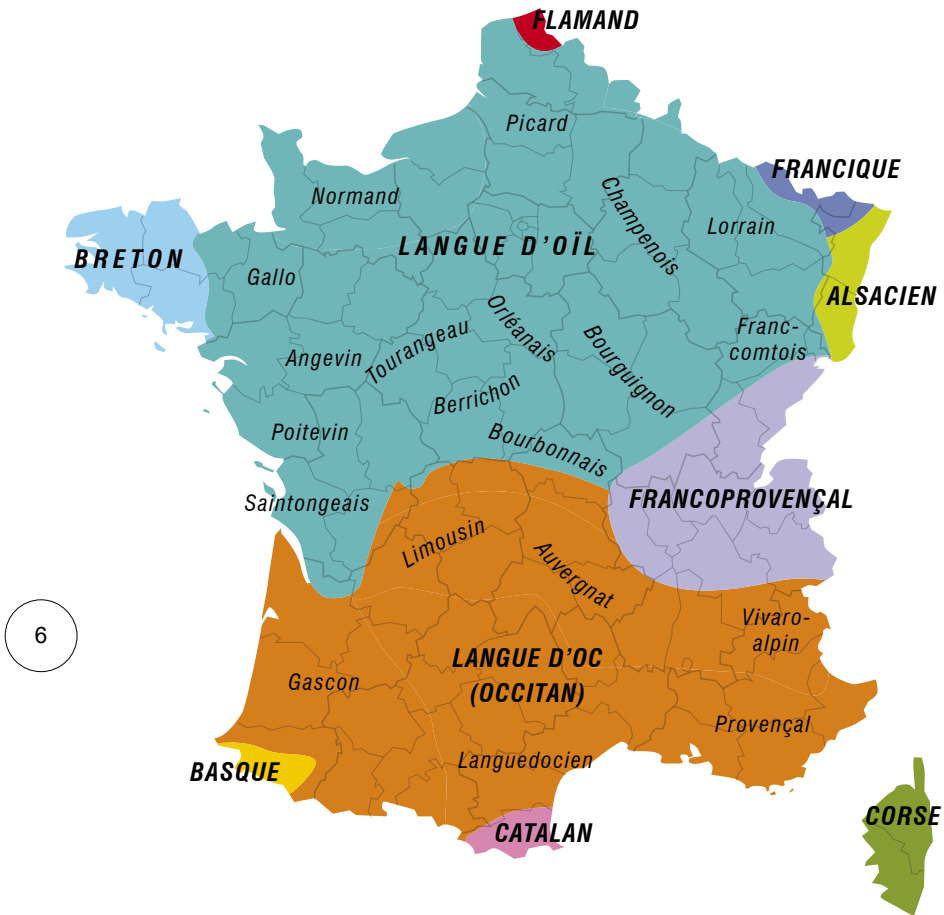


Figure 1: The area where Occitan is spoken. (Source: adapted from Eurominority.eu. Available at: <http://eurominority.com/en/romance-people/occitania/>)

1970; Escudé 2017) and flourished in Toulouse, the capital city of the south of the kingdom of France, around a modern poetic discourse (Escudé 2009). There were some factors that resulted in decline of the status of Occitan from the 14<sup>th</sup> century on. The Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts (1539) stated that French should be used as language for all French administration (Laurent 1982). Also, language diversity was seen as a threat during the French revolution (Certeau & alii 1975; Weber 1983; Boyer



& alii, 1989). Still, Occitan remained the main language of communication of the population until the beginning of the twentieth century. Occitan was also the language of popular protest movements (demonstration of Languedoc wine growers, 1907; coal miners' strikes in Decazeville, 1962; fight for the Larzac, 1974). However, diglossia, a mechanical distribution between a high language (an increasingly standardised French language) and a low language (an increasingly dialectalised Occitan) settles durably. An intellectual elite continued to write in Occitan. The Romantic period witnessed a European revival of Occitan with the félibrige, around the character of Frédéric Mistral, the author of the most comprehensive dictionary of the Occitan language (*Lou Tresor dóu Félibrige*) and of a poetic work that was rewarded with the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1904. Since the end of the Second World War and the foundation of the *Institut d'Estudis Occitans* in 1945 (Institute of Occitan Studies, hereafter: IEO), numerous artists (singers, actors, writers) have used Occitan as the medium for their various artistic expressions.

Various causes can be identified as having contributed to the decline of Occitan. These include a highly uniform national school system (introduced in 1880); two World Wars when Occitan speakers spent extended periods of time alongside French speakers; the use of French as the dominant language in the media (initially in newspapers, but followed by radio and later by television), and finally the fact that Occitan cannot be used in public administration. An important factor is that French has been the only official language since 1539 (Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts). Article 2 of the current constitution (*La Constitution de la 5e République*, du 4 octobre 1958) states that "the language of the Republic shall be French" (an article added in 1995). But over the years, since the end of the Romance period and the era of the Troubadours, literature gave Occitan the means to prove its existence, as if poetic art could sublime or compensate its dwindling social and political presence (Gardy 1978; 1988; 1992; 1996; 1996b; 1998). The years 1950-1980 witnessed a new approach through a political endeavour to "reclaim diglossia" (Lafont 1984; Sauzet 1988 &

1990) and to invest the field of institutional education: Occitan can nowadays be learned at schools.

### population

In 1913, Jules Ronjat estimated that, out of 40 million inhabitants in France, the population living in the Occitanophone territory was 10 million (Ronjat, 1913). Today, it is estimated that 1 to 2 million people that can speak Occitan live in France. The exact number is unknown, since there is no official statistical language survey in France. Because Occitan has many variations that can also be seen as distinct languages, estimating the number of Occitan speakers is a challenge. It is not clear how many Occitan speakers there are at this time.

Since the first official population censuses at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the French government has always refused to ask questions about language practice. Indeed, France is a civic republic: information considered private, such as religion or language are not to be taken into account. Likewise, there is only one French people but no Occitan, Corsican or Breton people. This political and cultural 'invisibilisation' has been studied over the last fifty years (see Lafont 1952, 1967, 1968, 1971, 2004 or more recently Escudé 2014). Additionally, seven surveys have been conducted in various regions regarding language competence and the attitude of the public towards Occitan from 1991 to 2010 (1991: Languedoc-Roussillon; 1997: Languedoc-Roussillon and Aquitaine; 2006: Auvergne; 2009: Aquitaine; 2010: Midi-Pyrénées and Rhône-Alpes – the latter for Occitan and Francoprovençal). These surveys did not cover the whole Occitan-speaking territory: data from the regions Limousin and Provence are missing. There are also a few remarks to be made on the methods used on the survey (for example, the questions were asked by phone and the results are based on self-definition), therefore we need to approach the results tentatively. Still, data collected by these surveys provide a hint about the linguistic landscape of the Occitan-speaking area. *"In fact, the number of Occitan speakers was estimated by the French Demographics Institute at 526,000 people, then 789,000"* (Martel 2007). Table 1 shows the survey results from 1991 and 1997 (in Languedoc-Roussillon).

	<b>1991</b>	<b>1997</b>
<b>understands Occitan</b>	48%	34%
<b>can speak Occitan</b>	39%	19%
<b>often speaks Occitan</b>	9.4%	5%
<b>can read Occitan</b>	45%	28%
<b>accepts the idea that his/her children may learn Occitan at school</b>	48%	60%

Table 1: Occitan language competence in Languedoc-Roussillon in 1991 and 1997 (Source: 1991 data: Hammel & Gardy, 1994; 1997 data: Boyer, 2001).

A geographical division of these results shows an important gap between the more rural departments and the more urban ones: in 1997, in Lozère, a rural mountainous department of France, 63% could understand, 48% could speak and 20% actually spoke Occitan often (compared to the numbers in table 1, 34%, 19% and 5% respectively).

According to ethnologists, the most recent estimation of the amount of Occitan speakers was 110.000 in 2012 (Simons & Fennig, 2017). The number of Occitan speakers has thus considerably decreased, from 10 000 000 (Ronjat, 1913) to 110 000 according to the lowest estimations. Nowadays, Occitan is spoken less and less, particularly among young people. This decrease among young people in using Occitan as a social language varies from one region to the other, exact statistics are not available.

Table 2 shows that while the use of the Occitan language has decreased, the awareness of the importance of the language as part of the regional identity is increasing. It should be noted that speakers born before 1951 have a different view on the language than those born after 1951, because the use of Occitan was not allowed in French schools before then.

<b>Occitan-speaking parents</b>	<b>born before 1951</b>	<b>born between 1951 and 1966</b>	<b>born after 1981</b>
"my children speak Occitan"	21%	16%	8%
"I wish my children spoke Occitan"	27%	44%	42%
"Occitan is an important part of the regional identity"	67%	74%	75%

Table 2: Attitudes towards Occitan amongst Occitan-speaking parents in Midi-Pyrénées (Source: Enquête sociolinguistique de 2010, Midi-Pyrénées).

Paradoxically, one observes that the more favourable the legislation, and the more positive the representation speakers have of their own language, the more the pragmatic ability to speak and to use them diminishes over the years unless there is a real linguistic policy in favour of regional languages at school and in society as a whole.

**language status** Occitan is not an officially recognised language and the number of speakers is decreasing. According to the UNESCO Atlas, four of the six dialects are 'severely endangered' and Gascon and Vivaro-Alpine are definitely endangered (Moseley, 2010). Article 2 of the Constitution has consequences for the position of minority languages like Occitan. The 'Toubon Law' of 1994 (*Loi n° 94-665 du 4 août 1994 relative à l'emploi de la langue française*) confirms in article 1 the dominance of French in all sectors of public life:

**Article 1:**

Established by the Constitution as the language of the French Republic, the French language is a key element in the personality and the heritage of France. French shall be the language of instruction, work, trade and exchanges and of the public services. It shall be the chosen bond between the States comprising the community of French-speaking countries.

The Toubon Law does refer to regional languages, but not in a very specific way:

**Article 21:**

The provisions of the present law apply without prejudice to the legislation and regulations relative to regional languages in France and is not against their use.

Until now, France has not ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Even though the National Assembly voted in favour on ratifying the Charter on 28 January 2014, the Senate refused this on 27 October 2015, with 180 votes against 55. The right-wing opposition justified this by

referring to their support of a centralised republican state and strong central governmental powers (DGLFLF, 2014). As a concession, an additional article (75-1) was added to the Constitution in 2008:

**Article 75-1:**

The regional languages are part of the French heritage.

This article, however, does not have any immediate practical consequences. As contrast, Occitan is one of the 12 languages recognised by law in Italy, guaranteeing (amongst other things) the opening of schools dedicated to Occitan and the use of it in public radio and TV broadcasts. In the Autonomous Community of Catalonia (Spain), a number of laws have recognised Aranese (the local variety of Occitan spoken in the Val d’Aran) as the ‘language proper to the Val d’Aran’ and as an official language of Catalonia. In practice, this means it has been given a strong status in education in the Val d’Aran.

**status of  
language  
education**

Until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the use of regional languages at school was forbidden, even during breaks. The ‘Deixonne Law’ of 1951 (*Loi n° 51-46 du 11 janvier 1951 relative à l’enseignement des langues et des dialectes locaux*) authorised the teaching of a number of regional languages, including Occitan. Academic commissions were set up in 1966 to rationalise the educational supply of regional language instruction. In 1970, it became possible to choose regional languages as a subject for the ‘*baccalauréat*’ (the final exams at the end of secondary school).

The 1980s saw new legislative impulses for regional languages with the so-called ‘Savary’ regulations of 1982 and 1983 (*Circulaire 82-261 Savary* and *Circulaire 83-547 Savary*) and the ‘Jospin Law’ of 1989 (*Loi n° 89-486 du 10 juillet 1989 d’orientation sur l’éducation*). Article 1 of this law of 1989 states that:

*“The mission of primary schools, secondary schools and higher education establishments is to transmit and establish knowledge*

*and working methods. They contribute to establishing equality between men and women, they deliver training that is adapted both in content and methods to the economic, technological, social and cultural evolutions of the country and its European and international environment. **That training may include, at all levels, a teaching of regional languages and cultures.***"

This last sentence signalled an extraordinary breakthrough in legislation.

These pieces of legislation allowed for the organisation of bilingual French/regional language classes (since 1989 in the case of Occitan), for the foundation of an Occitan professional degree for secondary education teachers (*Certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat de l'Enseignement du Second degré*, hereafter: CAPES) and for relevant programmes at the academic teacher training institutes (*Institut Universitaire de Formation des Maîtres*, hereafter: IUFM).

With the Bayrou Circular of April 1995, the option of using regional languages as language of instruction was legally recognised for the first time. By these regulations, teacher's professional competences and pedagogical skills are assessed through a professional aptitude exam – the CAPES. Passing the exam allows teachers to teach Occitan in secondary education and secures the possibility of offering bilingual education.

In spite of its authoritative wording, the Deixonne law of 1951 did not propel a new era for Occitan teaching because of the serious constraints it delineated for its implementation (Abrate 2001, 406-409; Lespoux 2003; Lafont 2004b,7; Couffin 2009). It was abolished on 22 June 2000 (*Ordonnance n°2000-549*) and replaced by two circulars (2001-166 and 2001-167) and a legal article (*L312-10 du Code de l'Education*) which henceforth enable the development of extensive and intensive regional language courses (through bilingualism in particular). These articles attempted to integrate immersion methods and bilingual education within the public education system. However, the parts of the documents that dealt with immersion techniques were annulled by the Council of State.

The 'Fillon law' on education (*projet de loi d'orientation et de*

*programme pour l'avenir de l'école*) of 2005 re-instated the Education Code's articles and incorporated the role of regions (officially referred to as territorial collectives). These regions are represented in the Academic Council for Regional Languages (CALR), founded by the *Décret 2001-733 du 31 juillet 2001*. This Council plays an advisory role concerning the array of languages in education and concerning matters related to the development of teaching material.

The 'Peillon Law' (*Loi n° 2013-595 du 8 juillet 2013 d'orientation et de programmation pour la refondation de l'école de la République*) of 2013 has inserted article 40, in which the place of regional languages is recognised. This law registered the regional languages as subjects and language of instruction for the first time:

"Art. L. 312-10. - Education of languages and regional cultures belonging to the heritage of France is promoted primarily in areas where they are in use. Instruction in these languages can be offered throughout the school terms determined by agreement between the State and local authorities where these languages are in use (...). The optional education of regional languages and cultures is offered by one of the following two options:

- 1° The teaching of a language and regional culture as subject.
- 2° Bilingual teaching in both French and regional language."

At the end of President Hollande's mandate, the latest circular to date (*Circulaire relative à l'enseignement des langues et cultures régionales* April 2017) was a renewed valediction of the general national policy in favour of regional languages and cultures, and recalled the benefits of early bilingualism as its best educational element.

*"The assessments that were conducted in the various relevant regions confirmed the educational interest of a French-regional language bilingualism; this is the reason why bilingual classes have been developed in primary school and existing courses in secondary schools have been maintained and expanded."*

Since 1951, legislation has evolved slowly (Martel 2007b) but

surely towards a recognition of regional languages, while dusting up the status of the national language, with lighter emphasis on norm and grammar, as befits a greater coherence with the reality of contemporary speakers (Escudé 2013 and 2016).

**education  
system**

In France, school attendance is compulsory for children aged 6 to 16, but children can attend pre-primary school (*école maternelle*) from the age of 2 or 3. During the compulsory education period, the family allowance to parents is subject to registration and regular school attendance of their children.

*Académies* (school districts) are a particular part of the French educational system and can be seen as the regional administrative units of education. Each *académie* is headed by a *recteur* (director), who represents the Ministry of Education and is responsible both for the management of primary and secondary schools and for the enforcement of national regulations within the *académie*. Since January 2016, the total number of *académies* is 17. The nine *académies* relevant to Occitan are located in Aix-Marseille and Nice (Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur), Bordeaux, Limoges and Poitiers (Nouvelle-Aquitaine), Clermont-Ferrand and Grenoble (Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes), and in Montpellier and Toulouse (Occitanie).

**private and  
public**

France has three different school types. There are public schools, private schools that have signed a contract with the state, and private schools that operate without a contract. About 17% of the French school-going population attends private schools (Husen & Postlethwaite, 1994; DEPP, 2017). The majority of the private schools are NGOs – mainly Catholic – and have signed either a simple contract or a contract of association with the state. For institutions with a simple contract, the state pays the salaries of teachers, who then are considered by law as private employees. Teachers at schools with a contract of association are also paid by the state, but are by law considered as public employees (with the advantages that come with civil service). For both types of contracts, the state has control over the educational conditions and content, as well as over teacher training. There are a few schools that have not signed a contract with the state,



and where the state exerts minimum control (only in the fields of hygiene, health, morality). In the private sector, families must pay school fees that vary from school to school.

Private schools have had a special position in teaching the Occitan language. Despite the adaptation of the *loi Deixonne* in 1951, teaching the Occitan language was only implemented in private associative schools for many years.

**bilingual  
education forms**

The first bilingual schools – so-called *Calandretas* – were set up in 1979. These *Calandretas* are non-religious and have a contract of association with the state. Until 1989, Occitan was mainly taught during a few hours a week and was not used as medium of instruction for other subjects. In 1989, there were only two bilingual schools within the Toulouse *académie* whereas in 2017, 67 schools had enrolled 3 to 10-year-old students that had half of their classes in Occitan (cf. <http://calandreta.org/fr/effectifs/>). The proportion of the total national scholar population that gets in touch with bilingualism increased from 0 to 3% during those years.

Two forms of bilingual education can be distinguished in France. The first uses a division of hours, where at least half of the available time is used for instruction in French. The second is based on immersion teaching. In that case, all subjects are taught in the regional language, except French and the foreign languages. This last form of education has been used at *Calandretas* since 1979. In 2001, immersion education was also proposed for public education by the Ministry of Education, but was not implemented and eventually blocked by the Council of State in November 2002. Also in 2002, the defeat of the left-wing government meant the end of any linguistic national policy in favour of regional languages for ten years.

Bilingual education in public schools is equally divided among the languages (50% of school hours in French, 50% in Occitan) and starts in the second year of pre-school. In 1989, two schools started to give Occitan lessons in Saint-Affrique (Aveyron) and Albi (Tarn), two cities within the *académie of Toulouse*. These two schools still give Occitan lessons nowadays.

Teaching the Occitan language seems to thrive in *académies*

with the following key characteristics: a rectorship favourable to regional language development; the presence of teacher associations that contribute to the opening of bilingual classes; and a favourable civil society (municipal authorities, public opinion).

**administration**

There are four administrative levels in France: the state, regions, departments, and municipalities. The Ministry of National Education has almost total control over educational matters such as the setting of educational guidelines and curricula, approval of the diplomas, and staff recruitment, training, and administration. The state also handles management regulations and the mandatory supervision of all state schools and the minority of private schools.

As a result of the Savary regulations of 1982 and 1983, the role of the lower governmental levels increased somewhat. Since then, regions have been responsible for building and maintaining premises of upper secondary education and vocational training institutes. Indeed, the Law about the Education Code L312-10 as modified in 2005 by the new Orientation Law of 2005, states that:

“Regional language and culture courses may be delivered along the whole curriculum following terms conventionally defined between the state and the territorial collectives where these languages are in use.”

In areas where there is no favourable cultural mobilisation in favour of Occitan, teaching the language at schools is non-existent. As contrast, in those territories where conventions have been signed with the state, regional language teaching is often encouraged. The departments have a similar responsibility for lower secondary education, just as municipal authorities have for pre-school and primary education. However, these responsibilities do not concern educational content.

**inspection**

The French education system has different types of school inspectors.

- General inspectors are appointed by approval of the Council of Ministers of the central government. They are divided into two categories. The *inspection générale de l'éducation nationale* (general inspection for national education, hereafter: IGEN) focuses on specific subjects – for example, literature, mathematics and English. In 1996, the Ministry of Education appointed the first General Inspector for Regional Languages and Culture. The *inspection générale de l'administration de l'éducation nationale et de la recherche* (general inspection of the administration of national education and research) is more concerned with issues as the physical organisation and operation of schools.
- A *directeur académique des services de l'éducation* (academy director of the national education services, hereafter: DA-SEN) is a school inspector who acts as departmental managing director for national education.
- The *inspecteurs d'académie – inspecteurs pédagogiques régionaux* (*académie* inspectors / regional pedagogical inspectors; hereafter IA-IPR) monitor teachers of a particular discipline (French, Mathematics, English) in secondary education (both lower and upper secondary education).
- Inspectors for national education and technical training (*inspecteurs de l'enseignement technique*) monitor vocational schools (higher secondary education).
- The *inspecteurs de l'éducation nationale du 1er degré* (inspectors for national education at pre-school and primary education level; hereafter: IEN) deal with school districts and primary school staff.

Under authority of the DA-SEN, regional and district pedagogical inspectors are responsible for the evaluation of teachers at – respectively – secondary schools and primary schools. There are no IA-IPR available for the specific subject of regional languages. There are, however, so-called inspection envoys, appointed in accordance with the Savary regulations.

The national education inspector ensures uniformity in the

array of the regional language education programmes offered at primary schools. Usually, the IEN is the inspector in charge of languages at this level.

All the regional languages are represented by an IGEN within one of the 14 “specialized and permanent” groups called *Langues Vivantes*. Outside the Toulouse *académie*, there is strictly speaking no inspector for the Occitan language, but an inspection officer. It is to be noted that the influence of an IA-IPR (responsible for education in a given department) and an IEN (in charge of primary education in a district of a given department) can impact the opening or closing of bilingual schools and the development of any linguistic policy in favour of or against the Occitan language.

**support  
structure**

Support of Occitan in the educational system is provided by commissions for regional languages and cultures, such as CANOPé (full name: *Le réseau de création et d'accompagnement pédagogiques*) and by a range of private institutions such as publishers and cultural organisations.

In France, several actors participate in financing education: the state, local authorities, families and companies. The state finances over half of domestic expenditure on education. In 2011, the local authorities financed 25% of the interior expenses on education, and families financed 11.3% of domestic expenditure on education. Schoolbooks are free at primary schools and lower secondary education, and many regions also provide them free at upper secondary education. Also in 2011, companies contributed to domestic expenditure on education to the tune of 6.8%, essentially through the apprenticeship tax and their expenditure on ongoing education.

## 2 Pre-school education

<b>target group</b>	Pre-school education (école maternelle) is optional and available to children between the ages of 2 and 5. Attendance rates of pre-school education are very high. As a result of a long tradition of providing pre-school in France, almost all children aged 3 attend educational institutions at this level (Eurydice, 2014).
<b>structure</b>	Pre-school education forms the first cycle of the education system and consists of three grades. The curriculum is nationally established, and focuses on five major areas. The area relevant to the linguistic situation is titled “ <i>Mobiliser le langage dans toutes ses dimensions</i> ” (Mobilising language in all its dimensions). It develops insight into the diversity of languages – which is rather new in the national educational system – and into the linguistic capacity of young pupils. The latest official texts recommend “creating awareness of linguistic diversity” ( <i>New programmes for cycles 2, 3, 4</i> of 2015, implemented in September 2016). They read: “Language activities in foreign and regional languages are an opportunity to establish a relationship between the learned language and French or other languages, to compare the way these languages work and to induce the observation of a few simple linguistic phenomena.” (34).
<b>legislation</b>	Aside from the general legislation on regional languages in education, <i>Circulaire 2001-166 (Développement de l’enseignement des langues et cultures régionales à l’école, au collège et au lycée)</i> defined the character of regional language education in pre-school education. It states that educators should embed regional language learning activities focused on developing artistic and motoric skills, and should provide opportunities to use the regional language in the daily welcoming moments and various games offered to pupils.
<b>language use</b>	The language used depends on the institution. It is not possible to specify a reliable and overall percentage of Occitan language consciousness-raising in nursery schools. At most playgroups,

nursery schools, and infant classes of public schools, French is the medium of instruction. Depending on the ability and dedication of the teacher, activities related to Occitan vary from awareness games, songs, stories, or nursery-rhymes to specific language teaching.

In nursery classes of bilingual public schools, children have 15 hours of activities in French and 12 hours in Occitan. This is in accordance with the language policies in at least three *académies* (Bordeaux, Toulouse, Montpellier). The number of bilingual nursery schools increases from year to year. Every year, the Academic council – (Conseil Académique de Langue et Culture Régionale, as provided for by the *Décret 2001-733*), chaired by the the Rector, assesses the teaching of Occitan both in quality and in quantity.

**teaching  
material**

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In the early stages, most instruction material in Occitan is prepared by the teachers, although some associations or private organisations have started to develop and distribute educational materials as well. As the teaching of Occitan became part of official curricula, dedicated resources were created and developed. Following the demands of education professionals, affiliated sectors, and institutional partners, the various centres of CANOPé (see above) are developing teaching material in Occitan for primary and pre-primary education. The *Centre interrégional de développement de l'Occitan* (Interregional Centre for the Development of Occitan) offers an abundance of material for cultural and literary studies in its aims to act “as the public institution with an inter-regional vocation, responsible for the preservation, promotion and dissemination of Occitan heritage and creation”. Several pedagogical centres are offering these resources, especially in the Académies of Bordeaux, Toulouse and Montpellier. (cf. site map).

**statistics**

The statistics for this chapter combine pre-school and primary education. Therefore, we will give this information in the following section.

### 3 Primary education

**target group** Primary education is given in primary schools, to children aged 6 to 11.

**structure** The five years of primary education is divided in two cycles: the Basic Learning Cycle and the Consolidation Cycle (Eurydice, 2014). The Basic Learning Cycle (for pupils aged 6 to 8), already starts in the final year of pre-school and offers fundamental education. It ensures the transition from pre-school to primary education and comprises the first two years of primary education. The Consolidation Cycle (pupils aged 8 to 11) consists of 3 years.

In primary schools, regional language education may take the following forms:

- introduction-awareness raising programmes offered to all pupils, that are conducted as follows:
- the integration of elementary knowledge of regional languages and cultures into the school activities and disciplines concerned (in particular French, history, geography, arts, and physical education);
- raising awareness of regional languages and cultures throughout the entire teaching programme and the use of cultural, traditional, or creative elements – this contributes to the linguistic and artistic and cultural education;
- Compulsory *langues vivantes* education, offered as a second language in the sixth grade;
- Integrating Occitan, under particular circumstances, in the study of a foreign language that is linguistically close to Occitan;
- Integrating Occitan into the education programmes of all other modern languages, as part of awareness-raising or introduction to regional cultures.

Regional language education is organised for at least one and a half hour per week and may last up to three hours, depending on the specific terms listed in the regional agreements. As is the case with other disciplines, these educational programmes are

assessed regularly by the instructors, and integrated into the national programmes and timetables.

**legislation** The *Arrêté du 9 novembre (2015)* defines the curriculum for modern or regional languages at primary schools. Concerning the Basic Learning Cycle, a specific regional language provision is made alongside foreign languages. Language teaching is part of the different learning domains (*domaines d'apprentissage*). The domain 'language to think and communicate' focuses on understanding and speaking a foreign (or possibly regional) language. The domain 'methods and tools for learning' focuses on the use of foreign and regional modern languages on paper or digital.

The Consolidation Cycle is seen as a continuation and deepening of what has been initiated in the previous cycles.

**language use** In the context of bilingualism, the time devoted to the teaching of the subjects is divided among the two languages. In some cases this is organised according to regional directives which can distribute the hours of teaching in French and in Occitan as follows:

field of study	total teaching time	taught in French	taught in Occitan
French	10h	9h	
Occitan			1h
mathematics	5h		5h
sport	9h	1h45	0h45
foreign living language		0h45	0h45
art and art history		0h45	1h30
world exploration		0h45	2h
<b>total</b>	<b>24h</b>	<b>12h</b>	<b>12h</b>

Table 3: *Distribution of French and Occitan instruction, Académie de Toulouse.*  
(Source: *Circulaire rectorale du 10 janvier 2000*)

This distribution between France and Occitan within the bilingual curriculum is left to the judgement of schools but should follow a principle stated in all official texts:



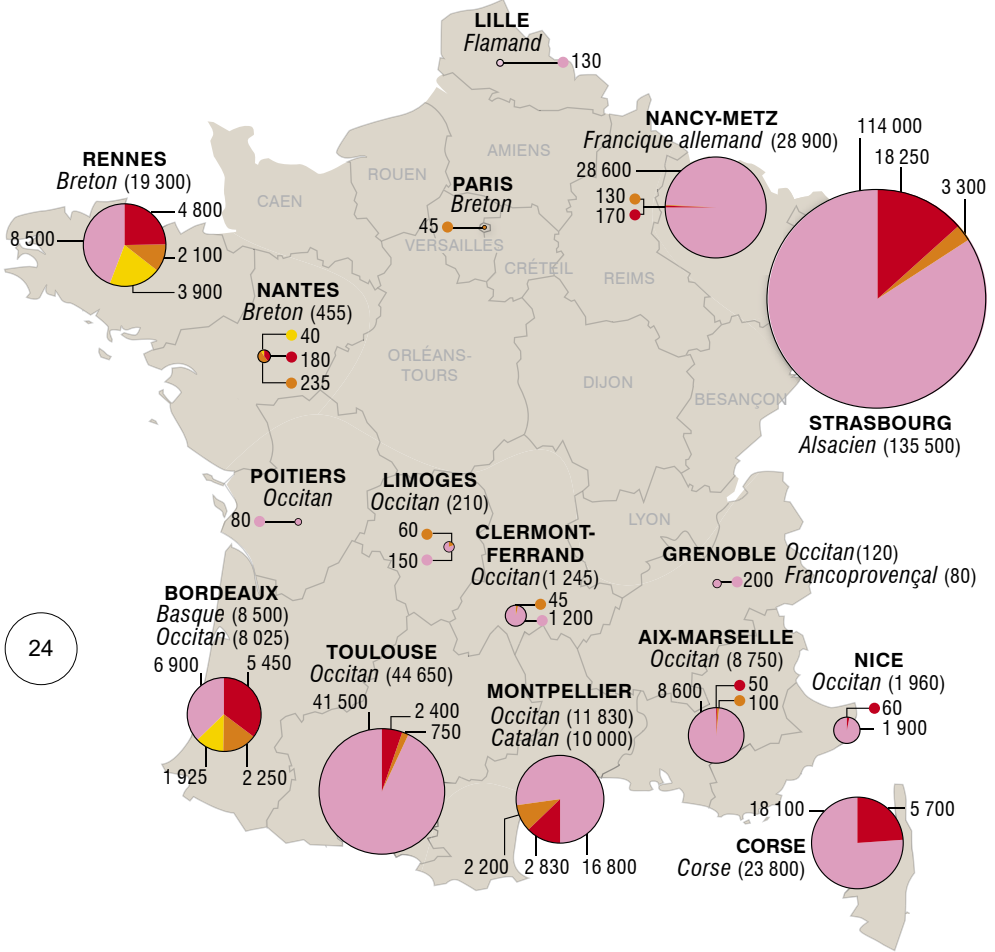
“This syllabus relies on the principle of parity between French and the regional language in terms of hours, but excludes the notion that any subject other than the regional language should be taught in the regional language.

More generally, bilingual French-regional language instruction can be organised in different ways : one teacher – one language, but also one teacher – one class – two languages. In the first instance two different teachers teach in the two languages. Together, they define how each will apply the curriculum. In the second instance the one teacher provides all the teaching, including the regional language. A bilingual class may include pupils with different levels.” (*Circular 2017-072*).

From 1982 until 2005, the medium of instruction was French, and the language taught within the framework of language awareness-raising and modern language learning was Occitan. The Fillon law reduced these possibilities and Occitan can now only be used for awareness-raising purposes on an optional basis. Over the years, the number of primary and pre-school teachers with native skills in Occitan decreased sharply. At *Calandreta* schools, pupils are taught in Occitan; all subjects are taught in this language in accordance with national programmes. Teachers speak Occitan, while pupils initially reply in French and later in Occitan. French is taught as a separate subject as part of the education programme.

**teaching  
material**

Substantial educational material is offered to teachers in the Basic Learning Cycle by the CANOPé network. Among these are *Chercheurs d’Oc*, teaching materials that equip all schools in the region of Toulouse to promote awareness of the Occitan language and culture, and *50 activities in Cycle 2 and Cycle 3* by Alain Floutard, pedagogical counselor and doctor of literature, of which there are two editions (Gascon and Languedocien). Specific material is produced for bilingual classes: there are about a dozen textbooks in many subjects (maths, geography, science and ‘discovery of the world’) for a significant number of grades. As the curriculum is national, these textbooks are mostly translated from French into Occitan: students find the



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Figure 2: Map of primary education in France in and about regional languages (2010): a) equal bilingual (National Education, in blue); b) immersive private lay (in green, Calandretas); immersive private confessional (in yellow, and absent regarding Occitan); d) extensive teaching (awareness, initiation). (Sources: © Atlas La Vie – Le Monde, Atlas des Minorités, 2013, 154-155)

**Type d'enseignement de langue vivante régionale à l'école primaire**

- Bilingue paritaire (Éducation nationale)
- Immersif associatif non confessionnel
- Immersif associatif confessionnel
- Extensif (sensibilisation, initiation)
- Limite des académies

same methods and presentations as their monolingual peers. This facilitates the acceptance of bilingualism in national schools. In most instances, these textbooks are translated from French into Occitan. Financial concerns as well as a poorly developed autonomous didactic practice of bilingual teaching hinder the establishment of autonomous resources.

**statistics**

Tables 4 to 7 show the development of bilingual education at primary schools (cycles 1, 2 and 3) in the three “strongest” Occitan *académies*: Bordeaux, Montpellier and Toulouse.

Within the Bordeaux *académie*, the most inhabited and urban department Gironde got its first bilingual school in 2011. Almost half of the bilingual schoolchildren within the Bordeaux *academy* live in the Pyrénées-Atlantiques department. The first *Calandreta* school was also opened in this department in 1979.

	Dordogne	Gironde	Landes	Lot et Garonne	Pyrénées Atlantiques	total
<b>2003</b>	79	0	35	138	179	431
<b>2006</b>	70	0	46	155	256	527
<b>2009</b>	89	0	44	185	426	744
<b>2012</b>	95	41	114	230	531	1,011
<b>2015</b>	179	115	199	315	719	1,527
<b>total primary school pupils*</b>	31,000	134,000	34,000	27,000	45,000	271,000
<b>total department population*</b>	420,000	1,500,000	400,000	330,000	660,000	3,300,000

*Table 4: Evolution of the number of primary school pupils registered in bilingual sections of the National Education in the Bordeaux académie, per department. (Source: CALR Académie de Bordeaux)*

\* = 2015.

Within the Montpellier *académie*, the bilingual progress faces some problems due to the changing academic linguistic policy. The onset of bilingual education happened after the foundation of the Bordeaux *académie* and has suffered competition with the subject of awareness education. This kind of education makes

it possible to display very high figures regarding language teaching and Occitan culture even if, in reality, this awareness education has not much to do with teaching the language.

year	awareness in nursery schools (cycles 1, 2 and 3)	awareness	introduction to modern language	bilingualism	total
2006	1,814	3,690	2,963	385	8,751
2009	3,324	2,490	3,525	789	10,028
2012	3,769	2,414	4,498	711	11,392
2015	5,141	1,289	5,612	855	12,897

Table 5: Number of pupils, distributed according to bilingual learning process characteristics over the years, at the Montpellier académie. (Source: CALR Académie de Montpellier, 2016)

Public bilingual education in both French and Occitan was first developed in the Toulouse académie in the three departments Aveyron, Tarn and Tarn-et-Garonne, all in the north of Toulouse. Public bilingual education in the city of Toulouse started relatively late. Bilingual teaching there took place in the *Calandretas* private schools. From 2008 on, an agreement between the city and the *Rectorat* resulted into the opening of one bilingual school every year.

years	awareness in nursery and primary schools (cycles 1, 2 and 3)	introduction to living languages (cycles 2 and 3)	bilingual national education	Calandretas	total
2003	25, 680	7, 560	1, 167	592	34, 999
2006	27, 200	8, 420	1, 686	635	37, 941
2009	30, 540	8, 620	1, 897	669	41, 726
2012	36, 355	12, 591	2, 604	711	52, 261
2015	38, 277	13, 311	3, 209	883	55, 680

Table 6: Number of pupils, distributed according to bilingual learning process characteristics over the years, at the Toulouse académie. (Source: CALR Académie de Toulouse, 2016)

	Ariège	Aveyron	Gers	Haute-Garonne	Hauts-Pyrénées	Lot	Tarn	Tarn-et-Garonne	Total
<b>2003</b>	0	331	0	71	79	140	314	232	1,167
<b>2006</b>	20	415	33	145	121	182	358	412	1,686
<b>2009</b>	39	437	37	198	166	145	396	479	1,897
<b>2012</b>	64	676	44	360	166	173	568	553	2,604
<b>2015</b>	94	826	120	435	207	178	729	620	3,209
<b>Primary public school children (x1000)</b>	12	18.5	14	114.5	17	12	30	24	242
<b>Total population (x1000)</b>	150	280	190	1,300	230	175	380	250	2,955

Table 7: Number of registered pupils in bilingual National Education schools at the Toulouse académie, divided departments over the years. (Source: CALR Académie de Toulouse, 2016)

Table 8 shows statistics on the network of associative private schools (*Calandretas*). In 2015, there were 61 *Calandretas* primary schools and 3 *Calandretas* secondary schools, divided over 18 departments. A total of 213 primary and secondary school teachers are employed at those schools. The three most active federations are Auvergne, Limousin and Provence.

federation	Auvergne	Aquitaine	Languedoc	Limousin	Midi-Pyrénées	Provence	total
<b>number of Calandretas primary school students</b>	88	575	1 771	54	992	123	3, 603
<b>number of schools</b>	3	16	24	1	21	2	67

Table 8: Number of Calandretas schoolchildren. (Source: <http://calandreta.org/fr/effectifs/>, September 2017)

## 4 Secondary education

- target group** Children usually start secondary education at the age of 11 and finish with the *baccalauréat* at the age of 18. However, education is compulsory until the age of 16.
- structure** Secondary education consists of two levels, *collège* and *lycée*. *Collège* (lower secondary education) is the level for pupils aged 11 to 16 and is divided into four years (6<sup>th</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> grade – the grades count from high to low). This is the highest level of compulsory education. In the last two years of *collège* (4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> grade) pupils can choose between general or more technically-oriented education. *Lycée* (upper secondary education) is divided into two categories: the *lycées d'enseignement général et technologique* (general and technical schools), and *lycées professionnels* (which are a form of vocational education). General and technical schools prepare pupils in three years (second, first, and final grade, in that order) for a general or technical *baccalauréat*, which gives them the opportunity to enter university. Pupils in *lycées professionnels* follow a two-year programme. Additional information on this latter type of school and other types of vocational education is provided in the next chapter.
- legislation** *Circulaire 2001-166* deals with the education of regional languages and cultures, also in secondary education. It stipulates that sixth-grade *collège* pupils may choose Occitan as an optional subject for two hours a week until the third grade. Pupils may also select the language as a second modern language in the fourth grade and continue their studies in the third grade where they are assessed for their final certificates. *Circulaire 2001-167* also deals with the bilingual teaching system in secondary education. It provides the possibility of one or more disciplines being taught in Occitan. Programmes have been designed for the various stages of education: with regard to the teaching of regional languages in *collège* ((BOEN n° 27, July 7<sup>th</sup>, 2010) and with regard to education in living languages in the final cycle (BOEN n° 9,

September 30<sup>th</sup>, 2010). The orientation law from the 8<sup>th</sup> of July 2013 (*Loi n° 2013-595 du 8 juillet 2013 d'orientation et de programmation pour la refondation de l'école de la République*) decrees the modalities for regional language learning.

Concerning *collèges*, legislation stipulates the following:

From the sixth grade to the third grade, Occitan language classes can be provided in the framework of complementary teaching (formerly known as “facultative teaching”), between 1 and 3 hours weekly.

From the fourth grade onwards, the Occitan language can be chosen as a second living language (LV2), which is mandatory for 3 hours a week.

According to the *Arrête du 12 mai (2003) – “Enseignement bilingue en langues régionales à parité horaire dans les écoles et les sections langues régionales des collèges et lycée”* – in the “regional languages” sections, the teaching of Occitan language and culture comprises at least 3 hours every week, plus one or several subjects taught in Occitan language.

*Académies* where linguistic policy in favour of Occitan is confirmed through academic regulations, a loyal institutional apparatus, and monitoring is done by an inspector according to the rules, have what we call a specific *dotation horaire globale* (global allocation of hours). Every secondary school receives 500 of these hours and the director and teaching staff are allowed to allocate them as they see fit. At schools in these *académies*, these hours are used for Occitan language introduction from the first year on. This policy allows schoolchildren to discover the language, to build on their primary education, and to choose Occitan classes from the 5<sup>th</sup> grade onwards as complementary education.

A *collège* reform at the start of the 2016/2017 school year provided new adjustments. Apart from the *dotation horaire globale* and its allocation to Occitan (or not), the creation of *Enseignements Pédagogiques Interdisciplinaires* (Pedagogic Interdisciplinary Education, hereafter: EPI) is proposed. EPI is a project-based interdisciplinary pedagogic practice that

is implemented in 20% of the school hours. Of the 8 EPI's planned nationally, 3 include living languages, either foreign or regional. If Occitan is part of an EPI, this would mean that 20% of its hourly allocation goes to a cross-disciplinary project. The idea is often very well received by Occitan teachers. However, Occitan cannot be used as medium of instruction during these hours, since the EPI has to be open to all pupils and not only to those who speak the regional language. The question is whether the remaining hours will be enough to keep providing complementary Occitan teaching.

For the *lycées*, the legislation says that Occitan can be chosen in second grade as a third living language (LV3) or as a discovering or optional subject. Occitan can be chosen in the first and final grades as a mandatory LV2 or as a non-mandatory LV3.

#### language use

30

Occitan can be used as the medium of instruction in bilingual classes in *collèges* and is mostly used at the Toulouse *académie*. In extensive education programmes, just as for teaching any other different living language, Occitan is the language of instruction.

Very few schoolchildren choose the regional language class within the framework as a second living language in France (around 30 in the Toulouse *académie*).

So-called "regional language classes" welcome schoolchildren coming from bilingual primary schools. The schoolchildren take intensified classes in Occitan and study a subject (usually history and geography, and sometimes mathematics) in this language one hour a week.

A small number of schools offer the opportunity to study Occitan as a third modern language in the second class (1st year of the consolidation cycle). In contrast to the development in lower secondary education schools, the number of pupils choosing Occitan in these schools is decreasing. The notable increase during the 1970's seems to have been restrained by the various reforms that resulted in an increase in optional subjects and heavier emphasis on compulsory subjects, therefore reducing interest in other subjects, such as Occitan.



Occitan has been offered as an option for the *baccalauréat* exams since 1970, organised in various different ways (as a facultative or optional language, LV2 (modern language 2), and LV3 (modern language 3)).

**teaching  
material**

Since the end of the 1960s, the IEO has developed some textbooks in Occitan in order to support teachers in secondary education, particularly in preparation for the *baccalauréat*. A few examples are: the *Cahiers Pédagogiques, leu coneissi un país* (published by Michèle Stenta), and *En Occitan dans le texte* (published by Yves Rouquette). Various other educational materials have been published, like *Lenga e País d'Oc* (a monthly magazine published by the Regional Centre of Pedagogical Documentation in Montpellier). The Departmental Centre for Pedagogical Documentation in Montpellier published a language course for the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> grades, *Aital Parlam* (1985), which has enjoyed a good deal of success. Furthermore, multimedia packages on literary themes have been produced with attractive layouts, such as a troubadour anthology and language games. Since the 1990s, numerous books have been published in the Occitan language by CANOPÉ. Examples are the series *Practicar la lenga* and *Quasèrns d'occitan per la 6<sup>a</sup>* and *per la 5<sup>a</sup>*, adapted for the various different linguistic variants in the Occitan region.

In 2002 and 2003, the Aquitanian Regional Centre for Pedagogical Documentation published a new teaching method for the entire Occitan region called *Oc-Ben*. This method was published following a university summer course in which the need for teaching material was assessed. *Oc-Ben* is meant for 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> grade pupils, and covers the entire Occitan linguistic area. The method consists of two student books, two exercise books, two sets of four CDs and an online instruction manual for teachers<sup>1</sup>.

In 2012, two volumes of the method *Tu tanben* were published for the first and second level of *collège*<sup>2</sup> *Chercheurs d'oc* should also be mentioned as method developed by the *académie* of Toulouse and aimed at language awareness-raising for pupils that are non-native speakers of Occitan.

Besides teaching materials, there also are information campaigns about teaching Occitan. These campaigns are organised by the school management, often with support from the regions, departments and towns. The goal is to inform parents and pupils about the possibilities of Occitan education, not only as offered in national education programmes but also as highly interesting programme itself.

In this context, the *Office national d'information sur les enseignements et les professions* (national information office on education and professions), in collaboration with the Montpellier *académie* and the associations of Occitan teachers, launched a specific brochure (first edition in 2011) and a website: <http://occitanetudesmetiers.com/>. This website summarizes the cultural and social context that can accompany school education: publishing, magazines, festivals, music, theatre, cinema, etc..

#### statistics

Important quantitative differences can be noticed with regard to numbers of students, between primary education and *collège* and between *collège* and *lycée*. The number of pupils taking regional languages appears to be significantly lower at *lycées* in comparison the *collèges* (see table 9)

languages*	EN	SP	GE	IT	RL	CH	PO	RU	AR	HE	JA
<b>collège pupils (x1000)</b>	3,200	1,300	490	103	34	11	7.6	3	4.2	3	0
<b>lycée pupils (x1000)</b>	2,140	1,300	350	130	8	22	8.5	9	6	3.8	3
<b>% of pupils</b>	98.8	47.2	15.2	4.2	0.8	0.6	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1

Table 9: Number and percentage of pupils that study living languages at secondary school (september 2014). (Source: Ministère de L'éducation Nationale, de L'enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche, 2014)

\* EN = English ; SP = Spanish ; GE = German ; IT = Italian ; RL = Regional Languages ; CH = Chinese ; PO = Portuguese ; RU = Russian ; AR = Arabic ; HE = Hebrew ; JA = Japanese.

There is a steep statistic decline to be noted between the numbers of students studying regional languages at primary school and at secondary school, as well as between the numbers of students at *collège* and *lycée* that enrolled in a regional language course. In 2015, there were 9,971 *collège* students of Occitan and 1,301 *lycée* students (574 have passed the final *baccalauréat*, of which 130 through compulsory tests in second and third living language) at the Toulouse *académie*. Table 10 shows a fairly sharp increase in students studying Occitan at primary school in the Toulouse *académie* recent years. However, one must also note the stagnation of enrolment in secondary education. It is important to keep in mind that the language policy for primary education is pretty much driven by the Toulouse *académie* itself, while this is no longer the case in secondary education. There are various reasons for this. Possible explanations of policy-related nature are:

- reduction of available hours at *collège* level and of complementary education;
- very strong competition between living languages on *lycée* level;
- a chronic lack of Occitan teachers;
- the increased number of possible optional tests in the *baccalauréat* exams.

While regional languages was the only option to choose from, originally (*Guichard circular*, 1971), many other subjects were added later on, decreasing the number of students choosing for regional languages.

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015
<b>primary school: public bilingual</b>	1,767	1,897	2,352	2,901	3,209
<b>change in %</b>	-	+ 7,3	+ 24	+ 23,4	+ 10,6
<b>primary school : Calandretas</b>	599	669	744	853	883
<b>change in %</b>	-	+ 11,7	+ 11,2	+ 14,6	+ 3,5
<b>primary school : awareness and initiation</b>	28,278	36,290	40,310	52,700	55,680
<b>change in %</b>	-	+ 28,3	+ 11	+ 30,7	+ 5,7
<b>secondary education : college and lycée</b>	11,764	11,724	11,912	12,436	11,372
<b>change in %</b>	-	-0,3	+ 1,6	+ 4,4	-8,6
<b>Total</b>	42,407	50,580	55,318	68,890	71,144
<b>change in %</b>	-	+ 19,2	+ 9,4	+ 24,5	+3,3

Table 10: Changes in the numbers of primary and secondary education students at the Toulouse académie from 2007 to 2015. (Source: CALR Académie de Toulouse, 2016)

Since 1970, the académie of Bordeaux has kept records of the number of students passing the exams (see figure 2 below).

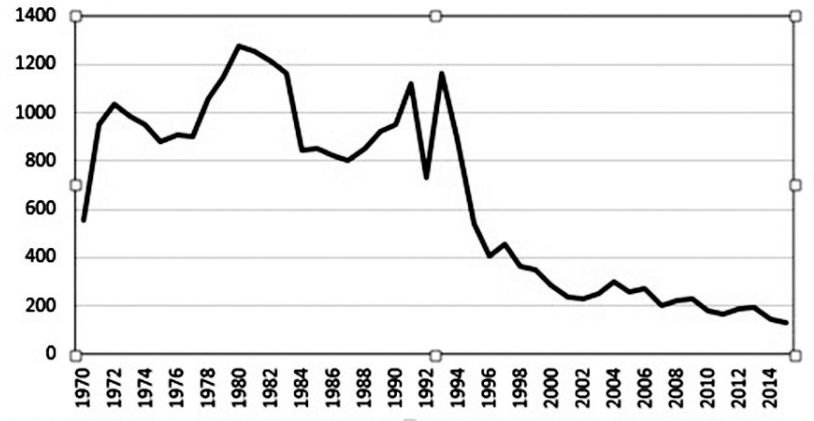


Figure 2: Total number of pupils passing secondary school exams for Occitan as a subject, 1970-2015. (Source: CALR, académie of Bordeaux).

From 1995 until 2015 we saw a very sharp decrease in the number of students that passed their secondary school Occitan exams. Despite some institutional protection through academic texts, the number of students passing their secondary school Occitan exam remains low:

	optional exam	mandatory oral exam	written exam	total
<b>2011</b>	121	33	9	163
<b>2013</b>	156	27	9	192
<b>2015</b>	112	7	10	129
<b>2017</b>	110	9	21	140

Table 11: Number of students taking the various Occitan exams from 2011 to 2017. (Source: CALR Académie de Bordeaux, 2018)

A few reasons can be identified:

- The reduction in third living language supply and optional language (which usually is Occitan) in technological and vocational streams;
- Sometimes a strong resistance from the local institution (rector, school inspector, school directors);
- The depletion of natural speakers of Occitan (it is estimated that the last monolingual speaker was born in 1974);
- The reduction of Occitan language professors.

Despite the decrease of students passing the exams, primary education in *academies* where Occitan is the historic language shows a much higher number of students passing the exam, compared to other *academies*. In 2015, 580 students passed the final test in Occitan in the Toulouse *académie*, compared to 129 in the Bordeaux *académie*. Additionally, the development of bilingual regional language classes allowed primary students to benefit from Occitan as language of instruction for subjects like history, geography or mathematics. In the region of Toulouse, Occitan bilingual *collège* students represent 3.7% of all students enrolled in 2011, 4.1% in 2013 and 5.7% in 2015.

		<b>Bordeaux</b>	<b>Montpellier</b>	<b>Toulouse</b>
<b>2011</b>	number of secondary school students receiving education in Occitan	2,096	2,876	11,912
	<i>including regional language classes</i>	0	129	435
<b>2013</b>	number of secondary school students receiving education in Occitan	2,392 (+14.1%)	2,535 (-11.9%)	12,422 (+4.3%)
	<i>including regional language classes</i>	21	129 (0%)	515 (+18.4%)
<b>2015</b>	number of secondary school students receiving education in Occitan	2,550 (+6.6%)	2,178 (-14.1%)	11,372 (-8.5%)
	<i>including regional language classes</i>	58 (+176%)	141 (+8.5%)	650 (+26.2%)

Table 12: Evolution of the number of secondary school students following education in Occitan, including regional language classes, in units and percentages. (Source: CALR Académies de Bordeaux, Montpellier, Toulouse)

Finally, almost 180 secondary education students (of the more than 3,000 pupils in primary education) are enrolled in private associative schools under *Calandretas* contracts. They are distributed over four *collèges* in the southern of France (Pau, Toulouse, Montpellier and Béziers).

<b>Federation</b>	<b>Auvergne</b>	<b>Aquitaine</b>	<b>Languedoc</b>	<b>Limousin</b>	<b>Midi-Pyrénées</b>	<b>Provence</b>	<b>total</b>
<b>collèges</b>	0	1	2	0	1	0	4
<b>students</b>	0	48	197	0	46	0	291

Table 13: Numbers of Calandreta collèges and students. (Source: Calandretas, 2017)

## 5 Vocational education

**target group** It is possible to start vocational training in a *lycée professionnel* (vocational school) after the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade (the final year in lower secondary education or collèges), usually when the pupil is fifteen years old.

**structure** Pupils in vocational schools follow a two-year programme leading to a *brevet d'études professionnelles* (professional education certificate, hereafter: BEP) or to a *certificat d'aptitude professionnelle* (vocational aptitude certificate, hereafter: CAP), which prepares for a profession. There are more than 200 different specialisms within the CAP. With the BEP or CAP, a student can continue to obtain a *Baccalauréat professionnel* (professional certificate) within two years. This professional certificate entitles holders to begin university studies.

People between the ages of 16 and 25 can follow a training programme under an employment contract. This combines theoretical education with the acquisition of practical skills in a company. Such an apprenticeship lasts from one to three years. Preparation of young people for employment is carried out by a variety of training institutes: initial training (school and apprenticeship), integration contracts, and continuing vocational training.

**legislation** According to the French education system, the Minister of National Education is responsible for the availability of vocational training for every person from the age of 16 on, before leaving the education system. In 1993, this resulted in a law, act of 20 December 1993 relating to work, employment and vocational training introducing regional plans for the development of vocational training (Loi n° 93-1313 quinquennale du 20 décembre 1993 relative au travail, à l'emploi et à la formation professionnelle, 1993).

- language use** Foreign languages other than English are rarely used as language of instruction at *lycées professionnels*. Regional languages are absent in this category of education. There is, however, some presence of Occitan as instruction language in agricultural education establishments (governed by the Ministry of Agriculture).
- teaching material** There is no teaching material available in Occitan at this educational level.
- Statistics** There are no statistics available concerning the Occitan language at this level.



## 6 Higher education

### structure

The French higher education system is characterised by co-existence of multiple institutions. It can be divided into two broad categories: universities, catering to the majority (69%) of students, and *Grandes Ecoles* (elite schools), which recruit the best pupils from the general scientific sections of secondary school and focus on engineering, business and administration.

Most universities offer education in three study cycles: bachelor's degree, master's degree, and doctorate degree.

Apart from University and the so-called preparatory classes (CPGE, Classes Préparatoires aux Grandes Etudes), there are Business Schools and Engineering Schools, and a short-study cycle (Brevet de Technicien Supérieur, BTS and Diplôme Universitaire de Technologie).

### legislation

The law that governs higher education is the law on the autonomy and responsibilities of universities (*Loi no. 2007-1199 du 10 août 2007 relative aux libertés et responsabilités des universités, 2007*).

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### language use

Occitan as a subject is offered at several university departments, but not at the *Grandes Ecoles*. For several years, a preparatory class in Toulouse had a relatively high number of students (14) for the Occitan language. However, the school's administration did not continue this course because regional languages were not part of the competitive exams.

The different local variants of Occitan are often used as the language of instruction in higher education.

Regional languages and cultures have been included in disciplines taught in higher education for more than a century: the 11<sup>th</sup> article of the *Loi de Deixonne* promulgates in its d) paragraph that teaching Occitan language, literature, or history will be organised in the universities of Aix-en-Provence, Montpellier and Toulouse – but not as a language of instruction.

The Toulouse, Montpellier and Nice universities provide learning paths from bachelor to PhD, and often offer several master programmes. At the other universities in the Occitan region (Aix-Marseille<sup>3</sup>, Bordeaux<sup>4</sup>, Clermont-Ferrand<sup>5</sup>, Pau<sup>6</sup>, Poitiers<sup>7</sup>) the offer of Occitan is very fragmented. In the rest of France, a number of universities offer Occitan language and culture teaching as well. These are the universities in Bordeaux, Clermont-Ferrand, Nice, Poitiers, Pau and Paris (mainly Paris IV-Sorbonne).

The universities located in Montpellier and Toulouse are the two universities with the highest numbers of students of Occitan. Both of these universities offer courses in Occitan; as an “Occitan” section of the Bachelor of Arts degree or in the form of credits that are added to other degrees.

Abroad, Occitan is often present in departments of Literature, Linguistics, or Romance philology. Thus, medieval Occitan and sometimes modern Occitan can be studied at a number of foreign universities, such as those in Vienna (Austria), Frankfurt (Germany), and even in Tokyo (Japan) and in some English and American universities.

**teacher training** Since 2013, teachers have been trained at institutes called *Écoles supérieures du professorat et de l'éducation* (Schools for professoriate and education, hereafter: ESPE).

There are two competitive exams related to Occitan teaching: The *Concours de Recrutement de Professeur des Ecoles* (hereafter: CRPE), which has been created in 2002 to train primary school teachers who want to specialise in bilingual teaching (French-regional living language).

The Occitan / Langue d'Oc CAPES, created in 1991, that allows to teach Occitan in secondary and high schools.

Since 2010, these competitive exams are held on a master level and are often done by ESPE students, even though it is not mandatory.

**primary education training**

An external competitive exam for regional languages has been created in 2002 (Decree of January 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2002, “*Journal Officiel*” of January 5<sup>th</sup>, 2002) in order to recruit teachers *in* and *about* regional languages in public and private schools (*Calandretas*). After three years of post-secondary education leading to a diploma, candidates aspiring to become a pre-primary or primary school teacher can attend an ESPE. The training for first level (pre-primary and primary) teachers consists of two years, of which the first year is optional. 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. At the end of the second year they are appointed to positions as school teachers.

The first year of the master programme is dedicated to written and oral tests of an additional CRPE. This is an additional written test and oral examination in Occitan. The IUFMs of Aix-Marseille, Bordeaux, Clermont-Ferrand, Grenoble, Limoges, Montpellier, Nice and Toulouse were offering courses in Occitan in different forms (intensive teaching of over 40 hours or optional teaching) before 2010. Nowadays, only the Montpellier and Toulouse ESPE also provide comprehensive training, which offers students (minimal) training into raising awareness about Occitan language and culture, as well as much more thorough training (albeit for a smaller number of students) towards teaching in the Occitan language. Indeed those teachers will specifically teach the whole syllabus in Occitan from preschool onwards.

The Montpellier ESPE has opened a regional language track and an Occitan one where the Master Teaching Unities (UE) are pooled with the “classic” mono-language tracks. In these tracks, only the regional language UEs are specific.

The Toulouse ESPE provides a bilingual master programme at two campuses. Thanks to an agreement between the *Conseils Régional* of Aquitaine and Midi-Pyrénées, the students taking part in this programme can benefit from a teaching grant (this is called the *ensenhar* package).

Usually, students attending this bilingual programme come from the Occitan pathways of the Universities. In order to increase the number of students bound to take a professional teaching master, the Bordeaux and Toulouse ESPEs implement bachelor pathways in which they reintroduce Occitan.

In 2015, there were 20 first-year master students, 8 followed a professional internship year in Toulouse, and 4 in Bordeaux.

The development of bilingualism is also constrained by the number of open positions in the *concours* (competitive exams for aspiring teachers). The *concours* started in 2003, but was impeded during the following ten years of right-wing government. Teaching regional languages has therefore experienced ten years of low growth. Without any academic linguistic policy frame, the amount of regional language teaching solely depends on the willingness of the education officer who is responsible for deciding the number of positions in the competitive exam.

Each year, the heads of each *Académie* reserve a number of posts assigned to them by the Ministry for places in the primary education competition, for the competitive bilingual exam. If those places are not filled, they are reassigned to the regular competitions. In 2015, the *Rectorat* of Bordeaux has opened 19 positions for the bilingual competitive exam (4 have been taken in 2015, of which 3 students from the Toulouse University) and the *Rectorat* of Toulouse has opened 12 positions (8 have been taken last year, all by students from the Toulouse ESPE).

Calandretas teachers follow specific education at the **établissement d'enseignement supérieur occitan APRENE** (institute for higher education of Occitan APRENE) in Béziers. The Association of Calandretas established APRENE in 1994, as teacher training centre in Capestang. They are recognised by the Minister for National Education, and their salaries are put on the same footing as private primary school teachers. The Calandreta training centre is part of the *Institut supérieur des langues de la république française* (Higher Institute of Languages of the French

Republic), that also trains teachers of other French regional languages.

**secondary education training**

People aspiring to teach at secondary education level must have a master's degree or something comparable. The competitive exam takes place during the first master year, and the ESPE registration is not mandatory. At the end of the first year, candidates take a national competitive examination leading to a certificate of aptitude for teaching at secondary level (CAPES).

The Occitan-language CAPES, created in 1992, are relatively young, and most teachers are trained in others subjects as well (such as French, English, Spanish, History or Geography). There are very few teachers that spend 100% of their time teaching Occitan. Moreover, the highest level for secondary school teachers, *aggregation* (of which students need to complete 5 years of study and hold a master's degree), is not available for teachers teaching Occitan as a subject, in spite of a recurrent demand. While the regional living language CAPES make the teachers more flexible, it also complicates their training. Furthermore, an unwanted effect is the reduction of time dedicated to Occitan. Teachers wishing to spend all their time teaching Occitan often have to work in several establishments. In Bordeaux (53 teachers) in 2015, 8 teachers are active at one school (i.e. 15% of the total number of teachers) whereas 45 of them teach in two, three or four schools. In Toulouse, where there are 85 teachers, almost 30% of them belong to only one school (which highlights the fact that there are more pupils per schools in this *académie*), but only 40% of them teach in two schools, around 30% in three schools, and 6% in four schools.

Until 2002, there were more than 15 Occitan-Langue d'Oc CAPES places available, but since then the number has fallen to 6 in 2015. There were three IUFMs, in Aix-Marseille, Montpellier and Toulouse, that prepared students for the CAPES. The universities of Bordeaux, Nice and Pau also offered preparatory

courses for this CAPES, but because of the decline in the number of CAPES places, these preparatory courses have been reduced and in some cases, altogether removed<sup>8</sup>.

language	total number of positions in CAPES (2005-2016)	number of departments concerned	number of academies	number of opened positions per department	number of pupils in secondary and high schools	number of teachers / number of pupils in secondary and high schools
Basque	15	1	1	15	36, 000	2, 400
Breton	27	4	2	6,75	150, 000	5, 555
Catalan	15	1	1	15	29, 000	1, 933
Corsican	31	2	1	15,5	20, 000	645
Creole	51	4	4	12,75	210, 000	4, 118
Occitan	<b>51</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1,6</b>	<b>960, 000</b>	<b>18, 823</b>

Table 14: Number of CAPES positions for regional languages (2005-2016), the number of departments, academies, opened positions per department, and secondary and high school pupils and teachers. (Source: Ministère de L'éducation Nationale, de L'enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche, 2015)

**in-service training**

Each year, the academic institutes in the regions that offer Occitan at school consistently also offer training courses at academic or inter-academic level for secondary education-staff. These are occasional courses (concerning, for example, exams, the revision of programmes and new educational material) or more general courses on the teaching of Occitan or the Common European Framework of Reference, which last one to three days. Training is also offered for primary education staff, particularly for staff planning to teach Occitan at primary level. Finally, for more general subjects, there can be national training courses or more in-depth studies at summer universities during the holidays.

The continuous training stopped in 2007/2008. To overcome the shortage of new teachers – due to the structural decline of CAPES positions – in the Toulouse region an identification system for language competences of teachers recruited in other disciplines was set up by the Regional Pedagogic Inspector.

## 7 Adult education

**structure and  
language  
courses**

Adult education is governed by the *Loi portant organisation de la formation professionnelle continue dans le cadre de l'éducation permanente* (Law on the organisation of continuing vocational training within the framework of lifelong learning) of 1971. Adult education is mainly based on a private initiative, sometimes integrated into municipal programmes. Language courses for adults are numerous in the Occitan area and take various forms. A major distinction can be made between courses for Occitan-speakers and for others. Courses for Occitan speakers are an opportunity to practice the language and to be introduced to Occitan literature, while the non-Occitan speakers attend courses in order to learn the language.

The IEO runs the campaign '*Apprenons l'occitan!*'<sup>9</sup> (Let's learn Occitan!), that collects information on the various possibilities and courses for adults to learn Occitan in the different regions and departments. The IEO also organises an Occitan Summer University every year, where French and foreign specialists study special themes linked to the Occitan language and culture.

The Calandretas Association has created special language courses for parents of pupils of the *Calandretas* who want to support their children in their studies.

Since the 1970s, *l'Escola occitana d'Estiu* (Occitan summer school; hereafter: EOE) of Picapol (department of LotetGaronne) has provided courses for people who want to improve their knowledge of the Occitan language and culture at all levels. Every year, 150 to 200 persons attend these courses. All year round they offer courses for adults and intensive courses in Occitan. Other EOE's have been created along the same model and four or five of them attract roughly hundred persons every summer.

Finally, the oldest correspondence course in Occitan should also be mentioned: the *Collègi d'Occitània* (College of Occitania). The college was founded in 1927 and the main centre is in the Catholic Institute in Toulouse. The course takes four years with an facultative fifth year (Collègi d'Occitania, 2014).

In the late 1990s, Professional Training Centres in Occitan language and culture were created in the three most dynamic regions (Montpellier, 1994, Toulouse, 1997, Aquitaine, 1999). This network is still active after 20 years of existence, and teaches a few hundred speakers each year. The courses at these centres certify for language levels from A2 to C2 according to the CEFR.

In 2010, Occitan was added to the languages of the Linguistic Competence Diploma (*diplôme de compétence en langue*, DCL). Nowadays, hundreds of candidates obtain this diploma (level A2 to B1) in four regions (Bordeaux, Montpellier, Nice, Toulouse<sup>10</sup>).

Apart from these formal institutes, there are many independent local activities or circles where the local public can find activities linked to the Occitan language and culture.

**language use**

Teaching programmes for adults usually use the local variant of the Occitan language as teaching language. There is a network of four Occitan vocational training centres (Centres de Formation Professionels Occitans, CFPO) in Aquitaine (Orthez), Auvergne (Saint-Flour), Languedoc (Beziers) and Midi-Pyrenees (Toulouse). This network has a few tasks:

- Professional training of adult trainers in regional language and culture
- Development of Occitan mastery tests in accordance with the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
- Development of training projects for local authority staff, retirement homes or for people who are integrating in society.
- Development of Occitan workshops and intensive courses for adults.



There are also online courses in Occitan for French-speaking adults.

**statistics**

Other than the numbers given for students at the EOE, above, no statistics are available on the number of people taking adult courses.

## 8 Educational research

The Toulouse ESPE leads a pedagogical research project concerning inter-romance language courses, using Occitan as a crossroads language between other related languages (Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, French, Italian, Romanian). An academic learning method in comprehension of regional languages (IC4+) has been created in the Toulouse ESPE in the framework of the Barcelona-Toulouse-Montpellier-Perpignan-Iles Baléares Euro-campus.

Since 2017, at the initiative of the Toulouse Academy Inspectorate, a network of trainers from the French/Occitan bilingual education system have worked on a specialized theoretical and professional training tutorial on the characteristics of bilingual education. This tutorial is available online (m@gistere) to all educational staff.

Lastly, professional associations working on research on bilingualism have recently been developing activities bringing together researchers, teachers and institutional players. Thus, the ADEB (Association for the Development of Bi-/Plurilingual Education) enables theoretical and pedagogical reflection by trying to link actors of regional bilingual systems – notably Occitan, Catalan, Corsican, Breton, Alsatian-German and Basque (<http://www.adeb-asso.org/enseignement-bi-plurilingue/enseignement-bilingue/>).

## 9 Prospects

The role of the territorial authorities is becoming increasingly important. In that respect, we are at a turning-point in history: in Béarn, the Occitan-speaking part of the Department, the General Council has taken responsibility for setting up a master agreement aimed at developing regional languages and cultures. Just as public interest group “Euskara” has been set up for Basque, a comparable structure is now being organised for Occitan. The Aquitaine Regional Council has requested a report from the Regional Social and Economic Council. These are important measures that will be productive, particularly through the negotiation of agreements signed between the state and the territorial authorities. That’s why the Public Agency for Occitan Language (*Office Public pour la Langue Occitane*, OPLO) has been approved in June 2014 by the Aquitaine and Midi-Pyrénées regions. It has been approved by the French State in September 2015. Its objective is to ensure the safeguard and the development of the Occitan language and culture. Its headquarters are in Toulouse and its activities started in the beginning of 2016.

### 10 Summary of statistics

	1991	1997
<b>understands Occitan</b>	48%	34%
<b>can speak Occitan</b>	39%	19%
<b>often speaks Occitan</b>	9.4%	5%
<b>can read Occitan</b>	45%	28%
<b>accepts the idea that his/her children may learn Occitan at school</b>	48%	60%

Table 1: Occitan language competence in Languedoc-Roussillon in 1991 and 1997 (Source: 1991 data: Hammel & Gardy,1994; 1997 data: Boyer, 2001).

Occitan-speaking parents	born before 1951	born between 1951 and 1966	born after 1981
“my children speak Occitan”	21%	16%	8%
“I wish my children spoke Occitan”	27%	44%	42%
“Occitan is an important part of the regional identity”	67%	74%	75%

Table 2: Attitudes towards Occitan amongst Occitan-speaking parents in Midi-Pyrenées (Source: Enquête sociolinguistique de 2010, Midi-Pyrénées).

field of study	total teaching time	taught in French	taught in Occitan
<b>French</b>	10h	9h	
<b>Occitan</b>			1h
<b>mathematics</b>	5h		5h
<b>sport</b>	9h	1h45	0h45
<b>foreign living language</b>		0h45	0h45
<b>art and art history</b>		0h45	1h30
<b>world exploration</b>		0h45	2h
<b>total</b>	24h	12h	12h

Table 3: Distribution of French and Occitan instruction, Académie de Toulouse. (Source: Circulaire rectorale du 10 janvier 2000)

	Dordogne	Gironde	Landes	Lot et Garonne	Pyrénées Atlantiques	total
<b>2003</b>	79	0	35	138	179	431
<b>2006</b>	70	0	46	155	256	527
<b>2009</b>	89	0	44	185	426	744
<b>2012</b>	95	41	114	230	531	1,011
<b>2015</b>	179	115	199	315	719	1,527
<b>total primary school students*</b>	31,000	134,000	34,000	27,000	45,000	271,000
<b>total department population*</b>	420,000	1,500,000	400,000	330,000	660,000	3,300,000

Table 4: Evolution of the number of primary school pupils registered in bilingual sections of the National Education in the Bordeaux académie, per department. (Source: CALR Académie de Bordeaux)

\* = 2015.

year	awareness in nursery schools (cycles 1, 2 and 3)	awareness	introduction to modern language	bilingualism	total
<b>2006</b>	1,814	3,690	2,963	385	8,751
<b>2009</b>	3,324	2,490	3,525	789	10,028
<b>2012</b>	3,769	2,414	4,498	711	11,392
<b>2015</b>	5,141	1,289	5,612	855	12,897

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Table 5: Number of pupils, distributed according to bilingual learning process characteristics over the years, at the Montpellier académie. (Source: CALR Académie de Montpellier, 2016)

years	awareness in nursery and primary schools (cycles 1, 2 and 3)	introduction to living languages (cycles 2 and 3)	bilingual national education	Calandretas	total
<b>2003</b>	25, 680	7, 560	1, 167	592	34, 999
<b>2006</b>	27, 200	8, 420	1, 686	635	37, 941
<b>2009</b>	30, 540	8, 620	1, 897	669	41, 726
<b>2012</b>	36, 355	12, 591	2, 604	711	52, 261
<b>2015</b>	38, 277	13, 311	3, 209	883	55, 680

Table 6: Number of pupils, distributed according to bilingual learning process characteristics over the years, at the Toulouse académie. (Source: CALR Académie de Toulouse, 2016)

## EDUCATION AND LESSER USED LANGUAGES

	Ariège	Aveyron	Gers	Haute-Garonne	Hautes-Pyrénées	Lot	Tarn	Tarn-et-Garonne	Total
2003	0	331	0	71	79	140	314	232	1,167
2006	20	415	33	145	121	182	358	412	1,686
2009	39	437	37	198	166	145	396	479	1,897
2012	64	676	44	360	166	173	568	553	2,604
2015	94	826	120	435	207	178	729	620	3,209
Primary public school children (x1000)	12	18.5	14	114.5	17	12	30	24	242
Total population (x1000)	150	280	190	1,300	230	175	380	250	2,955

Table 7: Number of registered pupils in bilingual National Education schools at the Toulouse académie, divided departments over the years. (Source: CALR Académie de Toulouse, 2016)

federation	Auvergne	Aquitaine	Languedoc	Limousin	Midi-Pyrénées	Provence	total
number of Calandretas primary school students	88	575	1 771	54	992	123	3, 603
number of schools	3	16	24	1	21	2	67

Table 8: Number of Calandretas schoolchildren. (Source: <http://calandreta.org/fr/effectifs/>, September 2017)

languages*	EN	SP	GE	IT	RL	CH	PO	RU	AR	HE	JA
collège pupils (x1000)	3,200	1,300	490	103	34	11	7.6	3	4.2	3	0
lycée pupils (x1000)	2,140	1,300	350	130	8	22	8.5	9	6	3.8	3
% of pupils	98.8	47.2	15.2	4.2	0.8	0.6	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1

Table 9: Number and percentage of pupils that study living languages at secondary school (september 2014). (Source: Ministère de L'éducation Nationale, de L'enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche, 2014)

\* EN = English ; SP = Spanish ; GE = German ; IT = Italian ; RL = Regional Languages ; CH = Chinese ; PO = Portuguese ; RU = Russian ; AR = Arabic ; HE = Hebrew ; JA = Japanese.

	2007	2009	2011	2013	2015
<b>primary school: public bilingual</b>	1,767	1,897	2,352	2,901	3,209
<b>change in %</b>	-	+ 7,3	+ 24	+ 23,4	+ 10,6
<b>primary school : Calandretas</b>	599	669	744	853	883
<b>change in %</b>	-	+ 11,7	+ 11,2	+ 14,6	+ 3,5
<b>primary school : awareness and initiation</b>	28,278	36,290	40,310	52,700	55,680
<b>change in %</b>	-	+ 28,3	+ 11	+ 30,7	+ 5,7
<b>secondary education : college and lycée</b>	11,764	11,724	11,912	12,436	11,372
<b>change in %</b>	-	-0,3	+ 1,6	+ 4,4	-8,6
<b>Total</b>	42,407	50,580	55,318	68,890	71,144
<b>change in %</b>	-	+ 19,2	+ 9,4	+ 24,5	+3,3

Table 10: Changes in the numbers of primary and secondary education students at the Toulouse académie from 2007 to 2015. (Source: CALR Académie de Toulouse, 2016)

	optional exam	mandatory oral exam	written exam	total
<b>2011</b>	121	33	9	163
<b>2013</b>	156	27	9	192
<b>2015</b>	112	7	10	129
<b>2017</b>	110	9	21	140

Table 11: Number of students taking the various Occitan exams from 2011 to 2017. (Source: CALR Académie de Bordeaux, 2018)

		Bordeaux	Montpellier	Toulouse
<b>2011</b>	number of secondary school students receiving education in Occitan	2,096	2,876	11,912
	<i>including regional language classes</i>	0	129	435
<b>2013</b>	number of secondary school students receiving education in Occitan	2,392 (+14.1%)	2,535 (-11.9%)	12,422 (+4.3%)
	<i>including regional language classes</i>	21	129 (0%)	515 (+18.4%)
<b>2015</b>	number of secondary school students receiving education in Occitan	2,550 (+6.6%)	2,178 (-14.1%)	11,372 (-8.5%)
	<i>including regional language classes</i>	58 (+176%)	141 (+8.5%)	650 (+26.2%)

Table 12: Evolution of the number of secondary school students following education in Occitan, including regional language classes, in units and percentages. (Source: CALR Académies de Bordeaux, Montpellier, Toulouse)

EDUCATION AND LESSER USED LANGUAGES

Federation	Auvergne	Aquitaine	Languedoc	Limousin	Midi-Pyrénées	Provence	total
collèges	0	1	2	0	1	0	4
students	0	48	197	0	46	0	291

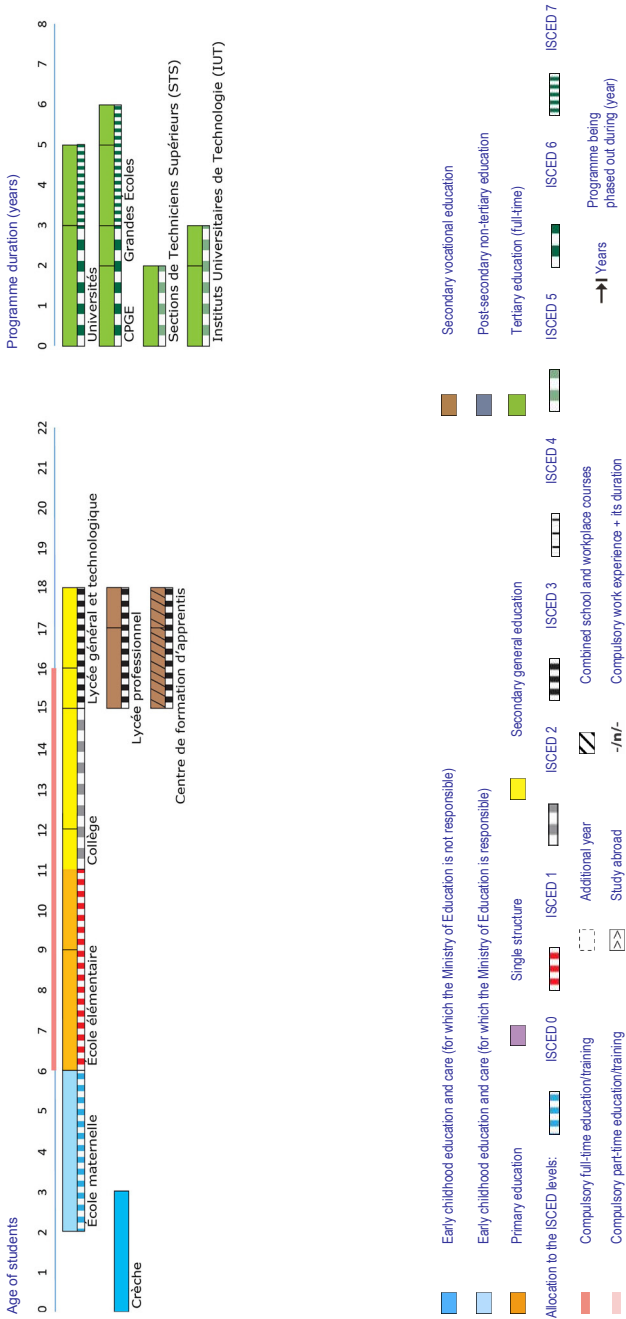
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language	total number of positions in CAPES (2005-2016)	number of departments concerned	number of academies	number of opened positions per department	number of pupils in secondary and high schools	number of teachers / number of pupils in secondary and high schools
Basque	15	1	1	15	36, 000	2, 400
Breton	27	4	2	6,75	150, 000	5, 555
Catalan	15	1	1	15	29, 000	1, 933
Corsican	31	2	1	15,5	20, 000	645
Creole	51	4	4	12,75	210, 000	4, 118
Occitan	<b>51</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1,6</b>	<b>960, 000</b>	<b>18, 823</b>

Table 14: Number of CAPES positions for regional languages (2005-2016), the number of departments, academies, opened positions per department, and secondary and high school pupils and teachers. (Source: Ministère de L'éducation Nationale, de L'enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche, 2015)



The structure of the education system in France in 2016/2017



Source: Eurydice (2016 / 2017)

## Endnotes

1. <http://crdp.ac-bordeaux.fr/oc-ben/>
2. <https://www.reseau-canope.fr/notice/tu-tanben.html>
3. <http://allsh.univ-amu.fr>: the “Provençal” mention replaces the Occitan mention on the website, even if there is no Occitan or Provençal teaching on the internet website of the Aix-en-Provence university.
4. [www.u-bordeaux3.fr](http://www.u-bordeaux3.fr). In 2015, there is no longer “physical” Occitan teaching, only correspondence courses or evening classes:  
<http://www.u-bordeaux-montaigne.fr/fr/actualites/formation/nouveaute-l-occitan-en-formation-a-distance.html?search-keywords=occitan>.  
 Nevertheless, classes on the Middle-Age Occitan literature (provided in French) can be taught.
5. [www.univ-bpclermont.fr](http://www.univ-bpclermont.fr). Occitan is only taught in a UE (Unity of Teaching), which is “out” of the bachelor that belongs to the literature, languages and social sciences UFR (among 50 UE, 3 of them teach “Slovak living language”), cf. <http://www.univ-bpclermont.fr/IMG/pdf/Occitan-initiation.pdf>
6. [www.univ-pau.fr](http://www.univ-pau.fr). Three Occitan teachers are present in this university. One of them teaches Occitan language, the other literature and the third teaches history and anthropology.
7. This university was the one of Pierre Bec, an university teacher with a European fame. Nowadays, this university is closed to any Occitan language and culture teaching.  
<http://www.univ-poitiers.fr/formation/nos-formations/ue-libres/aux-sources-vives-des-cultures-poitevine-saintongeaise-et-occitane-1186991.kjsp>.
8. The Ministry’s officials based their decision not to offer places for CAPES on an analysis of needs. According to them, there was no need to recruit a large number of additional teachers because the 250 already recruited were sufficient for requirements: these were young teachers who were not about to retire. The association of Occitan teachers (the Federation of Occitan language and culture teachers, FELCO), disputed that analysis, demonstrating

that, in relation to the population and geographical area concerned, there were 5 to 10 times fewer teachers of Occitan than there were teachers of Corsican or Basque. Upstream, that decision to reduce the number of places in the contest is drying up the Occitan courses being offered by the universities.

9. [www.aprenemloccitan.com](http://www.aprenemloccitan.com)
10. <http://pedagogie.ac-toulouse.fr/langues-vivantes/spip.php?article993>

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## Addresses

### Pedagogical resources

Académie de Bordeaux:  
<http://capoc.crdp-aquitaine.fr/?lng=fr>

Académie de Montpellier :  
<http://www.crdp-montpellier.fr/languesregionales/occitan/ressources/sceren/crdp.html>

Académie de Toulouse :  
<http://www.cndp.fr/crdp-toulouse/spip.php?page=recherche&univers=18&recherche=50+activit%C3%A9s+occitan>

### Main official associative websites

Calandreta:  
<http://calandreta.org/fr/la-confederation-des-calandretas/>

CIRDOC (The *Centre interrégional de développement de l'Occitan* - Interregional Centre for the Development of Occitan):  
<http://www.locirdoc.fr/>

Congrès Permanent de la Lenga Occitana:  
<https://www.locongres.org/?lang=fr>

FELCO (Fédération des Enseignants de Langue et Culture Occitane: *Occitan language and culture teachers union*):  
<http://www.felco-creo.org/>

## Other websites on minority languages

**Mercator** [www.mercator-research.eu](http://www.mercator-research.eu)

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

**Mercator** [www.mercator-network.eu](http://www.mercator-network.eu)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**European Parliament Committee – supporting analyses database**

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

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

**NPLD**

**<http://www.npld.eu/>**

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

**FUEN**

**<https://www.fuen.org/>**

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

## What can the Mercator Research Centre offer you?

**mission & goals** The Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning addresses the growing interest in multilingualism and endeavours to promote linguistic diversity within and outside Europe. The centre focuses on research, policy, and practice in the field of multilingualism and language learning. Through the creation, circulation and application of knowledge in the field of language learning at school, at home and through cultural participation, the Mercator Research Centre aims to provide for the increasing need of language communities to exchange experiences and to cooperate. Not only in European context, but also beyond the borders of Europe. Though the main focus lies in the field of regional and minority languages, immigrant languages are topics of study as well.

### partners

The Mercator Research Centre is the leading partner of the European Mercator network, initiated by the European Commission in 1987. The Mercator network partners are: Mercator Media, hosted at the University of Wales in Aberystwyth, Mercator Legislation, hosted at the Ciemen Foundation, the University of Barcelona in Barcelona, the Stockholm University in Sweden and the Research Institute for Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Hungary. Mercator also works and co-operates closely with a large number of research organisations and universities. This cooperation includes partners in the province Fryslân and other parts of the Netherlands, as well as partners across Europe and beyond. The main funding body of the Mercator Research Centre is the provincial government of Fryslân. The EU and regional authorities in Europe also regularly fund projects and activities.

### research

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 perspective. Results are disseminated through publications, conferences and publications in collaboration with Mercator's partners.

**conferences**

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**q&a**

If you have any questions, please contact us at:  
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