

THE PREPARATION
OF PRIMARY SCHOOL
TEACHERS IN FRANCE
SINCE WORLD WAR II

J. ATHOL HUNT
M.A. DIP.ED.


SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA
HOBART

1977

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university and to the best of my knowledge and belief contains no copy or paraphrase of material previously published or written by another person except when due reference is made in the text



J.A. Hunt

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the background to, and the development of, France's primary teacher preparation institutions in the period from 1946 to 1975. The study begins with an analysis of the traditional and the current attitudes of the French to the nation's primary schools and to those who teach in them (the *instituteurs*). A brief survey of the history of French primary education follows, with an indication of the importance of the training colleges (the *écoles normales*) in this development. The growth of the *écoles normales* is traced from their first establishment in the early years of the nineteenth century to the basic laws regulating their organisation, voted in the 1880's, and up to the period following their re-establishment after World War II. The first main section of the thesis then examines in detail the patterns of organisation of these institutions as they were in the period of more than twenty years from 1946 to the Student Revolution in May 1968. The extreme stability of their structure, despite very great changes in many other areas of education in France, is considered, and the gradually increasing stresses affecting this stability are outlined. The problems posed by the need to employ ever increasing numbers of uncertificated teachers (the *remplaçants*), and the efforts made to provide for their effective training, are described. There follows an attempt to define the underlying factors which were in due course to lead to the radical reformation of the traditional patterns of primary teacher preparation. Some of these factors date from the early years of the twentieth century, but it was only in the mid-1960's that they were considered carefully and developed into a coherent policy for change, largely at two important educational congresses, in Caen and Amiens, in 1966 and 1968. Some important experimental work in the *écoles normales* themselves at this time is also outlined. The Student Revolution of May 1968 is considered as the catalyst for major changes which occurred from that year onwards. These changes are set out in great detail, with specific reference to the exact way in which each came about. The age of entry, the length and nature of the courses offered, and the patterns of organisation within the colleges all underwent considerable modification in a very short period of time. The importance of in-service education for primary teachers was recognised and an effective structure for its provision was developed. A specific training course for lecturers was also set up. An attempt is made in this section of the thesis to analyse the nature of the social and economic background of the students following these developments: this is based in large part on a survey conducted by the writer in a number of the *écoles normales* in 1975. The thesis concludes with a brief account of some characteristic *écoles normales* and with a summary of some aspects of the patterns of primary teacher preparation in France which seem likely to undergo further reform in the immediate future.

CONTENTS

PREFACE	ix
INTRODUCTION	xiii
GLOSSARY	xxi
1. AN ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDES IN FRANCE TO (A) PRIMARY EDUCATION, (B) THE PRIMARY TEACHER	2
2. AN HISTORICAL SURVEY OF FRENCH PRIMARY EDUCATION, 1815-1975	20
3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECOLES NORMALES IN FRANCE, 1815-1968	41
establishment and key legislation	
World War II	
return to stability, 1944-1968	
traditional features of primary teacher preparation	
4. PATTERNS IN THE PERIOD OF STABILITY, 1946-1968	82
organisation of primary teacher preparation	
selection of students and bonding	
syllabuses	
practice teaching	
certification	
preparation of staff	
rôle of the teacher unions	
social status	
école normale and local community	
remplaçants	
5. CHANGING AN UNCHANGING TRADITION, 1968-1975: (A) THE IMPULSE TO CHANGE	159
pre-war forces for change	
early post-World War II proposals	
reform under the Fourth Republic	
preparation of secondary teachers	
the Leif Experiment	
the Caen and Amiens Congresses	
the events of May 1968	
reaction to May 1968	
6. CHANGING AN UNCHANGING TRADITION, 1968-1975: (B) THE RESULTANT CHANGES	222
preparation for the baccalauréat	

syllabus revision
consolidation of institutions
practice teaching
remplaçants
in-service education
preparation of staff
other rôles of the training institutions
a survey of students

7.	SOME CHARACTERISTIC ECOLES NORMALES	306
8.	THE WAY AHEAD	325
	APPENDICES	345
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	360

. . .

MAPS, DIAGRAMS, TABLES

MAP 1	France - départements and académies	xxv
MAP 2	Early men's écoles normales, 1795-1831	47
MAP 3	Men's écoles normales founded 1832-3	49
MAP 4	Men's écoles normales founded 1834-8	50
MAP 5	Men's écoles normales founded 1858-89	62
MAP 6	Women's écoles normales: religious foundations	63
MAP 7	Women's écoles normales: State foundations	64
MAP 8	A. Distribution of écoles normales during the period 1946-68	
	B. Départements maintaining écoles normales jointly	
	C. Ecoles normales with buildings newly constructed after World War II	83
MAPS 9-10	Consolidation of écoles normales, 1967-75	260
MAP 11	Ecoles normales, Paris region, 1974-5	261
MAP 12	Distribution of special training centres (P.E.G.C., Voie III and Enfance inadaptée) in France, 1975	288
	
FIG. 1	Nomenclature of classes in French primary and secondary schools	xxiii
FIG. 2	The two traditional teacher preparation routes in France, 1880-1959	8
FIG. 3	Paths to teacher education following the reforms of 1959 and 1968	17
FIG. 4	Growth of numbers of pupils and of number of teachers in primary schools compared with increase in total population, 1881-1973	36
FIG. 5	Total number of students in écoles normales in selected years, 1881-1911	61
FIG. 6	Entry to écoles normales, pre- and post-World War II	76
FIG. 7	The Ecole Normale d'Institutrices of Chartres	85
FIG. 8	The Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs of Paris (Auteuil)	86
FIG. 9	A dormitory typical of those provided in all the écoles normales prior to 1968	87

FIG. 10	The Grand Amphithéâtre of the Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs of Paris (Auteuil)	88
FIG. 11	The library of the Ecole Normale d'Institutrices of Paris (Bd des Batignolles)	89
FIG. 12	The refectory of the Ecole Normale d'Institutrices of Paris (Bd des Batignolles)	90
FIG. 13	The Langevin-Wallon Plan, 1947	169
FIG. 14	Evolution of distribution of student-teachers between écoles normales and lycées, 1965-72	226
FIG. 15	Part of the recent buildings of the Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs of Paris (Auteuil)	230
FIG. 16	Students taking notes during a professional studies lecture	231
FIG. 17	A meeting of the Conseil d'administration of the Ecole Normale d'Institutrices of Paris (Bd des Batignolles)	232
FIG. 18	The école annexe attached to the Ecole Normale d'Institutrices of Paris (Bd des Batignolles)	233
FIG. 19	A section of the library of the Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs of Paris (Auteuil)	234
FIG. 20	An observation lesson in the école annexe of the Ecole Normale d'Institutrices of Paris (Bd des Batignolles)	235
FIG. 21	Practice teaching session using closed-circuit television at the Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs of Paris (Auteuil)	236
FIG. 22	Socio-economic classes - distribution of families of normaliens in survey compared with national distribution	297
FIG. 23	Political tendencies - distribution for students in survey compared with national distribution (election of 1973)	300
FIG. 24	Religious beliefs - distribution for students in survey compared with national distribution	302
. . . .		
TABLE 1	Official time allocation for each subject area in primary schools, 1945-68 and from 1969 on	39
TABLE 2	Number of students in écoles normales, 1920-39	67
TABLE 3	Percentage of applicants gaining entry to écoles normales, 1924-39	67
TABLE 4	Source of students entering classe de seconde of écoles normales, 1950-52	77
TABLE 5	Entry to écoles normales, classe de seconde, 1949/50 - 1968/9	97
TABLE 6	Entry to écoles normales, post-baccalauréat, 1961/2 - 1968/9	97
TABLE 7	Subjects and time allocation, pre-baccalauréat classes in the écoles normales	101

TABLE 8	Distribution of students in pre-baccalauréat classes in the écoles normales, 1961-2	101
TABLE 9	Courses available in the écoles normales from 1966-7 onwards, with time to be devoted to each	103
TABLE 10	Distribution of students in pre-baccalauréat classes in the écoles normales, 1966-7	102
TABLE 11	Social origins of instituteurs in the département of Seine - social class of parents and grand-parents	133
TABLE 12	Table of probability of children from each socio-economic class entering Sections A or C (classe de seconde) of a lycée	135
TABLE 13	(a) Scholastic background of students entering écoles normales in 1956 and 1962: proportions recruited (b) Scholastic origins of those recruited to classe de seconde (c) Scholastic origins of those recruited to classe de première and professional year	139
TABLE 14	Number of students following the professional course as normaliens compared with number of remplaçants attending écoles normales, 1960/61 - 1969/70	145
TABLE 15	Primary teacher education: comparison of the Caen and Amiens proposals	209
TABLE 16	Evolution of distribution of student-teachers in all pre-baccalauréat classes, 1965-74	226
TABLE 17	Admission to écoles normales: first and second recruitment, 1969-73	228
TABLE 18	The curriculum in the écoles normales as prescribed in the Circular of 6 June 1969	241
TABLE 19	Number of students in special sections of écoles normales, 1963/4 - 1974/5	287
TABLE 20	Classification of students in survey, with corresponding national figures	292
TABLE 21	Post-baccalauréat studies of students in survey	294
TABLE 22	Socio-economic categories of students in survey (with corresponding national figures)	295
TABLE 23	Socio-economic categories of students in survey compared with official figures for 1960-1	296
TABLE 24	Socio-economic categories of students in survey compared with those for teachers in Berger and Benjamin's survey	298
TABLE 25	Socio-economic categories of students in survey compared with those for university students	299
TABLE 26	Political beliefs of students in survey	300
TABLE 27	Reasons given by students in survey for aiming to become primary school teachers	302

PREFACE

The primary research for this thesis was conducted in France in the periods January-July 1975 and December-January 1976-7. In both periods, in addition to work in the main education libraries, extensive visits were made to a large number of primary teacher preparation institutions. Additional research in Melbourne and Canberra has supplemented the work done in France.

The following *écoles normales* were visited:

Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Paris (Auteuil)
Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Paris (Bd des Batignolles)
Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Toulouse
Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Toulouse
Ecole Normale Mixte, Foix
Ecole Normale Mixte, Rodez
Ecole Normale Mixte, Aurillac
Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Clermont-Ferrand
Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Clermont-Ferrand
Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Chambéry
Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Albertville
Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Annecy
Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Grenoble
Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Grenoble
Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Nancy
Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Nancy
Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Strasbourg (Av. de la Forêt-Noire)
Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Strasbourg (Neudorf)
Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Strasbourg
Ecole Normale Mixte, Charleville-Mézières
Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Châteauroux
Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Châteauroux
Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Orléans
Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Orléans
Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Blois
Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Blois
Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Tours (Fondettes)
Ecole Normale Mixte, Bourges
Ecole Normale Mixte, Vannes
Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Rennes
Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Rennes
Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Caen
Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Caen
Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, St-Lô
Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Coutances
Ecole Normale Mixte, Alençon
Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Amiens
Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Amiens

Ecole Normale Mixte, Lille
 Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Douai
 Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Douai
 Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Versailles
 Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, St-Germain-en-Laye

I should like to express my gratitude to the *directeurs* and *directrices*, their deputies, their staffs and their students, for the courtesy with which they received me, for the hospitality which they offered so copiously and for the advice and help which they gave so readily. Their views are reflected throughout the thesis, and the impressions which they left with me underlie all that I have written.

In particular, the long discussions which I was able to have with the following are greatly appreciated; new insights into the development of primary teacher education in France came from each:

Monsieur Beaucarne, Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Douai
 Monsieur Chanut, Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Strasbourg
 Mademoiselle Daubois, Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Paris
 Mademoiselle Debay, Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Orléans
 Monsieur Flandre, Ecole Normale d'Alençon
 Monsieur Gillet, Ecole Normale de Bourges
 Monsieur Giraud, Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Clermont-Ferrand
 Monsieur Grandgeorges, Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Nancy
 Monsieur Grêlé, Ecoles Normales de St-Lô/Coutances
 Monsieur Gruwez, Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Douai
 Monsieur Hagnauer, Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Paris
 Madame Imbert, Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Châteauroux
 Monsieur Jolibert, Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Blois
 Monsieur Lacroix, Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Paris
 Madame Leclerc, Ecole Normale de Vannes
 Monsieur Marchal, Ecole Normale de Lille
 Monsieur Marchand, Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Paris
 Monsieur Moulard, Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Paris
 Mademoiselle Pierre, Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Paris
 Madame Pinthon, Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Rennes
 Madame Robert, Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Chambéry

The following institutions were visited, both in order to discuss specific problems with appropriate specialists and to work in the regional libraries attached to each:

Centres régionaux de recherche et de documentation pédagogiques
 Caen
 Clermont-Ferrand
 Grenoble
 Lille
 Nancy
 Orléans
 Reims
 Rennes
 Strasbourg
 Toulouse

Centres départementaux de documentation pédagogique
Chambéry
Rodez

I should like to express my gratitude to the *directeurs* and their associates in these institutions who welcomed me so warmly and assisted me by granting full access to their libraries and by arranging appropriate visits for me.

In Paris, the resources of the Institut National de Recherche et de Documentation Pédagogiques were at my disposal, and I should like to thank the librarians there, and particularly Madame Bergougnieux for her help and guidance both in arranging for access to the library and for organising numerous visits for me in Paris and in other areas.

Important resources were also made available to me through the kindness of Madame Baudin of the Service Statistique et de Conjoncture of the Ministère de l'Education Nationale and of Monsieur Labes, editor of the journal of the Syndicat National des Instituteurs. The help of these two people was greatly appreciated.

I was fortunate enough also to have detailed discussions with four gentlemen whose contributions to French teacher education, and to the preparation of primary teachers in particular, have been very great. I should like to express my real sense of privilege to them and thank them for their help. They are:

Monsieur l'Inspecteur-Général Leif, Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Paris
Monsieur l'Inspecteur-Général Noël, Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Paris
Monsieur le Professeur Mialaret, Université de Caen
Monsieur le Professeur Prost, Université d'Orléans

I should like finally to acknowledge the constant guidance and encouragement of the two supervisors of the thesis, Dr Olive Wykes, of the University of Melbourne, and Professor R. Selby-Smith, of the University of Tasmania. Without their ready assistance, the work could not have been brought to fruition.

Hobart, August 1977

. . . .

*La façon dont on forme aujourd'hui les
futurs enseignants influencera des élèves
qui vivront encore au début du XXIIe
siècle.*

- André Delion, 1973

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to examine in detail the methods adopted in France for the training of teachers for primary education in the period following World War II and to attempt to explain why a pattern which was extremely traditional and seemingly stable has experienced quite radical changes in methods and directions in the last decade. The French education system has been subject to close scrutiny by many commentators, both native and foreign, in recent years, but there have been few critical observers of the patterns of primary education and even fewer educationists, outside the immediate area, who have considered the work of the *écoles normales* and the other agencies of primary teacher education in the country. This is, no doubt, not unexpected, since major reforms have been occurring in secondary and higher education which have seemed of much greater importance in the development of education in all Western countries. The events of May 1968 served to centre the attention of international educationists on the problems that French education was facing at these levels, and to divert attention, perhaps, from the increasingly important reforms taking place at the level of pre-school and primary education. Not least among the latter has been the rapid abandonment of the seemingly unchanging traditions of the nation's *écoles normales*.

In order to understand how these traditions developed, why they remained stable for so long, and what brought about their abandonment, it will be necessary to study the place occupied in France by the *instituteur*, a figure as clearly delineated in the minds of most French people as many professional archetypes with a far longer history. The *instituteur* is linked inextricably with the characteristics of the French primary school itself, an institution equally susceptible of generalisation in the minds of the French because of the nation's rigid uniformity of educational structures. The history of the development of the *instituteur* leads in turn to a consideration of the development of the *écoles normales*, the training institutions which provide for the professional preparation of

primary teachers in each of the country's ninety-five *départements*. The earliest of these was established in 1810, and by 1833 there were already some fifteen in existence. In the early years of the Third Republic, and particularly between 1879 and 1887, the basic laws were promulgated which gave to them a philosophy, a form and a programme which remained essentially unchanged for nearly a century.

The main sections of the thesis deal with the patterns of organisation and with the academic, social and political aspects of the *écoles normales* as they existed, particularly, in the first twenty years after World War II; with the forces which led gradually during this period to a demand for change in these patterns; and with the changes which resulted, in the period after May 1968. The events of May 1968 form a clear point of division between the unchanging traditions established and followed resolutely in the *écoles normales* up to that time and the basic restructuring both of intentions and of formal organisation after it. If some of the proposals for change made at the time have not in fact found practical application, this will be seen to be an inevitable result of the complex forces at work. But the new patterns clearly evident by 1975 provide a firm basis for further developments in the immediate future, and it will be appropriate to consider briefly in the final section of the thesis what these might be.

Previous major studies in the areas of French primary education, teacher education in France and, specifically, the preparation of primary school teachers are not numerous. The history of the development of the primary schools up to the eve of World War I has been treated in detail by Maurice Gontard in three volumes, the first as a doctoral thesis in the University of Lyon.¹ Two massive works from the nineteenth century provide a full documentation of the legislative background and of organisation for the formative period of primary education. The first is Ferdinand Buisson's three-volume dictionary, and the second Octave Gréard's seven-volume analysis of legislation.² No such thorough documentation is available for the

¹ Gontard, Maurice: L'Enseignement primaire en France de la Révolution à la loi Guizot (Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1959); Les Ecoles primaires de la France bourgeoise, 1833-1875 (C.R.D.P., Toulouse, I.P.N., Paris, n.d.); L'Oeuvre scolaire de la Troisième République, l'enseignement primaire en France de 1876 à 1914 (I.P.N., Paris, n.d.)

twentieth century; but several general histories of French education treat the development of the primary schools in reasonable detail, especially those by Antoine Prost and Félix Ponteil.³ The legislation controlling the development of the primary schools and their courses of study is available in several forms: the *Bulletin Officiel* publishes new laws, decrees and circulars each week⁴; the official *Recueil des Lois et Règlements* is published annually⁵; and two other works provide very full surveys, one by Guillemoteau, Mayeur and Iorg, and the other by Crémieux-Brilhac.⁶ The current courses of study for primary schools are published annually by Vuibert and by Hachette.⁷ All of these sources have been used regularly in the thesis, the *Recueil* in particular for current legislation and the *Bulletin Officiel* for all legislation no longer current. Regular comment on developments in primary education appears in a number of journals, the most important of which are the semi-official weekly, *L'Education*, and the weekly, *L'Ecole Libératrice*, published by the principal primary teachers union, the *Syndicat National des Instituteurs*.⁸

In the field of primary teacher preparation, there is very little published material indeed. Two historical works treat the growth of the *écoles normales* in the nineteenth century: E. Jacoulet's survey was published in 1889 but is nevertheless extremely detailed; Maurice Gontard's work appeared first in 1962 and has been extended more recently to cover briefly the main developments in the twentieth century.⁹ Neither of these, however, provides an effective treatment

² Buisson, Ferdinand: Dictionnaire de pédagogie et d'instruction primaire (Hachette, Paris, 1882-7); Gréard, Octave: La Législation de l'instruction primaire en France depuis 1789 jusqu'à nos jours (Delalain, Paris, 1889-92, 2nd ed. 1900)

³ Prost, Antoine: L'Enseignement en France, 1800-1967 (Colin, Paris, 1968); Ponteil, Félix: Histoire de l'enseignement, 1789-1965 (Sirey, Paris, 1966)

⁴ Bulletin Officiel de l'Education Nationale (Ministère de l'Education, Paris, weekly)

⁵ Recueil des Lois et Règlements (Ministère de l'Education, Paris, annual)

⁶ Guillemoteau, René, Mayeur, Pierre and Iorg, Marcel: Traité de législation scolaire et universitaire (Colin, Paris, 3 vol., 1970-2); Crémieux-Brilhac, Jean-Louis: L'Education Nationale (P.U.F., Paris, 1965)

⁷ Leterrier, L.: Programmes, instructions (Hachette, Paris, annual); Horaires et programmes de l'enseignement du premier degré (Librairie Vuibert, Paris, annual)

⁸ Education [until September 1968, Education Nationale] (S.E.V.P.E.N., Paris, weekly); Ecole Libératrice (S.N.I., Paris, weekly)

of events beyond the major Laws of the 1879-1883 period, and the full history of the *écoles normales* in the twentieth century remains to be written. A number of histories of individual *écoles normales* do not fill the gap at all effectively. Material for this thesis has therefore come inevitably from the official sources already mentioned, together with the records of parliamentary debates contained in the *Journal Officiel*.¹⁰ The journals mentioned above, together with *Former des Maîtres*¹¹, have provided the principal sources of informed comment, though many other journals have contained useful material at various stages in the development of the primary teacher training institutions. One is left quickly with the impression that very few observers in France have looked beyond the most superficial aspects of change in the patterns of professional training; those who have seem always to have been official members of the French Ministry of Education and to have been limited in their analyses by this fact.¹²

Statistical information concerning French education and specifically concerning the preparation of primary school teachers is generally readily available, though there are some areas where no precise information has been published. Basic details of recruitment, numbers of students admitted to courses, boarding facilities, proportions of students following various courses, numbers and subject specialisations of lecturers, numbers of temporary and untrained teachers and details of special courses offered in training institutions are available for most, if not all, years since World War II, and are published by the Statistical Services of the Ministry of Education.¹³ On the other hand, statistics of the scholastic and

⁹ Jacoulet, M.E.: Notice historique sur les écoles normales d'instituteurs et d'institutrices in Recueil des monographies pédagogiques (Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1889), Vol. II, pp. 375 et seq.; Gontard, Maurice: La Question des écoles normales primaires de la Révolution de 1789 à nos jours (C.R.D.P., Toulouse, I.P.N., Paris, n.d.) (the section covering the period from 1879 onwards is pp. 112-128)

¹⁰ Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale, and Journal Officiel - Sénat (Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, daily during parliamentary sessions)

¹¹ Former des Maîtres [formerly Bulletin du S.N.P.E.N.] (S.N.P.E.N., Paris, monthly)

¹² Two such observers who have written regularly on teacher education are Pierre Chanut, *Directeur* of the Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs in Strasbourg, and Joseph Leif, an *inspecteur-général* attached to the central Ministry of Education.

¹³ Informations Statistiques, Tableaux Statistiques and Statistiques

socio-economic background of students who enter primary teaching either with or without preliminary professional training are not available except in incomplete and unreliable form. Many assumptions made about such students can be confirmed only by unsatisfactory subjective claims based on traditional beliefs.¹⁴ An attempt has been made in this thesis to provide some data to add to that already available in these areas.¹⁵

The only studies of French primary teacher education completed in recent years by writers in English are those included in works on wider topics. Well-known comparative educationists such as Kandel, King and Holmes have included summaries of the organisational patterns in their studies of selected national systems¹⁶, and two writers on the French education system in general have included some comments on the preparation of teachers, both primary and secondary.¹⁷ But in every case the survey is both brief and relatively superficial. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development has also published several educational surveys which have included some factual information on teacher preparation in France.¹⁸ The only more lengthy study, however, has been that by James Lynch and H. Dudley Plunkett.¹⁹ These authors have attempted

des Enseignements (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Service Central des Statistiques et de la Conjoncture, S.E.V.P.E.N., Paris, generally monthly)

¹⁴ However, one important research study exists: Berger, Ida and Benjamin, Roger: L'Univers des instituteurs (Editions de Minuit, Paris, 1964)

¹⁵ See Section 6, pp. 291-305

¹⁶ Kandel, I.L.: The New Era in Education (Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1955), esp. pp. 342-351; King, E.J.: Other Schools and Ours (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 4th ed., 1973), esp. pp. 166-172; Holmes, B.: Problems in Education (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1965), esp. ch. 8, pp. 216-217

¹⁷ Halls, W.D.: Society, Schools and Progress in France (Pergamon, London, 1965), esp. pp. 160-169; Fraser, W.R.: Reforms and Restraints in Modern French Education (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1971), esp. pp. 144-149

¹⁸ esp. Study on Teachers - France and Ireland (O.E.C.D., Paris, 1969); see also: Reviews of National Policies for Education - France, and Classification of Educational Systems - France, Norway, Spain (O.E.C.D., Paris, 1971, 1972)

¹⁹ Lynch, James, and Plunkett, H. Dudley: Teacher Education and Cultural Change (George Allen and Unwin, London, 1973). One other recent work on teacher education in Europe has been published, but it makes only incidental reference to primary teacher education in France: Lomax, Donald (ed.): European Perspectives in Teacher Education (Wiley, London, 1976)

to explore the patterns of teacher education at all levels in England, France and West Germany, summarising each²⁰, and defining a "typology of policy options" within which teacher preparation might operate. The four poles of the typology are given as "subject centred", "system centred", "child centred" and "community centred".²¹ Using this typology, four aspects of teacher preparation in each of the three countries are examined: the student's perception of teaching, the process by which the student becomes a teacher, the curriculum and methods of teacher preparation and the organisation of teacher preparation. Teacher education in the three countries is seen as essentially "reproductive" and this attitude is challenged in the final section of the book. Lynch and Plunkett see needs for reform to remove the existing hierarchies in the teaching profession (and in the training institutions), to allow for effective research into and encouragement of progressive change in education (in the training institutions) and to provide for systematic in-service education of teachers (through the training institutions).²² They see finance as a major constraining factor and political protection as a barrier against reform.²³ While offering little detailed comment on the specific problems of the primary teacher preparation system in France, their study raises a number of important more general problems and indicates "key transition points" for further research.

There is a need therefore for further study of the important movements taking place in this area in France, both by the French themselves and by observers from outside France. The developments are in many cases of great interest and are potentially susceptible to modified adoption in other countries where similar problems exist. The system for providing pre-service practice teaching is a particularly effective solution to a common concern, and the full development of patterns of compulsory continuing education for primary teachers is certainly worth careful consideration in other countries. French educationists are in some cases beginning to assess these new aspects of the work of the *écoles normales* - their assessments are considered in detail in this thesis - but it is perhaps too early as yet to provide more

²⁰ Their summary of the preparation of primary school teachers in France is given on pp. 34-35, op. cit.

²¹ *ibid.*, pp. 71-87

²² *ibid.*, pp. 175-188

²³ *ibid.*, pp. 176-180 and 185-186

than tentative descriptions of the patterns which are evolving and of their relative success. It is in any case very difficult for those closely involved with the changes to provide an unbiased review.

Undoubtedly foreign observers are also biased in reviewing patterns of education. The difficulty of making valid comparisons between national patterns of social organisation is perhaps insufficiently understood by scholars visiting foreign countries. The factors leading to inaccurate judgments are complex and difficult to assess: weighting them in their correct proportions in any specific study is a major preoccupation of the student. In the area of education, they certainly include the observer's general national social and linguistic background, his conceptions of patterns of education within his own country and his own major preoccupations within this area, as well as his knowledge and understanding of the social structures of the foreign country.

This thesis does not attempt to make direct comparisons between primary teacher education in France and in Australia. The viewpoint is instead that of a neutral observer endeavouring to uncover the assumptions and traditions of the national system and to assess the processes at work in bringing about change within the system, without specific reference to patterns in any other country. Nevertheless, it is inevitable that many of the assumptions and traditions of Australian primary education, as perceived by the writer, will underlie the study. This will be apparent, in particular, in those sections of the thesis which deal with the impulse to change and with the likely future development of the teacher education system in France.

One superficially unimportant but in fact insidious source of bias is essentially linguistic; the fact that many of the terms used in French education are the same as, or easily translated into, Anglo-Saxon terms does not normally imply any close similarity in structures. Throughout this thesis, such terms have been treated with special care: in every case where the institution being discussed is peculiar to France, the name has been left in French. A detailed glossary lists and defines all these terms. Similarly, translations from French texts have been done with special care to ensure that they remain as close as possible to the original; if necessary, elegance in translation has been sacrificed to accuracy and objectivity.²⁴

²⁴ Cf. note at foot of next page

Within these restrictions, an attempt has been made to present a detailed and objective analysis of the complex forces that have been at work in this rather neglected, but extremely important field, to explain how they have operated, to see what the vital turning-points for reform have been, and to estimate the effectiveness of the French primary teacher preparation system as it was, during a long period of stability, and as it now is, following a period of relatively rapid growth and transformation.

. . . .

NOTE:

French educational terms are in italics throughout the thesis except for three very frequently occurring ones, which remain unitalicised; these are:

école normale
instituteur, institutrice
département

GLOSSARY

académie: the major administrative region for education, consisting of a number of *départements* (q.v.) and headed by a *recteur* (q.v.). At present, France is divided into twenty-three *académies*. See MAP 1, below. See Section 2, pp. 21, 26.

agrégation: a severely competitive examination taken by a restricted number of university graduates of the highest calibre each year; those successful are known as *agrégés*. Holders of the *agrégation* form the highest paid group of secondary teachers; a considerable number teach in the *écoles normales*; and many become university lecturers. See Section 1, p. 9, and Section 5, pp. 178-9.

arrêté, circulaire (circular), *décret* (decree), *loi* (law): these are the various levels at which instructions can be conveyed from the government to those concerned; a law is initiated by the Minister, who first has it approved by an appropriate committee and by the government before submitting it to the parliament; a decree, putting into effect the detailed organisation required by the law, does not need the approval of the parliament, but must be approved by the President; an *arrêté* is an order emanating from the Minister; a circular contains an elaboration of the matters set out in a law, a decree or an *arrêté*, and is normally issued by one of the directorates under the Minister, with his approval.

arrondissement: an administrative sub-division of a *département* (q.v.), with, as its head, a *sous-préfet* working under the orders of the *préfet* (q.v.). Each *arrondissement* contains fifty or more *communes* (q.v.). See Section 2, p. 22.

Assemblée Nationale: the title of the lower house of the parliament in the Fourth and the Fifth Republics. In the Third Republic, the lower house was named the *Chambre des Députés*.

baccalauréat: the examination at the end of secondary education, and the certificate awarded for success in that examination; officially it is the first university degree, and is granted by the Minister of National Education; it gives right of access to all universities, but not to the *grandes écoles*. See Section 2, p. 25, and Section 4, p. 101.

bachotage: a colloquial expression for the intensive preparation for the *baccalauréat* examination which many students engage in during the weeks immediately prior to the examination; "cramming", "swotting". See Section 4, p. 104.

bourse: bursary paid to pupils and students in certain circumstances; in the case of *normaliens* (q.v.), the full costs of board and of instruction for students in pre-*baccalauréat* classes were met by the government, while students in professional preparation classes were paid a salary; in addition, however, a *bourse de trousseau et de fournitures* was provided for the former to cover both immediate and

future expenses. The holder of a bursary is a *boursier*. See Section 4, p. 99, and Section 6, p. 227.

brevet de capacité: certificate generally required in the first half of the nineteenth century in order to teach in a primary school; it was issued in three grades after examination by an *inspecteur d'académie* (q.v.). See Section 2, p. 21.

brevet élémentaire: certificate of studies at the primary level, formerly required by candidates for primary school teaching; replaced in 1887 for this purpose by the *brevet supérieur* (q.v.) and in 1940 by the *baccalauréat* (q.v.). An examination for the certificate still exists: the minimum age for admission is fifteen; the syllabus was published in an *arrêté* of 27 March 1973. See Section 3, pp. 48, 56, and Section 4, pp. 112-3.

brevet d'études du premier cycle: certificate of studies at the end of the first cycle of secondary education; it has almost entirely replaced the *brevet élémentaire* (q.v.) since its introduction by a decree of 20 October 1947. See Section 4, p. 94.

brevet supérieur: certificate granted to students who successfully completed studies in the *écoles normales* in the period from 1833 (*Loi Guizot*) to 1940 (Vichy government); it became the minimum qualification for primary teaching under the Decree of 18 January 1887; studies for it included both academic and professional work; in 1905 the course was changed so that professional studies were concentrated in the third year, but in 1920 the two aspects were again integrated throughout the three years; the standard was not dissimilar from that of the *baccalauréat* (q.v.), but the *brevet supérieur* did not grant right of access to the universities; it was replaced in primary teacher training institutions by the *baccalauréat* in 1940 by the Vichy administration, a change made permanent in the Decree of 6 June 1946. See Section 3, pp. 51, 55, 61, 74.

centre de formation départemental: suggested new title for *école normale* as centre for training of teachers for all levels up to the end of the first cycle of secondary education. See Section 6, p. 256.

centre pédagogique régional: regional centre for teachers, providing education libraries, research facilities and varied in-service courses particularly for secondary teachers, as well as the basic organisational structure for students preparing for the *certificat d'aptitude au professorat de l'enseignement du second degré* (q.v.); see also *institut de préparation aux enseignements du second degré*. See Section 5, p. 179.

certificat d'aptitude pédagogique: certificate granted teachers following satisfactory inspection and examination, generally at the end of their first year of full-time teaching. See Section 3, p. 55, and Section 4, pp. 122-3 and 149-52.

certificat d'aptitude professionnelle: a general term used for any one of a large number of technical certificates granted at the end of a secondary technical course.

certificat d'aptitude au professorat de l'enseignement du second degré (C.A.P.E.S.): professional qualification for teachers in secondary schools, instituted by a decree of 1 April 1950; it is granted to holders of a first university degree (the *licence*, q.v.)

who have satisfactorily completed a year of professional and practical studies. See Section 5, p. 179.

certificat d'études (primaires): certificate granted to successful pupils at the end of primary education at the age of fourteen years; instituted in 1865; abandoned in the State education system since the introduction of comprehensive secondary education, but still used by some private schools. See Section 2, pp. 27, 30, 35, and Section 3, p. 54.

certificat de fin d'études normales: certificate granted to successful students at the end of the professional studies course in the *école normale*. See Section 4, pp. 120-2, Section 5, pp. 183-4, and Section 6, pp. 247-9.

certifié: teacher in a secondary school who holds the *certificat d'aptitude au professorat de l'enseignement du second degré* (q.v.), or an equivalent qualification.

Chambre des Députés: lower house of the French parliament under the Third Republic (1871-1940); the equivalent in the Fourth and Fifth Republics is the *Assemblée Nationale* (q.v.).

chef-lieu: town in which the administrative headquarters of a *commune* (q.v.), a *département* (q.v.) or an *académie* (q.v.) are situated.

circulaire: see *arrêté*.

classe: The nomenclature of classes in French schools is as shown in FIGURE 1, below.

FIGURE 1: NOMENCLATURE OF CLASSES IN FRENCH PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

PRIMARY:	CP	cours préparatoire	
	CE1	cours élémentaire, Year 1	
	CE2	cours élémentaire, Year 2	
	CM1	cours moyen, Year 1	
	CM2	cours moyen, Year 2*	
SECONDARY:	6e	sixième	} first cycle
	5e	cinquième	
	4e	quatrième	
	3e	troisième	
	2e	seconde	} second cycle
	1ère	première	
	CT	classe terminale	

* Prior to 1959 there were also the CS: cours supérieur (similar in most subjects to the CM2) and CFE1 and CFE2: cours de fin d'études, Years 1 and 2.

collège: (a) secondary school prior to 1959 similar to the *lycée* (q.v.), but offering in general a less extensive range of courses (e.g., courses including Latin and/or Greek were often not available), and financed, as far as buildings and equipment were concerned, by the *département* in which it was situated; (b) a junior secondary school,

after the 1959 Reform, either a former *cours complémentaire* (q.v.), renamed *collège d'enseignement général*, or a restructured former *collège*, renamed *collège d'enseignement secondaire*.

collège d'enseignement général: see *collège* and *cours complémentaire*.

collège d'enseignement secondaire: see *collège*; cf. Section 5, pp. 179-180.

colonie de vacances: officially recognised holiday centre for children, with permanent facilities and trained staff, employing temporary aids (often teachers in training) during holiday periods; under the control of the Ministry of Sport and Games. See Section 4, p. 118 and Section 5, p. 201.

commune: smallest sub-division of France's political and administrative structure. See Section 1, p. 3.

concours: competitive entry examination, for example the *concours d'entrée* for the *écoles normales*. See Section 4, pp. 95-6.

conseil d'administration: the administrative council of, for example, an *école normale*. See Section 3, p. 59.

conseil de classe: class committee, set up in all schools and *écoles normales*, following the events of May 1968, to provide co-ordination with the school administration and to assist in assessment procedures. See Section 5, p. 214, and Section 7, pp. 307-8.

conseil départemental: committee at the level of the *département* (q.v.) responsible for the operation of certain types of school, including *écoles normales*, and for the appointment and titularisation of primary school teachers. See Section 4, p. 82, and Section 6, p. 258.

conseil des professeurs: committee of teachers in secondary schools and *écoles normales*, meeting monthly under the chairmanship of the *directeur* or *directrice* to discuss problems of teaching and discipline. See Section 4, p. 100, and Section 6, p. 248.

Conseil Supérieur: advisory council attached to a Ministry of the central government; the *Conseil Supérieur de l'Education Nationale* consists of 25 members of the administration of the Ministry, 25 members representing other Ministries and parents, students, employers and employees, 50 members representing practising teachers at all levels, and 5 representing private schools; it is consulted on syllabuses, teaching methods and administrative matters; it has a sub-committee to deal with contentious matters and problems of discipline.

conseiller général: member of the *conseil général*, the council of the *département* (q.v.).

conseiller pédagogique: (a) experienced secondary teacher under whom students work while preparing for the *certificat d'aptitude au professorat de l'enseignement du second degré* (q.v.); (b) experienced primary teacher responsible for supervision of the work of *remplaçants* and other associated tasks; renamed *maîtres itinérants d'école annexe* in 1961. See Section 4, p. 147 and Section 5, p. 179.

cours: class; see *classe*.

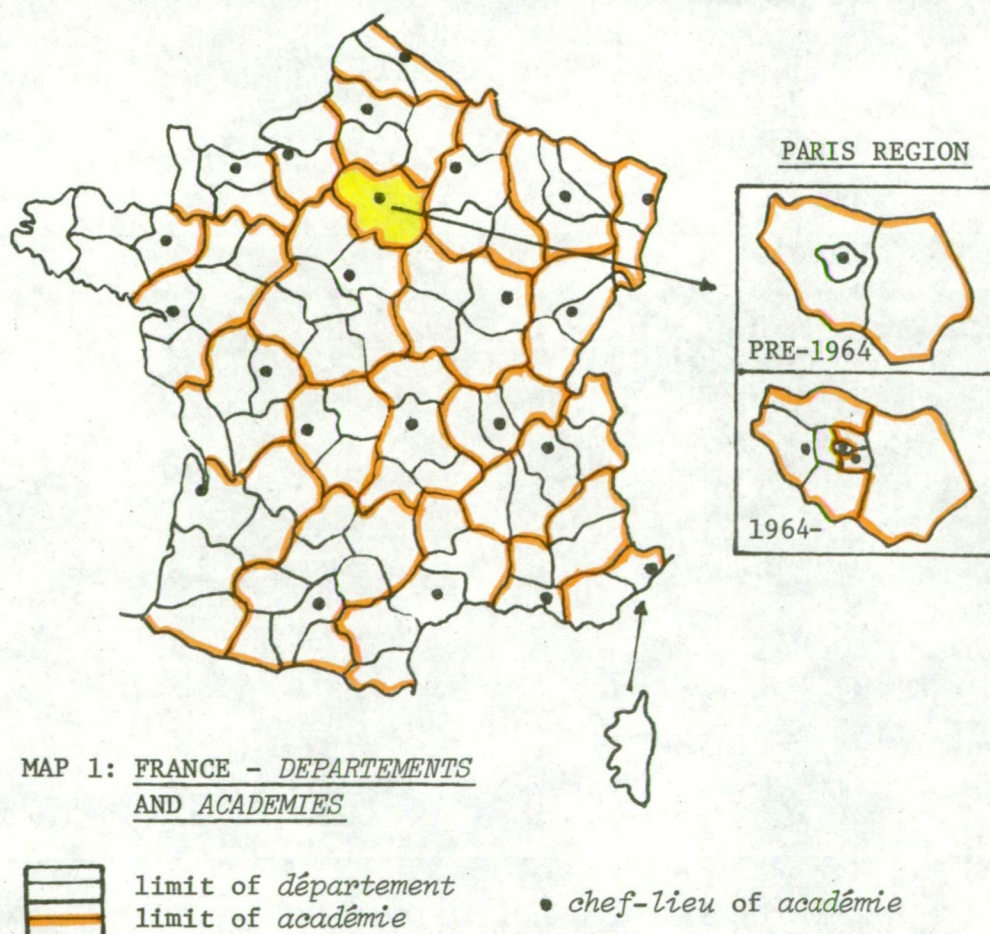
cours complémentaires: upper classes of the primary school before the introduction of comprehensive secondary education in 1959; they retained those pupils who did not transfer to a *collège* or a *lycée* (q.v.) at the end of the *cours moyen* (see *classe*), and prepared them, in the years before World War II for the *brevet élémentaire* (q.v.), and after World War II for the *brevet d'études du premier cycle* (q.v.); teachers in the *cours complémentaires* were *instituteurs* trained in the *écoles normales*. See Section 2, p. 37.

culture générale: "a frequently proclaimed goal in French education: that degree of understanding and of skill in manipulating symbols and concepts which enables the well-educated person to converse intelligently on a wide range of topics, to approach new problems flexibly and to acquire new skills on a sound basis of general education." (Fraser, W.R.: Reforms and Restraints in Modern French Education, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1971, p. xx).

décret: see *arrêté*.

demi-pension: half-board; *demi-pensionnaires* are pupils who spend the day at the school, and take their meals there, but who return home each night to sleep. See Section 3, p. 55.

département: major political and administrative sub-division in France; the country is divided into 95 *départements*, not counting the overseas *départements* (Martinique, Guadeloupe, Réunion and Guyane), the smallest with a population of under 100,000 and the largest with over two million; the administrative head of a *département* is the *préfet* (q.v.). A full list is included in APPENDIX 1. See MAP 1, below.



diplôme d'études universitaires générales (D.E.U.G.): diploma gained by university students at the end of the first two years of study, if successful; it has replaced two earlier diplomas at the same level: the *diplôme universitaire d'études littéraires (D.U.E.L.)* and the *diplôme universitaire d'études scientifiques (D.U.E.S.)*.

directeur, directrice: head (male, female) of, for example, an *école normale*. See Section 4, pp. 84, 91.

école annexe: primary school attached to an *école normale*, and staffed with selected teachers, providing for demonstration lessons and practice sessions for student teachers. See Section 3, p. 55, and Section 4, pp. 115-6.

école d'application: school in which some or all classes are used by the *école normale* as classes for practice teaching. See Section 4, pp. 115-6.

Ecole Fondamentale: the name given by the *Syndicat National des Instituteurs* to the years of compulsory schooling, from age 6 to age 16, and the optional pre-school years from age 2, teachers for which, it claimed, should be trained in the *écoles normales*. See Section 6, p. 256.

école laïque: secular school, as distinct from a non-State school run by a religious denomination; the French State primary school, in particular, has traditionally felt itself to be opposed to the principles of non-secular education. See Section 1, p. 6.

école maternelle: school for children below the age of compulsory education, i.e. between the ages of 2 and 6 in France; the *écoles maternelles* are a highly developed sector of the school system in France, providing for a high proportion of pre-school children. See Section 1, pp. 4-5.

école normale: training college for primary teachers (and some other groups of teachers also, in recent years); students in an *école normale* are called *normaliens*.

école normale supérieure: training college for teachers at secondary and tertiary levels and formerly for teachers in the *écoles normales*; the *écoles normales supérieures* at St-Cloud and Fontenay were originally created specifically to prepare teachers for the *écoles normales* and recruited their students from them. See Section 3, p. 60.

école primaire supérieure: upper primary school; in the period before World War II, it provided the same courses as *cours complémentaires* (q.v.), but was separate from the primary school itself. See Section 2, p. 23.

école unique: pattern of comprehensive education, in which all children have equal access to a common system of schools during the years of compulsory schooling; first proposed in the period immediately after World War I. See Section 5, p. 164.

économe: bursar; school official responsible for many of the non-teaching aspects of the establishment and particularly for budgetary control. See Section 3, p. 55, and Section 4, pp. 84, 91.

examen de fin d'études normales: examination at the end of the professional studies course in the *écoles normales*. See Section 3, p. 66, and Section 4, pp. 120-2.

Fédération de l'Education Nationale (F.E.N.): organisation representing all the forty-seven unions within the various branches of the teaching service (including some not under the authority of the Ministry of Education). See Section 5, p. 174.

formation continue (sometimes, *continué*): continuing education, in-service education; refresher courses offered for practising teachers, generally during the period when their classes are taken by student-teachers completing their *stage en situation* (q.v.). See Section 5, p. 186 and Section 6, pp. 274-83.

formation professionnelle (F.P.): the professional preparation course provided in the *écoles normales*, formerly of one, now of two years' duration, following the gaining of the *baccalauréat*.

fonctionnaire: public servant, any official working for a government department.

grandes écoles: establishment of higher education to which entry is gained by competitive examination at a level beyond that of normal university entry; they include the *Ecoles Normales Supérieures* (q.v.), the *Ecole Polytechnique* (for army officers, engineers, etc), the *Ecole Nationale d'Administration*, etc. See Section 6, p. 246.

gratuité: freedom from payment: one of the basic assumptions for State education in France. See Section 2, pp. 23, 29.

inspecteur: There are three principal classes of school inspectors in France, each of which is concerned in part with the supervision of primary education: (a) *l'inspecteur général* - central supervisor of organisation of each level of education and each subject area, of special services, of administration and finance; (b) *l'inspecteur académique* - chief education officer in a *département* (q.v.), responsible to the *recteur* (q.v.); (c) *l'inspecteur départemental de l'éducation nationale (I.D.E.N.)*, often called simply *l'inspecteur primaire* (or *l'inspectrice des écoles maternelles*) - responsible for advising, supervising and assessing within an area of a *département* (his or her *circonscription*). See Section 2, pp. 23-4, 27, Section 3, p. 78, and Section 4, p. 91.

institut de formation professionnelle: training institution for primary school teachers established under the Vichy government, 1940-44. See Section 3, pp. 71-2.

institut de préparation aux enseignements du second degré (I.P.E.S.): institute established within a university to recruit, and facilitate the studies of, future secondary teachers. See Section 5, p. 179.

institut universitaire de technologie (I.U.T.): institute of technology providing technical studies at university level; established in 1966. See Section 5, p. 200.

instituteur, institutrice: primary school teacher (male, female); see also: *professeur*.

intérimaire: title used before and immediately after World War II for

temporary teacher, generally without specific teacher training; later the titles *suppléant* (q.v.) and *remplacant* (q.v.) were generally used. See Section 3, p. 78.

interne: boarding student; the life of *internes*, particularly in the *écoles normales*, was strictly regulated, with very limited possibilities for leave during normal term times; the boarding part of the school is called the *internat*; the word *pensionnaire* has the same meaning, but generally a wider connotation; see *demi-pension*. See Section 3, p. 55, and Section 4, pp. 92, 99.

journées pédagogiques: special days on which *remplacants* (q.v.) met with appropriate inspectors and specialist staff to receive professional instruction; they were organised once a month and on the basis of one in each *département*. See Section 4, p. 148.

laïcité: secularism, religious neutrality; one of the basic assumptions for State education in France. See Section 1, p. 6, and Section 2, pp. 26, 30.

leçon d'essai: practice lesson observed by staff and other students, taken in the *école annexe* (q.v.). See Section 4, p. 118.

licence: first university degree (apart from the *baccalauréat*, q.v.), awarded generally at the end of three or four years of university study. See also: *diplôme d'études universitaires*; *maîtrise*.

loi: see *arrêté*.

lycée: (a) secondary school prior to 1959 similar to the *collège* (q.v.); generally offering the full range of classical and modern courses; financed by the Ministry of Education (and not the *département*, as was the case for the *collège*); (b) after 1959, the *lycées* gradually became senior secondary schools, offering the second cycle of studies only, as *collèges d'enseignement secondaire* (see *collège*) were developed. In pre-war and early post-war years, the *lycée* had a primary section attached. See Section 1, p. 8.

maître d'école: term used for primary school teacher prior to the French Revolution, and occasionally later; replaced officially by *instituteur* in 1792. See Section 2, p. 20.

maître itinérant: itinerant teacher attached to an *école annexe* (q.v.) and responsible for supervision of work of *remplacants* (q.v.), and other associated tasks; formerly named *conseiller pédagogique* (q.v.). See Section 4, p. 148.

maîtrise: higher university degree, awarded for studies at a level beyond that of *licence* (q.v.), generally of one year's duration; instituted in 1966.

moniteur: assistant (often a trainee teacher) in a *colonie de vacances* (q.v.). See Section 4, p. 118.

morale professionnelle: one of the subjects in the professional course of the *écoles normales*; a study of professional ethics. See Section 4, pp. 109-12.

normalien: student at an *école normale* (q.v.).

ordonnance: see *arrêté*.

pédagogie générale: one of the subjects of the professional course of the *écoles normales*; the philosophical and organisational aspects of education. See Section 4, p. 109.

pédagogie spéciale: general term for the study of the methodologies and specific problems of the individual subjects of the curriculum; an important part of the professional course of the *écoles normales*. See Section 4, pp. 105, 112-3.

pensionnaire: boarding student; see *demi-pension*, *interne*.

Plan: Economic and social planning have been a part of French government since 1947; France is at present in its seventh planning period. See Section 5, p. 219.

préfet: the government-appointed head of a *département* (q.v.); he is the official representative of each government department at this level.

primaire: The term has three possible meanings in French education: (a) that type of education that does not lead to the university; until 1959, *primaire* was used in this sense in France, and the "primary" education system included higher elementary schools (*écoles primaires supérieures* and *cours complémentaires*, q.v.), providing studies generally equivalent to the first cycle of the "secondary" schools; (b) that type of education that precedes secondary education, i.e. up to the age of eleven or twelve (used in this sense since 1959; in this thesis, this is the meaning generally intended); (c) that education given in the five classes (*cours préparatoire*, *cours élémentaire* 1, 2 and *cours moyen* 1, 2) that provide for pupils from the age of compulsory attendance to the age of eleven or twelve (i.e. not including pre-school education). See *classe*. See Figures 2 and 3, Section 1, pp. 8, 17.

professeur: teacher in secondary school or tertiary institution; distinct in training and generally in social standing from the *instituteur* (q.v.).

professeur d'enseignement général de collège (P.E.G.C.): general teacher in the first cycle of secondary education; trained in a special Centre in an *école normale* situated in the *chef-lieu* (q.v.) of an *académie* (q.v.); see *collège d'enseignement général*. See Section 6, p. 289.

proviseur: head of a *lycée* (q.v.).

rapport de synthèse: a summarised analysis of a conference or of a series of documents. See Section 5, p. 185.

rapporteur: chairman of a parliamentary committee, who reports on the work of that committee to the *Assemblée Nationale* or the *Sénat* (q.v.).

recteur: the representative of the Minister of Education in each *académie* (q.v.); he is the head of all education services in his area, and supervises, for example, courses and methods, and makes appointments to teaching positions; he is directly responsible for the *écoles normales* in his area.

recyclage: commonly used term for in-service education; the equivalent of *formation continue* (q.v.). See Section 5, p. 203.

remplaçant: temporary teacher, without full qualifications, used to fill a position which would otherwise remain vacant; *remplaçants* must possess the *baccalauréat* or its equivalent; special provision is made for their preliminary training and for them to complete professional studies at an *école normale*; after successfully passing the examinations for the *certificat d'aptitude pédagogique* (q.v.), they may be offered a permanent position. See Section 3, p. 78, Section 4, pp. 140-54 and Section 6, pp. 267-74.

salle d'asile: institution providing shelter and pre-school education for poor children in the nineteenth century; precursor of the *école maternelle* (q.v.). See Section 1, p. 4, Section 2, p. 31, and Section 3, p. 53.

secondaire: The term has two possible meanings with regard to French education: (a) that type of education that leads to the university, including classes for children of all ages from six upwards, and provided in *collèges* and *lycées* (q.v.); this was the normal sense of the term in France until 1959; (b) that type of education that follows primary education and precedes tertiary education; this is now the normal sense of the term. See Figures 2 and 3, Section 1, pp. 8, 17.

Sénat: the upper house of the French parliament in both the Third and the Fifth Republics; named *Conseil de la République* in the Fourth.

stage: practice-teaching session; the students so engaged are called *stagiaires*. See Section 4, pp. 115-9.

stage en situation, stage en (de) responsabilité: practice-teaching session in which the student-teacher has full responsibility for the class; introduced under the Leif Experiment, and made an integral part of the professional preparation course for primary teachers in 1968-69. See Section 5, pp. 181-2 and Section 6, pp. 265-7.

suppléant: temporary, untrained teacher, not possessing as minimum qualification the *baccalauréat*; employed in the period of greatest post-war teacher shortage (1958-64); arrangements were often made for *suppléants* to complete academic qualifications and to become *remplaçants* (q.v.); the replacement work which they did was called *suppléances dirigées*. See Section 3, p. 78, and Section 4, pp. 141-2.

surveillant: teacher (often a university student, possibly completing professional teacher training) responsible for the supervision of students in the boarding section of a secondary school or an *école normale* and for out-of-class supervision of all students, in return for which he receives free accommodation. See Section 3, p. 55, and Section 4, p. 92.

syndicat: union; the principal primary teachers union is the *Syndicat National des Instituteurs (S.N.I.)*; the union of teachers in the *écoles normales* is the *Syndicat National des Professeurs des Ecoles Normales (S.N.P.E.N.)*; the principal union for secondary teachers is the *Syndicat National des Enseignants du Second Degré (S.N.E.S.)* and of lecturers in higher education the *Syndicat National de l'Enseignement Supérieur (S.N.E.Sup.)*. The *Syndicat Général de l'Education Nationale (S.G.E.N.)* covers both primary and secondary

education. See also *Fédération de l'Education Nationale*.

titularisation: tenure, granting right to a permanent appointment, obtained following the successful completion of the examinations for the *certificat d'aptitude pédagogique* (q.v.) and official appointment from a list of applicants. See Section 4, pp. 123-4.

unité d'enseignement et de recherche (U.E.R.): teaching and research unit, roughly the equivalent of a faculty or a department in a university; created by the Law on Higher Education of 12 November 1968 (Article 3).

université: the term has two meanings in French: it is used with the English meaning of a tertiary educational institution, but it is also used (with a capital letter: *Université de France*) to denote the whole State teaching service at all levels. See Section 2, p. 23, and Section 3, p. 44.

. . .

*Les instituteurs constituent en France un
corps solide, prudent mais apte au changement,
assez peu cultivé mais d'esprit ouvert,
dépolitisé mais ayant gardé une profonde
nostalgie du civisme.*

- Henri Wadier, 1970

SECTION 1

PRIMARY EDUCATION AND THE INSTITUTEUR IN FRANCE

Primary education has for so long been a distinct and undivided entity in France that it is possible to delineate with some certainty the attitudes which French people traditionally express towards it. It is also comparatively easy to set out in some detail the characteristics of the primary school teacher, the instituteur, in France, as they are still widely conceived to be by the French. If there are signs at present that these characteristics are undergoing change, this has not yet revealed itself in general attitudes.

During the century since primary education became compulsory in France, a number of books have been written on the system in general, both from the official point of view and from a number of other viewpoints. It is not the intention here to refer to these in detail; bibliographies are readily available elsewhere.¹ Writings on the instituteur have been perhaps less frequent, and it is possible to make some sort of list of those that have been influential; they range from carefully documented, objective accounts to novels relating the story of real or imagined individuals and autobiographies.² In order to understand the work of primary teacher preparation in France, some knowledge is desirable of the ways in which both these types of book portray the system and those who work in it.

¹ The most recent comprehensive bibliography is Van Quang, Jean-Pierre: Sciences et technologie de l'éducation - bibliographie analytique (Casterman, Paris, 1974). His first chapter indicates other recent bibliographies. Chapter V deals *passim* with the organisation of primary education in France and with primary teachers.

² Those published since World War II include:
Allan, G.: Instituteurs et professeurs (P.U.F., Paris, 1964)
Bastide, H.: Institutrice de village (Mercure de France, Paris, 1971)
Berger, I. and Benjamin, R.: L'Univers des instituteurs (Editions de Minuit, Paris, 1964)
Crinier, R.: Caractérologie des instituteurs (P.U.F., Paris, 1963)

The primary school is first and foremost an institution felt by each community to be a local possession. Since France is to such a large extent - and was to an even greater extent in the nineteenth century - a land of small towns and villages, most of its primary schools are not big, impersonal institutions. There are still many one-teacher schools, and there are few primary schools with very large enrolments.³ Each primary school is the responsibility of the local *commune*. There are some 37,000 *communes* in France, and for the councils of many the primary school is the biggest single responsibility.⁴ In many small *communes*, the primary school teacher (especially if he is a man) is still expected to serve also as secretary to the mayor.⁵ The primary school is the one part of France's highly centralised education system which is firmly felt to belong to the people.

At the same time, the primary school is still seen as a place where serious work must take place. The provision of detailed programmes of study at all levels has until recently been little challenged in France.⁶ Parents in general are well enough aware of what is to be studied at each stage - in many cases there has been little basic change since they were at primary school themselves - and they tend to see that their children work as they did. The most obvious result,

-
- David, M.: L'Instituteur et l'enfant (Sudel, Paris, 1955)
 Dottrens, R.: Instituteurs hier, éducateurs demain (Dessart, Brussels, 1966)
 Duveau, G.: Les instituteurs (Seuil, Paris, 1957)
 Ferré, A.: L'Instituteur (La Table Ronde, Paris, 1954)
 Granet, D.: Journal d'une institutrice (Lattès, Paris, 1973)
 Glossinde, A.: Je suis instituteur (Editions du Conquistador, Paris, 1954)
 Jeanneret, S.: La vérité sur les instituteurs (Flammarion, Paris, 1st ed. 1941, 2nd ed. 1960)
 Leloup, M.-M.: Institutrice (Laffont, Paris, 1976)
 Ozouf, J. (ed.): Nous, les maîtres d'école (Julliard, Paris, 1967)
 Roussel, J.: Etre institutrice (Editions du Cerf, Paris, 1973)
- ³ There were, for example, in 1967-68, 20,524 one-teacher primary schools of a total of 44,074 government primary schools, and the average number of pupils in these 44,074 schools was just over 100. See L'Education nationale en chiffres (I.P.N., Paris, 1969), pp. 10, 14
- ⁴ See, for example, Evans, Howard: L'Administration locale (Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1973), pp. 24-26
- ⁵ The total number was about 10,000 in 1974, mostly in communities with a population of less than 2,000. See L'Instituteur (O.N.I. S.E.P., Paris, 1973), p. 6, and Supplement 1 (Normaliens) of L'Ecole Libératrice, 13 September 1974, p. 55, and (for a review of duties), Education Nationale, 8 October 1964, pp. 29-31
- ⁶ Syllabuses and relevant instructions are published annually in

unfortunately, has been the extraordinarily high proportion of children who repeat a year in the primary school.⁷ Yet the outcry against this in recent times has come from the teachers and the journalists rather than from the public in general. Certainly there are few countries where so little concession is made for the slothful or the slow.

In France, there is a rapidly strengthening belief in the importance of pre-school education. Provision at this level has a long history in the nation⁸, and the constancy of the proportion of working mothers in the population⁹ has tended to reinforce the belief that schools for children below the compulsory attendance age - the *écoles maternelles* - are an essential part of the education system. Pre-school education has developed a quite definite rôle of its own, based largely on the definition of aims at this level of schooling set out in the *Instructions* of 16 March 1908:

The pre-school aims to give children below school age the care that their physical, intellectual and moral development requires. The pre-school is not a school in the ordinary sense: it is a shelter aiming to safeguard children from the dangers of the street and also from the dangers of solitude in an unhealthy home. [...] The worth of the *directrice* is in no way to be measured by the amount of knowledge given or the number of school exercises undertaken, but rather by the solicitude and understanding shown [...] and also by the whole of the good

Leterrier, L.: Programmes, Instructions (Hachette, Paris).

⁷ See, for example, Blot, Daniel: Les redoublements dans l'enseignement primaire en France de 1960 à 1966, in Population, July-August 1969, pp. 685-709; Blot claims that "The length of primary studies, which should normally be five years, is today somewhere between six and six and a half years." (p. 698). Cf. also Delion, André: L'Education en France (Documentation Française, Paris, 1973), p. 80, and Rapports des Commissions du 6e Plan - Education (Documentation Française, Paris, 1971), pp. 219-222; for comments in the Haby reform proposals, see below, pp. 341-3.

⁸ The first *salles d'asile*, from which the *écoles maternelles* eventually grew, were founded in the period 1828-1837. Provision for some 23,000 children was already being made in them by the latter date. A special training school to prepare teachers for work in these schools was founded as early as 1847. See Prost, Antoine: L'Enseignement en France 1800-1967 (Colin, Paris, 1968), pp. 284-289. Important recent works on the French pre-schools include: Carrier, C. and Herbinière-Lebert, S.: La pédagogie vécue à l'école des petits (Nathan, Paris, 2nd ed., 1967), Naud-Ithurbide, J.-R.: Les écoles maternelles (P.U.F., Paris, 1964), Delaunay, A. (ed.): Pédagogie de l'école maternelle - principes et pratique (Nathan, Paris, 1973; 2 vols), and Lequeux-Gromaire, P.: Votre enfant et l'école maternelle (Casterman, Paris, 1971).

⁹ 6,683,000 of a total population of 42.9 million in 1954 (15.6%); 7,982,000 of 52.1 million in 1973 (15.3%). Cf. Données Sociales 1974 (I.N.S.E.E., Paris), pp. 16-17

influences affecting the children, the pleasure they are led to experience in their activities, by habits of orderliness, politeness, obedience, good humour, service, attentiveness, manual skill and intellectual activity... [...] The objective to be attained - taking into account differences of temperament, the precocity of some and the slowness of others - is that they should love their work, their play, their occupation of every type.¹⁰

Beyond this, it is assumed that in the year immediately before entry to the primary school most pupils will have received their first instruction in reading, writing and counting.¹¹

The primary school itself is assumed to have a well-ordered and fixed syllabus which will provide a steady and balanced progression through the five years of the course. Knowledge is to be subdivided into a large number of segments and taught - and remembered - in this form. To this end, the syllabus for each subject is known to be arranged in monthly or bi-monthly sections, and teachers soon know their exact order:

Ah! the lovely lesson notes which can be used for a life-time! We do vocabulary about hunting in the last week of October and work on sentence construction after that and then the dictation; in the second week of February, it is "sliding", followed by its questions, its grammar, its conjugations.¹²

It is a major upheaval in the system when changes are required. Recent radical alterations in the syllabuses for French language and for Mathematics¹³ - not to mention changes in the whole arrangement of the school day and the school week¹⁴ - have not been readily

¹⁰ Leterrier, L., op. cit., pp. 19-20

¹¹ The syllabus for the "*grande section*" of the *écoles maternelles* includes "little exercises" in mental and written arithmetic, and "first exercises" in writing and reading together with "daily copying of one of the sentences from the reading lesson, written on the blackboard." Cf. Leterrier, L., op. cit., p. 24

¹² Granet, Danièle, op. cit., p. 51

¹³ The new Mathematics syllabus, based on the work of the Lichnerowicz Commission, was set out in a Circular of 2 January 1970; it transformed the teaching of elementary mathematics through the introduction of modern "set" theory and non-Euclidian geometry. The new French language syllabus, based on the Rouchette Report of 1967, was set out in a Circular of 4 December 1972; it introduced modern concepts of linguistics - in particular, generative transformational grammar - into the work of the primary school.

¹⁴ The teaching week was reduced to 4½ days (27 hours); Wednesday replaced Thursday as the mid-week holiday and Saturday afternoon was freed of school work (Arrêté of 7 August 1969 and Circular of 2 September 1969). The afternoons were to be reserved for enrichment subjects and physical education (the so-called "*tiers temps pédagogique*"). Cf. pp. 38-40.

accepted either by parents or by many primary school teachers. The syllabuses are the same for all schools in France, and this is accepted as the only logical and realistic way to organise the education system.

The primary school is also consciously expected to be opposed to any sort of religious indoctrination. The historical reasons for this are well documented.¹⁵ Until quite recently, the hostility between the supporters of the Catholic primary school and those of the "*école laïque*" (the secular school) was very strong indeed. The granting, since 1959, of substantial government subsidies to the Catholic schools (and to the few private non-church schools)¹⁶ was seen at first by many as a betrayal of all the principles for which State education stood, but more recently other problems have absorbed the attention of most parents and violent opposition seems now less frequent.¹⁷ However, in certain areas, where the Catholic Church is strongly established, the fight goes on - especially in Brittany, the Vendée and the Massif Central. The situation in the main Protestant area of France - Alsace - has been a special one for many years and does not include the same type of antagonism.¹⁸ Nevertheless, any attempt to betray the principle of *laïcité* in the State primary schools would undoubtedly still be opposed by a great majority of Frenchmen.

As in virtually every aspect of France's education system, the primary schools have not escaped the effects of the May 1968 upheaval.¹⁹ As Granet has said: "It was essential [...] to bring (primary education)

¹⁵ See, for example: Audibert, A., Bayet, A., et al.: La Laïcité (P.U.F., Paris, 1960); Cogniot, G.: Laïcité et réforme démocratique de l'enseignement (Ed. Sociales, Paris, 1963); Cornet, J.: Laïcité (Sudel, Paris, 1965); Dansette, A.: Histoire religieuse de la France contemporaine (Flammarion, Paris, new ed., 1965); Escarpit, R.: Ecole laïque, école du peuple (Calmann-Lévy, Paris, 1961); Jouguelet, P.: Laïcité, liberté et vérité (Castermann, Paris, 1970); Weill, G.: Histoire de l'idée laïque en France au XIXe siècle (Alcan, Paris, 1925)

¹⁶ The *Loi Debré* of 31 December 1959 provided for private schools to enter a contract with the Government (either "simple" or "of association") which provided part or all of the funds required. Earlier laws (*Loi Marie* of 21 September 1951 and *Loi Barangé* of 28 September 1951) had already provided some funds for bursaries and subsidies. The subject is well treated in Fraser, W.R.: Reforms and Restraints in Modern French Education (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1971), pp. 62-71, and Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 474-8.

¹⁷ Cf. Roussel, J., op. cit., pp. 111-114

¹⁸ Details are given in Ponteil, Félix: Histoire de l'enseignement, 1789-1965 (Sirey, Paris, 1966), pp. 340-4

¹⁹ See below, pp. 211-215, for details of the May 1968 Student Revolution and its repercussions

into accord with contemporary taste, to open the teaching to real life, to introduce modern mathematics, renovate French, give children the basis for understanding their environment."²⁰ There is certainly a new awareness among most French people these days - and especially perhaps among those in the bigger towns and cities - that a major revolution is occurring in the primary schools. Many of the old assumptions are due to disappear or to change fundamentally in the next few years.

. . .

The primary school teacher is also changing under the force of the same rapid revolution in expectations. Yet it is still possible to determine a number of strongly marked characteristics which are widely accepted as typical of the *instituteur*, all of them deeply enshrined in the history of his development. Among these are his mediocre educational status, his clearly defined local social status, his strong sense of mission and the special place he holds as a securely entrenched member of the public service.

One of the basic assumptions concerning the *instituteur* is that he belongs to a very different part of the education system from the *professeur*. *Instituteurs* form "one of the rare socio-professional categories perceived by the public as an organised unit, presenting stable qualities, precise contours, a single body, the primary teaching body."²¹ The historical reasons for this have to do with the clear separation of primary and secondary education, as they were generally perceived in France until quite recently. Until 1959 there existed two distinct and independent sub-systems within the national education system (cf. Figure 2, below), one leading to the *baccalauréat* examination²², to the universities and the *grandes écoles*²³ and to the professions, the other leading to the upper

²⁰ Granet, Danièle, op. cit., p. 95

²¹ Miguet, Marc: Les instituteurs laïques et l'Eglise (Privat, Toulouse, 1968), p. 11

²² This examination comes at the end of the seven-year course of the secondary schools and gives right of access to higher education. The best recent work on the *baccalauréat* is Merino, M.-H.: Les vingt baccalauréats de l'enseignement français (Bordas, Paris, 1972).

²³ The *grandes écoles* provide an alternative to university education for selected students; entry is by competitive examination for candidates already holding the *baccalauréat* certificate. Cf. Glossary

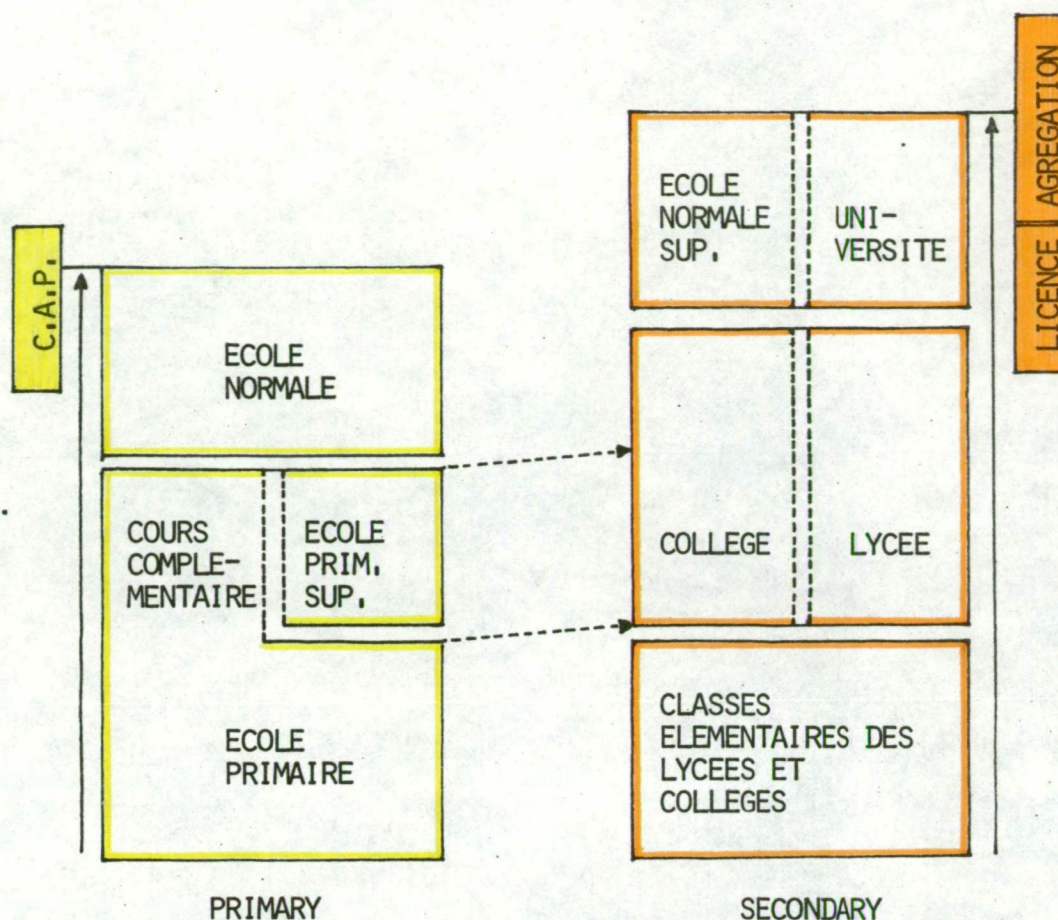


FIGURE 2: SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM OF THE TWO TRADITIONAL TEACHER PREPARATION ROUTES IN FRANCE, 1880-1959

C.A.P.: Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique

primary schools and to all other occupations. The latter were crowned by the écoles normales, "the only gateway to secondary education for boys and girls of the working classes."²⁴ Movement from one sub-system to the other was possible but difficult for both educational and social reasons. The main transfer occurred at the end of the primary school years, when the *collèges* and *lycées*²⁵ recruited about half their pupils from outside their own primary classes.²⁶ Those who taught in the primary sub-system had rarely had any experience in the secondary sub-system - they

²⁴ Faut-il supprimer les écoles normales? (anonymous letter) in *Education Nationale*, 31 January 1963, p. 14

²⁵ The two types of selective secondary school, preparing pupils for the *baccalauréat* examination; see Glossary for details

²⁶ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 413; the number recruited represents approximately one in twenty of the pupils in the final year of the *école primaire*

returned directly from the *école normale* to teaching (as instituteurs) in their own primary and upper-primary schools; those who taught in the secondary sub-system (including until the 1930's its primary classes) had attended a university, gained a degree (the *licence*) (and had, in many cases, passed the *agrégation* examination²⁷) and returned directly to teaching (as *professeurs*) in the secondary schools. The secondary system provided for only a small minority of the nation's children.²⁸ These came almost exclusively from the upper middle classes, from the "bourgeoisie".²⁹ They had all the advantages of a generally cultured, intellectual family background and regarded themselves in the main as destined for leadership in the nation. "They were determined to distinguish themselves from the working classes, to put between the workers and themselves a protective barrier, to avoid contacts" with them.³⁰ These patterns were challenged by a succession of reform proposals in the years following World War II³¹, and the Decree of 6 January 1959 provided for basic changes in the organisation of both primary and secondary education.³²

However, the instituteur continued to be seen as belonging essentially to the primary sub-system, and therefore not possessing the high level of academic knowledge provided by the *lycées* and the universities. The "man in the street" remained "persuaded that one *professeur* was worth one and a half instituteurs and that a holder of the *agrégation* was worth two instituteurs."³³ Since the *professeur* was assumed to be of superior intelligence, he was not thought to need professional training: he had to be a scholar, "and the better scholar he was, the better teacher he was likely to be."³⁴ Edgar Faure has, in an analysis of trends in education as a social phenomenon,

²⁷ Cf. Glossary

²⁸ In 1935, there were 5,318,000 children in the primary system, including 203,000 in the *cours complémentaires* and the *écoles primaires supérieures*, and 236,000 in the secondary system, including some 80,000 in the *classes élémentaires* (4.4% of the total); in 1948, there were 4,822,000 in the primary system and 399,000 in the secondary (8.3% of the total). Cf. Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 460-1

²⁹ Granet, Danièle, op. cit., p. 84

³⁰ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 326

³¹ Details are given below, pp. 167-78

³² See below, pp. 175-6

³³ Wadier, Henri: La réforme de l'enseignement n'aura pas lieu (Laffont, Paris, 1970), p. 169

³⁴ Quoted by Wykes, Olive: Secondary Education in France During

written recently: "The teaching profession itself is too hierarchical. People still seem to think that the level of a teacher is measured by the age and level of his pupils. [...] Teaching mathematics confers more prestige than teaching five-year-olds to read and write."³⁵ On the other hand, training was considered necessary for the instituteur, both so that he would possess the knowledge required in all the subjects he was to teach and so that he would know how to impart that knowledge effectively. The enormous gap between senior students in the *lycées* and those in the *écoles normales* was recognised by all: "The town's *lycéens* and *lycéennes* were quite hostile to us," wrote a *normalien* of the immediate post-war period; "we clearly felt the moat, the cleavage dividing the children of the working class from those of the bourgeoisie - we did not belong to the same world."³⁶

The fact that the instituteur was inevitably a "generalist", "knowing about everything and teaching about everything", "*spécialiste de l'universel*"³⁷, immediately placed him in an inferior intellectual class for most French people. Despite this, the "universality of his competence"³⁸ and the difficulties he faced in having to handle "the terrible test of encyclopaedism in the most onerous pedagogical conditions"³⁹ were widely recognised, though his pupils were in many cases "quickly aware of his limitations."⁴⁰ Moreover, while his own level of knowledge did not increase to any extent during the first half of the twentieth century, that of the parents of the children he taught did, and very considerably. He was more and more frequently seen as their equal or their inferior; they ceased to feel dominated by him; they felt more and more that he was failing to keep up with the progress of society. "Primary teachers appeared as a retarded group, from which life had retreated; the nation was no longer satisfied with its (primary) schools."⁴¹ As even the few who wished to were sometimes prevented from experimenting - a Circular of 11 January 1971 stated that "experiments which have not received official

the Fourth Republic, 1944-58 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Melbourne University, 1961), p. 90, from Langlois, C.: La préparation professionnelle à l'enseignement secondaire (Paris, 1902), p. 11

³⁵ Faure, Edgar, et al.: Apprendre à être (U.N.E.S.C.O.-Fayard, Paris, 1974), p. 67

³⁶ Granet, Danièle, op. cit., p. 66

³⁷ Ferré, André, op. cit., pp. 19, 129

³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 103

³⁹ Wadier, Henri, op. cit., p. 164

⁴⁰ Roussel, Jeannette, op. cit., p. 19

⁴¹ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 447

approval must cease"⁴² - it is not surprising that the traditional portrait of the instituteur as lacking the background for originality and enterprise should continue to be accepted.

The social standing of the instituteur is as clearly recognised as his academic status. The traditional division of the education system into two sub-systems placed him firmly outside the upper échelons of society, by relegating him to the primary sub-system. He belonged firmly to the working class. The belief that his social origin is essentially very modest is firmly entrenched in French thinking: "One other quite remarkable constant through the centuries is that instituteurs have been recruited from the most modest social classes, as far as wealth is concerned, from the humble folk of the towns and the countryside."⁴³ "Basically, more than any others," claimed an école normale teacher, "our pupils are sons of the people."⁴⁴ To the instituteurs themselves, their place seems to be "right at the bottom of the school table."⁴⁵ In fact, their position is bivalent: they come not so much from the lowest social classes as from the lower middle classes (and even, particularly in the case of women, from the bourgeoisie) and they possess the typical education background of such children, but they behave in their profession as though they were of true working class origin:

The institutrice provides a faithful reflection of the middle class, whose standard of living she shares. She defends the same values. Yet, because of her profession, she can be assimilated to the élite of the working class. Like it, she insists on her rights. She criticises the Government. She feels herself to be rather to the Left. She strikes readily and supports her Union.⁴⁶

Little work has been done to indicate firmly whether the socio-economic level of the instituteur was (or is) as low as is claimed. What little research is available confirms the view that instituteurs as a group reflect fairly faithfully the full range of contemporary society.⁴⁷ Certainly, in terms of salaries, while not classified at

⁴² Quoted by Granet, Danièle, op. cit., p. 143. The Circular was not published in the Bulletin Officiel.

⁴³ Ferré, André, op. cit., p. 21

⁴⁴ Chardonneau: Examen de conscience d'un Professeur d'Ecole Normale, in Foi Education, May 1952, p. 78

⁴⁵ Wadier, Henri, op. cit., p. 167

⁴⁶ Granet, Danièle, op. cit., p. 33

⁴⁷ Details of recent research are given below, pp. 131-137; details of a survey conducted by the writer in 1975 in a number of écoles normales are given below, pp. 295-299.

the same levels as secondary *professeurs*, they are not poorly paid: "It is permissible [...] to affirm," wrote Berger and Benjamin in 1964, following a survey of some 6000 primary teachers, "that the salaries of instituteurs place them above members of the proletariat."⁴⁸ A comparison of average salaries for 1970 indicates similarly that the average salary of instituteurs is well above that of employees in commerce and industry and below that of the middle class (*cadres moyens*).⁴⁹ The average salary of the *agrégés*, on the other hand, places them well above even the best-paid instituteurs: the official salary index of the former runs from 390 to 950, while the top of the index for instituteurs is 455.⁵⁰ The instituteur is seen as seeking social promotion through the position he holds, and in fact it has been true in the past that he sought to "integrate his son definitively into the very middle class which does not yet accept him himself,"⁵¹ and that he has succeeded in many cases in providing the link between "the obscure crowd of peasants bent over the soil"⁵² and the proud possessors of the highest academic honours.⁵³

Associated with the social status of the instituteur is the assumption that he will lead a life devoted to his local community, isolated from most of his colleagues, limited in his experience even of education itself. Young primary school teachers do in fact "begin most often in a village one-teacher school: this is the big leap, complete solitude after the community life of the *école normale*."⁵⁴ The report of the Commission on the Teaching Function in Secondary Schools speaks of "the solitude of the teacher in his relations with a distant (even if close) and abstract administration, in his contacts with a society which he is ill acquainted with."⁵⁵ If this is true of the secondary teacher, it is even more true for most of France's primary teachers, particularly as they "at the age of

⁴⁸ Berger, Ida and Benjamin, Roger, op. cit., p. 144

⁴⁹ See *L'Instituteur* (O.N.I.S.E.P., Paris, 1973), p. 13, for the salaries of instituteurs in January 1973, and *Données Sociales* 1974, op. cit., p. 75, for average salaries of each socio-economic group in France in 1970

⁵⁰ *Encyclopédie pratique de l'éducation en France* (I.N.P., Paris, 1960), p. 300; cf. Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 372

⁵¹ Roussel, Jeannette, op. cit., p. 37

⁵² Fabre, Aurélien, in a review of Ozouf, Jacques: *Nous les maîtres d'école*, in *Education Nationale*, 1 June 1967, p. 27

⁵³ Cf. Berger, Ida and Benjamin, Roger, op. cit., pp. 123-131

⁵⁴ Miguet, Marc, op. cit., p. 15

⁵⁵ *Rapport de la Commission d'Etudes sur la fonction enseignante dans le second degré* (Documentation Française, Paris, 1972), p. 5

eighteen, nineteen or twenty face up [...] to the test of education, lacking both the intellectual and the moral maturity for the task."⁵⁶ The limitations are all the greater because the intellectual background of most instituteurs has been confined almost entirely to the primary sub-system, and because this system in France is organised on the basis of the single département so that relatively few instituteurs ever move beyond the local community in which they were educated.⁵⁷

More than any other member of the teaching profession, the instituteur is associated, in the minds of most French people, with a strong sense of mission. This mission is to be the *gardien de la morale*⁵⁸, the upholder of the principles set down at the time of the establishment of the Third Republic as guiding the life of the Nation, principles set out in unforgettable prose by Jules Ferry⁵⁹ in the early 1880's and still studied by the student-teacher in the pages of the *Code Soleil*.⁶⁰ Both the instituteur himself and the community which he serves still in general believe that there are certain "values to be defended"⁶¹, certain "democratic ideals"⁶² to be inculcated, and that it is the instituteur, the "representative of reason" and "controller of patterns of behaviour (*moeurs*)"⁶³ in each community, who carries out this task. The noble words of Jules Ferry still ring in the ears of most primary school teachers, despite the fact that they were written nearly a century ago:

The legislator has wished to make of you neither a philosopher nor an improvised theologian. He has asked nothing of you that cannot be asked of any man of feeling and common sense. It is impossible that you should each day see all these children who crowd around you, listening to your lessons, observing your behaviour, being inspired by your example, at the age when the mind is awakening, when the feelings are developing, when the memory is being enriched, without the idea coming to you immediately that you should profit from this docility, this confidence, in order to transmit to them, together with scholastic knowledge itself, the basic principles of morality,

⁵⁶ Wadier, Henri, op. cit., p. 164

⁵⁷ Granet, Danièle, op. cit., p. 51

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 30

⁵⁹ Cf. below, pp. 28-30

⁶⁰ Code Soleil - Le Livre des Instituteurs (S.U.D.E.L., Paris), published annually, is the best-known guide for primary teachers to the organisation and regulation of primary education in France; see below, pp. 110-112

⁶¹ Granet, Danièle, op. cit., p. 66

⁶² Ferré, André, op. cit., p. 11

⁶³ Berger, I. and Benjamin, R., op. cit., p. 62, quoting from Léon Bourgeois (1887)

I mean that good old-fashioned morality which we received from our fathers and which we all pride ourselves on following in our daily relations without needing to discuss the philosophy on which it is based.⁶⁴

The *Code Soleil* expresses the same ideals in its opening sentences:

We should like to place at once before the beginner an exact understanding of his mission. His first contact with active life may determine the success of his entire career. It is essential, therefore, that he convince himself, right from the first day, of the grandeur of his rôle. His tiny school is entrusted to him, in the strongest sense that can be given to the word. There he will be the educator, whose essential task will be to make men and citizens of his pupils. To him have been entrusted new souls from which he must make consciences, spontaneous beings whose hearts he will uncover if he knows how to make himself loved. Such a task belongs among those which merit commitment.⁶⁵

The instituteur is to be, in short, "the intellectual, moral and social guide of the community which surrounds him."⁶⁶ But - and every writer on the subject adds the comment immediately - a purely secular guide: "*laïque, bien sûr*,"⁶⁷ "*laïque, bien entendu*;"⁶⁸ his attitude to all matters concerning religion must be absolutely neutral. His training "bathed him in secular morality"⁶⁹ and it is this which he must transmit to his pupils. The *Code Soleil* devotes a great deal of space to the question of "neutrality" with respect to religious matters, and it reflects in this the traditional expectations of the community.⁷⁰ In fact, the instituteur has generally been assumed to be agnostic, and the limited research that has been carried out suggests that this is the case.⁷¹

The instituteur is the bearer of a long heritage of left-wing political activity. "Whether it is militant, discreet or completely tacit, the politics favoured by instituteurs are almost without exception those labelled left-wing," wrote André Ferré in 1954⁷², and

⁶⁴ *Code Soleil*, op. cit., p. 29. The extract is from Jules Ferry's *Lettre aux Instituteurs* (17 November 1883).

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p. 13

⁶⁶ *ibid.*

⁶⁷ Granet, Danièle, op. cit., p. 30

⁶⁸ Glossinde, André, op. cit., p. 18

⁶⁹ Granet, Danièle, op. cit., p. 66

⁷⁰ See particularly *Code Soleil*, op. cit., pp. 27-32

⁷¹ Cf. below, pp. 301-2

⁷² Ferré, André, op. cit., p. 56; cf. also Crémieux-Brilhac, Jean-Louis: *L'Education Nationale* (P.U.F., Collection L'Administration Française, Paris, 1965), pp. 562-3

this has certainly remained true in the period since. Ferré traced the history of this heritage to the early years of the Third Republic, when "to be a radical was above all to love the people, hate the monarchy and mistrust the clergy."⁷³ He added: "On the eve of the 1914 War, it can be said, almost without simplification, that, if the older instituteurs remained radicals, the younger generation was more and more attracted to the ideals of socialism."⁷⁴ A minority of instituteurs has supported the views of communism since the nineteenth century, and has often been particularly active: "easily visible from outside, and stimulating to the internal life of the teaching body."⁷⁵ The instituteur is seen to be an active, frequently militant, unionist, and the very powerful *Syndicat National des Instituteurs* (the *S.N.I.*)⁷⁶, to which some 80% of instituteurs belong, is an extremely powerful body. It is not unusual for instituteurs to be called out on strike, and the response is invariably very good. Miguet suggests that the average support is as high as 80 to 90%, and that this proportion is "unique in the labour world."⁷⁷ The other main union, supported by almost all other instituteurs, is the *Syndicat Général de l'Education Nationale*, generally supporting communist principles and representing teachers from all levels of the teaching service. Nevertheless, the instituteur is normally careful to keep politics well away from the classroom - he is expected to remain as neutral in this area as in the area of religion - and equally he is expected to "abstain from all active politics" outside the area of his own unions.⁷⁸

There is, then, a very great homogeneity within the ranks of primary school teachers in France, a homogeneity that is aided by the lack of threat to job security and by the relative absence of hierarchical structure. As members of the public service, instituteurs are virtually guaranteed security of tenure once they have gained their

⁷³ Ferré, André, op. cit., p. 57

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p. 58

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p. 59. Ferré goes on to make a detailed investigation of the political life of the instituteur, defending the left-wing tendencies of the majority as "the way of progress" (p. 62); cf. also Chardonneau, op. cit., p. 80

⁷⁶ Cf. below, p. 34 and pp. 127-30

⁷⁷ Miguet, Marc, op. cit., p. 18

⁷⁸ Berger, Ida and Benjamin, Roger, op. cit., p. 44; see Code Soleil, op. cit., pp. 33-34, for the official view; but cf. Dureau, Georges, op. cit., who indicates (pp. 180-181) the frequency with which instituteurs participate in elections: in 1951, he claims,

titularisation, i.e. their permanent appointment to a position.⁷⁹

They sign a bond to teach for ten years in return for the expenditure of the State during their preparation, a bond which relatively few have seen as other than a further safeguard for their future.⁸⁰ The feeling of security is such that Granet quotes a young institutrice as saying: "You would have to have killed both your father and your mother in order to be dismissed."⁸¹ Associated with this aspect of their employment is that of independence from local or family influences. Because they are State employees, it is virtually impossible for local groups to affect the work of instituteurs or to succeed in having transfer or dismissal arranged.⁸² The corps of instituteurs feels itself united by this sense of security, and this unity is further strengthened by the uniform patterns of promotion, the lack of positions of authority other than that of *directeur* or *directrice* of a school (a position open to all instituteurs). Moreover, the official on whom their career prospects depend is the *inspecteur primaire*, who in the majority of cases has himself come from the corps of primary school teachers; he is undoubtedly respected, and even feared, but he is nevertheless regarded as a member of the closely knit society to which they all belong.

However, it is essential to point out also that this homogeneity, based on the strongest historical factors, has been increasingly threatened since the reform of the structures of secondary education, begun by the Decree of 6 January 1959.⁸³ While the general attitude to the instituteur has not changed markedly so far, it is already clear that the diffusion of teachers trained in the *écoles normales* through the *collèges d'enseignement général* and the provision of training for teaching in various types of special schools has begun to split the ranks of instituteurs.⁸⁴ The new patterns of education and their effects on the various groups of teachers are indicated in Figure 3 (see below). It will be seen that all prospective teachers now follow common patterns of education up to the end of secondary schooling (the *baccalauréat*). The *écoles normales* now offer not only

12% of socialist candidates and 10% of communist candidates for the national elections were instituteurs.

⁷⁹ See below, pp. 123-4

⁸⁰ See below, pp. 99-100

⁸¹ Granet, Danièle, op. cit., p. 36

⁸² Crémieux-Brilhac, Jean-Louis, op. cit., p. 561

⁸³ See below, p. 175

⁸⁴ See below, pp. 290-1

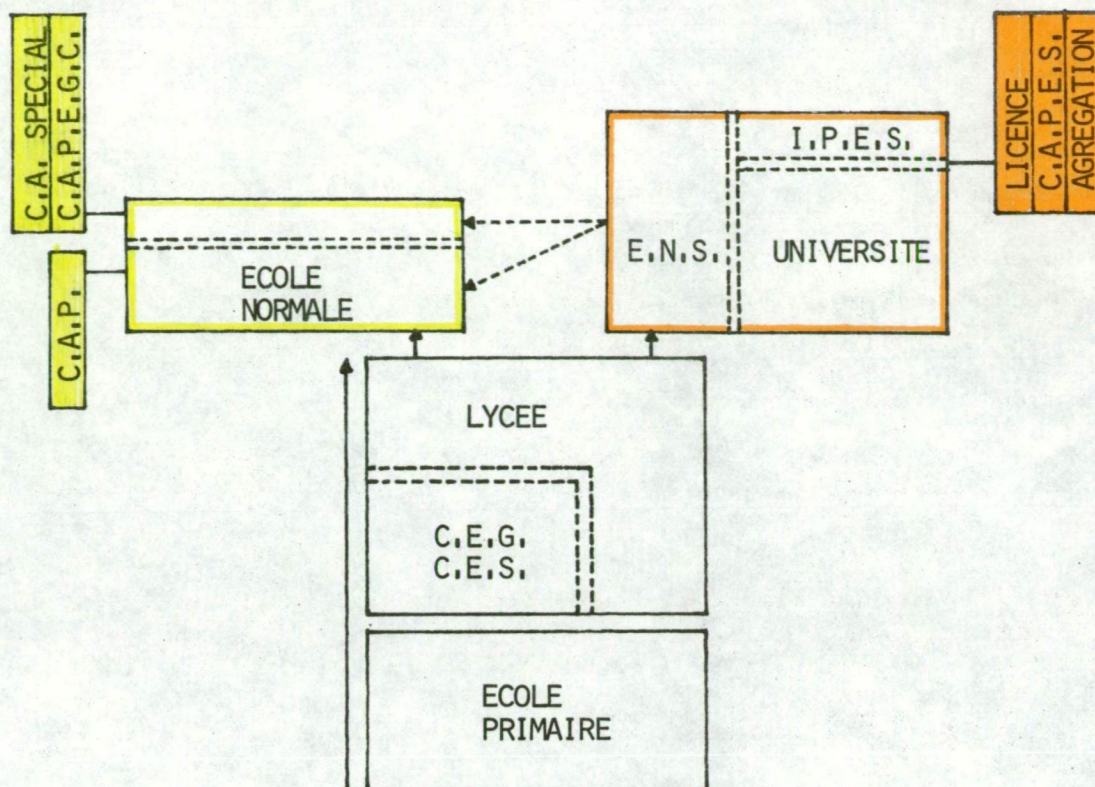


FIGURE 3: SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM OF PATHS TO TEACHER PREPARATION FOLLOWING THE REFORMS OF 1959 AND 1968

- C.E.S.: Collège d'Enseignement Secondaire
 C.E.G.: Collège d'Enseignement Général
 C.A.P.: Certificat d'Aptitude Pédagogique
 C.A.P.E.G.C.: Certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat d'Enseignement Général de Collège
 C.A.P.E.S.: Certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat de l'Enseignement du Second Degré
 E.N.S.: Ecole Normale Supérieure
 I.P.E.S.: Institut de Préparation aux Enseignements du Second Degré

preparation for primary teaching but preparation for teaching in the *collèges d'enseignement secondaire* and for a variety of special teaching rôles (slow learners, handicapped children, etc). The *écoles normales supérieures* and the universities, together with the *instituts de préparation aux enseignements du second degré*, provide preparation for teaching at various levels of secondary and tertiary education. In the *collèges*, in particular, teachers from both types of preparation teach together. The former virtually complete segregation of the primary and the secondary streams is being broken down.

One other important aspect of traditional beliefs concerning the *instituteur* must be mentioned. The corps of primary school teachers has come gradually to include a majority of women. This has occurred

despite efforts to maintain nearly equal proportions of men and women at the time of recruitment into the *écoles normales*, and has resulted mainly from the necessity to recruit large numbers of *remplaçants*⁸⁵, most of whom are women (in 1968/69, for example, 74% of the total⁸⁶). By 1971/72 the proportion of women teaching in primary schools (not including pre-schools and kindergartens) was 67.4%.⁸⁷ Many of these are or will be married to men teaching in the primary schools: this is one of the traditions that date from the nineteenth century. In 1922, according to Jeannette Roussel, in the département of La Manche 56% of the women teachers were so married.⁸⁸ In the past, this has no doubt helped to conserve the homogeneity of the profession. But the steady feminisation of the profession is inevitably leading to an important change in the generally accepted public image of the *instituteur*.⁸⁹

Thus, while it is still certainly possible to define fairly precisely the main characteristics of the French primary school teacher, there are a number of important factors which are leading to a break-down of that traditional image. These include the changes brought about by the large-scale recruitment of *remplaçants* (mostly women), the changes brought about by the lowering of the educational prestige of this group of teachers (as the general level of education of the community rises), the changes brought about by the creation of possibilities for primary teachers to move into other fields of teaching regarded as having higher prestige and the changes brought about by the general lowering of morale both as a result of these factors and as a result of less effective and committed leadership than was the case in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. "Its cohesion shaken by the size of lateral recruitments and by lack of ideological unity, its intellectual prestige threatened by the very success of the scholastic system to which it devoted itself, the corps of primary teachers is tempted by every possibility of

⁸⁵ Untrained but academically qualified temporary teachers; see below, pp. 140-154

⁸⁶ See Table 14, below, p. 145

⁸⁷ *Données Sociales*, op. cit., p. 132

⁸⁸ Roussel, Jeannette, op. cit., p. 38; cf. Miguet, Marc, op. cit., p. 16, who calls the phenomenon "endogamy", i.e. marriage between members of a single tribe.

⁸⁹ Cf. Duveau, Georges, op. cit., p. 180, who points to "new habits of mind, ways of seeing things, which are far removed from the old *zèle laïque*".

escape."⁹⁰ The years ahead must certainly see a basic reassessment of needs and possibilities at this level of the education system and in turn a reassessment of the instituteur himself as he fits himself for a new and changing rôle in society.

. . .

In order more fully to understand the traditional rôles assigned to the instituteur and to the institutions preparing him for these, and particularly to see why these remained so rigid in the midst of a rapidly evolving education system, it will be necessary to review briefly a number of aspects of the historical development of primary education in France from the early years of the nineteenth century up to the present, and more especially to examine the growth of the écoles normales themselves from the earliest foundations to the period of their greatest strength and prestige in the years between 1890 and 1940. Only thus can we see how precisely the one was fitted to the other, how exactly the political and the social background to the development of the training institutions was determined so that the aims envisioned for the nation's primary schools could be achieved. These reviews will of necessity be brief, but it is intended that all the factors relevant to a later discussion of the development of primary teacher education in the period after World War II will be treated as precisely as possible.

. . .

⁹⁰ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 450

SECTION 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRENCH PRIMARY EDUCATION 1815-1975

As in other European countries, it was the Church which first organised education in France. Only the Church was represented everywhere; until after the French Revolution, the State lacked effective control in many country areas. A *maître d'école* was often appointed in a parish after authorisation by the local bishop; he was under the direction of the parish priest, and normally had a Church rôle to perform as well as his teaching - he was often the bell-ringer, sometimes the cantor. In the cities, and particularly in Paris, he was less important than in the country areas.¹

However, the French Revolution brought change in this as in every other area of public life. For the first time, the principle of equality was firmly established, and with it the idea of compulsory education as a service of the State was born. The Church had - at least temporarily - lost most of its powers, and, although some *maîtres d'école* continued to work as best they could, in many areas there was no longer provision of any sort for elementary schooling.² As early as 1763, La Chalotais, a famous opponent of the Church, had published his *Essai d'éducation nationale ou plan d'études pour la jeunesse*, urging the establishment of a system of State education free from clerical interference.³ During the period of the Constituent Assembly, Condorcet, its President, put forward a scheme for the creation of universal primary schools throughout the nation (20-21 April 1792); he had already published five *mémoires* on the same topic in the previous

¹ Details of the history of education in France in pre-Revolution times are well treated in, for example, Snyders, G.: La Pédagogie en France aux XV^e et XVIII^e siècles (P.U.F., Paris, 1965) and Palméro, J.: Histoire des institutions et des doctrines pédagogiques par les textes (Sudel, Paris, 1958)

² Cf. Ponteil, Félix: Histoire de l'enseignement, 1789-1965 (Sirey, Paris, 1966), pp. 51-73

³ Fraser, W.R.: Reforms and Restraints in Modern French Education (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1971), p. xiii

year. However, the project was never debated publicly and events moved too quickly for any reform of this nature to be undertaken.⁴

The Concordat of 1801 granted permission to the Church to resume its rôle, and parish schools reopened in many places. But during the period of the Consulate and the Empire there was continuing encouragement also of public schools. This showed itself most clearly in the establishment, by Napoleon, of the *lycées* as State secondary schools to prepare young men for later commission in the army and other branches of the public service.⁵ At the same time, the teaching congregations worked actively to establish more parochial schools. These were mainly run by female orders, ninety-five of which were authorised between 1804 and 1813.⁶ In 1812, a subsidy of 25,000 francs was granted to the teaching congregations. In 1808, a first attempt was made by the State to establish training schools for teachers in public schools, when Napoleon issued a decree aiming - vainly - at the establishment of *écoles normales*.⁷

Following the defeat of Napoleon and the restoration of the Monarchy, an *Ordonnance* of 29 February 1816, prepared by Ambroise Rendu, Georges Cuvier and the Baron de Gérando, set out the new régime's guide-lines for primary education.⁸ Each *commune* was "expected" to provide primary education for all children - but the *Ordonnance* gave no indication of how this was to be achieved. All instituteurs, both public and private, were required to produce a "good conduct certificate", a "*brevet de capacité*"⁹ and an authorisation from the *recteur* of the *académie*¹⁰ in which their school was situated. A little later, by an *Ordonnance* of 16 March 1819, Roman Catholic brothers were granted authority to teach, under the same general conditions.¹¹

⁴ Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., pp. 60-66, gives a good succinct account of the Condorcet proposals.

⁵ The history of the development of the *lycées* is dealt with in some detail by Prost, Antoine: L'Enseignement en France, 1800-1967 (Colin, Paris, 1970), pp. 21-69 and 245-271.

⁶ Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., p. 136

⁷ See below, pp. 44-5

⁸ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 91; Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., p. 191

⁹ i.e. a certificate attesting teaching ability; it was issued in three grades after examination by the *inspecteur d'académie*; cf.

Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., loc. cit.; see Glossary

¹⁰ See Glossary for definition of these terms

¹¹ Ponteil Félix, op. cit., p. 193

Between 1815 and 1829, the number of pupils rose from 865,000 to 1,372,000 and the number of primary schools from 20,500 to 31,000.¹² At the same time, the total population of France also rose, but only from about 29 million to 31.5 million.¹³

For a time, the Roman Catholic schools were almost entirely freed from State control: the *Ordonnance* of 8 April 1824 provided that only courses of study, methods and examinations remained in the hands of the State. The freedom was of short duration, however, being revoked by a further *Ordonnance* on 21 April 1828. This made the *arrondissements* (rather than the smaller local *communes*¹⁴) responsible for primary education, with special committees on which the Church had only one third of the seats. For the first time these committees were also made responsible for schools for girls.¹⁵

By 1830 the Law was being rephrased so that each *commune* was "required" to have a school, to pay the teacher, to fix the fees, and to provide free places for poor children (*Ordonnance* of 14 February 1830). Some "model schools" were established. The "monitorial system", so popular in England, was introduced and it flourished. In general, the *instituteur's* material situation improved considerably, especially in the cities.¹⁶

After the 1830 Revolution, there was a marked tendency to further encouragement for primary education, but the participation of the Church was discouraged. In October 1832, Guizot¹⁷ was appointed *Ministre de l'Instruction Publique et des Cultes*. He indicated his clear desire to unite State and Church - "the only effective powers"¹⁸ - to ensure that education was provided for all, as a guarantee of social stability and liberty. In his *Memoirs*, he wrote:

Our first care has been to restore full and entire freedom of education. [...] Hence beside non-state education is to be

¹² *ibid.*, pp. 193, 196

¹³ Cobban, Alfred: *A History of Modern France* (Penguin, London, 1961), Vol. 2, pp. 92, 116

¹⁴ For details of the *communes*, see above, p. 3. The *arrondissement* was an administrative unit including fifty or more *communes*.

¹⁵ Ponteil Félix, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-195

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 196; see also Prost, Antoine, *op. cit.*, p. 92

¹⁷ François Pierre Guillaume Guizot (1787-1874), historian and professor, was a minister both of education and later of foreign affairs under Louis-Philippe. He was a Protestant, and a leader in establishing an *entente cordiale* with Great Britain.

¹⁸ Guizot, François: *Memoirs of my Own Time* [*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps*] (Bentley, London, 1860), Vol. III, p. 65

established education by the State. [...] The State and the Church are in fact the only effective powers in the field of education. [...] As a minimum, primary education is the certain responsibility of the Nation towards all its children: this degree of education must be found in the most humble village as well as in the greatest city.¹⁹

The Law which Guizot was instrumental in having promulgated was the first cohesive charter to be adopted for a national system of primary education in France. It clearly indicated that there were to be two categories of school, public and private, the latter no longer under the control of the *Université*²⁰. Each *commune* with a population over 500 was required to have at least one school; this could however be a private school. Teachers in the private schools were still required to have the *brevet de capacité*. The subjects to be taught were: reading, writing, the elements of the French language, and arithmetic (including the legal system of weights and measures - the metric system adopted in 1795 and made mandatory in France in 1837); *instruction morale et religieuse* was also required. However, under the *Loi Guizot* no obligation was yet placed on parents to send their children to school, the principle of free education being still far from acceptance.²¹ Under the Law, upper primary schools (*écoles primaires supérieures*) were also proposed for towns with a population over 6000, but these seem to have met with little success.²² The Law made careful provision for the organisation of the system it proposed. At the local level, the education committee consisted of the mayor (who had the right to suspend the instituteur), the *curé* (or the Protestant pastor), and several nominated notables. At the level of the *arrondissement*, the committee included a *proviseur* (the head of a *lycée*), three members of the Council of the *arrondissement*, the mayor and the *curé* (or the pastor) of the chief town, a judge and the public prosecutor. It was required to meet once a month. Amongst its duties was the inspection of all the local schools, and hence the official

¹⁹ *ibid.*; cf. Chevallier, P., Gersperrin, B. and Maillet, J.: L'Enseignement français de la Révolution à nos jours (Mouton, Paris, 1968), p. 70

²⁰ The word *Université* has two senses in French: it is used with the English meaning of a tertiary educational institution, but it is also used (as here) to mean the whole State teaching service, at all levels.

²¹ Cf., however, Prost, Antoine, *op. cit.*, p. 92; Prost points out that free education was required to be provided for the children of impoverished families.

²² Prost, Antoine, *op. cit.*, p. 58. Parents who could afford to maintain their children at school preferred the *collège* or *lycée*.

school *inspecteur* came into existence.²³ The importance of the *curé* should be noted - he was often dominant because of his superior education. It is interesting too that the *Loi Guizot* itself made no mention of education for girls, despite the moves made in 1824.²⁴ Among the other regulations of the *Loi Guizot* were details concerning the establishment of *écoles normales*.²⁵

The period from the promulgation of the *Loi Guizot* to the end of the Monarchy in 1848 is marked then by the *mise en place* of an effective system of primary education throughout France - not yet free or compulsory, but nevertheless well-planned and uniform. The numbers of pupils increased rapidly: for Church and State schools combined, they rose between 1831 and 1848 from 1,900,000 to 3,200,000 (out of a total of perhaps 4,900,000); only 28% of boys and 41% of girls were receiving no education at all in 1848.²⁶

Following the 1848 Revolution, a National Constituent Assembly was elected by universal male suffrage. Included in the Constitution which it drew up was the following section:

Article 9: Education is to be free; freedom of education is to be exercised under the guarantee of the law and the supervision of the State, this supervision extending to all educational establishments without exception.²⁷

Proposals for primary education were drawn up by Hippolyte Carnot, who was Minister of Public Instruction from 24 February to 3 July 1848.²⁸ These proposals were not put into effect, but they are interesting because they provided that primary education should be obligatory, free and secular - a provision that was not finally adopted in France until 1882.²⁹

²³ The *Ordonnance* of 26 February 1835 provided for the appointment of one *inspecteur* in each département. See Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 92-3

²⁴ Provision was made for girls in an *Ordonnance* of 23 June 1836. See Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 103; Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., p. 201

²⁵ The *Loi Guizot* is treated fully in Gontard, Maurice: *Les écoles primaires de la France bourgeoise 1833-75* (I.P.N., Paris, n.d.); see also: Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., pp. 203-211; Chevallier, P., Groperrin, B. and Maillet, J., op. cit., pp. 69-74

²⁶ These figures, necessarily approximate, are from Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., p. 210; cf. Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 96-108, where factors affecting growth in pupil numbers are examined in detail.

²⁷ Michel, Henry: *La Loi Falloux* (Hachette, Paris, 1906), pp. 69-70

²⁸ Lazare Hippolyte Carnot (1801-88) was the son of Lazare Carnot, one of the leaders during the period of the Convention, and the father of Sadi Carnot, one of the Presidents of the Third Republic.

²⁹ See below, pp. 28-30

Frédéric de Falloux³⁰ was appointed Minister in succession to Carnot, and he adopted a very different attitude. On 4 January 1849, in his report to Parliament, he called for the setting up of two Commissions to prepare new laws - one Commission was to deal with the question of freedom of education and the other with reform of primary education. The elections for the new Government led to a strongly conservative, anti-socialist, pro-Catholic parliament, with Louis-Napoléon as President. The two commissions proposed by Falloux were merged and asked to consider the provision of primary and secondary education. The Commission included six members named by the State authorities, nine named by the Catholic Church and nine so-called independents. Of the last group, two resigned and three, including Thiers³¹, were pro-Catholic. Thiers had in fact changed his views considerably; he had formerly supported the cause of the *Université*, but he now believed that the education provided by the Church schools was preferable.³² It was inevitable therefore that the resulting recommendations should provide a large - even a preponderant - place for the Church schools. The proposals became law under Falloux on 15 March 1850, by 399 votes to 237. The requirements for instituteurs were eased to allow more members of the Church's teaching orders to qualify: instituteurs were required only to have the *brevet de capacité* or the *baccalauréat* or a position as a priest or a *certificat de stage*³³; institutrices required no more than a letter stating that they belonged to a teaching order.³⁴ Provision was also made that all towns with a population over 800 should have a school for girls (if their resources permitted it³⁵). The result of the passing of the *Loi Falloux* was that "the Church

³⁰ The Comte de Falloux (1811-86) was a pro-Catholic aristocrat and a member of the Académie Française.

³¹ Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877) was a key figure in nineteenth-century France. He organised the bringing to the throne of Louis-Philippe; opposed Napoléon III; was elected the first President of the Third Republic (1871-3); and wrote *L'Histoire de la Révolution Française* (1824-7).

³² Cf. Chevallier, P., Groperrin, B. and Maillet, J., op. cit., pp. 85-7, and Ponteil, F., op. cit., pp. 231-2. Ponteil explains Thiers's change of attitude as a reaction to the influence of "37,000 socialists and communists" (p. 231) who, he claimed, made up the corps of State instituteurs.

³³ i.e. a certificate of practical teaching (in this case over a period of at least three years, issued by the State authorities in any *académie*).

³⁴ Cf. Chevallier, P., Groperrin, B. and Maillet, J., op. cit., p. 92, and Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 174

³⁵ Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., p. 242

found itself associated with, even to a certain extent substituted for, the public authority."³⁶ Opposition came from all those who supported republican and secular ideas (including, for example, Victor Hugo³⁷), but the *coup d'état* of Napoléon III of 2 December 1851 and his confirmation as Emperor meant that these ideas received little support. There developed rapidly one of the major controversies in French education - that between the Catholic school system and the "*idéal laïque*" - a controversy which was to continue unresolved until the second half of the twentieth century.³⁸

The first and obvious result of the *Loi Falloux* was a great growth in the numbers and the proportion of Catholic schools in France. In the period from 1853 to 1860 the increase was threefold. Most of the new schools were founded by the Marists and the Jesuits. Moreover, many State schools now had teachers who were attached to teaching orders of the Church.³⁹ The split between the two groups of young people was henceforth to "dominate the whole school history of France."⁴⁰

Fortoul, who was Minister of Education from 1852 to 1856, further reinforced the power of the Church; several supporters of the *Université*, including Guizot, Cousin and Quinet, were forced into retirement. Precise new regulations controlled the behaviour of the State school instituteurs, and every effort was made to ensure that the régime of the *écoles normales* was as strict as possible^{41, 42}

The reaction was not long in coming, and soon the power of the State was restored and grew rapidly again. As early as 14 June 1854, the *académies* were brought back into existence⁴³ and the powers of the

³⁶ Chevallier, P., Grosperin, B. and Maillet, J., op. cit., loc. cit.

³⁷ Hugo, then a member of the *Assemblée Législative*, made a celebrated speech on the subject. "I want," he said, "what our fathers wanted, the Church in its rightful place and the State in its." Cf. Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., p. 235, and Duby, Georges and Mandrou, Robert: *Histoire de la civilisation française* (Colin, Paris, new ed. 1968), Vol. 2, pp. 220-2

³⁸ See above, p. 6, and below, p. 29

³⁹ Statistics are given for this period by Chevallier, P., Grosperin, B. and Maillet, J., op. cit., p. 95; Prost, Antoine, op. cit., has detailed maps showing the proportion of pupils in Catholic schools in each département in 1863, 1882 and 1902, p. 181

⁴⁰ Chevallier, P., Grosperin, B. and Maillet, J., op. cit., p. 97

⁴¹ For details of the *écoles normales* at this time, see below, pp. 51-2

⁴² The *Loi Falloux* is treated in detail in Michel, Henri: *La Loi Falloux* (Hachette, Paris, 1906) and Hébert, M. and Carnec, A.: *La Loi Falloux et la liberté d'enseignement* (Rupella, La Rochelle, 1953).

⁴³ See above, p. 21. First established under Napoleon in 1808, they

recteurs redefined. School inspectors, one for each département, were again appointed. Fortoul was replaced in 1856 by Rouland, a strong defender of State control, and further growth in the State system resulted.⁴⁴

Under Duruy⁴⁵, the change in approach became yet more marked. In 1860 there were only some 800,000 children (out of a total of about five million) not receiving some degree of primary education⁴⁶, and much effort was being devoted to ensuring that education should be compulsory for all (and that it should therefore be free). The attempts to achieve this were not successful - the climate of public opinion at the height of the development of France as an industrial power was hardly favourable - but more and more it was being realised that the State would in due course have to take the final and decisive step.

In 1865, the *Certificat d'études primaires* was established to sanction completion of primary school studies; its form was set out in a Circular of 20 August 1866 and the organisation of the necessary examination was placed under the control of the *inspecteurs d'académie*^{47, 48}. It was successfully developed, and in 1882 its organisation became compulsory under the *Loi Ferry*.⁴⁹

By an *Ordonnance* of 10 April 1867 all *communes* with a population over 500 were required for the first time to have a school for girls and to pay the teacher.⁵⁰ In addition, the *communes* were permitted to establish completely free schools, by making an additional local charge of four centimes; the proportion of free places rose as a result from 41% in 1866 to 57% in 1876-7. In turn, this charge was to lead to the demand that instituteurs be paid by the State (a demand which became reality in 1889).⁵¹

had been replaced under the *Loi Falloux* by eighty-seven authorities (one for each département) each headed by a *recteur*.

⁴⁴ Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., pp. 255-6

⁴⁵ Victor Duruy (1811-94) was an historian and an outstanding Minister of Education (1863-9).

⁴⁶ Chevallier, P., Gersperrin, B. and Maillet, J., op. cit., p. 101; cf. above, p. 24, for statistics for 1848

⁴⁷ See Glossary for details of the rôles of the various grades of *inspecteurs*.

⁴⁸ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 124

⁴⁹ See below, p. 30

⁵⁰ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 103

⁵¹ *ibid.*, p. 94

The establishment of the Third Republic following the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War led to a reinforcement of activity in the area of State education, and particularly in the provision of primary education and the preparation of teachers for the primary schools. The Third Republic was the period in which the "fundamental laws" were passed which still govern primary education in France. The leading figure in this movement was one of France's greatest statesmen, Jules Ferry.⁵² As early as 1870 he had made a declaration of his intentions:

I have sworn an oath that, from among all the demands of the present day, from among all the problems, I shall choose one, to which I shall devote all my intelligence, all my soul, my heart, my physical and moral powers - namely, the problem of the education of the people.⁵³

He was Minister of Public Instruction from 4 February 1879 to 14 November 1881, 30 January to 7 August 1882, and 21 February to 20 November 1883. He worked particularly with Paul Bert⁵⁴, who had put forward an enormous plan for a single law for educational reform in 109 articles. In fact, it proved necessary to deal with the various proposed changes separately, and the history of their passage through the Parliament is marked simultaneously by the passion each evoked and by the high level at which the debate was consistently conducted.⁵⁵ Before the main laws were voted, Bert and Ferry had already proposed the laws concerning *écoles normales* for women and for the *écoles normales supérieures* which were to train the teachers for the *écoles normales* themselves.⁵⁶

The first of the main laws was concerned with the basic qualifications required of all primary teachers, in private as well as State schools. It required the *brevet de capacité* from "every person who wishes to teach" and abolished the various equivalences provided for in the Law of 15 March 1850.⁵⁷ This was proposed on 19 May 1879, voted on in

⁵² Jules Ferry (1832-93) was elected to the Parliament as a *député* for Paris in 1869, was a member of the Government of National Defence in 1870-1, and a member of the Republican government from its foundation in 1871.

⁵³ Ferry, Jules: *Discours sur l'égalité d'éducation*, speech given at the Sorbonne on 10 April 1870; quoted by Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 14

⁵⁴ Paul Bert (1833-86) was the *député* for Yonne; he was himself Minister for Public Instruction in 1882-3.

⁵⁵ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 192-3

⁵⁶ See below, pp. 54, 60 and 124-5

⁵⁷ *Code Soleil: Le Livre des instituteurs* (S.U.D.E.L., Paris), p. 62

the *Chambre des Députés* on 27 May 1880 (355 for, 120 against), and made law on 16 June 1881.

The second was concerned to make primary education free. Its first three articles were:

Article 1: There will be no further payment of fees in public schools.

Article 2: The special four centimes rate previously authorised for primary education is compulsory for all *communes* and included in their normal resources.

Article 3: In any case where the funds of the *commune* are insufficient, the expenditure will be covered by a State subsidy.⁵⁸

It was proposed on the same day as the law on obligation (see below), 20 January 1880, voted on in the *Chambre des Députés* on 29 November 1880 (356 for, 120 against), and made law on the same date as the first, 16 June 1881.

The third was the most contentious of the three laws. It was concerned to make education compulsory and (in the State schools) secular. Maurice Reclus, in his biography of Ferry, summarised the first part as follows:

Primary education is to be compulsory for all children of both sexes aged from six to thirteen. It may be given either in public schools or in private schools (*écoles libres*) or at home; the efficiency of education given at home is subject to government inspection. A municipal Schools Commission is established to supervise and encourage school attendance. [...] ⁵⁹

However, it also replaced the term "moral and religious instruction" by the term "moral and civic instruction". And in doing this it raised the antagonism of the whole Catholic Church. The debate was long and bitter, but the law, which was proposed on 20 January 1880, was voted on a first time in the *Chambre des Députés* on 24 December 1880 (329 for, 134 against) and in the *Sénat* on 12 July 1881 (162 for, 111 against). A second vote was taken in the *Chambre des Députés* on 25 July 1881 (334 for, 127 against) and in the *Sénat* on 23 March 1882 (171 for, 105 against) before the bill finally became law on 28 March 1882.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Quoted in Chevallier, P., Groperrin, B. and Maillet, J., op. cit., p. 123

⁵⁹ Reclus, Maurice: *Jules Ferry* (Flammarion, Paris, 1947); quoted by Chevallier, P., Groperrin, B. and Maillet, J., op. cit., p. 124

⁶⁰ Voting figures for each law are given by Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 211; for the final vote in the *Sénat*, Chevallier, P., Groperrin, B. and Maillet, J., op. cit., p. 125, give 167 for, 123 against.

Henceforth, French primary education in the State schools is always characterised as being governed by the three principles of *gratuité* (freedom from fees), *obligation* and *laïcité* (secularism). And the third of these was the one most assiduously pursued by the teachers in the schools.⁶¹

The *Lois Ferry* also regularised the issue of the *Certificat d'études*, the certificate marking the end of primary studies. Its use was already widespread as a result of the Circular of 20 August 1866. In 1878, before the Law was passed, 40,000 had been issued. It became compulsory for an examination to be held to enable pupils to qualify for the certificate under a law of 28 March 1882; the minimum age for qualification had been fixed at twelve in 1880.⁶²

The programme of studies for the primary schools was fixed at this time, as a result of the work of Gréard and Buisson, and remained in many ways unaltered for three-quarters of a century. The famous aim to provide "all of which it is not permitted to be ignorant"⁶³ governed an extremely ambitious course of studies, often characterised as "encyclopaedic". The subjects included French language (reading, writing, spelling, grammar), Mathematics, Natural science (based on observation and known as *leçons des choses*), History, Geography, Manual arts, Art and Music, as well as "Moral and civic instruction." To these was added by a law of 27 February 1880 compulsory physical education.⁶⁴ By far the most controversial subject was of course *l'instruction morale et civique*. It was intended "to impregnate the whole life of the school, causing to be put into practice the basic notions of human morality and highlighting the rights and duties of citizens."⁶⁵ But, naturally enough, criticism was widespread and hostility common. Prost quotes as an example a declaration by a member of the *Sénat* of the time:

By a word, by a gesture, by a smile, this teacher who believes

⁶¹ In turn, one of the essential tasks of the *écoles normales* was clearly seen to be to encourage this attitude in their pupils; cf. below, pp. 51-2 and 80-1

⁶² Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 124

⁶³ Set out by Gréard in the Programme of Studies of 1887 and repeated in that of 1923; cf. Leterrier, L.: *Programmes, Instructions* (Hachette, Paris, 1975 edition), pp. 26-7, and Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 278

⁶⁴ Chevallier, P., Gersperrin, B. and Maillet, J., op. cit., p. 125

⁶⁵ Decaunes, L. and Cavalier, N.-L.: *Réformes et projets de réformes de l'enseignement français de la Révolution à nos jours* (S.E.V.-P.E.N., Paris, 1962), p. 86

in nothing, without wishing to, without even any suggestion of ill-will, will cause to pass over the soul of the child a sort of icy wind which will paralyse the efforts of his parents and those of the priest.⁶⁶

Jules Ferry reacted with a series of circulars and instructions which attempted to solve the problem - in reality insoluble - as pragmatically as possible. His famous *Lettre aux instituteurs* dated 27 November 1883 contains this suggestion to the teachers:

If you are uncertain whether one father, I say one only, if he were present in your class and heard you, might in good faith refuse his assent to what he heard you say, then abstain from saying it; but, if not, speak on boldly.⁶⁷

The question of crucifixes in classrooms also arose; Ferry decreed that no religious emblem was to be placed in new or renovated buildings and that, in other cases, the wishes of the local population were to be followed. Finally, the problem of the remaining *instituteurs congréganistes* (i.e. Catholic brothers still teaching in the State schools) was solved by the Law of 30 October 1886 which required that they be all replaced within five years.⁶⁸

In 1886, a detailed law was proposed by Ferry's successor, Goblet⁶⁹, which attempted to codify what had already been achieved.⁷⁰ In a sense, this is the real Charter of primary education in France. It distinguished clearly between private and public schools, indicated how the State schools were to be organised, provided that the teaching staff should be secular, regulated the inspection of schools, and organised kindergartens.⁷¹

It is from this time that the first effective teachers' unions date,

⁶⁶ *Journal Officiel - Sénat*, 1881, p. 777 (3 June); quoted by Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 201

⁶⁷ Quoted, for example, by Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., p. 288; Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 202; Granet, Danièle: *Journal d'une institutrice* (Lattès, Paris, 1973), pp. 120-1

⁶⁸ The best account of the *Lois Ferry* is contained in Legrand, Louis: *L'Influence du positivisme dans l'oeuvre scolaire de Jules Ferry* (Rivière, Paris, 1961); see also Reclus, Maurice: *Jules Ferry* (Flammarion, Paris, 1947); Prost, Antoine, op. cit., gives a good summary, pp. 191-211

⁶⁹ René Goblet (1828-1905) was Minister of Education, 1885-6.

⁷⁰ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 272-3

⁷¹ Originally referred to as *salles d'asile*, the kindergartens were for children aged between three and five. Kindergarten teachers were to be prepared in the écoles normales for women, to which, from 1884 on, a kindergarten was attached as an *école annexe*. See above, p. 4, and below, p. 53

although much earlier efforts had been made to form societies to defend their interests.⁷² The term "union" was not used in its modern sense until early this century, and unions within the teaching service were not recognised officially in France until 1924 (and not legally until after World War II).⁷³ But the *Union des Instituteurs et des Institutrices de la Seine* came into existence in 1887, and other groups - generally using the title "*amicales*" - were soon formed in other parts of the country. At first they were not seen to offer any danger to the authorities, but by the turn of the century plans were already under way for a national union of primary school teachers.⁷⁴

By the end of the nineteenth century, the major preoccupation was, as we have seen, with the problem of the relationship between Church and State. From 1861, the teaching communities of the Catholic Church had been required to be authorised (although many unauthorised communities had been tolerated). But, as the State system expanded, active opposition to the Church schools developed rapidly. In 1880, the Government had issued two decrees, the first requiring the Jesuits to close their schools within three months, the second inviting other unauthorised communities to seek authorisation or disband within the same period.⁷⁵ In the same period, as the teaching communities left the State schools (to be replaced by teachers trained in the *écoles normales*), they set up schools of their own, and often recruited many pupils from their former classes.⁷⁶

The Dreyfus Affair further exacerbated the division between the Church and the anti-clerical forces. Waldeck-Rousseau, the Government leader from 1899 to 1902, was anxious not to deepen the conflict and proposed that all religious congregations should be required to apply for legal recognition. However, the new Law, passed on 1 July 1901, not only required either recognition or dissolution, but also required that no member of an unauthorised congregation be permitted to teach. This law was at first applied with moderation.⁷⁷ However, Waldeck-Rousseau

⁷² In 1831, for example, a *Société des instituteurs et institutrices primaires de France* had been formed by a young teacher; see Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., p. 211

⁷³ *Code Soleil*, op. cit., p. 51

⁷⁴ See below, pp. 33-4

⁷⁵ Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., p. 283. In fact, only the Jesuit schools closed at this time.

⁷⁶ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 204. Prost illustrates these changes with a graph, p. 205.

⁷⁷ Cobban, Alfred: *A History of Modern France* (Penguin, London, 1961), Vol. 2, p. 245

was succeeded by Combes, "a second-rate, elderly senator [...] (and) an ardent anti-clerical," according to Cobban.⁷⁸ Very quickly Combes closed 135 Church schools opened since 1901 and 2500 which were run by congregations which had not applied for authorisation. Those that did apply for recognition generally found their application rejected.⁷⁹ On 7 July 1904, Combes had a further law passed which prohibited any religious congregation from teaching, and required the last schools to be closed within ten years.⁸⁰ The reaction of the congregations was to set up "*écoles privées laïques*", ostensibly not connected with the Church. The statistics show that between 1901 and 1906 the number of pupils in these schools rose by 695,000, while the number in "Church" schools fell by just over a million.⁸¹ The radical parties in the parliament were meanwhile actively agitating for education to become a State monopoly.

In 1904, Combes tabled the famous Law for the separation of Church and State. But he had resigned (over policy concerning the religious affiliation of army officers) and been replaced by the young Aristide Briand by the time the law was passed on 9 December 1905. On the whole, Briand handled the matter well, and potentially violent reactions were avoided. The moderation of the Government and the relatively uncompromising attitude of Pope Pius X tended if anything to strengthen the hand of the Republic rather than the reverse.⁸² Nevertheless, the period up to the outbreak of World War I was marked by an incessant "*guérilla scolaire*"⁸³: the well-organised teacher *amicales* were active in their opposition, and the supporters of the Church were equally firm in their intervention. Yet gradually relative calm returned, and an acceptance of the new situation slowly became widespread.⁸⁴

With the growth of socialism as a political philosophy, the strength of the teacher *amicales* had grown also. At first, the radical groups were outside the main *amicales* (of which there were 109 with 85,000 members in 1907⁸⁵), but their movement, *L'Emancipation de*

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 246

⁷⁹ Prost, Antoine, *op. cit.*, p. 207

⁸⁰ Cobban, Alfred, *op. cit.*, p. 247; but he incorrectly gives five years as the period within which these schools were to be closed.

⁸¹ Prost, Antoine, *op. cit.*, p. 208

⁸² Cobban, Alfred, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-9

⁸³ Prost, Antoine, *op. cit.*, p. 210

⁸⁴ *ibid.*

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 390

l'Instituteur, launched in 1903, led to the formation of the first true teachers' union (in the Var, the département around Toulon). Documents expressing union views began to appear - particularly the *Manifeste des Instituteurs Syndicalistes* in 1905 and the *Charte d'Amiens* in 1906.⁸⁶ By 1912, a further *Manifeste*, issued in Chambéry, could define the rôle of the unionist in these socialistic terms:

[...] To be a unionist means not only feeling the necessity of being a good worker, keen to improve; it means also having within one a strong love of the working classes without which society would be nothing and which society too often despises. To be a unionist implies, in fact, loving the working classes with a love which cannot be reduced even by their errors, their faults.⁸⁷

The Union joined the *Confédération Général du Travail (C.G.T.)*, and in September 1919 became the *Syndicat National des Instituteurs (S.N.I.)*. This union rapidly became very powerful and developed a clear ideology for itself. Two main features of this were its active anti-clericalism and its support of pacifism. Both these aspects tended to isolate it from the rest of the population, particularly as the Church-State conflict became more remote and the threat of Fascism more real. Prost speaks of the *S.N.I.* as "incapable of judging the real weight of history [...], unable to see that *laïcité* changes its meaning when the Church loses its privileges and that pacifism can reply to Poincaré but not to Hitler."⁸⁸ As we shall see, the post-World War II period further increased the power and influence of the *S.N.I.*, which became the principal spokesman for one of the most unified groups of teachers in the country.⁸⁹

The development of the primary schools from 1905 to the beginning of World War II reflects the changes in the population and the growth in the availability of post-primary education. The population changes were influenced markedly, first by the First World War (in which France lost a total of nearly one and a half million soldiers and civilians), and secondly by the resultant decrease in the birth rate. Of every ten men who would have been adults in 1918, only four

⁸⁶ Roussel, Jeannette: *Etre institutrice* (Editions du Cerf, Paris, 1973), pp. 38-9; see also Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 390-1.

⁸⁷ Supplement to *Ecole Libératrice*, 13 September 1974, Normaliens, cover p. ii

⁸⁸ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 395

⁸⁹ A very complete survey of the union movement among primary teachers has been published: Ferré, Max: *Histoire du mouvement syndicaliste révolutionnaire chez les instituteurs (S.U.D.E.L., Paris, 1955)*

remained fully active at the end of the War.⁹⁰ From 1921 to 1939 the population hardly grew at all in absolute numbers, and the number of children in the primary schools showed an enormous drop between 1913 and 1925 before rising again in the 1930's to pre-war levels, partly as a result of the raising of the age for compulsory attendance to fourteen in 1936. (Cf. Figure 4, below). The dramatic variations in the number of pupils was not, however, reflected in the number of teachers in the primary schools. These closely followed the pattern of the development of the total population, and were controlled by the restricted entry to the *écoles normales*, as is clearly shown in Figure 4.

Nor were there any substantial changes in the syllabuses or methods. As we have seen, the primary school throughout this period, and until 1959, was regarded as quite distinct from the secondary system⁹¹, and its programme of studies led directly to the *Certificat de fin d'études*, without reference, at least at first, to what might be required for study in the *lycées* - which had their own primary grades - and the *collèges*. As Prost says, "The primary school is the only school for the working people; there is no question of making it the preparatory stage ("*le vestibule*") for secondary education."⁹² The syllabuses themselves, and the methods approved for them, remained clearly set out in the official *Instructions*; these changed little in detail and not at all in spirit throughout the first half of the century.⁹³

Until the early 1960's, French primary schools had classes associated with them which provided the equivalent of a junior secondary education, and which were taught by instituteurs.⁹⁴ It was from these that were recruited by far the majority of entrants to the

⁹⁰ Duby, G. and Mandrou, R.: Histoire de la civilisation française (Colin, Paris, 3rd ed., 1968), Vol. 2, p. 289

⁹¹ Cf. above, pp. 7-11

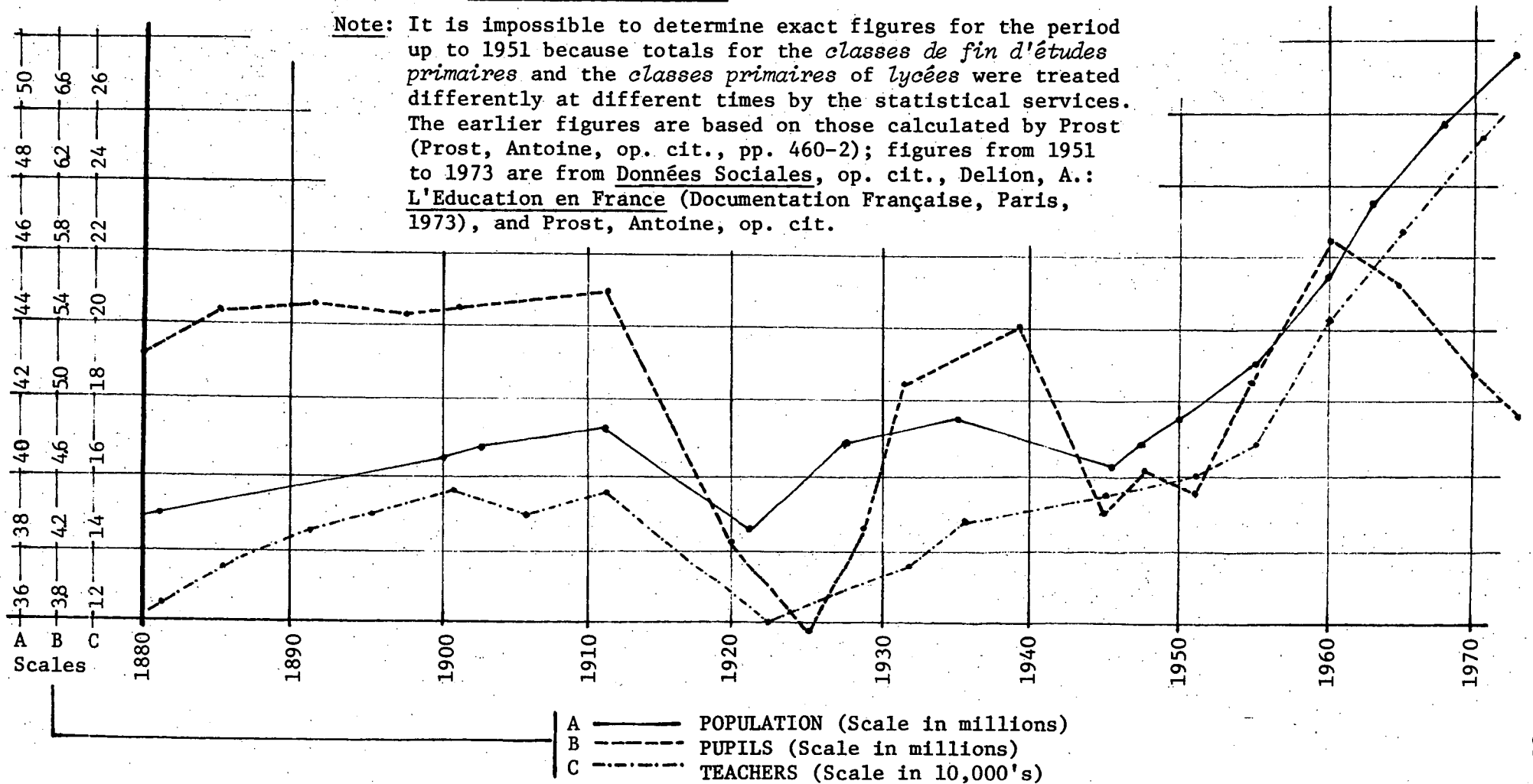
⁹² Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 277-8

⁹³ A study of the 1959 edition of Leterrier, L., op. cit., shows that for many subjects the *Programme* and/or *Instructions* issued in 1923 were still in force either partially or wholly. These in turn were inspired by and quoted freely from those of 1887. (Cf. Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 277). Subjects in this category included: Moral Instruction, French (Reading, Writing, Grammar, etc), History, Geography, Natural Science (*Leçons des Choses*), Manual Arts, Art, Music and Physical Education. In the 1974 edition, there were still references to the 1923 *Instructions* for Moral Instruction, History, Geography, Natural Science, Manual Arts, Art and Music.

⁹⁴ See above, p. 9

FIGURE 4: GROWTH OF NUMBER OF PUPILS AND OF NUMBER OF TEACHERS
IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS COMPARED WITH INCREASE IN TOTAL
POPULATION, 1881-1973

Note: It is impossible to determine exact figures for the period up to 1951 because totals for the *classes de fin d'études primaires* and the *classes primaires* of lycées were treated differently at different times by the statistical services. The earlier figures are based on those calculated by Prost (Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 460-2); figures from 1951 to 1973 are from *Données Sociales*, op. cit., Delion, A.: *L'Education en France* (Documentation Française, Paris, 1973), and Prost, Antoine, op. cit.



écoles normales.⁹⁵ In the period between 1920 and 1940, there were between 80,000 and 160,000 pupils in these classes each year; seven or eight percent of them went on annually to the écoles normales.⁹⁶

As we shall see, the Vichy régime made important changes in the preparation of instituteurs,⁹⁷ and this in turn had a continuing effect on the work of the primary schools. It moved rapidly also to make basic changes in the organisation of primary teaching. The *Syndicat National des Instituteurs* was dissolved (15 October 1940), religious teaching (to be given by the local clergy) was included in the syllabus (1 January 1941), a new certificate was instituted to be awarded at the end of the *cours moyen* (at the age of eleven) which was compulsory for entry to secondary studies (i.e. studies in the *lycées* and *collèges*).⁹⁸ Many primary teachers were deported by the Nazis; many others died as members of the Resistance movement. The numbers of pupils in the primary schools each year are not available, but they certainly dropped markedly during the period, so that, whereas in 1939 there were in the primary schools (including upper primary classes) some 5.44 million children, in 1945 there were only 4.54 million (cf. Figure 4, above).

The post-war period has been marked by an essential continuity in patterns of organisation in primary education but by very important changes both in population growth and, since 1969, in syllabuses and methods. The rapid growth in numbers in the primary schools themselves was a reflection of the marked increase in population and in the proportion of young parents in the population: from 1951 to 1960, the primary school population rose from 4.46 million to 5.84 million (while the total population rose from 42 million to 45.5 million). Since then, however, there has been a steady decline (cf. Figure 4), due essentially to a steady fall in the average size of families. The figures are, however, complicated by two important factors: the pre-school sector grew enormously, and removed from the primary schools virtually all children under six years old, and the secondary sector of the primary schools (the *cours complémentaires* and also the *classes de fin d'études*) also grew rapidly before being absorbed entirely into the restructured secondary schools (the *collèges d'enseignement général* and the *collèges d'enseignement*

⁹⁵ See below, pp. 137-9.

⁹⁶ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 292, p. 461.

⁹⁷ See below, pp. 70-4.

⁹⁸ Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., pp. 355-7.

*secondaire*⁹⁹) in the period after 1959. Pre-school education showed spectacular growth from 290,000 pupils in 1945 to 1,172,000 in 1960 and nearly two and a half million in 1975.¹⁰⁰ By 1975, over 90% of four-year-old and over 65% of three-year-old children were attending *écoles maternelles*.¹⁰¹ These schools were staffed by institutrices trained in the *écoles normales*. The numbers of pupils in *classes de fin d'études* and the *cours complémentaires* grew from 150,000 in 1955 to well over 500,000 in 1960.¹⁰² The high proportion of pupils who were required to repeat one or more classes in the primary school - a problem which was more serious than in other European countries - further exacerbated the situation. At first the effects of this growth in numbers of pupils were, as we shall see, an ever increasing reliance on temporary teachers (*remplacants*)¹⁰³, in an attempt to retain a reasonable pupil-teacher ratio, and a regular loss of some of the most efficient teachers from the primary classes as they sought higher salaries and status in the secondary *collèges*. By the early 1970's, these effects had largely disappeared and the proportion of trained teachers was growing rapidly while the number of pupils fell.¹⁰⁴

Changes in teaching methods were influenced very gradually in the post-war period by the work of such men as Freinet.¹⁰⁵ "Activity methods", already encouraged in the *écoles maternelles*, slowly spread into the primary schools during the 1960's as syllabuses and *instructions* were revised. It was however only in 1969 that a major reorganisation of curriculum, syllabuses and teaching methods was finally undertaken.¹⁰⁶ The major differences in curriculum and time allocation are summarised in Table 1, below. It will be seen that the separate subjects previously provided for have been gathered into four major areas: French, Mathematics, Enrichment subjects (*disciplines d'éveil*) and Physical Education and Sport. The first two

⁹⁹ See Glossary, and cf. below, pp. 179-80

¹⁰⁰ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 460-1

¹⁰¹ Delion, André, op. cit., p. 73

¹⁰² Prost, Antoine, op. cit., loc. cit.

¹⁰³ See below, pp. 78, 140-54 and 267-74

¹⁰⁴ See below, p. 272

¹⁰⁵ Célestin Freinet (1896-1966) was the leader in France of an influential educational movement centred on patterns of differential child development.

¹⁰⁶ Details are contained in the *Arrêté* of 7 August 1969 and the Circular of 2 September 1969; see *Bulletin Officiel de l'Education Nationale*, op. cit., 28 August 1969, p. 2724, and 18 September 1969, pp. 2910-2

TABLE 1: OFFICIAL TIME ALLOCATION FOR EACH SUBJECT AREA
IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS, 1945-1968 AND FROM 1969 ON¹⁰⁷

	Hours/week			
	1945-68			1969-
	CP	CE	CM	all grades
Reading French Language	10 $2\frac{1}{2}$	}10 $\frac{1}{2}$	}9	}10
Mathematics	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	5
Civics (a)	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	1	}6
Handwriting	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	-	
Art; manual arts	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	
Singing	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	1	
Natural science (b)	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
History/Geography	-	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Open air activities; physical education	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	6
Study time (c)	-	5	5	(d)
Recess periods	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	(d)

NOTES: CP - *Cours préparatoire*
CE - *Cours élémentaire* (see Glossary)
CM - *Cours moyen*

(a) i.e. *morale*

(b) i.e., in first year, *activités dirigées* (which were to include a variety of studies of the local environment) and, in the other years, *exercices d'observation (leçons des choses)*

(c) replacing homework time, in accordance with a circular issued on 29 December 1956

(d) the school week is reduced to 27 instead of 30 hours; no provision is made for recess periods, which are to be deducted from the other time allocations

=====
areas are normally to occupy the mornings; the so-called "*tiers temps*" ("third session") includes the remaining areas and fills the four afternoons of the new four and a half day school week (a reduction from thirty hours to twenty-seven of total teaching time). Time for individual study (which had replaced homework in 1956) is no longer specified separately. The previous allocation of time for recess periods has been replaced by a recommendation for a ten-minute break

¹⁰⁷ Details extracted from Leterrier, L., op. cit., editions for 1959 and 1974

"to separate each teaching session from the next."¹⁰⁸ Since 1969, new syllabuses and guidelines have been issued for French and Mathematics¹⁰⁹; these define very clearly the new emphases to be placed on "the fundamental principles of modern pedagogy: the pedagogy of encouragement, of motivation, of activity, a pedagogy which simultaneously individualises instruction and puts methods of group work into practice, while aiming to develop the personality of each pupil."¹¹⁰

These changes have in turn inevitably had their effect on the work of teacher preparation in the *écoles normales*. After nearly a century of firmly established and extraordinarily stable compulsory primary schooling, France has seen in a very brief period of time a radical reform of her education structures in this area, accompanied by a call for an equally radical reform in the whole philosophy of elementary education. We shall consider in succeeding sections of this thesis the vital part which the nation's training institutions have had to play in this rapid transformation.

. . .

¹⁰⁸ *Arrêté* of 7 August 1969; Annexe. See Leterrier, L., op. cit., 1974 edition, p. 8

¹⁰⁹ Cf. above, p. 5, note 13

¹¹⁰ See Leterrier, L., op. cit., p. 43

SECTION 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECOLES NORMALES IN FRANCE, 1815-1968

The idea of some form of Normal School which would prepare students to teach was not by any means new when it was first proposed officially in France in 1794. In 1645 the idea had been put forward of training a certain number of specially gifted pupils at University expense.¹ In 1684 Abbé Jean-Baptiste de la Salle, having founded the *Institut des frères des écoles chrétiennes*, resolved to establish a school to train lay teachers for parishes too poor to provide otherwise for schooling. Called a "*séminaire de maîtres d'école laïques*"², it was set up first in Reims and then near Mézières. It provided for some twenty-five students at a time, mostly in fact local men already engaged in primary teaching, but did not apparently survive very long. They were "given moral training and were initiated into the methods and procedures laid down in the '*Conduite des écoles chrétiennes*'."³ It was perhaps the first serious attempt at teacher preparation in France.⁴ Much later, in 1761, the *Parlement* of Paris, having resolved to expel the Jesuits, proposed to use their *Collège Louis-le-Grand* as a centre for similar training, and in 1780 the Church considered doing likewise, after the fall of the *Parlement*. But these proposals were aimed essentially at preparing teachers for secondary schools rather than for primary,

¹ Ponteil, Félix: Histoire de l'enseignement en France (Sirey, Paris, 1966), p. 141

² Whence the title *séminaire laïque*, used frequently later to describe the écoles normales in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

³ Brûlé, Hélène, in Richardson, C.A., Brûlé, H., and Snyder, H.E.: The Education of Teachers in England, France and the U.S.A. (UNESCO, Paris, 1953), p. 132

⁴ Recueil des monographies pédagogiques, publiées à l'occasion de l'Exposition Universelle de 1889 (Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1889), Vol. II - Jacoulet, M.E.: Notice historique sur les écoles normales d'instituteurs et d'institutrices [hereafter referred to as: Jacoulet], pp.

and did not in any case come to anything.⁵

The first "seminaries" for primary school teachers seem to have been established in Germany and Austria, where in 1698 the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha founded a "seminary" for primary teachers (*Lehrer-seminar*), and in 1732 Frederick the Great established a similar institution in Stettin; Berlin had its Normal School in 1748, and in 1774 Queen Maria Theresa decreed the creation of a training school in each education district of her realm. By 1780 some fifteen had been established. By 1789 there were fifty scattered through Central Europe.⁶

The influence of Basedow⁷ in Dessau, capital of the Principality of Anhalt, spread to Strasbourg through the work of Simon and Schweighäuser, who established themselves there in 1778. In 1781 they wrote a pamphlet proposing the setting up of "seminaries" for primary teachers in France.⁸ Basedow's principal collaborator, Campe, together with G. de Humboldt, came to Paris at the time of the French Revolution, and had discussions with members of the Constituent Assembly, and in March 1792 Dorsch, who was a naturalised German living in Strasbourg, presented to the Legislative Assembly a proposal for the establishment of a training college in each département.⁹ He wrote:

Such establishments seem to me one of the prime needs of each département. I call them *collèges des maîtres d'école* (*Schullehrer Akademien*), and consider them as forming a separate class of institutions, different in their essentials from other places of public instruction.¹⁰

At this time an abortive first attempt was made to establish such a training school in Strasbourg.¹¹

⁵ Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., loc. cit.; Jacoulet, op. cit., p. 378

⁶ Gontard, Maurice: La question des écoles normales primaires de la Révolution de 1789 à nos jours (C.R.D.P., Toulouse, n.d.), p. 6; cf. also Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., p. 141, and Jacoulet, op. cit., pp. 378-9

⁷ Johann Basedow (1723-90) was a well-known disciple of Rousseau and Comenius and founder of a famous school, the "Philanthropie", to which pupils came from all over Europe. He was much concerned with teaching methods and school organisation.

⁸ Later, Strasbourg was to have the first French école normale apart from Paris. See below, p. 45

⁹ Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., pp. 141-2

¹⁰ Quoted by Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., p. 8, from Guillaume: Procès verbaux du Comité de l'Instruction Publique de l'Assemblée Législative, 49^e séance, p. 147

¹¹ Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., p. 9

The way was well prepared, then, for action under the Convention, which set about the organisation of primary education in 1793, and on 8 September (22 *Fructidor*, *An II*) voted the following decree (prepared by Lakanal, one of its most active members):

The National Convention, wishing to accelerate the time when it will be able to disseminate education uniformly throughout the whole Republic, charges its Committee of Public Education to present to it, within twenty days, a project for normal schools, which will enrol, from all districts, citizens who are themselves already educated, to instruct them, under the most learned teachers [...], in the art of teaching useful skills.¹²

In support of the decree, the following statement, prepared by Garat¹³, was read:

This resolution will open a new epoch in the history of the world. [...] For the first time on Earth, nature, truth, reason and philosophy will also have their seminary; for the first time, the most famous men in every branch of science and talent, men who have until now been only teachers of the nations and of the centuries, men of genius, will become the first schoolmasters of a people!¹⁴

The Decree of 30 October 1794 which was to establish these "écoles normales" was detailed and precise. The first Article indicated that citizens, "already instructed in the useful sciences"¹⁵, would come from all parts of the Republic to study the art of teaching under the most capable professors in all subjects. Three pupils were to come from each "district administration"¹⁶, and Paris would provide forty-eight.¹⁷ Article 3 stressed that those selected must be citizens of proved patriotism and impeccable behaviour. The minimum age was fixed at twenty-one. Students would receive the same salary during the course as those of the *Ecole centrale des travaux publics*. The Committee of Public Instruction was to select the teachers and submit its list to the Convention for approval; it would

¹² Palmèro, J.: Histoire des institutions et des doctrines pédagogiques (S.U.D.E.L., Paris, 1958), p. 257. Jacoulet, op. cit., p. 381, indicates that here "the name 'école normale' appears for the first time, and Lakanal is careful to justify its use (from *norma*, rule), saying that it was chosen to show clearly that the new school was to serve as 'régulateur' for the whole education system."

¹³ Garat was Minister of the Interior and later of Justice; he was also a member of the Académie Française.

¹⁴ Palmèro, J., op. cit., p. 257

¹⁵ *ibid.*

¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁷ cf. Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., p. 142. Exact figures are not included in the Article itself.

fix their salaries in consultation with the Finance Committee. Articles 7 and 8 gave brief details of the curriculum: first, "the art of teaching morality and forming the minds of young Republicans in the practice of public and private virtue"¹⁸, and then the approved methods of teaching reading, writing, elementary calculation, practical geometry, history and French grammar. The length of the course was fixed at four months. Article 11 was of special significance for the scheme. It stated:

The pupils trained in this Republican school will return at the end of the course to their respective districts: they will open in the three main towns of *cantons* nominated by the district administration an Ecole Normale the purpose of which will be to transmit to male and female citizens who intend to devote themselves to public education the teaching method acquired by them at the Paris Ecole Normale.¹⁹

The Paris Ecole Normale did in fact open, slightly later than intended, on 20 January 1795. Classes were held in the Amphitheatre of the Museum of Natural History.²⁰ The lectures were given by very eminent scholars of the time (some of them have been preserved and are said to be very fine), but the students varied greatly in aptitude. No mention seems to have been made of pedagogical skills. The promoters of the scheme were soon discouraged, and the institution closed - permanently - in May 1795.²¹ Ponteil says, "This Ecole went beyond the goal which had called it into existence."²²

When Napoléon resolved to reorganise education in France under one authority - the *Université* - he paid little attention to the needs of primary education. Yet at the same time there were clearly few competent teachers in the primary schools - Palmèro talks of a shortage of as many as 40,000²³ - and the rapid failure of the Paris Ecole Normale had done nothing to improve the situation. Nevertheless, the great Law of 17 March 1808, which created the *Université*,

¹⁸ Palmèro, J., loc. cit.

¹⁹ Palmèro, J., op. cit., p. 258. The full Decree is published in Recueil des lois et règlements concernant l'instruction publique de 1598 à 1828 (Brunot-Labbe, Paris, 1828). Cf. Prost, Antoine: L'Enseignement en France, 1800-1967 (Colin, Paris, 1968), p. 18

²⁰ The amphitheatre still exists, in the Jardin des Plantes, where, for the first time, in 1795, surprised Parisians saw elephants on show. See, e.g., Michelin: Paris et sa banlieue (Paris), p. 147

²¹ Jacoulet gives considerable detail. Jacoulet, op. cit., pp. 382-5. See also Palmèro, J., op. cit., p. 258

²² Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., p. 73. He also lists some of the professors who participated.

²³ Palmèro, J., op. cit., p. 287

included in its Section XIII ("Concerning *lycées*, *collèges* [...] and primary schools") the following provision:

Article 108: [...] There will be established for each *académie*, and as part of the *collèges* or *lycées*, one or several "normal" classes, with the task of training masters for the primary schools. Instruction will be given in the methods most proper for perfecting the art of teaching writing, reading and arithmetic.²⁴

The only surviving école normale established as a result of the Law of 17 March 1808 is that at Strasbourg, founded in 1810. It was the result of the efforts of the *Préfet* (Lezay-Marnésia) and the *Recteur* (Levraud), and served as a model of considerable importance as other écoles normales were set up. Based firmly on the German pattern, it provided for sixty *boursiers* and some additional private students, offered a four-year (later, three-year) course, and included in its curriculum almost all the subjects later to become standard in the whole country (but it excluded, for no explicable reason, history). Guizot, in his Report to the King, in 1833, could say:

In every way, the superiority of popular education in the *Académie* of Strasbourg is striking, and there is a general and justified conviction in the area that this is due particularly to the existence of the *école normale primaire*.²⁵

Following the restoration of the Monarchy, a royal decree issued in 1816 included the following rather tentative instruction:

Article 39: In large towns, encouragement will be given, as much as is possible, to the meeting together of several classes under a single master and several assistants, in order to prepare a certain number of young men in the art of teaching.²⁶

²⁴ Gréard, M.: La Législation de l'instruction primaire en France (Delalain, Paris, 2nd ed., 1889-92), Vol. I, p. 199

²⁵ Quoted in Jacoulet, op. cit., p. 387. Strasbourg's Ecole Normale has been treated in detail by numerous writers. See especially L'Ecole Normale a 150 ans and Témoignages sur l'Ecole Normale de Strasbourg et les instituteurs alsaciens, published on the occasion of the School's sequicentenary. (Académie de Strasbourg, 1960).

See also: Jacoulet, op. cit., pp. 386-8, Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., pp. 21-2, Brûlé, Hélène, op. cit., p. 133, Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 137, Action Laïque, July-August 1949, pp. 7-9, Education Nationale, 30 October 1958, pp. 7-8

R. Aubenas, in Education Nationale, 30 October 1958, pp. 7-8, recalls that Lezay-Marnésia had already in 1806 founded an école normale in Coblenz, then of course a part of the French Empire: it was the forerunner of the Strasbourg school, and in a sense should be counted as France's first true école normale.

²⁶ Palméro, J., op. cit., p. 301

Following this proposal, écoles normales were in due course founded at Edelfange (Heldefange) and at Bar-le-Duc (both in north-eastern France), in 1823. The former was transferred to Metz in 1833. Both based their organisation closely on that of Strasbourg.²⁷ [cf. Map 2, p. 47].

A Circular sent by the Minister of Public Instruction, De Martignac, on 6 May 1828, to the *recteurs* of the *académies* led to the creation of further écoles normales immediately afterwards. It stated:

I urge you in the strongest terms to work towards the formation in one of the principal towns of your *académie* of a Normal Class, in imitation of the one which has been such a success in Strasbourg. I do not doubt that you will be supported by the mayors and the *préfets* who will see in such an action the means of giving to primary education the fullest development and perfection of which it is capable.²⁸

The écoles normales which resulted were almost all situated in the north-eastern third of France. [cf. Map 2, p. 47]. Guizot himself observed that "the progress of these useful institutions has operated by a sort of geographical gradation, penetrating gradually from the départements where they were first born into the adjacent départements."²⁹ Regulations issued on 14 December 1832 brought them all under the authority of the State, but without severing their links with the départements. The Minister of Education became responsible for their administration, determined their syllabuses and fixed the length of the course everywhere at two years.³⁰

At this time, Victor Cousin³¹ visited Prussia on behalf of the French Government and reported very favourably on the training schools which he saw there; the Government accepted his report.³²

Although the De Martignac ministry fell shortly afterwards,

²⁷ Jacoulet, op. cit., pp. 388-9. See also Action Laïque, July-August 1949, p. 8

²⁸ Quoted by Palméro, J., op. cit., p. 301. See also Jacoulet, op. cit., p. 391

²⁹ Quoted by Boisset, Raymond, in Action Laïque, op. cit., p. 9

³⁰ Brûlé, Hélène, op. cit., p. 133

³¹ Victor Cousin (1792-1867) was a famous French philosopher and educator; he was *directeur* of the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* in Paris and later a professor at the Sorbonne before becoming Minister of Education in 1840.

³² Cf. Holmes, Brian: Problems in Education (Routledge, Kegan Paul, London, 1965), pp. 200-1. See also Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., p. 33

momentarily stopping the rapid growth of the *écoles normales*, the July Monarchy again gave encouragement, issuing a series of regulations concerning their establishment and organisation. In particular, mention was made of the need for teaching practice by the students, in "one or several primary classes attached to the *école normale*."³³

On the eve therefore of the passing of the *Loi Guizot*³⁴, there were already in existence in France at least fifteen institutions preparing primary school teachers.³⁵

Article 11 of the *Loi Guizot* was decisive in the continued growth of the *écoles normales*. It stated in part:

Article 11: Every département shall be required to maintain a primary *école normale* [...].³⁶

As a result, new *écoles normales* were quickly established in many places. [cf. Maps 3 and 4, pp. 49-50]. Brûlé says that "twenty-nine other départements" set them up; Jacoulet gives full lists with dates.³⁷ The pattern of the *écoles normales*, as set out in detail in the regulations accompanying the Law, was very much that which continued to be the dominant one until the recent past. The *école normale* was a boarding establishment with an atmosphere somewhere between that of a monastery and that of a military barracks. (In this it was, of course, exactly like the *lycée*). Students rose at five and went to bed at nine. No talking was allowed as students moved from one class to another; at meals, as in a monastery, students were expected to read uplifting books. They wore a dark-coloured uniform.³⁸ The minimum age for entry was sixteen and studies lasted for two years, the first leading to the *brevet élémentaire* and the second to

³³ Quoted by Palmèro, J., op. cit., p. 302

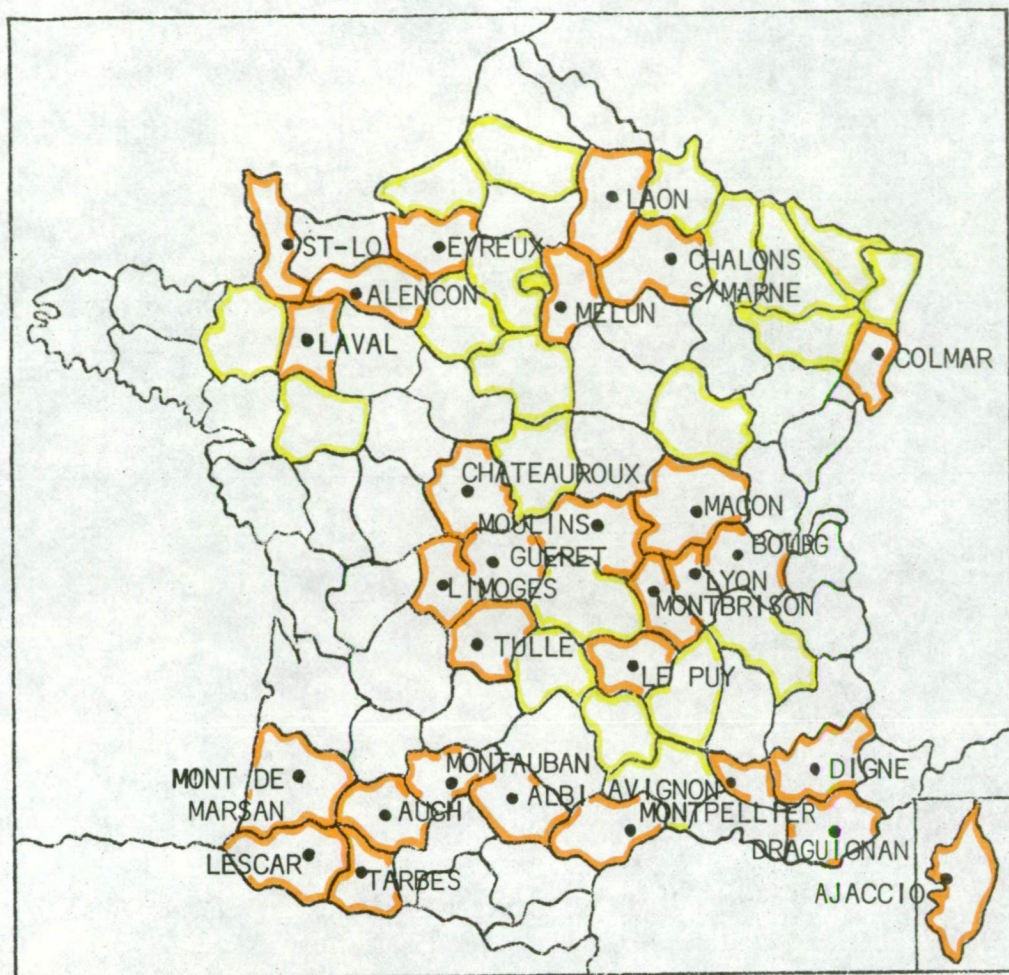
³⁴ See above, p. 23

³⁵ Jacoulet says "there reigns some obscurity" on the exact number, and lists fifteen as certainly established; apparently statistics published on 30 November 1832 named a total of thirty-six (Jacoulet, op. cit., p. 391); Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 137, says forty-seven (perhaps he means after the *Loi Guizot*).

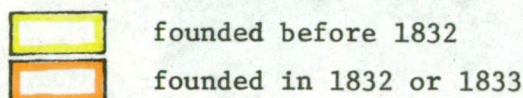
³⁶ The Regulations of 14 December 1832 had, according to Jacoulet, already given much detail on the establishment, administration and course structure of the proposed institutions; not all of this was followed. Cf. Jacoulet, op. cit., pp. 397-402. Article 11 was eventually amended by adding "either by itself or by uniting with one or several neighbouring départements". Cf. Jacoulet, op. cit., p. 403, and Palmèro, J., op. cit., p. 296

³⁷ Brûlé, Hélène, op. cit., p. 133; Jacoulet, op. cit., pp. 434-51

³⁸ Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., pp. 39-40



MAP 3: MEN'S ECOLES NORMALES FOUNDED
1832-3

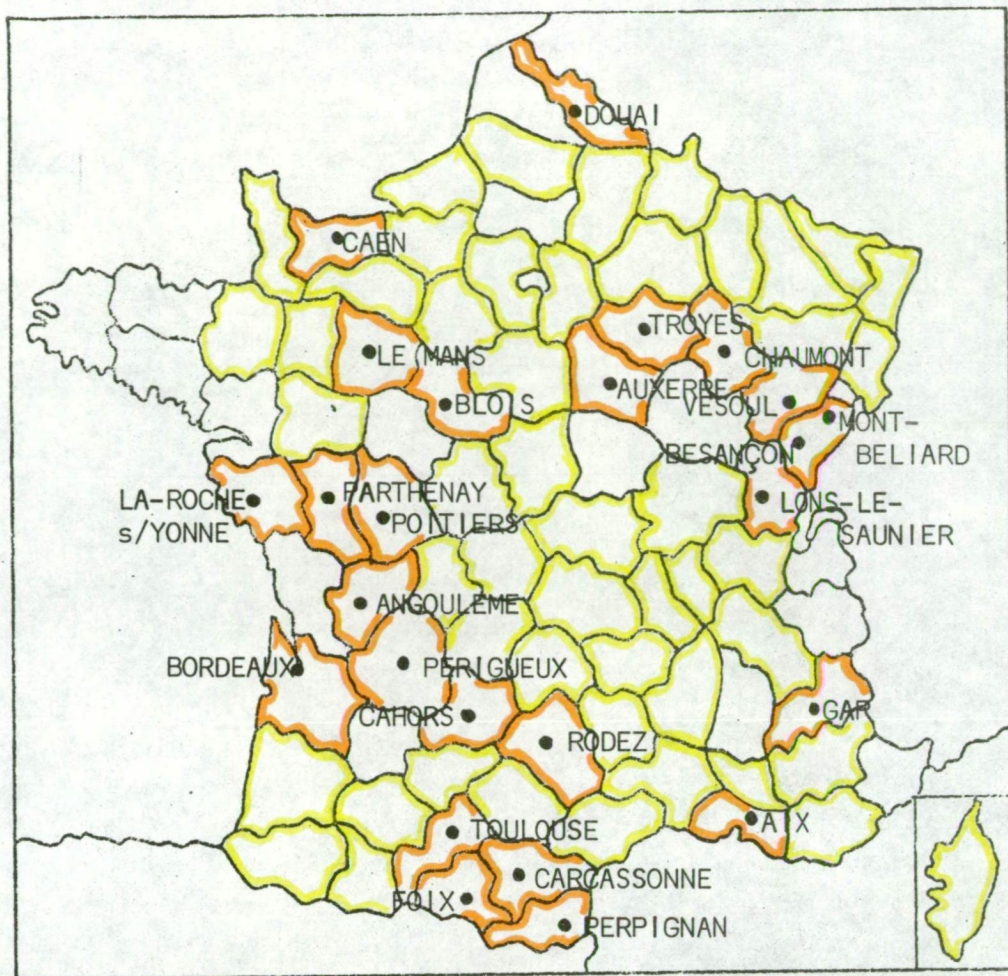


ECOLES NORMALES FOUNDED IN 1832:

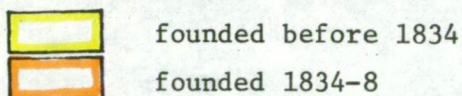
Bourg (Ain), Tulle (Corrèze), Evreux (Eure), Le Puy (Haute-Loire), Saint-Lô (Manche) [*externat* until 1842], Alençon (Orne), Albi (Tarn) [*externat* until 1837], Avignon (Vaucluse), Limoges (Haute-Vienne) [*externat* until 1837; closed 1851-75]

ECOLES NORMALES FOUNDED IN 1833:

Laon (Aisne), Moulins (Allier) [attached at first to a *collège*], Digne (Basses-Alpes), Ajaccio (Corse), Guéret (Creuse), Auch (Gers) [*externat* until 1843], Montpellier (Hérault), Châteauroux (Indre), Dax/Mont-de-Marsan (Landes), Montbrison (Loire), Châlons-sur-Marne (Marne), Laval (Mayenne) [according to Jacoulet, "*laïque*" but directed by a priest until 1872], Lescar (Basses-Pyrénées) [at Pau until 1845], Tarbes (Hautes-Pyrénées), Lyon/Villefranche (Rhône), Mâcon (Saône-et-Loire), Melun (Seine-et-Marne), Montauban (Tarn-et-Garonne), Brignoles/Draguignan (Var) [at Brignoles until 1840; Draguignan closed between 1851 and 1864], Colmar (Haut-Rhin)



MAP 4: MEN'S ECOLES NORMALES FOUNDED 1834-8



ECOLE NORMALES FOUNDED IN 1834:

Gap (Hautes-Alpes), Foix (Ariège), Troyes (Aube) [between 1831 and 1834, students went to Versailles], Carcassonne (Aude), Caen (Calvados) [*externat* until 1839], Toulouse (Haute-Garonne), Bordeaux/La Sauve (Gironde) [at Bordeaux until 1859], Cahors (Lot) [closed in 1852; students attended Montauban until 1862; the école normale was re-opened in 1885], Chaumont (Haute-Marne), Douai (Nord), Perpignan (Pyrénées-Orientales), Vesoul (Haute-Saône), Poitiers (Vienne)

ECOLE NORMALES FOUNDED IN 1835:

Rodez (Aveyron), Angoulême (Charente), Périgueux (Dordogne), Besançon (Doubs), Salins/Lons-le-Saunier (Jura) [at Salins until 1850; Lons-le-Saunier opened a *cours normal* in 1855 which became an école normale in 1862], Blois (Loir-et-Cher), Le Mans (Sarthe), Parthenay (Deux-Sèvres), Auxerre (Yonne)

ECOLE NORMALES FOUNDED IN 1836-8:

Montbéliard (Doubs) [a Protestant *école modèle* until 1881] 1836; Aix (Bouches-du-Rhône) 1837; Roche-sur-Yonne (Vendée) 1838

the *brevet supérieur*.³⁹ Many failed the latter, it being considered good that the ambitions of the students should be kept in check. It was no doubt equally true that the general level of ability of the students was not high and that it was wise for many to repeat the junior year rather than attempt work which was beyond them.⁴⁰ Successful students were required to bond themselves to teach in the State education system for a minimum period of ten years.⁴¹

It soon became clear that the *écoles normales*, as a result of the fact that the intellectual development of their students was not accompanied by any corresponding improvement in their material situation, were becoming centres of liberal thinking. It is from this earliest period of their history that we can date the development of the anti-clerical, socialist attitudes which were to become typical of the *écoles normales* - and therefore in turn of instituteurs - in the formative period of State education in France.⁴²

After the Revolution of 1848, however, the situation was very different. Falloux, as we have seen, gave an important place to the Church in the field of primary education, and the political atmosphere was strongly conservative and anti-socialist.⁴³ The reaction to the growth of the *écoles normales* was therefore a strong one. Falloux himself said:

It has been said that young men under the age of twenty should not spend their most difficult years in an atmosphere of common fermentation; that they could not have a close-up view of cities they will not inhabit, come into contact with all knowledge without treating any in depth, without acquiring an exaggerated view of their situation, a false idea of their duties [...] and that it has been a sovereign imprudence to send back to the life of the fields minds which have been prepared in advance to feel disgust and hatred for it.⁴⁴

Thiers, addressing the extra-parliamentary Commission of 1849, spoke even more violently about the likely effects of the beliefs of these primary teachers:

³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 36. See Glossary for information on the two *brevets*.

⁴⁰ Prost, Antoine, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-8; Ponteil, Félix, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-2

⁴¹ a regulation first imposed in 1808; cf. Ponteil, Félix, *op. cit.*, p. 142

⁴² Gontard discusses this development and the causes for it in detail, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-51 and especially p. 51

⁴³ See above, pp. 25-6

⁴⁴ Quoted by Palmëro, J., *op. cit.*, p. 302n

What do I see in fact in each *commune*? A layman who, no matter what you say, will always be discontented with the position he holds; with a salary less than that of the priest, but without the latter's sense of resignation since he has not his faith, he believes that he is insufficiently remunerated, and so he has in his heart a hatred of society, which he believes to be egotistical and unjust with regard to him. [...] I see something even more deadly - the introduction of thirty-seven thousand Socialists and Communists, veritable *anti-priests*, into the *communes* [...]⁴⁵

The philosopher Jouffroy wrote similarly in a report to the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences of "the arrogant pseudo-scholarship and sharpened, misplaced ambition of that host of primary teachers, so unwisely accustomed in our *écoles normales* to an unnecessarily high standard of education and over-refined habits."⁴⁶ It is not surprising, therefore, that the *Loi Falloux* authorised the suppression of the *écoles normales*.⁴⁷ The départements were encouraged to replace them with organised practice teaching in "model schools", but few of them did this.⁴⁸ The Regulation dated 24 March 1851 replaced the competitive recruitment examination by a sort of administrative enquiry into suitability, and placed severe restrictions on the subjects to be studied. Life in the *écoles normales* became even more monastic than before - students were prohibited from leaving the buildings alone, and the only break came once a year, a fortnight for the *grandes vacances*. However, the system persisted and, particularly after the entry examination was restored in 1855, continued to prosper.⁴⁹ [See Map 5, p. 62, for details of new *écoles normales* established at this time].

The development of *écoles normales* for women was much more gradual. The intellectual climate of the time was opposed to the development of education for women. The *institutrice* was hardly to be regarded as a teacher at all, in the minds of most people; she was, rather, expected to maintain the moral and religious life of the children and

⁴⁵ Quoted by Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 150

⁴⁶ Quoted by Brûlé, Hélène, op. cit., p. 134

⁴⁷ "Ecoles normales may be abolished by order of the *conseil général* or by the Minister [...]" : Article 35. Cf. Brûlé, Hélène, op. cit., p. 134

⁴⁸ Jacoulet indicates that there were in fact only four - Lot, Var, Charente and Haute-Vienne; op. cit., p. 414

⁴⁹ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 139; Brûlé, Hélène, op. cit., pp. 134-5; see also Jacoulet, op. cit., pp. 411-2, for a delightful quotation from a report by the *directeur* of the *école normale* in Nîmes, explaining how carefully his students were kept from contact with the townsfolk; also pp. 415-418.

to teach such practical skills as might be necessary. Nevertheless the first *école normale* for women was created in 1838; there were eight in 1848 and eleven in 1863.⁵⁰ They were run at first by teaching orders (generally of the Catholic Church, but there were one or two Protestant institutions also), and were generally simply attached to an *école supérieure de filles*; later they often became secular *cours normaux*.⁵¹ At this time also the first *écoles normales* to prepare teachers for kindergarten teaching in the *salles d'asile*⁵² were established. In the period after 1848 the number of *cours normaux* with their associated "model schools" increased from some thirty to fifty-three by 1863.⁵³ Serious courses including pedagogical studies seem to have been instituted at about this time in these classes.⁵⁴

By the Decree of 2 July 1866, Victor Duruy restored the *écoles normales* to their former status, raised the standard of work and improved the working conditions of the staff. The way was prepared for the final inclusion of appropriate primary teacher training in the patterns of public education established under the Third Republic.⁵⁵

. . .

The basic Law for the establishment and organisation of the *écoles normales* in their definitive form was voted on 9 August 1879.⁵⁶ Decrees in 1883 and especially 1887 fixed the programme of studies. From then until the outbreak of World War II there were only minor changes. In 1879, seventy-nine *écoles normales* for men were already established, but there were only nineteen for women (and eight of these were not secular institutions).⁵⁷

The Law of 9 August 1879 therefore begins:

⁵⁰ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 139; Jacoulet, op. cit., p. 405 says the first was at Bordeaux in 1834, but he does not include this in his tabulated list; Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., p. 256, says seven were established between 1860 and 1863, and Jacoulet, op. cit., p. 406, says there were nineteen in existence in 1849.

⁵¹ Jacoulet, op. cit., pp. 405-6

⁵² Details of the *salles d'asile* are given on p. 4, note 8

⁵³ Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., p. 257

⁵⁴ Jacoulet, op. cit., p. 422

⁵⁵ Palmèro, J., op. cit., p. 302; Brûlé, Hélène, op. cit., p. 135; Jacoulet, op. cit., pp. 420-5

⁵⁶ The *Lois Ferry* for free, compulsory, secular primary education were voted between February 1879 and March 1882. See pp. 28-30

⁵⁷ Palmèro, J., op. cit., p. 322; Jacoulet, loc. cit., says nine were not secular.

Article 1: Each département is to be provided with an école normale for men and an école normale for women such that the recruitment of men and women primary school teachers for the département is assured. These establishments must be in operation within a period of four years from the promulgation of the present Law. A Decree of the President of the Republic may, on the advice of the *Conseil Supérieur* for Public Instruction, authorise two départements to unite to found and maintain together either one or the other or both of their écoles normales.

Article 2: The cost of installation and the annual upkeep of primary écoles normales are compulsory expenditures for the départements [...] ⁵⁸

The école normale as a local institution, provided and maintained in each of the approximately ninety départements and providing each département with its own primary teachers (with no recourse to teachers from elsewhere, except in special circumstances), was thus firmly established. Details of organisation were set out in Decrees issued on 29 July, 1 and 3 August, 1881, and on 9 January 1883. A further Law was promulgated in October 1886, and finally a Decree was issued on 18 January 1887 which gathered the regulations together in one document.

Gontard, Ponteil and Palmèro have all provided summaries of the main changes that occurred.⁵⁹ The entry examination was revised, fixing the age of entry at between fifteen and eighteen and requiring as a minimum academic standard the *certificat d'études*.⁶⁰ The curriculum was spread over three years and broadened, but religious studies were eliminated. Control of the courses passed from the *préfet* to the *recteur*. All fees were abolished and virtually all students became *internes*. The life of students in the écoles normales became less rigidly organised, more frequent *sorties* were permitted, and holidays were lengthened. The code of possible punishments for misbehaviour was defined. The patterns of staffing were also set out, and the functions of each staff member were clearly stated. The *directeur* or *directrice* was responsible for pedagogical instruction; each école normale was to have an *économe* to be responsible for finance. The number of staff (now to be called *professeurs*) was increased, and the

⁵⁸ Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., has provided a detailed account of the debates on this law together with the text of the seven articles, pp. 113-23.

⁵⁹ Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., pp. 125-30; Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., p. 289; Palmèro, J., op. cit., pp. 321-2

⁶⁰ See Glossary

organisation of their recruitment revised so that they were required to sit for a special examination leading to the *certificat d'aptitude à l'enseignement dans les écoles normales*; this led in turn to the establishment of two special *écoles normales supérieures* to prepare candidates for this examination.⁶¹ The rôle of supervision of students outside the classroom, and especially in the *internats*, was also defined and positions of *surveillants* created for this purpose. Many of these details had been discussed and agreed upon at an important Conference of all the heads of the existing *écoles normales* together with some *inspecteurs* called by Jules Ferry in 1880.⁶²

The Decree itself dealt first with the organisation of the *écoles normales*. They were to prepare teachers for the whole primary system - *écoles maternelles*, primary schools and upper primary schools. They would be under the direct supervision of the *recteur*. Normally, students would be boarders, though day-students and *demi-pensionnaires* might be admitted. Studies covered three years. Provision was made for a practising school (*école annexe*) under the control of a specially selected teacher to be attached to each *école normale*; this was to include a kindergarten in the case of girls' *écoles normales*.⁶³

The staff of each *école normale* was to consist of the *directeur* or *directrice*, an *économe*, five *professeurs* (four, if the number of students was less than sixty) and possibly some specialist teachers. *Directeurs* and *directrices* had to be aged at least thirty and possess the appropriate qualifications - the special *certificat d'aptitude* for primary school inspectors and heads of *écoles normales*. In *écoles normales* with less than one hundred students, the *économe*, in addition to his duties as bursar, was required to give instruction to the students in book-keeping and, in girls' *écoles normales*, in domestic economy. Candidates for the position were required to possess the *brevet supérieur* and the *certificat d'aptitude pédagogique*⁶⁴; they had to be aged at least twenty-one and were to spend a year without pay (but with food and lodging provided) as assistant to an *économe*

⁶¹ See below, pp. 124-5

⁶² Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., p. 125

⁶³ Bulletin Administrative de l'Instruction Publique (Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, Paris), No. 736, 29 January 1887, pp. 108 et seq., Articles 56-61

⁶⁴ See Glossary

already in office before being appointed. There was to be a special examination before this appointment. Specialist teachers might be appointed for foreign languages, art, singing and music, physical education and manual arts. The teaching of agriculture in boys' écoles normales was to be undertaken by the *professeur départemental* appointed for that subject, if possible; tradesmen could be employed to assist in the teaching of manual arts, if the Minister approved.⁶⁵

The Decree gave very full details concerning the admission of students to the écoles normales. The number to be admitted to each école normale each year was to be fixed by the Minister. Candidates were to be aged at least sixteen and not over eighteen on 1 October of the year of entry, had to possess the *brevet élémentaire* and agree to serve for ten years (this to be counted from the eighteenth birthday for men and the seventeenth birthday for women). The *recteur* could grant special permission for candidates over eighteen. Article 71 laid down that no candidate could present himself a second time for the admission examination. One month before the examination, details concerning the "antecedents and behaviour" of all candidates were to be sent to the *recteur* by each *inspecteur d'académie*. The examination was under the control of a "Commission" of which the *inspecteur d'académie* was the president; the other members were to include the *directeur* and the *professeurs* of the école normale and one primary *inspecteur*. Details of the examination itself were included in the *Arrêté* issued at the same time as the Decree; it was to comprise:

- A. 1. a dictation test of about twenty lines; the text is first read aloud, then dictated clearly, and reread; punctuation is not dictated; ten minutes' revision time is allowed
2. a writing test comprising one line of *grosse bâtarde*, one line of *grosse ronde*, and, in cursive writing, two lines large, two medium and four small; three-quarters of an hour are allowed; the quality of the writing in the dictation is to be taken into account in assessing this test also
3. a composition exercise consisting of a story or a simple letter, the explanation of a moral or educational precept, a proverb, a maxim or a question concerning moral or civic instruction; two hours are allowed
4. an arithmetic test, including, in addition to the solving of one or two problems, the reasoned explanation of a rule; two hours are allowed

⁶⁵ Bulletin Administratif, loc. cit., Articles 62-68

5. a test of drawing, consisting of a sketch at sight of a simple kind; one and a half hours are allowed [...]

...

B. I. oral questions on 1. the French language; 2. arithmetic and the metric system; 3. the history of France; 4. the geography of France and notions of general geography; 5. elementary notions of physical and natural science

II. summaries of two lessons: 1. on a literary topic; 2. on a scientific topic, given by *professeurs* of the *école normale*; these summaries to be prepared, each in half an hour, immediately after the lesson

III. a test of singing and music including oral questions on topics from the primary school *cours supérieur*, the reading of a piece of simple sol-fa, and a very simple oral dictation; account will be taken of the candidate's execution of a song with words and of knowledge of an instrument

IV. gymnastic exercises included in the syllabus of the primary school *cours supérieur*, and, for men, military exercises and, for women, needlework⁶⁶

Candidates were admitted in order of merit, with a supplementary list in case of vacancies.

All students were expected, without exception, to prepare for the *brevet supérieur*. In the case of prolonged illness, permission to repeat a class could be granted. Any student who voluntarily left the course or who was excluded, and any student who broke the ten-year bond requirement, was required to repay the full sum spent on him; however, provision was made for the Minister to remit this payment in part or wholly. In return, student-teachers, on graduating from the *école normale*, would have the right to the first positions of *instituteur public* to become vacant in the *département*. It was expected that instituteurs would remain within their *département*, though the ten-year bond could be served in any *département* provided the teacher first obtained an "*exeat*" from the *inspecteur d'académie*.⁶⁷

Section IV of the Decree listed the subjects of instruction in the *écoles normales*:

1. moral and civic instruction
2. reading
3. writing
4. French language and elements of French literature
5. history, especially of France
6. geography, especially of France

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 160-162

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, Decree, Articles 69-81

7. elementary arithmetic, the metric system, basic elements of algebra and of book-keeping
8. elementary geometry
9. land-measurement and surveying (men only)
10. agriculture (men only), horticulture
11. elements of physical and natural sciences, with their applications
12. domestic economy (women only)
13. drawing
14. singing and music
15. physical education; military exercises (for men)
16. manual arts (for men), needlework (for women)
17. pedagogy
18. study of a foreign language⁶⁸

The *Arrêté* also indicated the time allocation for these subjects: thirty-seven or thirty-eight hours a week for the men, in each of the three years, and between thirty-three and thirty-five for the women.⁶⁹

Article 83 of the Decree indicated that students must have every facility to follow their religious beliefs; in particular, on request from the parents, girls (but not boys) were to be taken to the church service on Sundays. Article 84 listed the types of punishment prescribed for various offences. They ranged from cancellation of leave through a warning given by the *directeur*, a public reprimand (before the other students) by the *directeur* or the *inspecteur d'académie*, to temporary or permanent exclusion. Students guilty of serious misdemeanours might be sent home to their parents, in which case the matter was to be referred by the *inspecteur d'académie* to the *conseil d'administration*^{70, 71}

The *Arrêté* gave further details concerning the organisation of daily life in the *écoles normales*. The hours of the day were distributed so that there were eight hours for sleep ("in all seasons"), five for washing, meals, exercises and games, and the rest for work. Students could leave the *école normale* only on Sundays and holidays; in the case of girls, leave was to be granted only with the permission of parents or guardians, and, if not on leave, they were to be taken walking. All students were required to have a uniform for wear when

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, Article 82. The attached *Arrêté* (Article 97) listed these under slightly different titles. The list reflects the full range of subjects then taught in the primary schools (including the upper primary classes); it contrasts, in its emphasis on practical and rural pursuits, with the traditional subjects of the *lycées*, which together composed that "*culture générale*" which was the aim of the "secondary" system.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 163-4

⁷⁰ See below, p. 59

⁷¹ *Bulletin Administratif*, loc. cit., Decree, Articles 83-4

on excursions or walks. Letter-writing was controlled in the girls' écoles normales: parents were required to provide a list of persons with whom their daughter was permitted to correspond; letters to students were required to bear the signature of the sender, otherwise they would be sent on by the *directrice* to the parents.⁷²

The *conseil d'administration* was dealt with in Section VI of the Decree. Created to serve as the link between the école normale and the *recteur*, its deliberations were of great importance, and were carefully recorded in its minutes.⁷³ It was to include the *inspecteur d'académie* and six members designated by the *recteur*, two of whom were to be *conseillers généraux*⁷⁴. If the *recteur* attended, he took the chair and had a casting vote. The *directeur* of the école normale also attended, and had the right to vote except on the budget. The duties of the *conseil* were:

1. to assure itself, by monthly visits, of the good management of the institution;
 2. to give its advice on the internal regulations of the école, prepared by the staff under the presidency of the *directeur*, these regulations to be submitted for the approval of the *recteur*;
 3. to recommend for the *recteur*'s nomination the doctor for the école;
 4. to approve, on the recommendation of the *directeur* and the approbation of the Minister, all arrangements concerning the provision of food, lodging, heating, lighting and general welfare of the student-teachers;
 5. to prepare the budget of the école;
 6. to give its advice on requests for supplementary funds to be made to the Minister;
 7. to examine the budget submitted to it by the *directeur*;
- and in general to watch over the material interests of the école normale.⁷⁵

Each year, in July, the *conseil d'administration* was to hear the report of the *directeur* on the "moral and material situation" of the institution, to discuss it, and to report its observations to the *recteur*. Discussions that concerned material improvements were

⁷² *ibid.*, pp. 165-6

⁷³ Some écoles normales still retain their collections of these minutes; those for Chambéry and those for Charleville-Mézières, for example, are apparently complete from the year of foundation; see below, pp. 316-7.

⁷⁴ i.e. members of the *conseil* of the département; see Glossary

⁷⁵ *Bulletin Administratif*, loc. cit., pp. 115-6 (Article 87)

passed on by the *recteur* to the *préfet* of the département concerned.⁷⁶

The same Decree contained provision for the establishment of the two special *écoles normales supérieures* to prepare staff for teaching in the *écoles normales* themselves.⁷⁷ The first to be established was that for women, the need for trained *professeurs* appearing more urgent in the girls' *écoles normales*. Established at Fontenay-aux-Roses, it was the State's "first intervention in the higher education of girls."⁷⁸ The institution for men, at St-Cloud, was founded two years later, in 1882. The course of study in both included educational psychology and ethics, history of educational doctrines, the various subjects taught in the *écoles normales*, and lectures and practical exercises based on the work of both the primary schools and the *écoles normales*. Entry was competitive and the course lasted two years.⁷⁹

. . . .

The period from 1881 to 1905 was a period of rapid consolidation of the primary teacher training system. The number of women being trained increased rapidly, as was to be expected, though the number of men was kept constant by control of the entry competition. [See Figure 5, below]. By 1895, more women were being trained annually than men, and this proportion has remained more or less unchanged until today.⁸⁰

The number of *écoles normales* also increased. Maps 5, 6 and 7 [See below, pp. 62-4] show the way in which the institutions for both men and women rapidly spread through the whole country so that by the turn of the century the contemporary pattern was virtually already in place.⁸¹ In particular, the number of women's *écoles normales* increased from eleven in 1863 to forty-one in 1881 and eighty-five in 1891.⁸²

Even more important was the fact that the standard of the students on entry and that of the work done in the *écoles normales* improved most markedly in this period. As early as 1886 it had been possible

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, Articles 88-9

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, Articles 90-7

⁷⁸ Gontard, Maurice, *op. cit.*, p. 130

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 130-2

⁸⁰ Later statistics are given below, pp. 67, 97

⁸¹ The maps are based on Jacoulet, *op. cit.*, pp. 388-91; cf. Maps 2, 3 and 4, pp. 47, 49 and 50

⁸² Prost, Antoine, *op. cit.*, p. 377

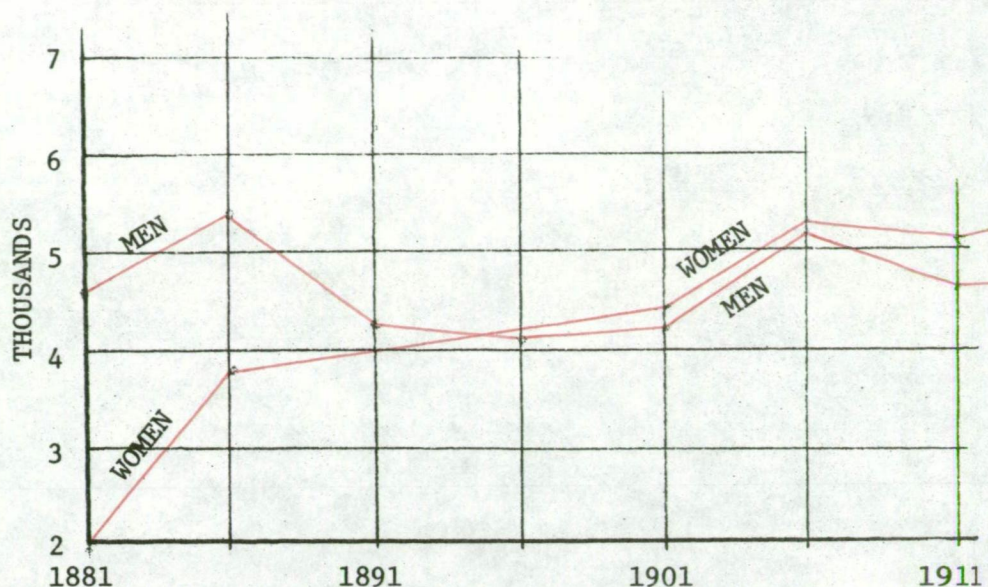


FIGURE 5: TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN ECOLES NORMALES IN SELECTED YEARS, 1881-1911⁸³

to require the *brevet élémentaire* as the basis of entry.⁸⁴ A Circular issued on 20 November in that year stated:

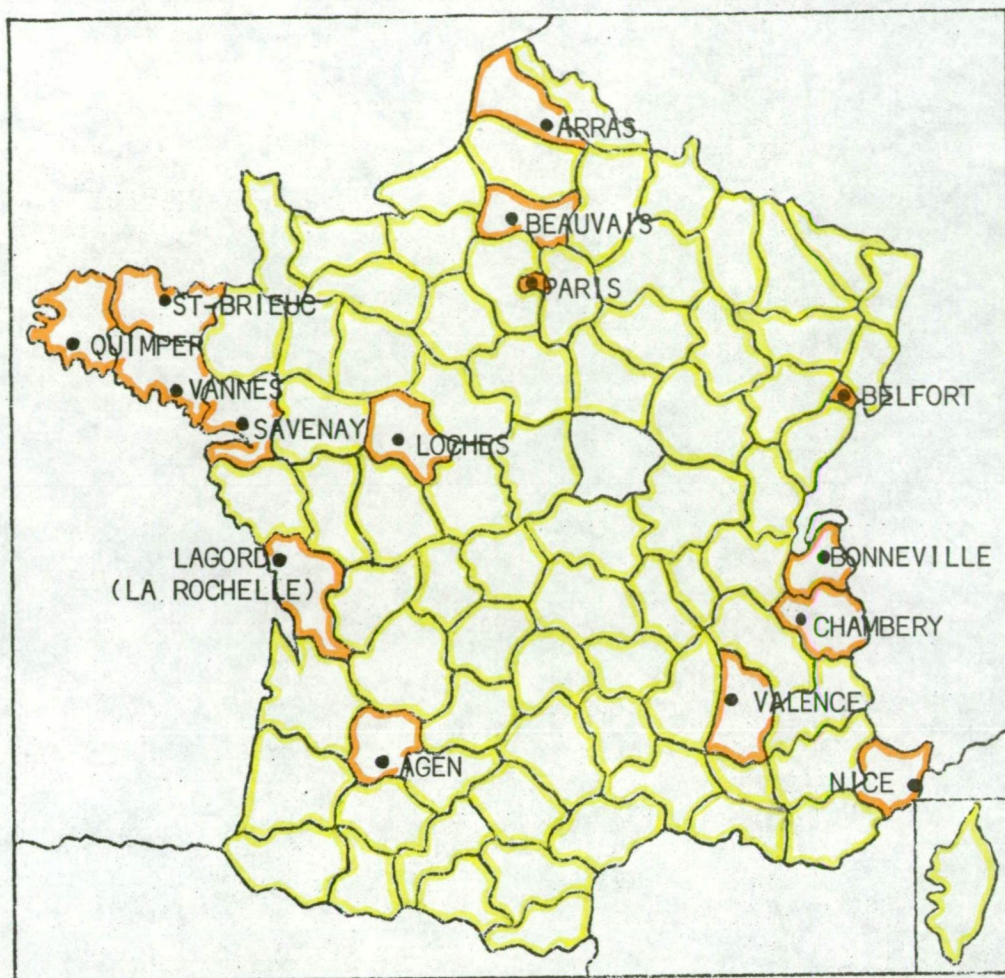
We can today without creating any problems discharge the Ecole Normale of a duty no longer required of it as a result of the average level of applicants, male and female. Let us state as a principle that henceforth students will sit for the examination of the *brevet élémentaire* before entering. In this way, the entry class being homogeneous, the needs of all being the same, there will no longer arise the problem, really insoluble, even at the cost of numberless complications, of bringing the programme of studies of the first year of the Ecole Normale into line with that of the *brevet*.⁸⁵

The following year the minimum age for entry was raised from fifteen to sixteen. From then onwards, the first three years were spent by all students in preparing for the *brevet supérieur*. Gradually the standard of this certificate - mainly under the influence of the teachers in the écoles normales who had been trained in one of the *écoles normales supérieures* - rose towards that of the *baccalauréat*; but it did not give right of entry to the universities. Pedagogical work was integrated with the academic studies throughout the three years, and the *brevet supérieur* was the basic qualification for primary school teaching.

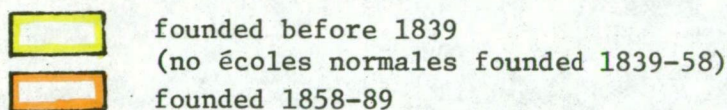
⁸³ Based on a graph given in Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 379

⁸⁴ The *brevet élémentaire* still exists, but is taken by few pupils; it is essentially now used by the private schools to mark the end of primary schooling; cf. Glossary.

⁸⁵ Quoted by Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., pp. 112-3

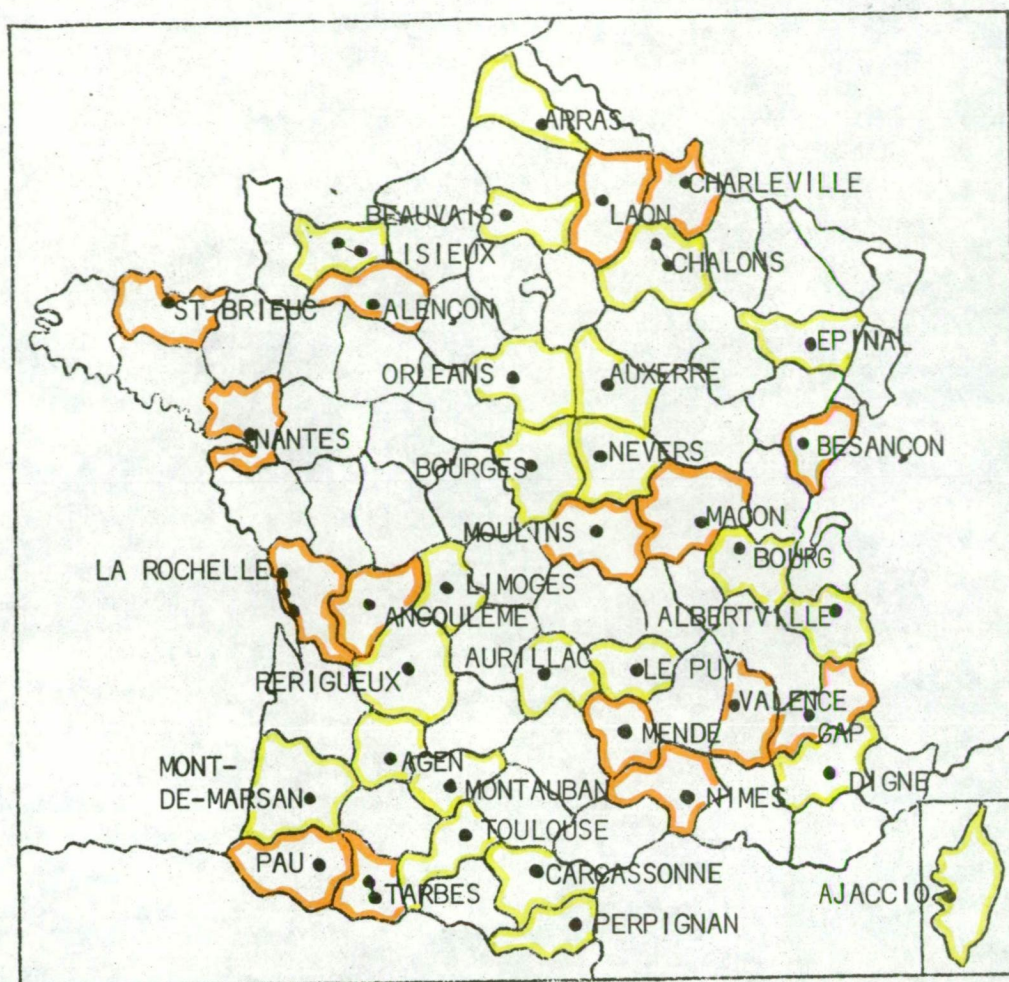


MAP 5: MEN'S ECOLES NORMALES FOUNDED 1858-89

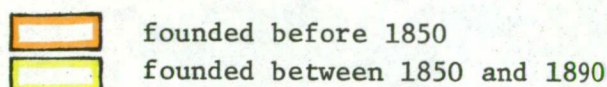


ECOLES NORMALES FOUNDED 1858-89:

- 1858 St Brieuc (Côtes-du-Nord) [earlier, students attended Rennes]
- 1860 Chambéry (Savoie) [Savoie became part of France in 1860]
- 1861 Nice (Alpes-Maritimes) [Nice became part of France in 1860],
Varzy/Bourges (Cher) [See Map 2 for original foundation]
- 1863 Lagord (Charente-Maritime) [earlier, students attended Poitiers],
Valence (Drôme), Loches (Indre-et-Loire) [1850-63, students
attended Orléans; later école normale transferred to Tours]
- 1872 Paris-Auteuil [See also Map 2], Savenay/Nantes (Loire-Inférieure)
[earlier, students attended Rennes]
- 1873 Quimper (Finistère) [earlier, students attended Rennes]
- 1878 Agen (Lot-et-Garonne)
- 1880 Belfort [students went at first to Strasbourg, then, from 1835
to Colmar, and from 1871 to 1880 to Vesoul]
- 1883 Vannes (Morbihan) [earlier, students attended Rennes or Savenay],
Arras (Pas-de-Calais) [from 1836 to 1849 students attended
Versailles; a religious foundation operated from 1850 to 1883]
- 1884 Beauvais (Oise) [from 1834 to 1851 students attended Versailles]
- 1887 Bonneville (Haute-Savoie) [earlier, students attended Chambéry]



MAP 6: WOMEN'S ECOLES NORMALES - RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS



WOMEN'S ECOLES NORMALES - RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS:

(Date in brackets indicates date of incorporation by State)

1838 Charleville (1882); 1839 Gap (1882)

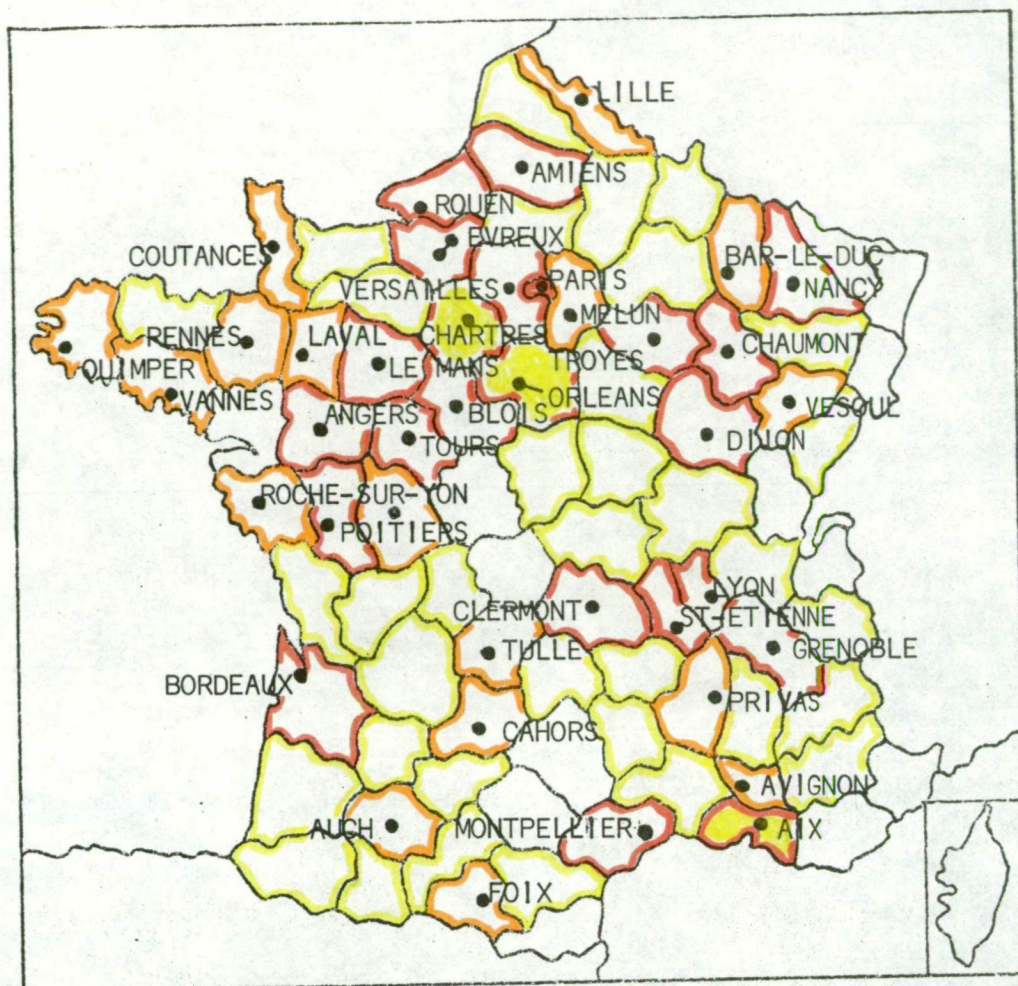
1841 St-Brieuc (1886), Nîmes (1883), Mende (1883); 1840 Pau/Bizanos (1883), Tarbes/Bagnères (1883); 1842 Alençon (1883); 1843 Besançon (1880), Mâcon (1872), Orléans (1887); 1844 Moulins (1873); 1845 Laon (1881), Angoulême (1884), Perpignan (1881), Valence (1881); 1847 Château-d'Oléron/Royan/La Rochelle (1883); 1849 Nantes (1883)

1850 Arras (1884); 1851 Beauvais (1884); 1853 Châlons/Reims (1880); 1854 Bourg (1880), Ajaccio; 1855 Le Puy (1882); 1858 Lisieux/Blon/Caen (1886); 1859 Agen (1883)

1861 Carcassonne (1880), Albertville/Rumilly (1887), Auxerre (1872); 1866 Montauban (1883); 1869 Epinal (1881)

1873 Bourges (1883); 1874 Châlus/Limoges (1880); 1875 Aurillac (1881)

1882 Périgueux; 1883 Digne (1886), Nevers; 1885 Toulouse; 1886 Mont-de-Marsan



MAP 7: WOMEN'S ECOLES NORMALES - STATE FOUNDATIONS

	founded before 1850
	founded between 1850 and 1879
	founded between 1880 and 1889
	congregational foundations incorporated by the State 1872-1889

WOMEN'S ECOLES NORMALES FOUNDED BY DEPARTEMENTS UP TO 1889:

(Many of the early foundations were simply *cours laïques*)

1844 Aix [for many years, a regional college]; 1840 Chartres; 1843 Orléans

1850 Le Mans; 1851 Tours/St-Maure; 1852 Grenoble/St-Egrève

1860 Bordeaux, Clermont; 1867 Chaumont

1871 Angers, Rouen; 1872 Evreux/Les Andelys; 1873 Paris; 1874 Blois; 1876 Amiens, St-Etienne, Montpellier; 1879 Troyes, Lyon, Versailles, Niort/St-Maixant, Nancy

1880 Privas, Melun; 1881 Lille; 1882 Foix; 1884 Tulle, Vannes, Vesoul, Roche-sur-Yon; 1885 Quimper, Bar-le-Duc; 1886 Auch, Rennes, Coutances, Avignon; 1887 Cahors, Laval, Poitiers

By the turn of the century, then, universal primary education was fully established in France - the proportion of children receiving primary education of some sort had been extremely high, as we have seen, since early in the nineteenth century - and the teaching service which provided it was also firmly established on the basis of its own training institutions, its own form of certification, and its own traditions of republicanism. The *écoles normales* already had a clearly defined rôle - and an equally clearly defined organisational pattern which assumed recruitment at an early age from children of the lower middle classes, training in boarding establishments with limited periods of leave and a closely regulated and restricted timetable. Primary teaching was a stable and secure occupation, an enviable one in fact for most members of the community, and one to which access was far from easy. Its prestige was enhanced by the continuing stability of the population and of its educational structures. Only comparatively minor changes occurred in any of these aspects between 1900 and the outbreak of World War II.

In 1905, efforts were made in the *écoles normales* to separate academic studies from the pedagogical formation. A new Decree required that preparation for the *brevet supérieur* should be completed in the first two years of the course:

It appears to us that the most important task of our *écoles normales* is not so much to turn out teachers who have obtained their higher certificate, as to provide a special training for the future educators of a democratic nation. An experiment conducted successfully over several years and gradually extended to twenty of our *écoles normales* proved that a two-year period of study [...] is sufficient (to obtain the *brevet supérieur*), and that the third year, when they are no longer exclusively concerned with an examination which, like all examinations, is always fraught with uncertainty, should be entirely devoted, firstly to more disinterested studies with a more direct bearing on the social aspect of education and not culminating in an examination, and, secondly, to the acquisition of a fuller and more thorough knowledge of educational processes and methods through more varied and extensive practical experience of teaching.⁸⁶

The third year then was to be devoted to "*culture générale personnelle*" and to professional studies combined with practical work in the *écoles d'application*.⁸⁷ This third year was to conclude with a new

⁸⁶ Instructions pour l'application des décret et arrêté du 4 août 1905; quoted by Brûlé, Hélène, op. cit., p. 136

⁸⁷ See Glossary

examination, the *examen de fin d'études normales*, which included a written paper, an oral examination and a lesson taught in the *école annexe* together with an oral examination based on the professional studies.⁸⁸ The written paper was to be prepared over a period of two months, and came to be known by the students as a "*thèse*". In general, it seems that this new organisation of the programme was not regarded very favourably, and, after the First World War, in 1920, further efforts for reform were made. The Decree and *Arrêté* of 18 August of that year had as their aim "to rekindle in the *écoles normales* the clear feeling for their special rôle."⁸⁹ Professional preparation and practice teaching were integrated again into each of the three years of the course:

At the beginning of each school year, the *directeur* is to determine the conditions under which the student-teachers will be sent into the *écoles annexes* or the *écoles d'application*. [...] The number of students sent to these schools is to be calculated so that each one participates, in each of the three years at the *école normale*, in fifty half-days of classwork in a primary school.⁹⁰

General pedagogical studies were included in the first year, Special studies (i.e. the methodology of each subject) in the second, and "*morale professionnelle*" and school administration in the third.⁹¹ The *examen de fin d'études normales* was suppressed and the *brevet supérieur*, now with an examination at the end of each of the three years, again became the only qualification required for primary school teaching.⁹²

It was possible for students not in the *écoles normales* to present themselves for the *brevet supérieur*, and significant numbers, particularly of women, did so, generally without great success. The figures for 1926-7 are typical: of *école normale* students, 1696 out of 1953 men were successful, and 1861 of 2016 women (86.3% and 92.3% respectively), while, of other candidates, 87 out of 183 men and 689 of 1111 women (47.5% and 62.0% respectively) were successful.⁹³

⁸⁸ Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., p. 114

⁸⁹ *ibid.*

⁹⁰ *ibid.*

⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁹² *ibid.*, p. 115

⁹³ Kandel, I.L.: *Comparative Education* (Greenwood Press, Westport, 1933), p. 554. Kandel gives a full account of the French primary teacher training system as he saw it at this period, pp. 548-65.

This pattern persisted until 1940. The courses of study remained unaltered⁹⁴; the daily life of the students remained the same; the ethos and the academic level of primary teacher education became fixed in a system that rapidly came to be considered as an unchanging tradition and part of the background of the French way of life. Nor were there significant changes in the patterns of recruitment.

Already, before the turn of the century, as we have seen, the number of women entering the écoles normales slightly exceeded that of men. This proportion was not permitted to change significantly throughout the period between the two World Wars, although the proportion of applicants who were successful fell gradually for both sexes (with a sudden drop in 1934-5), so that by 1939 only 31% of men and 20% of women applicants were gaining entry. [See TABLES 2 and 3, below].

TABLE 2: NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN ECOLES NORMALES, 1920-39⁹⁵

Year	Men	Women	Total	% Women
1920-21	4360	5150	9510	54.2
1924-25	4904	5463	10367	52.7
1925-26	5394	6239	11633	53.6
1926-27	5653	6702	12355	54.2
1927-28	5615	6539	12154	53.8
1928-29	5239	5674	10913	52.0
1929-30	5540	5923	11463	51.7
1930-31	5916	6350	12266	51.8
1931-32	6222	6516	12738	51.2
1932-33	6226	6420	12646	50.8
1933-34	6163	6207	12370	50.2
1934-35	5487	5518	11005	50.1
1935-36	4785	4684	9469	49.5
1936-37	4440	4379	8837	49.6
1937-38	4941	4931	9872	49.9
1938-39	5820	5900	11720	50.3
1939-40	6300	6403	12703	50.4

TABLE 3: PERCENTAGE OF APPLICANTS GAINING ENTRY TO ECOLES NORMALES 1924-39⁹⁶

Year	% Men	% Women	Year	% Men	% Women
1924-25	37.5	32.1	1932-33	35.4	30.7
1925-26	40.0	30.4	1933-34	32.4	29.3
1926-27	36.3	29.1	1934-35	22.4	21.5
1927-28	35.5	25.4	1935-36	20.2	21.1
1928-29	34.0	28.9	1936-37	21.9	17.6
1929-30	32.0	28.8	1937-38	23.8	19.1
1930-31	29.9	27.1	1938-39	25.6	20.0
1931-32	34.2	29.7	1939-40	31.0	19.8

It seems improbable that the social origins of the students recruited for the *écoles normales* changed significantly in this period either. There is only meagre statistical evidence on which to base a judgment, but writers on the primary school teacher, as we have seen, have continually assumed that the *instituteur* and, to a slightly lesser extent, the *institutrice* came from lower-middle class, predominantly rural, backgrounds.⁹⁷ Since it is true that they were recruited almost entirely, not from the secondary schools, but from the upper classes of the primary system - the *écoles primaires supérieures* and the *cours complémentaires* - and that these classes provided education essentially for the brighter children from these social backgrounds, it was inevitable that the *écoles normales* would also reflect this limited social range. Research by Ida Berger showed that, in the period 1926-33, 44.7% of the *normaliens* at the men's *école normale* in Paris (Auteuil) were from factory or office working-class backgrounds. Jacques Ozouf found a similar proportion (49.5%) at the rural men's *école normale* at St-Lô in the period 1920-24.⁹⁸ It would appear, however, that *normaliens* whose parents were of peasant stock - and who sought social promotion through the *écoles normales* - were relatively few in number by the 1920's: Ozouf's figures indicated that, whereas 53% of the *normaliens* at St-Lô in the 1880's were in this category, the percentage had dropped to only 9 in the period 1920-24.⁹⁹ With this important change taken into account, it is nonetheless clear that recruitment patterns had not apparently altered to any marked extent, and that the teachers leaving the *écoles normales* in the period before World War II were essentially similar in background to their older colleagues already in the schools.

⁹⁴ Except that, in 1920, sociology was added; see Brûlé, Hélène, op. cit., p. 137.

⁹⁵ Statistics from *Annuaire Statistique* (Imprimerie Nationale, Paris), 1951 edition, pp. 231-2 (Etat de la profession de l'instituteur); totals do not include the *écoles normales* of the *académie* of Strasbourg. Cf. *Annuaire Statistique*, 1946 edition, p. 33.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*

⁹⁷ See above, pp. 11-12

⁹⁸ Berger, Ida: L'origine sociale de trois générations d'instituteurs dans la Seine, in *Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Historiques, Géographiques et Scientifiques de la Région Parisienne*, July 1954, pp. 1-10; Ozouf, Jacques: Les instituteurs de la Manche et leurs associations au début du XXe siècle, in *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, January-March 1966, pp. 95-114. Cf. Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 380

⁹⁹ Ozouf, Jacques, loc. cit.

At least three other aspects of the primary teacher preparation system in the pre-war period should be noted. The continuing, complete segregation of the primary system from the secondary system maintained the former as the school for the majority of the population. The primary system in turn maintained its massive unity of purpose and the strength that came from a common background and a common bond. And the desire to provide effective education for its pupils beyond the school leaving age led to the development of an alternative form of post-primary education which attracted some of the best of the primary school teachers and which established standards which were often as high as those in the *collèges* and the *lycées*. With this pattern so firmly established, it was unquestionable that the *écoles normales* also belonged to the primary system, and they were in fact, for administrative purposes, treated in this way by the central administration and by the authorities at the level of the *département*. There could be no suggestion that the course provided in the *écoles normales* was part of secondary education, even if it was similar in standard to the courses leading to the *baccalauréat*; even less likely was it that the professional aspects of the work could in any sense be considered to be post-secondary in nature. Only an upheaval of the magnitude of World War II was capable of disturbing this structure; and the disturbance was in any case to prove to be, for most aspects of the organisation of the *écoles normales*, essentially temporary in nature.

. . . .

Within a year of the outbreak of the war, France was defeated, its Government had called on the eighty-four-year-old Marshall Pétain to lead the nation, and an armistice had been signed (16 June 1940), which resulted in the division of the country into two zones. The northern zone was occupied by the German army, and the southern zone - nominally "free" - became a satellite of Germany under the Government of Pétain. With its capital at Vichy, this National Revolutionary authority went quickly to work to "persuade the French of the errors of their democratic past."¹⁰⁰

Pétain saw an immediate threat in the solid unity and strength of the primary education system. As early as April 1940 he had written:

¹⁰⁰ Tint, Herbert: France since 1918 (Batsford, London, 1970), p. 96

"Among the tasks which the Government gives itself, none is more important than the reform of national education."¹⁰¹ Two aspects of the *écoles normales* were seen as particularly dangerous: their traditional seminary-like atmosphere with its associated "faith" and, more importantly, their traditional political beliefs. By the time they had completed their training, the instituteurs were "convinced socialists, trade-unionists and anti-clericals."¹⁰² For the ultra-conservative, authoritarian Pétain, and for the Nazi régime which he served and which controlled his actions, such an institution offered an immediate and continuing threat. In a radio broadcast in 1941, the Minister of Education, Jérôme Carcopino, claimed that the education given in the *écoles normales* had created a sort of "caste" which was isolated from the rest of the nation.¹⁰³ The Law of 18 September 1940 claimed that the conception underlying the *écoles normales* had shown itself to be "vicious":

Confined to the study of a syllabus too precisely prepared for them alone, future primary teachers have suffered from an intellectual isolation within which there has been all too much of a tendency to develop a certain political ideology. Gradually in this way there has grown up a way of thinking which has been qualified, in an unfortunately pejorative sense, as the "*esprit primaire*".¹⁰⁴

It was essential to the planning of the Vichy government that this "primary school spirit" should be brought under control and, in so far as was possible, destroyed. The early selection of a special "caste" of young students and their nurturing in a boarding institution was therefore seen as one of the aspects of the system which should be immediately and radically reformed.

As soon as the first weeks of confusion had passed, measures for this reform were prepared. The Law of 18 September 1940 abolished the *écoles normales*, in their pre-war form, from the beginning of the 1941-2 school year. The Law of 28 November 1940 provided that pupils selected to train as primary school teachers were to complete their secondary education in a *lycée* (to which most would have to transfer

¹⁰¹ Quoted by Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., p. 355, from *Revue des Deux Mondes*, "April 1940" (but no article signed by Pétain appears in either of the two issues of the journal for April 1940)

¹⁰² Brûlé, Hélène, op. cit., p. 137

¹⁰³ Quoted by Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., p. 120

¹⁰⁴ From the *Rapport*, attached to the Law of 18 September 1940; quoted by Gontard, Maurice, loc. cit.

after completing the first part of their secondary studies in an *école primaire supérieure* or a *cours complémentaire*).¹⁰⁵ At the *lycée* they would be boarding-pupils and their fees would be paid fully by the Government. The Law claimed that, "nourished by a more widely humanistic culture, having had prolonged contact with young people in secondary school oriented towards preparation for a variety of careers, the instituteurs and institutrices will in future be better prepared to understand the soul of the nation whose children they will have to educate."¹⁰⁶ In practice, they were kept apart in the *lycées* (mainly because they were on average two years older than the other pupils in each grade), so that, although they no doubt made excellent academic progress, and were influenced by the very different teaching methods and the academic atmosphere they encountered, they remained in general quite distinct from their peers from the upper social strata of the community.

Having obtained their *baccalauréat*, they were to proceed to the *Instituts de Formation Professionnelle*, which were established by the Decree of 15 August 1941. There, primary teachers were to be initiated into scientific methods and critical analysis, given a liberal education, and rid of "political and social dogmatism."¹⁰⁷ The avowed aims of these *instituts* went far beyond wishing to raise the entry standard and the level of training. It was essential in the eyes of the Vichy government that the traditional left-wing, radical, anti-clerical attitudes of the *écoles normales* be completely abolished. The Vichy government, "born by intrigue out of defeat"¹⁰⁸, was giving the opportunity to the men of the revolutionary right to put their ideals into practice. In a sense, they regarded the defeat of France as a just punishment for the sins of the Third Republic. The Church was one of the bases of Pétain's régime; those opposed to the Church (Jews, freemasons, left-wing radicals) were to be purged. The *écoles normales* were an obvious and immediate target.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Contard, Maurice, op. cit., p. 121

¹⁰⁶ Quoted by Contard, Maurice, loc. cit.

¹⁰⁷ Ponteil, Félix, op. cit., p. 355. He is quoting from Ripert, G.: *La formation des maîtres de l'enseignement primaire: les réformes de 1940*, in *Revue des travaux de l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques*, 1941, pp. 69-77

¹⁰⁸ Cobban, Alfred: *A History of Modern France* (Penguin, London, 1961), Vol. 2, p. 303

¹⁰⁹ For a detailed account of the Vichy Government, see Aron, Robert and Elgey, Georgette: *Histoire de Vichy* (Fayard, Paris, 1954;

In practice, the new *instituts* were very humble places indeed, often with a staff of only two or three (the *directeur*, the *économe* and one *professeur de pédagogie*). They were set up in former *écoles normales*, generally in the *chefs-lieux* of the *académies* and in other large cities, so that each served several *départements*. In all, there were sixty-six *instituts* (thirty-three for men, thirty-three for women).¹¹⁰ The *écoles normales* not required for this purpose were handed over for use by the Occupation forces and their libraries and equipment scattered.¹¹¹ The numbers of students who entered the *instituts* were not very great. Gontard indicates that sometimes only 20% of "normaliens" who had gained the *baccalauréat* continued into them.¹¹² The one-year course which was provided was divided into three three-month sessions; each was organised three times in the year, and a student might follow them in any order. There was a theoretical session, which Rustin describes as follows:

Three months of intensive, rapid, indigestible ingurgitation of the (former) education syllabus, with hardly any changes, and almost nothing else except some model and some practice lessons at the *école annexe*.¹¹³

Gontard notes, however, that there was intended to be a vital change in approach: the courses in pedagogy and professional morality were to include the study of the instituteur's duties towards the Nation (*la Patrie*) and the development in him of "*le sentiment national*".¹¹⁴ There was a teaching practice session of three months, under the direction of the *inspecteurs primaires* and without any contact with the *institut*. And there was a term of practical work in an agricultural school, a technical school or a domestic arts school, followed by a month in a *centre régional d'éducation générale et sportive*.¹¹⁵

Rustin describes the way in which these *instituts* (which he refers to still as *écoles normales*) managed to maintain some semblance of their earlier work:

rev. ed., Les Productions de Paris, Paris, 1960). See also Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 448, 474-5

¹¹⁰ Gontard, Maurice, loc. cit.

¹¹¹ Brûlé, Hélène, op. cit., p. 137

¹¹² Gontard, Maurice, loc. cit.

¹¹³ Rustin, G.: La formation des instituteurs sous l'occupation, in *Education Nationale*, 11 January 1962, p. 12

¹¹⁴ Gontard, Maurice, loc. cit.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*

The *directeur* and the *professeur de pédagogie*, the survivors of the wreck, made every effort to retain all that they could of the old teaching, its content and its spirit; and, in many cases, as we saw afterwards, their efforts under extreme difficulties were not made in vain. The "education" course permitted many incursions into the associated fields of history, philosophy, sociology, economics, etc. And the occasional lesson on contemporary literature allowed us to breathe freely for a while. But it all took place at running pace, under possible threat, instead of being, as it should have been, distilled slowly and given strong support.¹¹⁶

It seems unlikely that there was in fact any very real change in the approach to primary teaching which had become so strong a characteristic of the *écoles normales* - the staff no doubt paid no more than lip-service to the "*instructions*", and in any case had no time to give more than the most superficial training. The histories of individual *écoles normales* which have been consulted give only brief details of the period, preferring to pass over it in the most cursory fashion. Hagnauer's history of the *Ecole Normale d'Auteuil* (Paris) says:

[...] The *directeur*, the *économe*, the service staff and the young boarders, in reduced numbers, had to share quarters with the German soldiers; in fact, the quarters were rigorously divided and contacts between soldiers and the French civilians reduced to the strict minimum. The *directeur*, despite the Occupation and the decisions of Vichy, attempted to maintain the *esprit normalien*. [...] Despite the rigours of the times, certain almost folkloric traditions were respected, but "our hearts were not in it", as one *normalien* of the time confessed.¹¹⁷

Hickel, in the history of the *Ecole Normale* of Douai, says similarly:

The first group of *Institut* students numbered forty-four. We succeeded in accommodating them in one of the big dormitories with make-shift material. The *Ecole* [...] was virtually empty. The buildings had been a good deal damaged by three successive occupations since 1939, by the French, the English and the Germans. The *école annexe* (four classes at that time) was able to function. [...] All went well, in fact, until 4 February 1943. But that day the whole establishment was suddenly requisitioned by the German authorities. [...] ¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Rustin, G., loc. cit.

¹¹⁷ Hagnauer, Roger: *Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs de Paris: 1872-1972* (Coopérative de l'Ecole, Paris, 1972), pp. 48-9

¹¹⁸ Canivez, André: *L'Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs de Douai* (Editions Sannier, Douai, 1962), p. 92

But neither of these writers says a word about the courses or the way in which they were taught.

The one real - and permanent - gain was the substitution of the *baccalauréat* for the *brevet supérieur* as the basic academic level required. There had been suggestions before the War that the *baccalauréat* be required¹¹⁹, and there was apparently no wish to return to the pre-war certification when the *écoles normales* were re-established in 1946. Henceforth, as Wykes says, *normaliens* would be "isolated physically, but not culturally, from their contemporaries in the secondary schools."¹²⁰

One can only suppose that the teachers who were trained under the Vichy régime were very poorly prepared for their vocation. As much as ever, they remained part of a system of education which was cut carefully into two. The fact that for a time they had been thrust into the secondary *lycées* while they prepared for the *baccalauréat* was certainly not sufficient at the time to have any lasting effect on their future professional work or on their social and political views.

. . .

The period of Occupation came to an end in 1944, and quickly the necessary legislation was passed to annul the regulations governing primary teacher training passed by the Vichy government (Orders dated 9 August 1944 and 31 March 1945).¹²¹ Automatically, the pre-war organisation was re-established. Yet, it was clear that there were certain aspects of the *écoles normales* which had changed irrevocably. We have seen that one of these was the introduction of the *baccalauréat*.¹²² Henceforth the major part of the teaching in the *écoles normales* was essentially the same as in the senior classes of the *lycées* and *collèges*, and its assessment was outside the direct control of the staff. This in turn led to the selection of staff for the *écoles normales* from among those qualified to teach in the secondary system and the abandonment of the special *certificat d'aptitude pédagogique* prepared in the *écoles normales supérieures* in the pre-war period.¹²³ The pedagogical work of the *écoles normales*

¹¹⁹ Cf. Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 377

¹²⁰ Wykes, Olive: Secondary Education in France during the Fourth Republic 1944-58 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Melbourne University, 1961), p. 166

¹²¹ Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., p. 122

now carried less weight and seemed very much less important to most students and many staff members than in the pre-World War II period. The new patterns of organisation were set out fully in the important Decree issued on 6 June 1946 and the *Arrêté* of the following day.¹²⁴ These were a revised version of the Decree and *Arrêté* of 18 January 1887.¹²⁵

Naturally, there were many changes of detail and of wording in the new documents, but the innovations were few in number. [Cf. FIGURE 6, below]. Article 59 provided that the course was to be of four years' duration, two for the preparation of the *baccalauréat* and two for professional studies. Students who already possessed the *baccalauréat* would be recruited by a special *concours*, and enter the two-year professional studies part of the course. This change regularised the late recruitment of students which had existed in a different form in the pre-war years¹²⁶, and provided a way into primary school teaching for a significant number of applicants from the *lycées* and *collèges*. Its ultimate effects were of great importance.¹²⁷

Article 59 then added the following important proviso:

As a temporary measure, preparation for the *baccalauréat* may be done over three years, the time provided for professional studies being then reduced to one year.¹²⁸

This brief sentence was to provide the basis for the organisation of the *écoles normales* during a period of more than twenty years, from 1946 to 1968, and to change the emphasis in their teaching from a major concern for pedagogical matters to a rather narrow concentration on academic excellence. In fact, the second of the two types of course (Type B, providing one year of professional preparation; cf. Figure 6, below) became the normal one for the big majority of

¹²² Only a restricted number of the courses leading to the *baccalauréat* were made available in most of the *écoles normales*; see below, p. 101.

¹²³ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 448. For details of the *certificat d'aptitude pédagogique* and of preparation of staff for the *écoles normales*, see below, pp. 125-7.

¹²⁴ The Decree and *Arrêté* were published in the *Bulletin Officiel de l'Education Nationale* (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Paris) [hereafter referred to as: *Bulletin Officiel*], 20 June 1946.

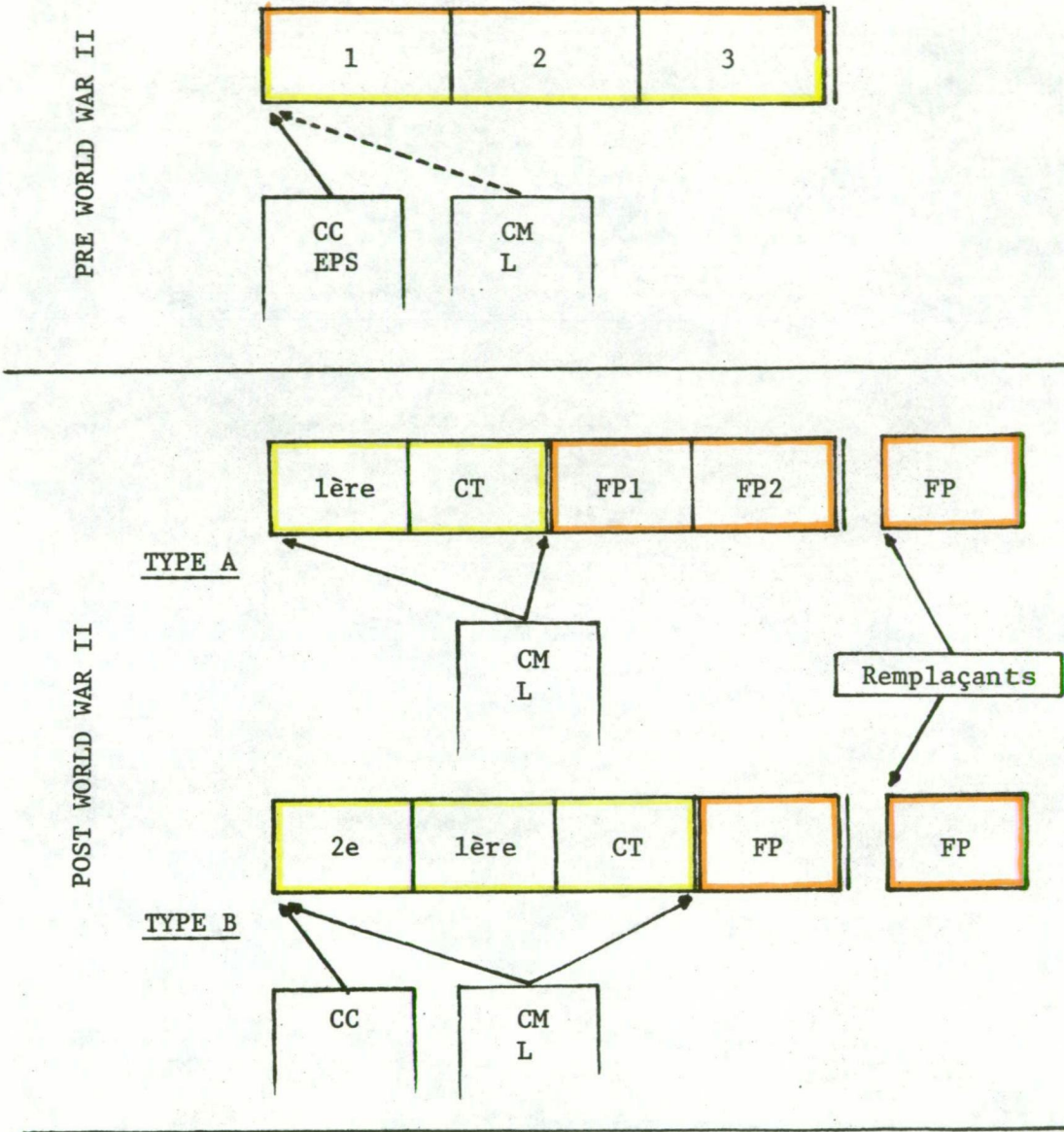
¹²⁵ See above, p. 53; cf. APPENDIX 2

¹²⁶ See above, p. 66

¹²⁷ See below, pp. 96-9 and 222-9

¹²⁸ *Bulletin Officiel*, loc. cit., p. 875

FIGURE 6: ENTRY TO THE ECOLES NORMALES, PRE- AND POST-
WORLD WAR II



EPS : Ecoles primaires supérieures
CC : Cours complémentaires
CM : Collèges modernes
L : Lycées
2e : Classe de seconde
1ère : Classe de première
CT : Classe terminale
FP : Formation professionnelle

} last three years of
secondary schooling

=====

entrants.¹²⁹ As we shall see, the preparation of students, in very favourable conditions, for the *baccalauréat* examination proved to be very successful. But we shall also see that professional studies were given progressively less attention and some of the characteristic features of the teaching of the *écoles normales* slowly tended to disappear.

The retention of the *baccalauréat* as the main academic examination taken by *normaliens* had very important repercussions on the primary education system. As well as changes in emphasis within the training course, and changes in the selection of staff, it resulted in changes in the type of student who applied for entry and in problems with those who qualified in the end. One of the main fields of recruitment before the war, the *écoles primaires supérieures*, had become *collèges modernes* during the war, and now tended to retain their students and prepare them themselves for the *baccalauréat*. The more humble *cours complémentaires* became by far the biggest source of applicants. In the years 1950, 1951 and 1952, the proportions were as shown in TABLE 4.

TABLE 4: SOURCE OF STUDENTS ENTERING *CLASSE DE 2^e*
OF ECOLES NORMALES, 1950-52¹³⁰

	1950		1951		1952	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Cours complémentaires	2098	62	2064	64	2118	61
Collèges modernes	934	28	867	27	946	27
Lycées	345	10	310	9	433	12
TOTAL NUMBER	3377		3241		3497	

The result might have been to lower the academic standard of entry, but in fact competition for entry - and the maintenance of entry numbers almost unchanged, despite rapidly increasing needs - ensured that this was not so. The socio-economic background of *normaliens* might also have become more restricted, but there is no evidence in fact for this, and writers in the post-war period concur in claiming that there was no significant change.¹³¹ What clearly could and did now change was the retention rate in primary teaching at the end of the course. Students could now aim to transfer to other areas of

¹²⁹ Statistics are set out below, p. 97

¹³⁰ Based on statistics in *Bulletin d'information et de documentation scolaire et professionnelle* (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Paris), March 1954, *Fiche* 63

¹³¹ Cf. above, p. 68, and below, pp. 131-7 and 295-9

teaching (though not easily to leave teaching completely, since they were under a ten-year bond), and the best often did so. Gontard says: "When they left the Ecole, the best students, holders of a diploma obtained under the very best conditions, directed themselves more and more towards teaching in the *cours complémentaires* or towards preparation for secondary teaching (*le professorat*). The ranks of the *normaliens* were decapitated."¹³² The claim was sometimes made that the general level of competence of post-war primary school teachers was lowered significantly as a result.¹³³ At the same time, it is clear that this possibility of greater mobility within the teaching profession was part of the pattern of gradual development of wider educational opportunity for all which has occurred in France since World War II.¹³⁴

Article 60 of the Law of 6 June 1946 was entirely new, and made specific provision for untrained primary teachers to gain qualifications in the *écoles normales*.¹³⁵ These "supply teachers" (*suppléants*) or "temporary teachers" (*intérimaires*), later generally called *remplaçants*, were to be eligible for admission, provided they possessed the *baccalauréat* or the *brevet supérieur*, after they had completed at least two years of teaching. However, only those under the age of twenty-six would be admitted. A special Commission (at the level of the *département*) was to consider applications; its members were the *inspecteur d'académie*, the heads of the *écoles normales*, the *inspecteurs départementaux* and one primary teacher representative. The years of teaching prior to entry would count as part of the ten-year bond commitment.¹³⁶ The first intake was to be in 1951. This was a new type of student in the *écoles normales*, and, although not many were admitted¹³⁷, and although the length of the course was soon reduced to four months, they were establishing a pattern which was to become of increasing importance in later years.

¹³² Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., p. 124

¹³³ The matter was discussed for example in the French parliament in 1967 and 1970. See *Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale* (Imprimerie Nationale, Paris), 1967, p. 1494 and 1970, p. 5546

¹³⁴ For details of this development, see below, pp. 173-8

¹³⁵ Numerous untrained women teachers had had to be recruited during the war years; cf. *Etat de la Profession des Instituteurs*, op. cit., p. 230

¹³⁶ *Bulletin Officiel*, loc. cit.

¹³⁷ Details are given below, pp. 96-9

The re-established écoles normales opened under these revised conditions in 1946. A great effort was made to regroup the staffs, to recruit students, to repair and refurnish buildings. 160 écoles normales opened in September. 2288 students were successful in gaining admission, out of a total of 4939 applicants. By the beginning of the 1950-51 academic year, numbers in the écoles normales had returned to pre-war levels.¹³⁸

From this time until the late 1960's the only important change in primary teacher education in the country was the steady increase in the numbers of *remplaçants* following courses both within and outside the écoles normales. The numbers of écoles normales and the numbers of *normaliens* changed little; the courses remained the same; the general atmosphere remained one of cloistered seclusion; the teachers graduating seemed essentially the same as those of the previous half-century. It is against this pattern of changelessness that we shall examine the rapid transformation that has occurred in every aspect of primary teacher education in the last few years; it is one of the most fascinating aspects of French education in general that, "*plus ça reste la même chose, plus ça change...*"

. . . .

As soon as the écoles normales had settled down again into regular patterns after the war, and despite the changes in organisation which we have noted, the traditional features of the preparation of primary teachers in France, which we reviewed from the public's point of view in Section I and from the historical perspective in the earlier parts of this Section, rapidly reappeared. These can be summarised quite briefly without fear that the stereotype will falsify the picture significantly.

The students were young, because in the majority of cases (in all cases, in fact, before the war) they came into the écoles normales at the level of the *classe de seconde* and spent the major part of their time there completing their "secondary" education (before the war, the *brevet supérieur*, after the war, the *baccalauréat*); their average age on entry to the *classe de seconde* was about sixteen and they left to begin teaching at the age of about twenty.

¹³⁸ Etat de la profession d'instituteur, op. cit., p. 231. Pre-war statistics are given on p. 67, and later figures on p. 145

They had not in general come from the élite academic groups in the education system; they were not generally *lycéens*, but rather had completed their post-primary years in schools or classes regarded as academically second-rate, taught by former instituteurs rather than by *professeurs* - that is, in the *collèges modernes* (the pre-war *écoles primaires supérieures*) and especially the *cours complémentaires*. It was assumed that they would spend their life in the "primary" system, and that a high level of study was inappropriate for them.

They came essentially from relatively humble backgrounds - from farming families, shopkeepers and small businessmen, working-class folk, for whom the move was seen as one of upward mobility. Many, too, had teachers as parents or close relatives. Boys or girls from professional and upper-middle class homes would have been likely to feel out of place. They came as full-time boarders, living a fairly spartan existence, in some ways still not unlike that of a monastery. Their boarding expenses were paid and they received financial support of various kinds; for some, this was essential if they were to continue at all with their education.

Within the *écoles normales*, certain assumptions were made by both their lecturers and their fellow-students about their religious and political beliefs. Essentially, they were expected to be, and generally were, impregnated with attitudes of agnosticism, perhaps even of opposition to the Church, and with left-wing, socialist political philosophies. They became members, in the vast majority of cases, of the very powerful left-wing *Syndicat National des Instituteurs* (which had branches in all the *écoles normales*).

The aims of the *écoles normales* were clear. They prepared teachers for a life of teaching in the primary schools of the *département* in which they were situated. Their pupils were to acquire a sound *culture générale* (without which no Frenchman is educated) and to succeed, with whatever pushing might be necessary, in the formal academic examinations required. They were to acquire a precise knowledge of the syllabus of each of the subjects they would be called upon to teach, and an exact understanding of the way in which each was to be taught. They were to be subjected to regular classes in *morale professionnelle*, and to absorb the accepted ideals of the *instituteur*. They were to be committed "republicans", official representatives of the Government, whose servants they were. (In many cases, they would act as the mayor's secretary in the community

where they taught). Yet they were to be made aware of, and to accept, their correct rôle, their correct station in life, neither aiming too low, nor too high, in their relations with their fellow citizens.

The course of study they followed was encyclopaedic. They would not enter a University - before World War II it would have been a virtual impossibility, and after the war it remained a relatively rare move - and so specialisation in any academic discipline was inappropriate. The only Sections of the pre-*baccalauréat* course normally offered were therefore Sections M and M' and the *Sciences Expérimentales* option for the second part of the *baccalauréat*. These avoided undue stress on either the literary or the scientific subjects. Their pedagogical studies were much concerned with method, and involved regular observation of "master teachers" at work and practice sessions in selected practising schools. They were seen as resembling apprentices in a trade, acquiring a skill which was to last them with little change for their entire working life.

For the first twenty and more years after the Second World War this was essentially the picture of the *écoles normales* which both those working in them and those commenting on them from outside would be likely to give. Twenty years of quiet effort and a student revolution were needed to change it.

. . .

SECTION 4

PATTERNS IN THE PERIOD OF STABILITY, 1946-1968

During the period from 1946 to 1968 there was little change in the formal organisation of the écoles normales. They existed in each département, in accordance with the provisions of the Law of 9 August 1879. This required that each département should provide one école normale for men and one for women, of sufficient size to assure the supply of primary teachers for the département.¹ There was provision, however, for two départements to join to found and maintain an école normale jointly, and some did this.² Gradually, some of the more sparsely populated départements preferred to maintain a single école normale for both men and women, an *école normale mixte*³ (though this was only recognised officially apparently by a decree dated 6 August 1973; this decree indicated that the change could be made by the Minister of Education upon request from the *conseil départemental de l'enseignement primaire*⁴). The départements were responsible for both the initial installation and the annual upkeep of their écoles normales.⁵ [The distribution of écoles normales during the post-war years is shown in MAP 8, below].

The écoles normales throughout this period were almost exclusively boarding establishments, though there was authority to admit *demi-pensionnaires*⁶ and external students.⁷ Students were provided with

¹ Recueil des Lois et Règlements [hereafter referred to as Recueil] (Ministère de l'Education, Paris, 1974), Vol. VII, Section 722-1(a), p. 1

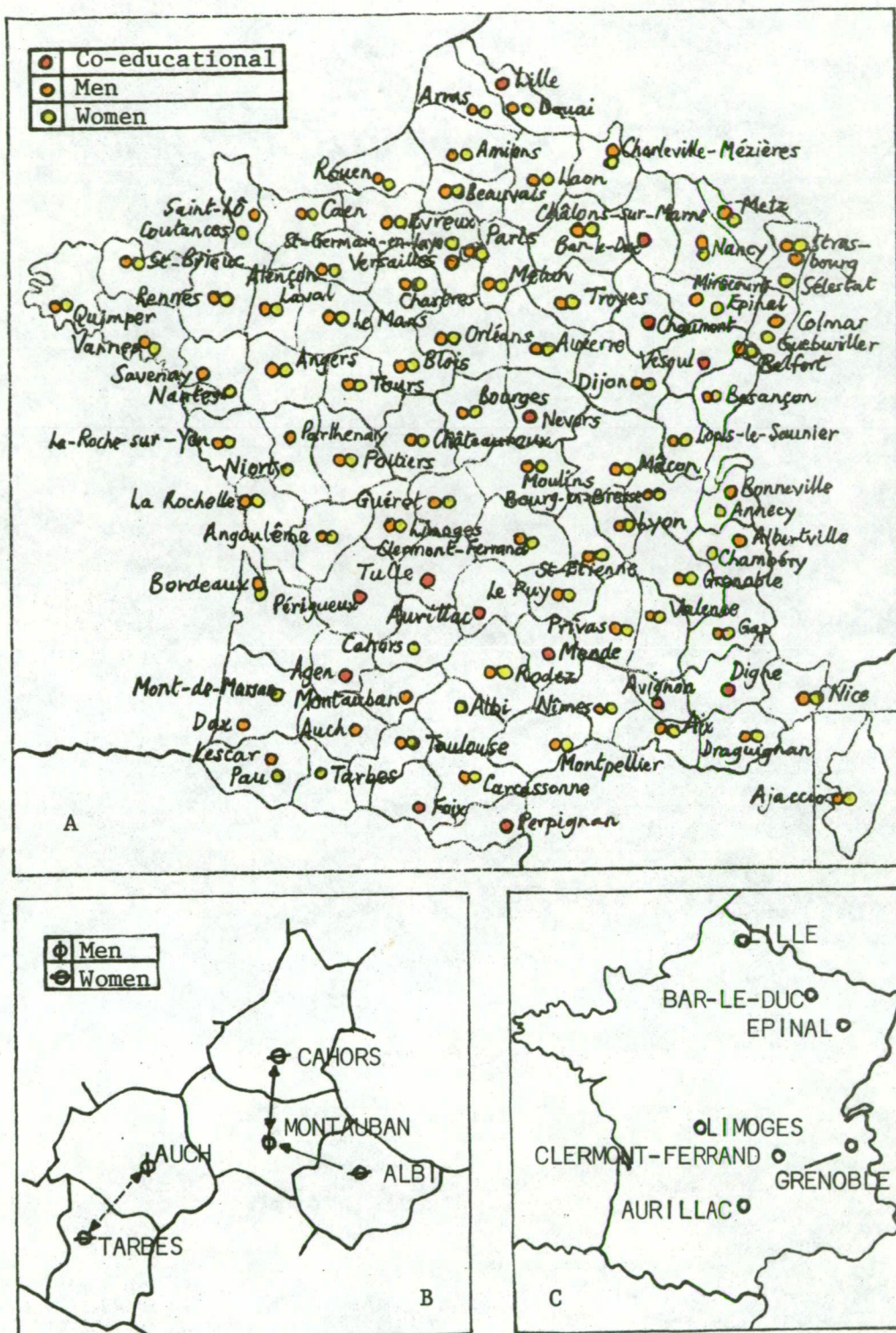
² Hautes-Pyrénées (Tarbes), Gers (Auch), Tarn-et-Garonne (Montauban), Tarn (Albi) and Lot (Cahors); cf. Inset, MAP 8

³ Alpes de Haute-Provence (Digne), Ariège (Foix), Cantal (Aurillac), Corrèze (Tulle), Creuse (Guéret), Lot-et-Gar (Agen) and Meuse (Bar-le-Duc); cf. MAP 8

⁴ Bulletin Officiel de l'Education Nationale [hereafter referred to as Bulletin Officiel] (Ministère de l'Education, Paris), 20 September 1973, p. 2665; cf. below, pp. 258-9

⁵ Recueil, op. cit., loc. cit. (Law of 9 August 1879, Article 2)

⁶ See Glossary



MAPS 8 A, B and C: DISTRIBUTION OF ÉCOLES NORMALES DURING THE PERIOD 1946-68⁸

- A: Men's, women's and co-educational écoles normales [Cf. MAPS 9-10]
 B: Départements maintaining écoles normales jointly
 C: Écoles normales with buildings newly constructed after World War II

free board (or received a maintenance bursary if they were not full boarders).⁹ Since, in most cases, the number of students in an école normale did not exceed 200, the establishments were not extensive, generally consisting of one main building, with dormitories on the upper floors and classrooms and refectory on the lower floors. (Cf. the photographs reproduced as FIGURES 7-12, below, which show typical buildings and installations). These had frequently been built in the 1880's (following the publication of the Law of 9 August 1879) and had undergone little change since. The total number of new écoles normales constructed after World War II was very small - their locations are shown in MAP 8C, above. These reproduce the same basic structure as the buildings of the late nineteenth century, although, naturally, the facilities are more numerous and attractive.¹⁰

The financing of the écoles normales was shared between the State and each département, in accordance with the Law of 19 July 1889, which laid down that the State would be responsible for the salaries of staff and for the upkeep of students, but that the département would cover all other expenses (including maintenance of buildings, rentals, renewal of furniture and equipment).¹¹

The basic text under which the écoles normales were administered in the post-war period is to be found in the Decree of 24 April 1948. Its provisions are set out in great detail, and concern both general administration and finance.

The staff to be provided were listed as the *directeur* or *directrice*, the *économiste*¹², the teaching staff and the service staff. The rôle of the *directeur* or *directrice* was defined as follows:

[...] The *directeur* is the head of the establishment. He is the representative of the école normale before the law and in all civil actions. He prepares the budgets, signs contracts and agreements and presents the balance sheets prepared by the

⁷ Recueil, op. cit., Section 722a, p. 2 (Decree of 18 January 1887, as modified by the Decree of 6 June 1946)

⁸ Map A is based on the lists published in Répertoire extrait du fichier central des établissements (Département des Statistiques, Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Paris) and on Grand atlas de la France (Sélection du Reader's Digest, Paris, 1969), p. 131; the institutions indicated are those in existence in general in the period 1946-68. Maps B and C are based on information provided by Monsieur J. Leif, Inspecteur-Général in the Ministry.

⁹ Recueil, op. cit., loc. cit.

¹⁰ Illustrations of recent installations are included below, pp. 230-6

¹¹ Recueil, op. cit., loc. cit., pp. 3-4 (Articles 2 and 3)

¹² The *économiste* corresponds in general to a bursar; see Glossary

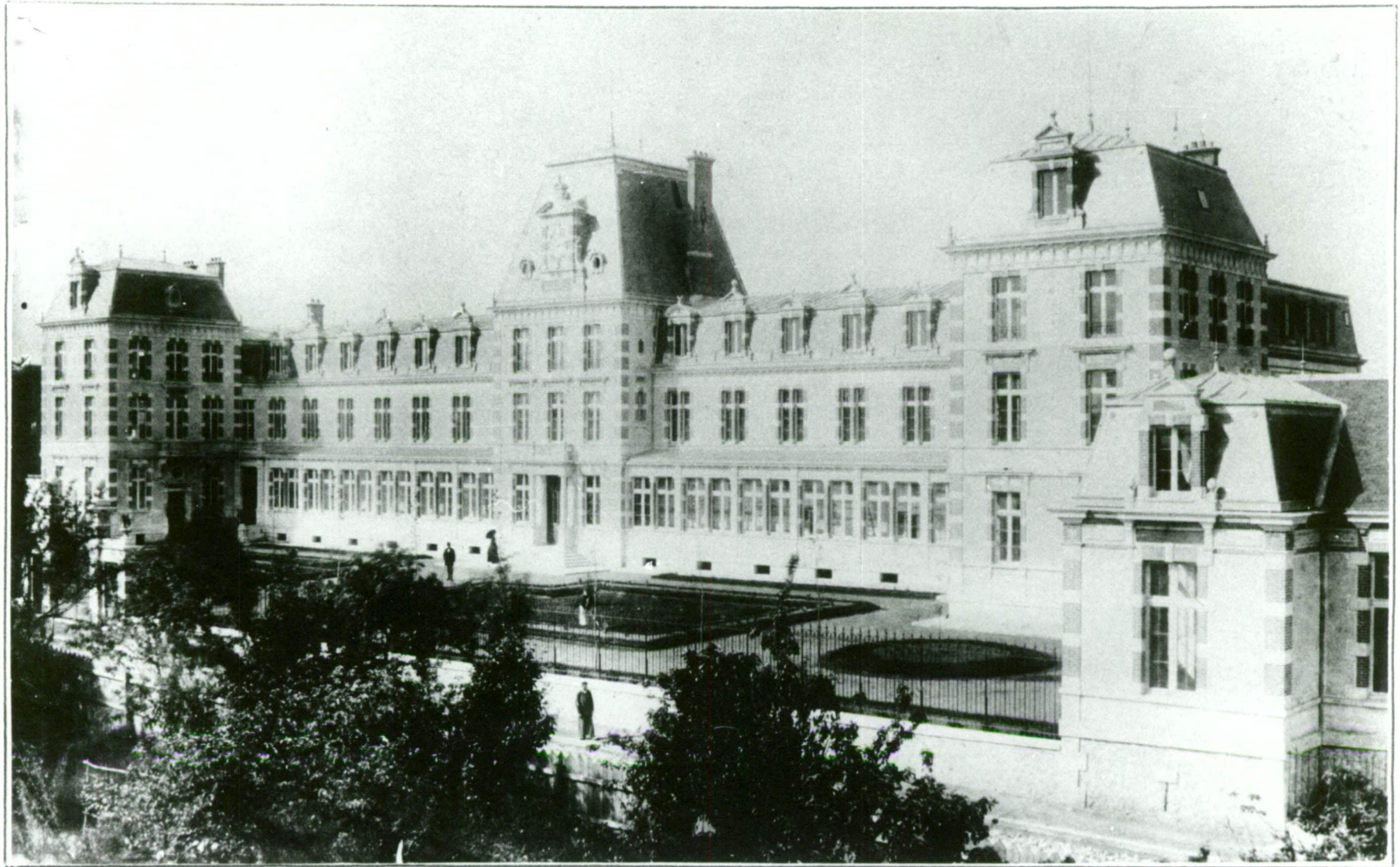


FIGURE 7: The *Ecole Normale d'Institutrices* of Chartres. Built in the 1870's, it shows the normal pattern of building, with classrooms and refectory on the lower floors and dormitories on the upper floor.



FIGURE 8: The *Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs* of Paris (Auteuil). Built in 1872, it is typical of the large *écoles normales* built at this period: elegant outside but spartan within.



FIGURE 9 : A dormitory typical of those provided in all the écoles normales until the period following the reforms of 1968. The central bed is that of the *surveillant*.



FIGURE 10: The *Grand Amphithéâtre* of the *Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs* of Paris (Auteuil): a typical nineteenth century lecture theatre.



FIGURE 11: The cramped library of the *Ecole Normale d'Institutrices* of Paris (Bd des Batignolles); access to books is difficult and study space extremely restricted in one of the biggest écoles normales in France.



FIGURE 12: The refectory in the *Ecole Normale d'Institutrices* of Paris (Bd des Batignolles). The change to self-service is, of course, a recent one as is the installation of small individual tables.

économiste to the *conseil d'administration*. [...] He allocates and expends monies within the limits of the amounts regularly allocated. [...] He supervises all aspects of the work of the *économiste's* department without however involving himself in the handling of funds or materials.¹³

Regulations providing for the appointment of heads of *écoles normales* formed part of the Decree of 6 June 1946, and remained in force during the period being considered. Candidates for the position had to be at least thirty-five years of age, to have had at least three years of teaching experience in an *école normale* and two years in the position of *inspecteur primaire*, and to hold the certificate appropriate for these posts. They were appointed provisionally for two years, at the end of which their position would normally be confirmed.¹⁴ They were required to teach in the *formation professionnelle* classes (psycho-pedagogy and *morale professionnelle*) a minimum of six hours per week in institutions with under 150 students, four in those with from 150 to 200, and two in those with over 200.¹⁵

The rôle of the *économiste* was defined in the Decree of 24 April 1948. He was to be concerned with all accounts and with all aspects of the material life of the *école normale*: furnishings, provisions, rents, internal services, etc; for the former he was responsible in turn to the *directeur*, the *inspecteur d'académie*, the *recteur* and the *inspecteur général* in charge of administrative services.¹⁶

In addition, each *école normale* had a *conseil d'administration*, composed as in the pre-war years, and with the same responsibilities.¹⁷ Article 5 of the Decree of 24 April 1948 provided that the *conseil* should delegate one or more of its members to "visit" the *école normale* every three months with the *recteur* or his deputy, the *directeur* and the *économiste*, and to report back at the following meeting.¹⁸

The Decree listed full details of the way in which the budget was to be set out, the types of expenditure which were approved and the

¹³ *Recueil*, op. cit., loc. cit., pp. 3-4 (Article 2)

¹⁴ *Bulletin Officiel*, op. cit., 20 June 1946, p. 875; Article 62

¹⁵ *Encyclopédie pratique de l'éducation en France* (I.P.N., Paris, 1960), p. 310

¹⁶ *Recueil*, op. cit., loc. cit., p. 5 (Articles 6-8)

¹⁷ Details are given above, pp. 59-60

¹⁸ *Recueil*, op. cit., loc. cit., p. 4 (Article 5)

procedures to be followed in each case. It also gave details concerning provision of meals and accommodation. As in other sectors of National Education in France, the *directeur* or *directrice*, the *économe* and the *surveillants* were provided with free accommodation.¹⁹

Throughout the period under consideration, the *écoles normales* were all boarding institutions. The extensive regulations concerning the daily routine and behaviour of students contained in the Decree and *Arrêté* of 18 January 1887²⁰ remained in force with only minor modifications. The same series of potential punishments was prescribed, with the addition of the possibility of transfer to another *école normale*.²¹ The same hours of sleep remained, and the same allocation of time for toilet, meals, recreation and games, cleaning of the building and physical exercise was made. Of the time devoted to work, five hours at least each day were to be employed in "individual work, reading, preparation for classes and practice teaching in primary or pre-school classes." The distribution of the curriculum subjects was to be carried out in such a way that "the number of hours of classwork, excluding singing, physical education, manual arts and art, do not on average exceed four per day."²² The regulations concerning holidays and leave and correspondence and receipt of letters remained with unchanged wording.²³ In 1961, a Circular reminded *normaliens* that "it is prohibited for them to receive any publication of a political or religious propaganda nature." The penalty would be exclusion from the course.²⁴ And the regulation prohibiting the formation of corporate political or religious groups also remained in force.²⁵ An exception was made however for professional organisations: an *Arrêté* of 10 May 1948 provided that "student-teachers may belong to organisations of a professional nature, and, on entry into the *classe de formation professionnelle*, may become members of union organisations and receive official publications of such organisations as well as attend meetings during their normal leave."²⁶

The picture created by this series of regulations has frequently been

¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 5-11 (Articles 12-41)

²⁰ See above, pp. 58-9

²¹ *Recueil*, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 2 (Article 84, para. 5)

²² *ibid.*, pp. 2-3 (Articles 84-105)

²³ *ibid.*, p. 3 (Articles 102, 105)

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 13, Circular of 12 September 1961

²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 3 (Article 102, last paragraph)

²⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 12-13

evoked in writings by former student-teachers and others. It forms the basis of many accounts in magazines published by the *écoles normales* or by associations of ex-students and also of a number of novels dealing with the life of the *instituteur*.²⁷ It seems quite certain that the closely regulated, spartan life provided for in the nineteenth century continued to be typical of most of the *écoles normales* until well after the middle of the twentieth.

Typically, the daily life of students continued to be regulated throughout a day that began at 6.30 or 6.45 a.m. and ended at 9.30 or 9.45 p.m. Classes were normally held, as in any *lycée*, between 8.00 a.m. and noon and 1.30 and 4.30 p.m., with additional time for study at some stage during the evening totalling between two and three hours.

The "*règlements intérieurs*" of the *écoles normales* - prepared generally by the *directeur* or *directrice*, perhaps after some consultation with student representatives - provide further evidence of the patterns of life:

[...] Everyone must conform strictly to the official timetable. The various activities of the day are regulated by an electric bell. No lateness will be tolerated.

[...] All study is to take place compulsorily in the rooms designated for the purpose. [...] They are to be devoted exclusively to intellectual work. Silence is to be observed.

[...] The buildings, furniture and teaching equipment are placed under the responsibility and care of the students. The buildings are to be kept in a constant state of perfect order and cleanliness. Students nominate one student per class per day to be on duty. His name is to be indicated on the blackboard. [...]

Dormitories remain closed throughout the day. [...] Students rise promptly when the signal is given by the *surveillants*. Beds are to be aired and remade by 7.25 a.m. [...]

Smoking is strictly forbidden inside buildings, except in the common-room and the reading-room. [...]

Leave regulations: Student-teachers may leave the establishment on Saturdays at 1.00 p.m. They must return either on Sunday evening before 9.00 p.m. or on Monday morning before 8.00 a.m. Exceptional authorisation, on an annual basis, may be granted for students to leave the establishment at 12.00. [...] ²⁸

²⁷ Granet, Danièle: *Journal d'une institutrice* (Lattès, Paris, 1973), p. 61 et seq., and Glossinde, André: *Je suis instituteur* (Ed. du Conquistador, Paris, 1954), pp. 12-29, contain several typical examples. See also above, p. 2, note 2.

²⁸ *Règlement Intérieur*, Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Charleville-Mézières; duplicated document provided by the *directeur*

For young people aged from sixteen to over twenty, these detailed controls and prohibitions may appear to be quite extraordinary (even if they were relaxed somewhat for students in their final, post-*baccalauréat* year). In their essence, they are not however very different from those of most other educational establishments for students of the same age in France (*lycées, collèges*, etc). Nor do they differ perhaps very much from those of independent boarding schools in, say, England during the same period. They were nevertheless to provide powerful ammunition for politically active students in 1968.

. . . .

The *écoles normales* recruited their students essentially at the end of the first four years of secondary education (i.e. at the level of the examination called the *brevet d'études du premier cycle* [B.E.P.C.]), with a supplementary recruitment after the *baccalauréat* examination. They also provided courses for teachers recruited as *suppléants* or *remplaçants* who had begun teaching without formal preparation. Recruitment for entry to the *écoles normales* was regulated by the Decree of 18 January 1887, as modified in 1946. The basic requirements were listed in Article 70:

[Candidates must]

1. be of French nationality;
2. on the 1st of January of the year of application,
 - a. for entry in First Year, be at least fourteen and at most sixteen years of age;
 - b. for entry to the Professional Course, be at most nineteen years of age;
 however the *recteur* may grant age exemption to applicants who, on the above date,
 - a. for entry in First Year, are at least thirteen and at most seventeen years of age;
 - b. for entry to the Professional Course, are at most twenty-two years of age;
3. for entry to the Professional Course, have passed the *baccalauréat* examination; no certificate is required of candidates for entry to First Year; conditions of recruitment, particularly with regard to physical education, are fixed by ministerial *arrêté*;
4. present a certificate signed by a special commission of three medical doctors and a chest-X-ray report, indicating that they suffer from no infirmity or disease which would make them unsuited to the teaching service [...]²⁹

²⁹ The medical regulations are extremely detailed; cf. *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-0(b), pp. 1-7 (Circular of 17 May 1951)

[...] In addition, male candidates must agree to request from the military authorities, at the appointed time, the deferment necessary for them to complete their studies before commencing military service. Any student-teacher who does not request this deferment, or who, having requested it, declines to make use of it, will be considered as having resigned. [...] ³⁰

Article 71 adds the following clause:

After an investigation concerning essentially their character (*moralité*), the *inspecteur d'académie* completes the list of candidates permitted to present themselves. ³¹

These candidates then had to sit for a special examination, including both written and oral sections. There were separate examinations for each of the two levels of recruitment. A special *Commission* was responsible for these examinations, consisting of "the *directeur* or *directrice* and the teaching staff of the école normale together with two *inspecteurs* or *inspectrices* of primary or pre-school education." Additional members of the *Commission* could be chosen from among secondary teachers or from officers or former officers of the education service. Each written examination paper was marked by at least two examiners, and the oral examinations were conducted by at least two members of the *Commission*. From these examinations, a list in order of merit was prepared, from which successful candidates were advised of their acceptance in the école normale. ³²

The examination for which the candidates sat at the level of the *B.E.P.C.* included the following written tests:

1. A French essay on a subject chosen from the syllabus of the *classe de troisième* (i.e. fourth secondary year);
2. a mathematics test, including two problems, one in geometry, the other in arithmetic and/or algebra;
3. a dictation of about twenty lines followed by questions on vocabulary, expression and meaning, and on grammar; and
4. a test on the foreign language studied by the candidate, including a translation into French, a short translation into the foreign language, and a question requiring an answer of five or six lines in the foreign language.

The oral tests were:

1. Oral reading of a text in French, followed by a discussion

³⁰ *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-0(a), pp. 1-2 (Decree of 18 January 1887 and Decree of 24 December 1964)

³¹ *ibid.*, p. 2

³² *ibid.*, Section 722-0(a), pp. 2-3 (Article 72 of the Decree of 18 January 1887, modified by the Decree of 6 June 1946)

of its meaning;

2. a mathematics test;

3. a foreign language test, consisting of a conversation based on a text of four or five lines.³³

The examination at the *baccalauréat* level contained the following sections:

1. An essay;

2. an analysis of a scientific text;

3. an oral text analysis;

4. an oral presentation of a subject of a general nature;

5. a sketch or explanatory diagram of a simple mechanism which is placed in the hands of the candidate.³⁴

It is interesting to note that these examinations were conducted at the école normale to which the candidate sought entry; this was not necessarily that of his own département - he might believe that entry would be easier in another area, and was at liberty to present himself there if he wished. The number of places available at each école normale each year was published by the education authorities in the Regulations.³⁵

Typically, the number of places available was much smaller than the number of candidates; it was based on the number of accredited positions (i.e. those provided for as permanent posts³⁶) to become vacant in the primary schools. During the 1950's and 1960's, the number of classes in the pre-schools and primary schools increased much faster than the number of accredited positions, so that the number of uncertificated primary teachers (*suppléants* and *remplaçants*³⁷) increased rapidly. Simultaneously, the number of students applying unsuccessfully for entry to the écoles normales rose rapidly as TABLES 5 and 6 below show, despite the relatively slower growth in the number of eligible applicants. This was one of the major short-comings of the primary teacher preparation system in the 1950's and especially the 1960's.

³³ *ibid.*, pp. 4-5 (Article 89)

³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 5 (Article 90). Full details of this entry examination, together with sample papers and advice to candidates, are given in Adenis, André: Le Concours d'entrée en 3^{ème} année d'école normale (Roudil, Paris, 1974). Cf. below, pp. 225-7 and 329-30

³⁵ Recueil, op. cit., loc. cit., pp. 5-6 (Articles 91-2)

³⁶ See below, pp. 123-4

³⁷ Details are given below, p. 145

TABLE 5: ENTRY TO ECOLES NORMALES, CLASSE DE SECONDE³⁸

Year	Candidates		Students admitted			
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS		GIRLS	
			Number	%	Number	%
1949/50	3861	7291	1576	40.8	1884	25.8
1950/51	4990	8611	1743	34.9	1913	22.2
1951/52 - 1960/61: statistics not available						
1961/62	9783	14177	3059	31.3	3486	24.6
1962/63	10892	15929	3136	28.8	3739	23.5
1963/64	10460	16298	3294	31.5	3907	24.0
1964/65	11091	18143	3722	33.6	4189	23.1
1965/66	13088	23098	3560	27.2	4249	18.4
1966/67	12843	23386	2997	23.3	3829	16.4
1967/68	13599	26465	3179	23.4	3621	13.7
1968/69	13931	28130	3035	21.8	3502	12.5

TABLE 6: ENTRY TO ECOLES NORMALES, POST-BACCALAUREAT³⁸

Year	Candidates		Students admitted			
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS		GIRLS	
			Number	%	Number	%
1949/50 - 1960/61: statistics not available						
1961/62	737	2662	574	77.9	1140	42.8
1962/63	732	2127	556	76.0	1060	49.8
1963/64	949	2448	633	66.7	1112	45.4
1964/65	923	2662	703	76.2	1089	40.9
1965/66	1239	3618	797	64.3	922	25.5
1966/67	927	2309	277	29.9	251	10.9
1967/68	788	2260	303	38.5	231	10.2
1968/69	941	3097	309	32.9	187	6.0

³⁸ The figures for 1949/50 and 1950/51 are from Etat de la profession d'instituteur (I.P.N., Paris, 1951?); a note indicates that for these years no figures have been given for students admitted "directly to Year 3, holding the *baccalauréat*". The figures for 1961/62 onwards are from Statistiques des enseignements - 3.2: Le Personnel enseignant (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Paris), for each year. For later figures and commentary on changes in recruitment patterns, see below, pp. 225-8

The tables show clearly the enormous increase in the number of young people applying for entry to the *écoles normales* (from 11,152 in 1949 to 23,960 in 1961 and 42,061 in 1968, for those seeking entry at the lower level) and the stability of the number admitted after 1960 (6545 in 1961 and 6537 in 1968). Admission became progressively more competitive during these post-war years. The main admission was at the end of the *classe de troisième*; the proportion admitted at the post-*baccalauréat* level fell throughout the 1960's, from 26% of the number admitted at the earlier stage in 1961 (1714 students compared with 6545) to 22% in 1965 and a minute 7.8% in 1968.³⁹ This limited recruitment at the higher level helped to maintain the traditional life of the *écoles normales* - the newcomers were too few in number to upset the established atmosphere. For lack of places, there could be little alteration either in the general level of scholarship.⁴⁰ The proportions of boys and girls admitted were also maintained almost unchanged (boys represented about 46% of the total)⁴¹, despite a proportionally much greater increase in the number of girls applying (boys represented about 33% of the total applicants in 1968). At the same time, changes of importance were occurring in the schools to which these students would be appointed. The pre-school sector of education was growing rapidly, with an increase in number of pupils from 1,335,000 in 1958 to 1,990,000 in 1968.⁴² The methods of teaching were gradually becoming more active and the teacher-pupil ratio was falling (from 1:37.9 in 1958 to 1:34.7 in 1968).⁴³ Thus, although the pre-secondary school population grew, and the population of 15-24-year-olds (the potential candidates for entry to teaching) grew (from 5.9 million in 1962 to 7.8 million in 1968⁴⁴), no effective increase was made in the number of trained teachers coming from the *écoles normales*. On the other hand, there was an inevitable

³⁹ For later changes, see below, pp. 329-30

⁴⁰ Cf. Delteil, E.: *La Structure des écoles normales*, in *Education Nationale*, 11 June 1964, p. 12

⁴¹ See above, p. 61, for details of proportions in the period 1881-1911, and p. 67 in the period 1920-1939. The fact that this proportion was maintained unchanged despite the difference in number of applicants must have had serious effects on standards though this does not seem to be evident in the results of the final examination (the *Certificat de fin d'études normales*); cf. below, pp. 136-7

⁴² Delion, André: *L'Education en France* (Documentation Française, Paris, 1973), p. 17

⁴³ *Education Nationale en chiffres* (S.E.V.P.E.N., Paris, 1969 edition), p. 33

⁴⁴ *Données Sociales* (I.N.S.E.E., Paris, 1974 edition), p. 14

increase in the employment of untrained temporary teachers.⁴⁵ This was one of the many factors contributing to student unrest in the late 1960's in France.

. . .

All students recruited into the écoles normales have been required to sign a ten-year bond since 1833, when the regulation was introduced by Guizot.⁴⁶ Guizot required that each student should sign a bond "to serve for at least ten years in public instruction as *instituteur communal*."⁴⁷ A similar section appeared in the Decree of 18 January 1887, stating that candidates must "sign an agreement to serve in public education for a period of ten years after completion of studies at the école normale."⁴⁸ The *Arrêté organique* of the same date added these details:

[...] This document is accompanied by a declaration in which the father or the guardian of the candidate authorises him or her to sign the bond and promises, himself, to reimburse the bond of his son or daughter or the child of whom he is guardian if the latter should voluntarily leave the école normale or if he is excluded from it or if he should resign from teaching before the completion of the ten-year period.⁴⁹

The reimbursement referred to was of all the monies expended on the student during the course of his preparation at the école normale. These included three amounts: boarding expenses (all students being *internes*, with very few exceptions - the few *externes* were not of course required to pay this amount), education expenses (a nominal sum) and the "*bourse de trousseau et de fournitures*" (a substantial sum intended to cover both immediate and future expenses of the student). In the post-baccalauréat year or years, students received a salary and this was included in the amount to be refunded. The ten years' service required did not include the period spent at the école normale nor any period of military service.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Cf. below, pp. 144-7

⁴⁶ See above, p. 22, note 17

⁴⁷ Gontard, Maurice: La Question des écoles normales primaires de la Révolution de 1789 à nos jours (C.R.D.P., Toulouse; I.P.N., Paris, n.d.), p. 36. The quotation is from Article 12 of the *Loi Guizot*.

⁴⁸ Recueil, op. cit., Section 722-0(c), p. 1 (Article 70, para. 5)

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 4 (Article 87)

⁵⁰ Full details are given in Code Soleil - le livre des instituteurs (S.U.D.E.L., Paris, 1974 edition), pp. 239-40

There was provision in the regulations for the Minister to grant exemption from repayment (either partial or total) in exceptional circumstances, upon the recommendation of the *conseil des professeurs* and the *inspecteur d'académie*. This provision was used mainly in the case where a student had failed in the examinations but made good the failure at his own expense and was "reintegrated" into the course.⁵¹

No obligation on the part of the Ministry was included in this bond, though the assumption was often made that there was a moral obligation to provide employment for all who had completed the course successfully. The rôle of the département was confined to providing training and accommodation. There was of course no question at this time of suitable posts not being available for any successful *normalien*.⁵²

A clear distinction was made in the regulations between students preparing for the *baccalauréat* examination and those in their final year (or two years) following the professional studies course: the former were "bursary holders" while the latter were already government employees, paid a salary in accordance with regulations. The relevant regulation for the latter formed part of the Law of 13 August 1947:

Article 9 (modified by the Decree of 11 June 1969): Student-teachers in the *écoles normales*, in their professional studies year, will receive, as from 1 October 1947, the title of *fonctionnaire stagiaire* and will be paid a salary fixed by decree following the report of the Minister of National Education and the Minister of Finance. [...] ⁵³

From this salary was deducted the amount due for education expenses, boarding expenses and the special allowance, as indicated above. Students at this stage were subject to the same requirements as other government employees regarding civil pensions, social security and other similar payments.⁵⁴

. . . .

The courses offered in the *écoles normales* from 1946 to 1969 were

⁵¹ *Bulletin Officiel*, op. cit., 23 April 1964, pp. 982-3 (Circular of 8 April 1964)

⁵² In the 1970's doubts were for the first time expressed; cf. below, pp. 330-1

⁵³ *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-1(e), p. 1 (Law of 13 August 1947, Part I, Section ii, Article 9)

⁵⁴ Cf. *Code Soleil*, op. cit., p. 239

divided into two sections, those leading to the *baccalauréat* and those providing the professional studies preparatory to the *certificat de fin d'études normales*. Most of the écoles normales were limited in their *baccalauréat* classes to the courses that led to the *Sciences expérimentales* option in the final year (the *classe terminale*), regarded as the most suitable for future primary school teachers. This meant that the subjects studied, and the time (in hours per week) devoted to each, were as shown in the following table.

TABLE 7: SUBJECTS AND TIME ALLOCATION, PRE-BACCALAUREAT CLASSES IN THE ECOLES NORMALES⁵⁵

SUBJECT	Classe de seconde	Classe de première	Classe terminale
Philosophy	-	-	5
French	4	4	1
Modern Language I ⁵⁶	3	3	1½
Modern Language II ⁵⁷	(2)	(2)	(1½)
History	2	2	2
Geography	1½	2	2
Mathematics	4	4	4
Physical Sciences	4½	4½	5
Natural Sciences	3	3	4
Physical Education	2	2	2
Art	1	2	2
Music	1	1	1
Manual Arts	1	1	1
	27+	28½+	30½+

Alternative courses were however offered to relatively small numbers of students in some écoles normales; the statistics for the year 1961-62 are set out in the following table.

TABLE 8: DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS IN PRE-BACCALAUREAT CLASSES IN THE ECOLES NORMALES, 1961-62⁵⁸

Seconde: M	472
Seconde: M'	5142
Première: M	739
Première: M'	6008
C.T.: Mathématiques	776
C.T.: Sc. expérimentales	4761
C.T.: Philosophie	1063

⁵⁵ Adapted from *Horaires et programmes de l'enseignement du second degré* (Vuibert, Paris, 1959 edition), pp. 6-8. Details are for the course labelled M' for *Première* and *Seconde*.

A Decree of 10 June 1965 widened the possibility of offering other courses in the écoles normales, and a Circular of 4 April 1966 stated:

[...] (*Normaliens*) may from now on, following their admission to *Seconde*, opt either for the Literary section, A, or for the Scientific section, C, the normal continuation of their studies being required to be essentially in sections B and D in *Première* and *Classe terminale*. It is necessary for the syllabuses of Sections A and C to be taught, in *Seconde*, in all départements. This will be achieved only by using local resources to the maximum, especially through agreements between the various secondary schools. It is permissible also to solve the problem by granting "externships", if the family concerned agrees.⁵⁹

The subjects which could now be studied and the time (in hours per week) devoted to each were as shown in TABLE 9, below.

However, the change had hardly had time to become established before further reforms resulted in the gradual removal of pre-baccalauréat classes from the écoles normales.⁶⁰ In the year 1966-67, the distribution of students in the various (renamed) sections was nevertheless already as shown in the following table.

TABLE 10: DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS IN PRE-BACCALAUREAT CLASSES IN THE ECOLES NORMALES, 1966-67⁶¹

Seconde: A	1802
Seconde: C	3371
Première: A	1971
Première: B	947
Première: C	960
Première: D	3590
C.T.: Mathématiques	907
C.T.: Sc. expérimentales	5653
C.T.: Philosophie	2230

⁵⁶ The numbers studying the various foreign languages offered in 1961-62 (*Seconde*, *Première* and *Classe terminale*) were: English 13,411, German 3053, Spanish 1787, Italian 629, others 12. Cf. *Informations Statistiques* (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Paris), No. 52, October 1953, p. 281

⁵⁷ Few écoles normales offered the option of studying more than one foreign language.

⁵⁸ *Informations Statistiques*, op. cit., No. 52, October 1953, p. 279. M differed from M' in offering four compulsory hours of a second foreign language and no course in Natural Sciences. The three courses at *Classe terminale* level had important differences in the number of hours for each subject but all subjects were included in each.

⁵⁹ *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-1(b), p. 11

⁶⁰ See below, pp. 222-9

⁶¹ *Informations Statistiques*, op. cit., No. 107, November 1968, p. 763

TABLE 9:

COURSES AVAILABLE IN THE ECOLES NORMALES FROM 1966/7 ONWARDS, WITH TIME (IN HOURS) TO BE DEVOTED TO EACH										
	Classe de seconde		Classe de première				Classe terminale			
	A	C	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D
Philosophy							8	5	3	3
French	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	2	2	2
History/Geography/Civic Instruction	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3
Modern Language I	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2
Modern Language II	(3/5)	(3/5)	(3/5)	(3/5)	(3/5)	(3/5)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)
Mathematics	3	5	2	4½	7	5	1½	4½	8	6
Physical Sciences	3	5	2	2	5	4			5	4
Natural Sciences			2	2		3			2	4
Economic Sciences	(4)			4				(4)		
Physical Education	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Art	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Music	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Manual Arts	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Note: In the *classe de seconde* there were ten variations on the pattern in section A and five in Section B; in the *classe de première* there were six in section A, three in section B, five in section C and 5 in section D. In addition there was a section T or E, which included technical subjects; this was not available in any école normale. Nor were the numerous variations which included Latin and/or Greek.

The courses in Art, Music and Manual Arts were optional for the examinations, but were a compulsory part of the course in the écoles normales.⁶²

⁶² Tables adapted from Horaires et Programmes de l'Enseignement du Second Degré (Vuibert, Paris, 1969 edition), pp. 14-16

The move was an important one, in that it led to a marked change in the attitude to the traditional belief that all students of the *écoles normales* should be *internes*. Most *écoles normales* could not offer all the options now officially available to their students so that applications to attend nearby *lycées* had to be approved. It also resulted in the consideration of possible composite classes of boys and girls in centres where the numbers of students were small.

The syllabuses for the *pre-baccalauréat* subjects taught in the *écoles normales* were exactly the same as in the *lycées* and *collèges*, except that it was considered essential that all students include art, music and manual arts in their course, as these would be required in primary teaching later. (For other students preparing for the *baccalauréat* these subjects were always optional).⁶³

The internal organisation of the *écoles normales*, and their relatively small size, resulted in intensive "*bachotage*" ("swotting") and in a very high proportion of passes in the final examination compared with the national averages. The rather unhealthy nature of this preparation was often commented upon by observers. In 1970, for example, when the average pass rate for all students in all sections of the *baccalauréat* was 69.5%, the pass rate for *école normale* students was 84%.⁶⁴ Such a result was in no way exceptional, and the reasons for it were clear - the teachers in the *écoles normales* had the advantage of small classes of selected students who were highly motivated (their future careers depended on success), working in advantageous conditions, where they were closely supervised both during class and outside it. But it undoubtedly also meant that the main purpose of a teacher training institution had been to a large extent forgotten.

When students arrived in the post-*baccalauréat* class, they were not in general prepared to engage in further serious academic work. They sought only the minimum information that would enable them to fit easily into the primary school teaching situation. The programme of studies which, in theory, they were supposed to follow forms part of a Circular issued on 15 November 1947. But this curriculum was intended for the two-year course which, as we have seen, very few *écoles normales* ever provided.⁶⁵ For over twenty years, most

⁶³ Cf. *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-1(b), p. 1: "Optional sections of the *baccalauréat* for student-teachers" (Note, 25 April 1958)

⁶⁴ Figures quoted from *Education Nationale*, 25 November 1971, p. vi

⁶⁵ See above, pp. 75-7

normaliens followed a one-year professional course, the details of which had appeared in the *Instructions* of 2 October 1946⁶⁶. The details of this course were as follows:

I Pedagogical training

- A Theory and applications
 - professional ethics, school administration, legislation ... 1 hour
 - child psychology, its application ... 3 hours
 - general and special pedagogy and their applications ... 6 hours⁶⁷
 - doctrines of education, history of French education ... 1 hour
- B Practical teacher training
 - three practice-teaching sessions, one at the beginning of the school year, one at the beginning of the second term, one at the beginning of the third term

II Preparation for social and economic activities

- A Initiation to post-school and social activities ... 3 hours (one full afternoon)
- B Practical activities
 - Girls: subjects covering the range of domestic arts (needlework, laundry, cooking, baby-care, first aid, etc) ... 8 hours
 - Boys: agriculture - theory ... 2 hours, practice ... 3 hours; technical and craft education ... 3 hours

III Culture générale

- A Literature and grammar ... 2 hours
- B Regional history and geography ... 1 hour
- C Arithmetic ... 1 hour
- D Science (preparation for observation exercises, hygiene) ... 2 hours

IV Other activities

- A Art and handwriting ... 1½ hours
- B Music and choral singing ... 1½ hours
- C Physical education ... 3 hours⁶⁸

The final paragraph of these *Instructions* claimed, somewhat apologetically, that "the weekly timetable thus adds up to a total of thirty-four hours, but it should be pointed out that it includes only fifteen hours of teaching, nineteen hours being devoted to practical work sessions, music, art and physical education."⁶⁹

⁶⁶ These were based in turn on the *Arrêté* of 16 August 1941; cf. La formation professionnelle des instituteurs, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 29 March 1963, p. 1293

⁶⁷ "General pedagogy" includes study of philosophical and organisational aspects of education; "special pedagogy" includes the study of the methodology of each subject area; see below, p. 109 and pp. 112-3

⁶⁸ Adapted from *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-2(a), pp. 4-7

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 7

The two-year course, followed by very few students, included the following subjects:

Child psychology	3 hours (including 2 hours of practical exercises)
Sociology (<i>étude des faits sociaux</i>)	1 hour
General pedagogy	1 hour (half the time for practical exercises)
Special pedagogy	2 hours
Practice lesson (<i>leçon d'essai</i>)	1 hour
History of education and of pedagogical doctrines	1 hour
Professional ethics, legislation, school administration	1 hour (Year 2 only)
French: literature	1 hour
French: grammar	1 hour
Local history and geography	1 hour
Arithmetic and mathematics method	1 hour (Year 1 only)
Physical and natural sciences; environmental studies	1 hour
Practical work as preparation for teaching observational sciences and applied sciences	1 hour (Year 2 only)
<i>Culture générale</i> (lectures by outside specialists, by students, etc)	1 hour
Art	1½ hours
Music and choral singing	1½ hours
Individual option	1 hour
Home Arts; Manual work; or Agriculture	5 hours
Social and post-scholastic activities	3 hours
Physical education	3 hours ⁷⁰

The total time prescribed was therefore thirty hours in First Year and thirty-one in Second Year. The subjects included in the syllabus are essentially the same as those for the one-year syllabus. With appropriate alterations of detail, this syllabus was adopted when two years of post-*baccalauréat* teacher preparation became compulsory in 1969.⁷¹

It is clear that in both these syllabuses there is a more or less clear division between the subjects which are essentially concerned with various aspects of education and pedagogy (psychology, history of education, ethics and legislation, "general pedagogy" and sociology) and those which continue the student's general education and provide the methodological background for teaching the subjects

⁷⁰ *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-2(a), p. 8 (Circular of 15 November 1947)

⁷¹ Cf. below, pp. 182-3 and 240-2

of the primary school courses. Some detailed analysis of the content of the first of these groups is especially important for an understanding of the type of preparation given to teachers in the *écoles normales* in the period from 1946 to 1969.

The psychology course was revised several times during these years (in 1947 by the Circular of 15 November, and in 1965 by the Circular of 1 June, in particular⁷²). The main contents remained however essentially the same. The 1965 syllabus included the following sections:

- I Introduction: definition of fundamental problems of psychology; comparisons of child and adult
- II Principles of methods of investigation and research in child psychology
- III Evolution of the child personality; stages of development; play; genetic, functional and differential psychology; characterology⁷³
- IV Important aspects of the psychology of the schoolchild: physical development; affectivity; child intelligence - problems of attention and effort; memory, how children learn; sensory perception, observation; intellectual operations, belief, truth; complex thought; imagination; inventiveness; language, psychology of the written and spoken language; aesthetics; coordination of action and thought - discipline; acquisition of habits; moral feelings and conduct; personality and behaviour
- V Educational difficulties: the problem child, the atypical child
- VI Psychology of the child and problems of orientation: aptitudes; detection of causes of non-adaptation; orientation at the various stages of development
- VII Psychology of the teacher; problems of pupil-teacher relationships⁷⁴

Allowing for three hours of work a week (except during practice teaching sessions), and including practical sessions, this was clearly an ambitious course spread over two years, and impossible to treat effectively in one year. Generally it was considered indispensable and approved of by students - "the teaching of psychology is generally

⁷² Recueil, op. cit., Section 722-2(a), p. 17

⁷³ *Caractérologie* has been an aspect of psychology much favoured by the French; see, for example, Louis Lefebvre: *Passionés ou amorphes?* in Education Nationale, 14 January 1971, p. 20; texts on the subject include Crinier, R.: Caractérologie des instituteurs (P.U.F., Paris, 1963), and Gatien, Gabrielle: La Caractérologie (Retz, Paris, 1974)

⁷⁴ Summary based on Recueil, op. cit., Section 722-2(a), pp. 17-19

allowed to be pardoned by our audience"⁷⁵ - though sometimes regarded as insufficient - "I feel to what extent I lack psychological, and even psychoanalytic training sufficient to allow me to understand the deeper sense of children's play."⁷⁶ The real problem was, however, that the staff who taught the subject were not specialists.

Conferences of teachers, held at Toulouse and at Sèvres during 1966 and 1967, agreed that they were trained essentially as philosophers and might be "tempted to keep themselves apart from the teaching of psychology."⁷⁷ They did not see any necessity to become psychologists themselves, but recognised the need to be "well acquainted with the work and research of psychologists."⁷⁸ These lecturers were trained in most cases for teaching in the secondary schools; their rôle in a teacher training institution remained therefore an uneasy one. Since few of them had ever taught primary classes, they found it specially difficult to discuss the development of the young child with their students; the "practical sessions" seem often to have had no relationship with the theory classes, despite the stern demand in the preamble to the syllabus that "study shall be based principally on the observation of children [...]."⁷⁹

The history of education syllabus covered the normal topics expected in such surveys. The famous pedagogues were listed in their chronological order, the history of the écoles normales themselves was prescribed, and an outline of education in the Anglo-Saxon countries, in Germany and Italy during the national-socialist period and in Russia was included. With a time allocation of at most one hour a week, little more than a rapid survey could be attempted.⁸⁰

The sociology course, aiming to "accustom student-teachers to consider social realities as facts, to consider and understand them objectively, without bias or dogmatism"⁸¹, was not prescriptive, but listed a wide range of topics from which a choice could be made. It included many aspects of economic and political organisation as well

⁷⁵ Honoré, Jacques: Formation professionnelle et culture générale dans les Ecoles normales, in Education Nationale, 19 November 1964, p. 6

⁷⁶ Roussel, Jeannette: Etre institutrice (Cerf, Paris, 1973), p. 21

⁷⁷ La Philosophie dans les Ecoles normales d'instituteurs, in Revue de l'Enseignement philosophique, December-January, 1967-8, p. 23

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 27

⁷⁹ Recueil, op. cit., loc. cit., p. 17

⁸⁰ Recueil, op. cit., Section 722-2(a), pp. 11-12

⁸¹ *ibid.*, p. 8

as more general sociological matters:

- I Characteristics of social facts
- II Methods of exploration and description: human and animal societies; ethnic, linguistic and religious groupings; the family relationship, divorce; political communities; village, municipality, region, nation; democracy; functions of the State; some foreign political institutions
- III Economic groupings: social class; organisation of production, types of economy, banking; organisation of work, working conditions, worker organisations; social security
- IV Other types of grouping: political and cultural groups
- V Social life: social organisation, the individual and society; social evolution; the political problem; nationalism and internationalism, international organisations⁸²

The course in general pedagogy was divided into two sections: a practical section and a theoretical section. In the former, there were to be: "work on ages of pupils in various classes, the proportion of advanced and retarded learners; observation of the different methods employed, books used, written work done, rewards and punishments, their causes and effects, playtime and games; critical discussions on the timetables, etc."⁸³ This syllabus, later considerably simplified⁸⁴, included in its theoretical section topics such as the following: the conception and rôle of education; order and discipline; organisation of children in classes; methods of teaching, preparation of lessons, schools with combined classes, homework, testing; play; special types of school, including pre-schools, schools for handicapped children, and rural schools.⁸⁵

Associated with the work in general pedagogy were the courses in ethics and legislation. These three aspects of the studies of the *normaliens* were almost always taught by the *directeurs* or *directrices*, who, because of the way in which they were recruited, had necessarily had experience of teaching and of inspection in primary schools.⁸⁶

The syllabus in ethics (*morale professionnelle*) was as follows:

The educator: his mission, his responsibilities, the necessity to maintain and develop his general and professional education; Scholastic neutrality and the obligations of the secular teacher;

⁸² Summary based on Recueil, op. cit., loc. cit., pp. 9-10

⁸³ Recueil, op. cit., loc. cit., p. 10

⁸⁴ See below, p. 241

⁸⁵ Details from Recueil, op. cit., loc. cit., p. 11

⁸⁶ Cf. above, p. 91

Duties to pupils, to families, to the State;
 Duties to school authorities;
 Relationships with colleagues and other members of the teaching service; the teacher and unionism;
 The private and public life of the teacher, his moral and social rôle in the local community⁸⁷

Work of this type has been the subject of much discussion; many textbooks of varying lengths and seriousness have been prepared on it⁸⁸; the attitudes of both staff and students towards it have undergone important changes over the years.

The syllabus for the course in school legislation was complementary to it, and included "the detailed study of the laws, decrees, *arrêtés* and circulars which control elementary education," with the intention of examining the principles underlying them and of applying them to concrete cases. Exercises in "administrative correspondence" were also included in this section of the syllabus.⁸⁹

Specific reference should be made at this stage to the Code Soleil,

⁸⁷ Recueil, op. cit., loc. cit., p. 12

⁸⁸ In addition to the Code Soleil and the Guide des instituteurs, mentioned in the text, a chronological list of some of those published after 1946 includes the following:

Charrier, C. and Ozouf, R.: Pédagogie vécue (Nathan, Paris, 1946)

Auriac, O.: L'Ecole exemplaire - initiatives et suggestions (Colin, Paris, 1948)

Dumas, L.: Au pied du mur - propos sur la pratique de l'éducation (Bourrellier, Paris, 1948)

Ferré, A.: Morale professionnelle de l'instituteur (S.U.D.E.L., Paris, 1949)

Leif, J.: Pédagogie générale par l'étude des doctrines pédagogiques (Delagrave, Paris, 1953)

Villars, Toraille and Ehrard: Psychopédagogie pratique (Istra, Strasbourg, 1955)

Leif, J.: Morale professionnelle des instituteurs et institutrices (Delagrave, Paris, 1956; new ed., 1963)

Vade-mecum des instituteurs (S.G.E.N., Paris, 1956)

Guide des jeunes (S.U.D.E.L., Paris, 1957)

Both these are guides prepared by the teacher unions and have been reissued frequently

Souché, A.: Nouvelle pédagogie pratique (Nathan, Paris, 1962)

Palmèro, J.: Conseils aux débutants - guide pratique de pédagogie (S.U.D.E.L., Paris, 1962)

Gal, R. (ed.): Livre d'or de l'instituteur (C.E.D.P., Paris, 1962)

Mareuil, A., Legrand, J. and Cruchet, M.: Guide pédagogique des jeunes (Hachette, Paris, 1965)

Tournis, G. and Clarys, R.: Le Vade-mecum du jeune maître (Librairie Gedalge, Paris, 1966)

Palmèro, J.: Mon premier poste (S.U.D.E.L., Paris, 1968)

⁸⁹ Recueil, op. cit., loc. cit.

almost the secular Bible of the French primary school teacher, and in fact the text most frequently used throughout the last half century for all of those sections of the syllabus concerned with general pedagogy, professional ethics and school legislation.⁹⁰ It is, as it claims without apology in its Preface, "the professional Code to which teachers and administrators will have constantly to refer throughout their career."⁹¹ On the occasion of its fortieth anniversary, in 1971, G. Papillon, education writer for *Le Figaro*, christened it "the catechism of a Church the name of which is the Secular School,"⁹² and called it "one of the most important books of our times, [...] having influenced forty generations of students in écoles normales and thus indirectly as many groups of school age, in fact nearly thirty million children!"⁹³ The first part of the text is entitled "Professional Ethics" and deals with the teacher as educator, the teacher's private life, scholastic neutrality, the teacher's duties to his pupils, the teacher's duties to parents, his relationships with his colleagues and his duties to the education authorities. The extraordinary moralising style employed is evidence of the consciousness of a special rôle played by all primary school teachers in the life of the nation, a consciousness which dates from the beginning of the period of compulsory schooling or even before.⁹⁴ The following extract is a typical example:

Professional conscience: To improve oneself in order to perfect and rejuvenate one's teaching; to make oneself master of one's vocation, not in order to escape from it but in order to fulfil it better; to apply to the conduct of the class the disciplines acquired for oneself; to consider in fact the daily labour not as a penance which one supports 'because one must', but as a creation which one completes with joy because one loves it - such is the underlying meaning of the moral precept which the syllabus summarises under the heading 'professional conscience'.

Does not the teacher teach, in the ethics class, that work is a duty and a joy, that it heightens personal dignity and that the good workman gains honour from work well done? This feeling must be experienced more intensely by the educator whose task consists much less in transmitting elementary knowledge to children than in lifting their soul, tempering their character, giving them the taste for effort, integrating them, in their

⁹⁰ *Code Soleil*, op. cit.; the 45th edition was published in 1975.

⁹¹ *ibid.*, p. 7

⁹² Papillon, G.: Quarante ans de succès pour le 'Code Soleil', in *Le Figaro*, 12 January 1971

⁹³ *ibid.*

⁹⁴ Cf. above, pp. 12-14

place, into the national and social collectivity which will be tomorrow what each of us will have made it.⁹⁵

The continued popularity of the Code Soleil in recent years results, however, not so much from this section of the text as from the well set out chapters summarising the essential legislation concerning the various aspects of primary education. For this purpose it now has an increasingly popular competitor, the Guide des instituteurs - from which all trace of morality has been excluded!⁹⁶

Nevertheless, in the period under review, the importance of these aspects of the syllabus in the final year of the *normalien's* training, given almost invariably by the head of the institution, must not be under-estimated. Only in the very recent past has it begun to seem other than a major factor in the proper preparation of primary school teachers.

The other subjects in the curriculum require less comment. They included the various subjects providing *culture générale* and "special pedagogy", i.e. the methodology of the subjects taught in the primary school. The two were normally combined, so that it is difficult in the syllabuses to see any distinct programme of study for *culture générale* except that of the primary school itself. A Circular was issued in 1944 with details about the teaching of arithmetic and science.⁹⁷ This remained essentially unaltered right through the post-war period. In it, curriculum content and methodology were inextricably mixed:

[...] It has seemed necessary to continue in the école normale the teaching of arithmetic and of the metric system, so that the student-teacher may see the reason behind the mechanism of the four basic operations, the abbreviations for units, the rule of three, which he will have to teach later. [...] In the one hour a week now included in the syllabus of the écoles normales the lecturer will have the time to go into detail and treat every topic in practical terms. It is highly desirable that the model lessons and the practice lessons in arithmetic be related to the theoretical lectures. [...]⁹⁸

Student-teachers, when they leave the *lycée*, have more than sufficient knowledge of science to teach it in the primary

⁹⁵ Code Soleil, op. cit., p. 19, para. 14

⁹⁶ Bertrand, A.-J.-C.: Le Guide des instituteurs (Imprimerie Commerciale de l'Eveil de la Haute-Loire, Le Puy-en-Velay)

⁹⁷ Recueil, op. cit., Section 722-2(a), Circular of 30 November 1944, pp. 1-3

⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 2

school. But they are perhaps insufficiently familiar with the elementary techniques of observation and experimentation which will shortly determine the effectiveness of their science teaching. [...] There is a complete apprenticeship to be served in this area, which no intuition will replace. [...] The syllabus for this teaching is the sum of the syllabuses set out for the various classes of the primary school.⁹⁹

Circulars concerning the teaching of French grammar and literature were issued in 1949 and again in 1959 which remained effective up to the introduction of two-year professional studies for all.¹⁰⁰ These also showed clearly how curriculum and methodology were intermingled:

[...] No syllabus having been established, it is assumed that the lecturer has complete liberty in the choice of subjects he elects to treat. The only indication that can be given here is that this teaching should be neither too elementary nor too learned. Sometimes the lecturer will be able to revise concepts poorly acquired or insufficiently fixed in the minds of students, sometimes and more often he will be able to throw light on a topic in a new way, or give the results of more or less recent research. [...] In any case, it should not be forgotten that the course forms part of *culture générale* and that at the same time and above all it is a matter of fixing, with the aid of new explanations and considerations, the grammatical knowledge that all primary school teachers must possess with precision and certainty.¹⁰¹

The same may be said essentially for the courses in history and geography, in art and in music. (For the latter, the official *Instructions* each year listed the songs to be taught in all *écoles normales* during the year, "in order to build up a common vocal repertoire for pupils in the primary schools and their teachers."¹⁰²)

During the period from 1946 until the mid-1960's, the section of the curriculum concerned with home management, agriculture and technical skills remained of real importance. It was a direct continuation of the work done in these areas from the inception of the *écoles normales* and which had not been interrupted in its essentials even by the period of the Occupation.¹⁰³ Almost all *écoles normales* possessed their own plot of land where vegetables were grown, where sometimes animals were raised, and their own kitchens and laundries: practical work in these areas, regarded as of importance for the vast majority of the *normaliens* - who were likely to spend at least their early

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 3

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.* (Circulars of 25 February 1949 and 29 July 1959), pp. 15-16

¹⁰¹ *ibid.* (Circular of 25 February 1949), p. 15

¹⁰² See, for example, *Recueil*, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 26

¹⁰³ See above, p. 72

teaching years in rural areas - was therefore easily organised. The *Instructions* of 2 October 1946 said of it:

1. *Girls*: The programme includes: sewing, cutting-out, mending, laundry-work, ironing, cooking, domestic economy, child-raising, first-aid. [...] The basic and growing importance of home arts in the school and post-school education of girls should be stressed, as should the particular importance, especially for institutrices in rural areas, which attaches to first-aid and help for the sick as well as a knowledge of medico-social organisations, the resources of which must be made available efficiently to families.

2. *Boys*: Apart from modifications made to suit local conditions (approved by the authorities of the *académie* and the various services concerned), the eight hours available should be distributed as follows:

Agriculture - course work: 2 hours; practical work: 3 hours; Technical and hand work - course work and practical work: 3 hours. [...] There should be no hesitation in basing the work on local needs and activities and often the workshop of the *école normale* will prove better suited to this varied work than a technical establishment well provided with a variety of machinery.¹⁰⁴

The *Instructions* made it clear that this section of the curriculum should serve in part for teachers who would teach in the upper primary classes (where the syllabuses "must themselves be inspired directly by local economic reality."¹⁰⁵)

Time was also allowed for a study of "post-school and social activities, holiday camps¹⁰⁶, clubs, canteens, film societies, libraries, popular education, youth movements, etc."¹⁰⁷ One whole afternoon was to be devoted to practical work in these general areas.

Finally, full provision was made for physical education, despite the fact that no official syllabus was published. The *Instructions* referred to details contained in a brochure entitled L'Education physique et sportive dans l'enseignement du premier degré, and indicated that the syllabus was "essentially the programme for this subject in primary education."¹⁰⁸ There was a list of eight topics of a theoretical nature: growth and liberty; the personality;

¹⁰⁴ *Recueil*, op. cit. loc. cit., pp. 5-6

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p. 6

¹⁰⁶ i.e. *colonies de vacances*; see Glossary

¹⁰⁷ *Recueil*, op. cit., loc. cit., p. 5

¹⁰⁸ From the duplicated *Note (Plan des études pour la formation des instituteurs et des institutrices dans les écoles normales)* issued by the Direction des Enseignements following the publication of the Circular of 6 June 1969, which contains the reproduction of the various syllabuses in use at that time, p. 33

temperament and character; the individual and the group; habit and automatic response; responsibility; education and discipline; and games and sport. These seem a rather oddly assembled group of concepts. There were also a number of pedagogical "problems" to be treated, including the following: the official *instructions* and syllabus, the structure of the lesson, major games, initiation to dance, assessment and preparation for examinations, open-air activities and first-aid. And there was a section listing various aspects of the organisation of sport in France.¹⁰⁹ The syllabus as thus delineated can hardly have been taken very seriously and was no doubt in practice reduced to practical instruction in the teaching of physical education in the primary school, together with appropriate games activities.

. . . .

Combined with these pedagogical and general studies were the practice teaching sessions, which have always formed part of the training of the instituteur in France. Practice teaching for *normaliens* always took place in either the *école annexe* or the *école d'application*. The former was a special primary school built in the grounds of the école normale; the latter was a local school with some of its staff specially selected for the work of supervising practice teaching. Both were provided for in the Decree of 18 January 1887:

Article 61: Student-teachers do their practice teaching

1 - in the *écoles annexes* compulsorily established in association with the écoles normales and which form permanent centres for pedagogical experiment; and

2 - in the *classes d'application* chosen by the *inspecteur d'académie* from the schools in the département and in which the various practice teaching sessions will be organised.¹¹⁰

The *directeur* or *directrice* of the école normale determined the way in which the *école annexe* would be used by the *normaliens* and arranged the practice sessions in accordance with Article 99 of the same Decree.¹¹¹ The permanent staff of the *écoles annexes* and those regularly receiving students in *classes d'application* were required at first to have been successful in a "triple inspection" and later to possess the *Certificat d'aptitude à l'enseignement dans les écoles annexes et les classes d'application*, revised details of which were

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 33-35

¹¹⁰ *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 723-0 (Instituteurs d'écoles annexes et de classes d'application), p. 1

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, Section 722-2(c), p. 1

published in the Decree of 10 July 1962 and the *Arrêté* of 30 September 1962.¹¹² The examination for the certificate included both practical and oral tests and a written examination. The practical test (which was eliminatory) comprised a series of lessons lasting an hour and a half, taken with the candidate's own class, followed by three questions to be answered orally after a preparation period of a half hour. The pass mark was set at fifteen out of twenty.¹¹³ The written examination, three hours in length, offered a choice of one of two questions in each of a pre-school and a primary section. The second oral test consisted of a critique of a lesson taken by a student-teacher.¹¹⁴ A minimum age of twenty-five was fixed.¹¹⁵ These teachers were, after permanent appointment, offered the same conditions of service as teachers in the first cycle of the secondary schools.¹¹⁶

A Circular issued on 18 December 1947 set out the details of the organisation of practice teaching for the two-year professional course. Following a listing of general principles, such as the need to organise the sessions in a progression of difficulty and the need to arrange sessions for first and second year simultaneously to allow for adequate supervision, the Circular suggested the following arrangement:

- Year I October: 2 weeks - preliminary contacts
 January: 3 weeks - single classes; not *cours préparatoire*
 after Easter: 3 weeks - classes combining two years;
 not *cours préparatoire*
- Year II October-November: 3-4 weeks - pre-school or *cours préparatoire*
 January: 4 weeks - upper primary classes
 after Easter: 4 weeks - one-teacher school situation¹¹⁷

Within this pattern, it was proposed that there should be in each session:

- three to five days of observation
- three to five days of partial participation
- three to ten days of full participation

¹¹² *ibid.*, Section 723-0, pp. 1-3

¹¹³ *ibid.*, pp. 2-3

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 3

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 1 (Decree of 10 July 1962, Article 3)

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 5 (Circular of 10 July 1963). The Circular refers specifically to "*maîtres des cours complémentaires*", even though the *cours complémentaires* had by this time been renamed as *collèges d'enseignement général*; cf. below, p. 175

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, Section 722-2(c), p. 2 (Circular of 18 December 1947)

and that "the participation of students should be limited at first to one lesson a day and then one each half-day; then a half-day of lessons can be expected of them and finally the full day."¹¹⁸

However, as we have seen, few students were able to benefit from a two-year course during the period under review, and the details given for practice-teaching during a one-year professional course in a Circular of 7 November 1951 were those normally applied. In this, the Minister reminded those concerned that "the three practice sessions of student-teachers restricted to a single year of professional preparation must take place at the beginning of each term and last a minimum of twenty-five days (Thursdays and Sundays included)."¹¹⁹

The difficulties imposed by the growing numbers of *remplaçants* were dealt with in a further Circular of 21 September 1956. It was proposed that the second session take place in February rather than in January, so that the two groups of *remplaçants* could share in this session, the first group for the first fortnight of February and the second for the second fortnight.¹²⁰

Apart from this, no very exact instructions were laid down for the conduct of these practice teaching sessions. A long article by the *Directrice* of the *Ecole annexe* at Poitiers in 1957 gave very full details of the work of those involved, however.¹²¹ The first session was described as one devoted to information; the students were expected to gather information about the methods used, critically examine the textbooks used, learn how to select suitable documentary material and construct a filing system, how to work out a timetable, and in general "to organise an effective pattern of basic teaching."¹²² During the second and third practice sessions, the students worked "directly with the children." This work was followed by the Head of the école normale, by the specialist lecturers, and particularly by the staff of the *école annexe*, who had "a much more precise overview of the difficulties, failures and successes of the students." Each task carried out was assessed, and at the end of the session the supervising teachers were "expected to prepare reports on each of the

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 3

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 5

¹²⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 7-8; cf. below, pp. 142-3

¹²¹ Brunet, S.: *Ecole primaire annexe et d'application de Poitiers*, in *Nos Ecoles Publiques*, February 1957, pp. 21-23

¹²² *ibid.*, p. 22

students, whose professional aptitudes they have verified over a period of a fortnight."¹²³ The work in the *école annexe* also included "model lessons", with associated discussions led by the teacher concerned, and "*leçons d'essai*", given by individual students and followed by "sometimes long and heated discussions." The *directeur* or *directrice* of the *école normale* and all the students in the group attended each of these types of special lessons.¹²⁴ These patterns are clearly representative of the period - and undoubtedly of other countries, also - and remained in use unchanged until at least the period of the 1968 Student Revolution.

Normaliens were required also to participate in a type of pre-teaching practice in the field of physical education. This took the form, first, of a three-week holiday camp during the vacation preceding their entry to the pre-*baccalauréat* year, and second, of experience in a *colonie de vacances*, as *moniteurs*, in the vacation before entry to the professional preparation year.¹²⁵ In addition, very full details were published of a programme of practical sessions and visits (at least six of the former and ten of the latter) to take place during the year students were in the *classe de seconde* (i.e. two years before the *baccalauréat*; their first year at the *école normale*). This included most of the non-school activities in which young children were likely to participate: clubs, open-air centres, holiday camps and the various associations providing activities for children. This syllabus was to lead to the work prescribed for the professional year in the same general area.¹²⁶

There was not infrequent criticism of the type of practice teaching offered to *normaliens*. "The practice sessions and *leçons d'essai* aim almost exclusively at the reproduction of model lessons. One is tempted to see their origin in the methods of Charles Demia [...] in the seventeenth century."¹²⁷ "The student-teacher is often led to make premature decisions about what he has seen or heard."¹²⁸ "As he

¹²³ *ibid.*

¹²⁴ *ibid.*

¹²⁵ Details of these are given in the Circular of 11 August 1954, the Circular of 11 June 1958 and the Circular of 26 October 1962, all issued by the *Haut-commissariat à la jeunesse et aux sports*. See *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-2(c), pp. 6-7, 8-10, 12-13

¹²⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 10-11. Cf. above, p. 114

¹²⁷ Priouret, Jacques: *La formation continuée des instituteurs*, in *Ecole et la Vie*, May 1974, p. 4

¹²⁸ Delay, J.: *La relation élève-maître et maître d'application*, in *Education Nationale*, 4 June 1964, p. 12

seeks, through economy of effort, or through a praiseworthy concern for clarity, to extract the basic plan of a lesson, the student-teacher gains an incomplete and even unreal view of the learning experience."¹²⁹ The training schools were "town schools where schooling is divided into separate classes each taken by a teacher who has become a specialist in one level of work and one type of pupil," and which could not therefore give a real view of the country schools to which most young *normaliens* would be appointed.¹³⁰ There was frequent criticism too of the conditions in which the specialist teachers in these schools had to work. There were demands for a special statute which were satisfied only in 1962.¹³¹ Their "devotion beyond measure"¹³² led to their spending "considerable time outside of class hours" because of the need to prepare for their class, "which they want to and must have irreproachable at all times."¹³³ "The daily need to justify the methods and procedures used requires of the teachers, besides a constant effort of organisation, an endless reflection on and reconsideration of the teaching which they give. The permanent presence of observers, both beginners and experienced judges, permits of no moment of weakness."¹³⁴ The demands were for a reduction to a maximum of twenty-four hours of teaching per week and for classes of no more than twenty-five pupils.¹³⁵ During the period under consideration these demands were not however met. And the increasing provision for the training of *remplaçants* and for the retraining of instituteurs towards the end of the 1960's tended in fact to make the position steadily worse.

. . . .

Having gained their *baccalauréat*, completed the general and professional studies prescribed, and participated in the practice teaching sessions satisfactorily, students in the écoles normales then

¹²⁹ *ibid.*

¹³⁰ From a letter by M.A. Poirrier, in Education Nationale, 23 September 1965, p. 18

¹³¹ i.e. the Decree of 10 July 1962; see Recueil, op. cit., Section 723-0, p. 1; cf. also Ouliac, André: Les maîtres d'école annexe et d'application, in Ecole Libératrice, 22 March 1968, p. 1205

¹³² Michel, Franck: L'Avenir des écoles annexes et d'application, in Education Nationale, 13 May 1965, p. 11

¹³³ From a letter by MM. Chapot and Soubrié in Education Nationale, 14 January 1965, p. 15

¹³⁴ Ouliac, André: Les maîtres d'école annexe et d'application, in Ecole Libératrice, 29 March 1968, p. 1249

¹³⁵ *ibid.*

faced two successive assessment procedures before becoming fully qualified and tenured instituteurs or institutrices. The first of these led to the *Certificat de fin d'études normales* and the second to the *Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique*.

Details of the requirements for the *Certificat de fin d'études normales* were set out in Circulars issued on 22 December 1948, 18 July 1953 and 20 March 1961. Though modified through these years, the essential pattern of examination remained substantially the same. There was a main examination in late June and a supplementary examination in September or early October (in the same way as was the case with the *baccalauréat* during this period). The jury for the examination was composed of the *inspecteur d'académie* as president, the *directeur* or *directrice* of the école normale, one or more primary *inspecteurs*, the lecturers in the *formation professionnelle* classes, and one or more primary teachers, including the heads of the *école annexe* and the *écoles d'application*.¹³⁶

The examination was in two sections, success in the first being required before entry to the second. The September-October session provided a second chance for those who failed in the first session. Those who failed at both attempts could accept a temporary teaching appointment (*suppléances dirigées*¹³⁷).¹³⁸

The first section comprised three written papers: general pedagogy, special pedagogy and home arts or agriculture (these last included for the first time in 1954). To the results of these was added a mark for practice teaching. The paper in special pedagogy consisted of the "written preparation of a lesson in a particular subject and year." A choice of several topics could be given, and "documentation may be provided for them, but not any manual used in primary schools."¹³⁹ The second section of the examination contained the following tests and assessments:

- a. an oral exposé in child psychology (an account of observations or experiments); mark: 1½;
- b. either an oral exposé in professional ethics or history of education and an oral exposé in legislation; or an oral exposé

¹³⁶ *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-3, pp. 5-7

¹³⁷ Details are given below, pp. 141-2

¹³⁸ *Recueil*, loc. cit. Very full details were given of the procedure to be followed in special cases of failure; see Circulars of 1 June 1948 and 15 October 1963, *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-3, pp. 1-2 and 20

¹³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 6

- in history of institutions and in legislation; mark: $1\frac{1}{2}$;
- c. an interrogation on personal work accomplished during the professional training year; mark: 1;
- d. an interrogation on and practical work in agriculture; mark: 1;
- e. average of marks obtained in the various subjects in the professional studies course; mark: 2;
- f. conduct and application; mark: 1¹⁴⁰

For the two exposés, the student had the choice of two topics and an hour for preparation. The presentation lasted not more than fifteen minutes and could be followed by brief oral questioning.

A nice note in the Circular of 20 March 1961 indicated that, "in order to prevent the 'personal work' being undertaken only in the third term, and so that it may be suitably assessed, a preliminary mark is to be given during the second term. The final mark is to be the average [...]."¹⁴¹

The *Certificat* could not be granted if the student had not completed the full amount of time for the practice teaching sessions. Those who were absent for periods longer than two weeks (or four, if the student was following the two-year course) were required to attend a *stage pédagogique complémentaire*, i.e. an additional practice session, in a *classe d'application*, at the beginning of the following school year for a period of up to three months. The same provision was made for students whose practice teaching had been assessed as unsatisfactory during the normal sessions.¹⁴²

It is clear that during the difficult period for recruitment of sufficient staff for the primary schools every effort was made to ensure that all candidates who could possibly be regarded as satisfactory should have the opportunity to pass. The Circular issued on 15 October 1963 is specially revealing in this regard: it listed every way in which the student could "repair" an unsatisfactory performance, in either the practical or the theoretical work. It was pointed out that he could "present himself at the June session and then at the September session"; he could also ask "to sit only the paper or the papers required, or the full examination, only in September." The "personal work" could be resubmitted. The reports of inspection during a year of "*suppléances dirigées*" could be taken into

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, pp. 6-7

¹⁴² *ibid.*, pp. 1-2

account.¹⁴³ Careful provision was also made so that students who were called up for military service were not in any way disadvantaged: they could be permitted either to sit the examination early or to postpone sitting it until after the practical examination for the *Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique*.¹⁴⁴

The *Certificat de fin d'études normales* was, then, the theoretical examination which concluded the professional studies year (or years) at the école normale. But it did not automatically grant the right to teach or to permanent appointment. This came only after the student had gained the *Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique*, attesting his technical competence as a teacher:

The *Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique* is essentially a technical diploma [...] attesting that the future teacher possesses not only the necessary knowledge of subject matter for teaching but also the knowledge specific to the profession of teaching, that he is capable, once in a classroom, of obtaining discipline and attention from his pupils, of making contact with them, of putting within their reach the concepts included in the curriculum, of giving them 'primary instruction'.¹⁴⁵

Details of the requirements for this Certificate were contained in the Laws and the Decree which form the basis of the organisation of France's present écoles normales - the Laws of 9 August 1879 and 30 October 1886 and the Decree of 18 January 1887.¹⁴⁶ The Decree set out, in Section II, Chapter ii, the conditions which candidates had to fulfil:

Article 108 (modified by the Decrees of 12 July 1921, 12 August 1931, 31 July 1933, 9 August 1938, 1 February 1941, 6 September 1971): Candidates for the *Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique* must fulfil the following conditions:

1. possess a *brevet de capacité*¹⁴⁷;
2. be aged at least twenty on the 31st of December of the year of the examination;
3. at the time of enrolment, give evidence of at least two years of teaching in either a State or a private school. [...]

Age dispensation may be granted to student-teachers by the *recteur* on the recommendation of the *inspecteur d'académie*.¹⁴⁸

Articles 117 and 120 of the same Decree gave details of the juries (or commissions) which were responsible for the examination; as for the

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 4 (Circular of 2 February 1960)

¹⁴⁵ *Encyclopédie pratique de l'éducation en France*, op. cit., p. 310

¹⁴⁶ Cf. above, pp. 53 et seq.

¹⁴⁷ For the purpose of this Certificate, the acceptable *brevet de capacité* was the *brevet supérieur* or the *baccalauréat*; cf. *Encyclopédie pratique de l'éducation en France*, op. cit., p. 363

¹⁴⁸ *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-4, pp. 1-2

Certificat de fin d'études normales, they included a local primary inspector, the head of a primary school, and either a staff member from an école normale or a teacher from a primary school.¹⁴⁹

Article 156 of the Decree, modified by an *Arrêté* of 21 February 1921, regulated both the practical and the theoretical sections of the examination. The practical section included "a three-hour session of teaching, including compulsorily a lesson in physical training (*exercices physiques*) and a lesson in singing." This was taken in the candidate's own class.¹⁵⁰ Students who were already holders of the *Certificat de fin d'études normales* were required to pass only this practical session, but, as we shall see, other students had to sit the written examination and the oral interrogation following the practical test.¹⁵¹ The practical test had to take place no later than the 1st of December, and as near as practicable to the end of the two years of practical teaching mentioned above.¹⁵² For *normaliens*, the two years could include time spent at the école normale beyond the age of eighteen.¹⁵³ This meant that, in practice, most were able therefore to gain their *Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique* at the end of their first year of full-time teaching.¹⁵⁴

Statistics to indicate success rates in either the *Certificat de fin d'études normales* or the *Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique* are not published by the Ministry of Education, but Monsieur l'Inspecteur Général Leif has estimated that approximately 95% of *normaliens* passed the latter each year (92% of men and 98% of women).¹⁵⁵

After having obtained the *Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique*, the *normalien* applied for inclusion on the list of applicants for a *poste titularisé*, i.e. an official tenured teaching position, in a primary school or a pre-school. Successful applicants received tenure

¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 2

¹⁵⁰ Details from *Encyclopédie pratique de l'éducation en France*, op. cit., p. 364. This test was modified in 1971: details are given below, p. 249

¹⁵¹ *Recueil*, op. cit., p. 4; for details of the written and oral examinations, see below, p. 149-52

¹⁵² *Recueil*, op. cit., p. 2 (Article 155 of the *Arrêté* of 18 January 1887)

¹⁵³ *Encyclopédie pratique de l'éducation en France*, op. cit., p. 363

¹⁵⁴ Cf. details of minimum and maximum ages of entry, above, p. 94. A number of texts were published in the post-war period defining ways in which these two years were to be calculated. See *Recueil*, op. cit., loc. cit., pp. 6 et seq. (Circulars of 18 July 1953, 7 June 1957, 27 January 1958, 23 June 1970).

¹⁵⁵ Oral communication to the writer

(*la titularisation*) from the 1st of January following their gaining the Certificate.¹⁵⁶

Little criticism was made of this pattern of certification, which had a long and honorable history, and which was so clearly different from the pattern of certification for secondary teachers, where the emphasis was on academic excellence. Yet the brevity of the period of preparation for the examinations was a serious shortcoming and this aspect was regularly criticised, both because it prevented serious improvement of the level of academic study and because it prevented adequate provision of practice teaching. The approach obvious in the examinations themselves was that typical of secondary examinations rather than of post-secondary assessment procedures, and reflected the fact that the *écoles normales* were for so long considered as a part of, first, the primary and then the secondary education system.¹⁵⁷ Only after the achievement of the two-year professional course were any major changes made, and these did not disturb the essentially practical nature of the examination.

. . . .

The staff who taught in the *écoles normales* after the Second World War were recruited from two quite different sources. Those who had been teachers in these institutions before the War had been prepared in accordance with Article 90 of the Decree of 18 January 1887:

Article 90: There are established two *écoles normales supérieures* for primary teaching to prepare teachers in boys' and girls' *écoles normales* and upper primary schools.

Article 91: To each of these establishments a primary *école normale d'application* will be attached.¹⁵⁸

Entry to these institutions was by competitive examination, mainly from among the most intellectually able of the *normaliens*. The two establishments were at St-Cloud for the boys and at Fontenay-aux-Roses for the girls. In 1942, with the closing of the *écoles normales* as such, they were transformed into National Training Schools for teachers in the secondary *collèges*, and this pattern was confirmed by

¹⁵⁶ Full details are set out in *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-5. The main Law governing *titularisation* was that of 30 October 1886, with its associated Decree of 18 January 1887; some modifications of detail were made in the Decree of 16 May 1962.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. above, p. 7-10, 69

¹⁵⁸ *Bulletin Officiel*, op. cit., 29 January 1887, p. 116

the Decree of 19 February 1945.¹⁵⁹

These staff members were essentially products of the primary school system, having passed via the upper classes of the pre-war primary schools into the *écoles normales* and then into the *écoles normales supérieures*, before returning to the *écoles normales*. At no stage had they engaged in university studies, nor did they hold the *baccalauréat*.¹⁶⁰ Their qualification when they had completed their studies was the *Certificat d'aptitude au professorat des écoles normales et des écoles primaires supérieures*.¹⁶¹ Jean Zay had proposed that the *écoles normales* be staffed with teachers possessing qualifications for secondary teaching, including the *baccalauréat*, but his ideas had not been put into practice.¹⁶² As Prost says:

A brilliant *normalien* could prepare for entry to St-Cloud - Fontenay for the girls - and become a teacher in an *école normale*. He could also aim for a post as a primary *inspecteur* or a *directeur* of an *école normale*, but these promotions did not move him out of the primary service. The closed nature of the primary *milieu* was thus almost total: the primary teacher was a former pupil of a primary school, prepared for primary teaching by teachers who had come from the upper levels of the primary system. Neither secondary nor post-secondary education had any part in this, any more than did authorities outside the Education system.¹⁶³

The post-war change in the type of course undertaken in the pre-professional years, i.e. studies leading to the *baccalauréat*, caused this pattern to be abandoned almost entirely. Recruitment of teachers for the *écoles normales* was now made from among those who had completed their preparation for work in the secondary system, the *agrégés* and the *certifiés*.¹⁶⁴ Of these, Gontard writes:

[...] They had no specific pedagogical knowledge, and considered the *écoles normales* as teaching establishments similar to any other; they showed themselves lacking in enthusiasm for a form of professional training which was foreign to them and which they accepted only unwillingly in order to fill their timetable. If the administration showed itself to be too demanding in its pedagogical requirements, at the end of the year they requested transfer to the nearest *lycée*.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁹ Encyclopédie pratique de l'éducation en France, op. cit., p. 379; cf. above, p. 74

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Figure 2, above, p. 8

¹⁶¹ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 377

¹⁶² *ibid.*; cf. below, pp. 166-7

¹⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 392

¹⁶⁴ See Glossary; details of the training of these teachers are given below, pp. 178-80

¹⁶⁵ Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., p. 124

Bonnafeous, writing in 1962, expressed similar feelings:

It is regrettable that, in the future, professional studies will be taught only by teachers belonging essentially to the secondary system who, despite their greatest willingness, which no-one doubts, will never have had experience with elementary classes.¹⁶⁶

Rogniaux, at the same period, was also aware of the effort required:

Some make a real attempt to understand the rôle of the écoles normales, try to become what we would wish a lecturer in an école normale to be: a specialist and a pedagogical technician. It has to be acknowledged that no-one helps them in this effort, that only their will and often also their personal interest keep them going, that the task is a difficult one to accomplish well.¹⁶⁷

On the other hand, some no doubt saw the mixing of staff from two different backgrounds as desirable:

What is peculiar to our institutions is first of all the current interaction, always instructive, of two types of formation: that of the old régime [...] and that of the new, in which the lecturer in the école normale is not recruited by special examination. Of these teachers, the former have taught only in our Ecoles Normales, the others come from the Secondary system, and this communication is precious for both.¹⁶⁸

Most of those coming from the secondary system nevertheless felt that their main purpose was to prepare hard-working pupils for the *baccalauréat* examination, and objected to participation in the course work of the final year. In fact, neither they nor their students believed that the professional studies year was of vital importance. And the antipathy between them and their older colleagues died only gradually as the latter were transferred (or promoted) or retired.

The contrast between the *directeur* or *directrice* of the école normale and the teaching staff also became gradually more marked for the same reason - the Head of the institution was required to have had experience as a primary school *inspecteur* and was required to do his main teaching in the professional classes, as we have seen¹⁶⁹, and was therefore much more aware of the practical requirements and of the professional elements of the course than the majority of those

¹⁶⁶ Bonnafeous, F.: Ecoles normales de demain - réforme ou replâtrage? in Syndicalisme Universitaire, 5 December 1962, Supplement, p. iii

¹⁶⁷ Rogniaux, G.: Défense des écoles normales, in Education Nationale, 25 October 1962, p. 13

¹⁶⁸ Coursier, J., and Bails, L.: Eloge des écoles normales, in Le Certifié, December 1953, p. 27

¹⁶⁹ See above, p. 91

who taught under him or her. Article 64 of the Decree of 6 June 1946 (based on that of 18 January 1887) had in fact made specific mention of the staff who were to teach the professional courses in pedagogy, other than the *directeur* or *directrice*:

*Article 64: [...] The courses in pedagogy are to be taken by lecturers chosen by the Minister from among primary inspecteurs who have had at least two years of experience and who hold the former Certificat d'aptitude au professorat dans les écoles normales [...] or an equivalent certificate.*¹⁷⁰

These staff members (when appointed, and some écoles normales were too small to require them) had a similar status to the *directeur* or *directrice* therefore, and contrasted similarly with the remainder of the staff.

It was only when the way was cleared, in the late 1960's, for the removal of the pre-baccalauréat classes from the écoles normales that renewed consideration could be given to providing specific preparation for those who wished to teach (or were already teaching) in the professional years of the course. Until then, there is little doubt that there was a lack of real purpose, and even of real unity, among the staff of many écoles normales.¹⁷¹

. . . .

We have seen that primary teachers in France had already by the beginning of the twentieth century organised themselves into an effective workers' union, the powerful *Syndicat National des Instituteurs (S.N.I.)*.¹⁷² There was also a strong union serving the staff members of the écoles normales - the *Syndicat National des Professeurs des Ecoles Normales (S.N.P.E.N.)* - and a small association of *directeurs* and *directrices* - the *Syndicat National des Directeurs et Directrices des Ecoles Normales (S.N.D.E.N.)*.

We have seen too that students in the écoles normales were permitted to belong to "organisations of a professional nature" and, on entry to the professional course, could become members of professional unions.¹⁷³

The *S.N.I.* worked actively and effectively throughout the post-war period to influence the preparation of primary school teachers, and

¹⁷⁰ *Bulletin Officiel*, op. cit., 20 June 1946, p. 876. See also Guillemoteau, R., Mayeur, P. and Iorg, M.: *Traité de législation scolaire et universitaire* (Colin, Paris, 1972), Vol. 3, p. 435

¹⁷¹ Details of the changes are given below, pp. 283-7

¹⁷² Cf. above, p. 34

¹⁷³ See above, p. 92

also to prepare the trainees for the life they would lead after leaving the école normale. Their journal, the weekly *Ecole Libératrice*, contained a special section (generally appearing once a month) addressed specifically to teachers in training, entitled *Jeunes du S.N.I.* They also produced annually a booklet addressed to *normaliens* (and another for *remplaçants*) which gave details of the union's approach to the various problems of teacher preparation and of the first years of teaching in primary schools.¹⁷⁴

The general policy of the *S.N.I.* towards the écoles normales and their mission can be summarised fairly readily. It changed little until the events of May 1968 caused a rapid redefinition of aims. Essentially, the policy statement included the following points:

1. The écoles normales should be maintained unchanged and continue to serve their local communities; Prost summarises the attitude forcibly when he says: "To touch the écoles normales was equivalent to touching primary education itself and therefore the Republic and the values of Democracy."¹⁷⁵

2. The pattern of recruitment for the écoles normales (and therefore for primary teaching) should remain unchanged; it was essential to ensure that talented pupils from working-class backgrounds could continue to gain entry. Jean Dubard wrote in *Ecole Libératrice* of the need to "ensure a recruitment which must remain typical of them (i.e. the écoles normales) and be working-class (*populaire*) in character, if we wish them to continue to fulfil their rôle effectively."¹⁷⁶

3. The entry level to the écoles normales should remain that of the beginning of the Second Cycle of secondary education. It was believed that this was vitally important if the pattern of recruitment was to remain unchanged, as it ensured that pupils from the *cours complémentaires* and later the *collèges d'enseignement général* would be able to gain entry.¹⁷⁷ It was also realised that effective

¹⁷⁴ Issued as Suppléments to Ecole Libératrice early in September each year, i.e. at the beginning of the school year

¹⁷⁵ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 447

¹⁷⁶ Daubard, Jean: Recrutement des élèves-maîtres et écoles normales, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 18 November 1966, p. 445

¹⁷⁷ For details of the patterns of recruitment and the educational and social origins of *normaliens*, see above, pp. 96-8, and esp. below, pp. 131-7.

"indoctrination" in the traditions of the primary teaching service would be much less effective if left until the post-*baccalauréat* years. This attitude continued to be affirmed right up to the time of the May 1968 uprisings, and even afterwards.¹⁷⁸

4. The écoles normales should train all teachers who were to teach in either the primary schools themselves or the *collèges d'enseignement général*. The *S.N.I.* strongly opposed the temporary measures taken in the 1950's and 1960's to provide sufficient teachers for the rapidly growing numbers in the primary schools from outside the ranks of *normaliens*, and fought to have the regulations which had been framed to provide pedagogical training for students recruited for temporary positions put into effect.¹⁷⁹ It fought also for provision for the training of general teachers for the secondary system in the écoles normales: "The mission of *instituteurs* and *institutrices* is not limited to the teaching of pupils under eleven years of age."¹⁸⁰ Its long-term aims in this area were clearly seen to be the adoption of the proposal of the Langevin-Wallon Commission for a unified First Cycle of education up to the age of fifteen and a common period of training for all teachers.¹⁸¹

5. The écoles normales should be centres for local educational research and for the retraining of teachers. "For a long time now the *S.N.I.* has been demanding that the primary écoles normales become permanent centres for further training and research," wrote Daubard in 1966.¹⁸²

6. Finally, the period of professional training following the *baccalauréat* should be increased from one to two years, and, as soon as possible, to three years. Although claiming later that its policy had always been for three years as a minimum - and, since it supported the Langevin-Wallon proposals in general, this was in a sense true - its published policy as late as 1966 was still aiming for two years. The Conference of the *S.N.I.* at Evian in that year "demanded for all *normaliens* a two-year professional course, including a section devoted

¹⁷⁸ Cf. below, pp. 222-4

¹⁷⁹ See below, pp. 142 et seq. for details of the regulations and pp. 269 et seq. for details of the action taken by the *S.N.I.*

¹⁸⁰ From the Report of the 1965 Conference of the *S.N.I.* in *Ecole Libératrice*, 10 September 1965, p. 1816

¹⁸¹ Details of these proposals are given below, pp. 168-73

¹⁸² Dubard, Jean: D'autres aspects du rôle des écoles normales, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 2 December 1966, p. 557

to *culture générale* [...], a section to *psycho-pédagogie* and a section to more directly professional studies."¹⁸³ Two years later, after the May Revolution, its proposal to the Minister's Commission on Teacher Preparation included the following: "The *S.N.I.* confirms its agreement with [...] a preparation of the same length and the same level for all those teaching children aged from two to eighteen, including four years of theoretical preparation after the *baccalauréat* and one year of pedagogical preparation."¹⁸⁴

In general, then, it can be said that the *S.N.I.* worked for slow improvement and saw little need - despite its generally socialist orientation - for any radical change in the short term. It was on the whole a force for the maintenance of an unchanging tradition in the preparation of primary teachers in France. At the same time, its support of the principles of the Langevin-Wallon report did ensure that it could quickly change its position when the opportunity came in 1968; it was able then actively to pursue a number of important changes and in general to achieve success.¹⁸⁵

The Union of the école normale lecturers - the *S.N.P.E.N.* - was relatively much less powerful than the *S.N.I.*, but important in the context of the traditional preparation of primary school teachers. As Jean Tanguy indicated in their bulletin, *Former des Maîtres*, in the course of a survey of the history of this union, the problems considered by the *S.N.P.E.N.* "were essentially those of secondary education."¹⁸⁶ The members of the *S.N.P.E.N.* came more and more frequently from among possessors of the qualifications of secondary teachers, as the task of the écoles normales became centred more and more on the preparation of pupils for the *baccalauréat* examination, and transfers from and to the *lycées* became more frequent for staff. Nevertheless, the central policies of the *S.N.P.E.N.* seem not to have varied from those of the *S.N.I.* as far as the status of the écoles normales and their rôle were concerned.

¹⁸³ Daubard, Jean: La Formation professionnelle, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 25 November 1966, p. 501. The series of articles by Daubard (4 November - 2 December 1966) treated the union's attitude to teacher education in considerable detail. Cf. also, for an earlier overview, *Ecole Libératrice*, 11 May 1956, p. 706

¹⁸⁴ Lordon, Jeanne: Commission 'Formation des Maîtres', in *Ecole Libératrice*, 13 December 1968, p. 617

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Section 5, pp. 172, 175, 195, and Section 6, pp. 223-4, 237, 249, 256-7, 269, 273-4, 277, 281, 284-5

¹⁸⁶ Tanguy, Jean: Pour mieux connaître le *S.N.P.E.N.*, in *Former des Maîtres*, November 1973, p. 19

The Union of *directeurs* and *directrices*, on the other hand, although generally in agreement with the policies of the *S.N.I.*, seems to have differed from it from an early stage as far as the maintenance of pre-*baccalauréat* classes in the *écoles normales* was concerned. In 1956, they had already voted, by 91 out of a total of 111, for "the suppression of *baccalauréat* classes from the *écoles normales*."¹⁸⁷ Their attitude was somewhat surprising, for they had almost all been trained themselves at this time in the *écoles normales* and in the *écoles normales supérieures* of St-Cloud or Fontenay. But they were not, of course, products of the secondary system in the same way as most of their staff were, and they were particularly anxious to have the professional course extended to at least two years. Their policies came closely into line with those of the other two unions only after 1968.

. . . .

We have seen that the *instituteur* had been characterised by certain indelible features in the minds of the French, and that certain features were regarded as just as characteristic of the *normalien*. These emerge clearly in imaginative literature and in biographies dealing with teachers and school life, and are undoubtedly part of the "mythology" of education in France. Yet they have not been particularly fully documented up to the present. As we consider the social and scholastic backgrounds typical of those who were recruited into the *écoles normales* after World War II, we shall have to rely on an interpretation of partial surveys and insufficiently detailed analyses. For the social background, the only major study is that by Berger and Benjamin.¹⁸⁸ For details of scholastic origins, we must rely essentially on the sporadic investigations and published statistics of the Ministry of Education's Statistical Service. An attempt has been made in a later section of this thesis to supplement some of the information on the basis of a survey made by the writer in 1975.¹⁸⁹

Berger and Benjamin's investigation provides a very detailed

¹⁸⁷ Dessauvages, Claudie: *Réforme des écoles normales*, in *Vie Enseignante*, December 1957, p. 12

¹⁸⁸ Berger, Ida and Benjamin, Roger: *L'Univers des instituteurs* (Editions de Minuit, Paris, 1964)

¹⁸⁹ See below, pp. 291-305

sociological survey of some 6,000 primary school teachers in the single département of Seine¹⁹⁰ in 1954-55 and 1959-60. It suffers from two short-comings from our point of view: first, it covers an essentially urban area and is not therefore necessarily typical of the total number of instituteurs in France, most of whom teach in rural environments; and second, it surveys instituteurs of all ages and has little to say specifically either of those recently trained or of those who were in fact trained in *écoles normales* as distinct from those who had no or little formal training.

Nevertheless, the portrait that emerges conforms very closely with that which has become part of the "mythology", and in this sense can provide a useful statistical refinement to received ideas. There are detailed chapters on political aspects of the teacher's life and especially on the rôle of the unions (pp. 15-42), on the question of *laïcité* (pp. 43-67), on the professional milieu (pp. 68-97), on the style of living and on leisure activities (pp. 98-118), and, particularly, on the social status of instituteurs (pp. 119-133). Berger and Benjamin attempt also to analyse the elements of change that had at that time begun to appear in "the world of primary school teachers" (pp. 141-153).

Significantly, in the chapter on social status, they say: "If it is relatively easy to obtain demographic and associated information, it is quite a different question when it comes to matters concerning social origins. [...] The Frenchman refuses to believe himself circumscribed, or, worse still, 'defined' by his social origins."¹⁹¹ They go on to refer to the frequency with which the information gathered was "usable only with difficulty."¹⁹² The statistics which they give cannot be regarded as other than approximate therefore (as will always be the case in such matters).

Nevertheless, from the survey, the instituteur, and hence essentially the *normalien*, is seen to have his origins in the lower middle class. His grand-parents were mainly peasants (*cultivateurs*), shop-keepers, artisans and unskilled workers, and his parents mainly unskilled workers, employees and middle-class employers, as the following table

¹⁹⁰ This département, at the time of the survey, included the central city area of Paris and the surrounding inner suburbs; its total population was approximately five million.

¹⁹¹ Berger, Ida and Benjamin, Roger, op. cit., pp. 122-3

¹⁹² *ibid.*, p. 123

shows:

TABLE 11: SOCIAL ORIGINS OF INSTITUTEURS IN THE DEPARTEMENT OF SEINE - SOCIAL CLASS OF GRAND-PARENTS AND OF PARENTS¹⁹³

Profession	Men (%)		Women (%)	
	G.F.*	Father	G.F.*	Father
Peasants, farm workers	36.1	8.8	29.8	5.6
Shopkeepers, artisans	24.2	15.0	28.2	16.3
Unskilled workers	21.5	28.6	18.0	21.4
Employees	6.7	19.3	8.5	21.2
Middle class	5.6	16.3	7.1	19.2
Liberal professions; managerial	2.8	2.8	4.2	7.1
Police, army	2.6	6.4	3.3	6.7
Unclassified	0.5	2.8	0.8	2.5
* Paternal grandfather				

It is clearly the case, at least in this département, that the instituteur belonged still in the post-war period to that group of people who are generally referred to as "upward mobile" - they belonged to families which had tended to move upward in the social scale. At the same time, it must be pointed out that this was probably to some extent the case for the whole population of this département, as it in particular attracted people from the provincial regions to the capital city. It is noteworthy also that the women teaching in the primary schools tended to come from higher in the social scale than the men (26.3% had fathers who claimed to belong to the middle or upper-middle classes compared with 19.1% for men). When the instituteurs were asked to which social class they thought they themselves belonged, nearly three-quarters (70% of the men, 77.5% of the women) replied: "The middle class".¹⁹⁴ The reply is significant in itself, and if accepted as accurate compares with perhaps 10% for their paternal grandfathers and 24% for their fathers. Of course, the question of whether instituteurs as a whole belong to this class is perhaps a matter of controversy.¹⁹⁵ Berger and Benjamin go on to consider the plans that instituteurs have for their children, and see here a continuing pattern of "upward mobility": "Rare are the professional groups among whom the desire is stronger for social ascension than that of the instituteurs, faithful no doubt to the old

¹⁹³ *ibid.*, p. 125; the social classes have been re-arranged slightly

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 131

¹⁹⁵ Berger and Benjamin discuss this question, *ibid.*, pp. 131-3

guiding image of the 'son of the instituteur who will go far' [...]."¹⁹⁶

A small survey conducted by a senior student at the Ecole Normale of Aurillac (Cantal) in 1966 is tantalising in the glimpse it gives of the social backgrounds of students in that institution over a period of ten years; unfortunately it does not analyse fully the information that was obviously available.¹⁹⁷ The conclusions drawn in it are that *normaliens* tend to come from families with large numbers of children (25.8 to 44.4% from families with three or more children, compared with 12.3 to 16.0% for the département as a whole), that no more come from a rural environment than would be expected statistically (28.24% for the *normaliens* over a period of eleven years, 28.36% for the département) - a conclusion which much surprised the investigator - and that the école normale drew its students from a very limited area around the city of Aurillac. These conform with the information available on a national scale to a reassuring extent.

Dolmazon confirms the tendency to remain closely attached to the local community served by each école normale:

The majority of instituteurs complete their whole career in the region, the village or the city suburb from which they came, or return to it after a few years of wandering. They willingly take root, and that is not one of the less important secrets of their prestige.¹⁹⁸

And a survey reported by Collet confirms that the peasant origins of many *normaliens* may have been steadily decreasing in relative importance:

Statistics covering the years from 1890 to 1960 indicate clearly for the département of Ain, essentially rural in nature:

- the decrease in the number of sons of lower and middle level government employees, of primary teachers in particular; and
- the more marked decrease in the number of farmer's sons;
- on the other hand, an increase in the number of sons of railway workers and of other unskilled workers and employees.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 130-1

¹⁹⁷ Le Recrutement des normaliens, années 1956 à 1966 (hand-written paper, quoted from with the permission of the Head of the Ecole Normale d'Aurillac). A similar survey by a student at the Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs at Versailles covering 250 students (all men) in the years 1969-71 gave these proportions: farm workers 4.8%, shop-keepers and artisans 14.0%, unskilled workers 4.4%, employees 48.4%, middle class 12.8%, primary teachers 4.4%, liberal professions and managerial 7.2%; Bourgeois, Jean-Pierre: Eléments pour une analyse de la discipline et de la fonction dans les écoles normales (unpublished dissertation, 1972)

¹⁹⁸ Dolmazon, Albert: L'Instituteur, in Tendances, October 1963, p.

In general, such statistics as are available seem to confirm the picture of the *normalien*, still in the 1950's and early 1960's as the child of ambitious lower middle class parents, anxious to fulfil the promise his parents see in him and to rise in the social scale (as they in turn had often done). He stood in clear contrast still to the child who completed his studies in the upper classes of a *lycée* and went on if successful to the university. The historical reasons for this contrast have already been mentioned briefly; they are studied in some detail by Prost and will not be enlarged on here.²⁰⁰ All the available statistics show that the socio-economic background of the senior students in the *lycées* was very different from that of *normaliens*. In a contentious book, Baudelot and Estabiet demonstrated recently by a careful use of statistics that entry into the *classe de seconde* of the *lycée* (excluding the technical sections) varied enormously according to social class.²⁰¹ Their figures for 1968 show that children coming from the homes of professional parents were almost six times as likely to continue their studies in this way as children coming from working class homes.²⁰² Their probability table is as follows:

TABLE 12: PROBABILITY OF CHILDREN FROM EACH SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS ENTERING SECTIONS A OR C OF A *CLASSE DE SECONDE* IN A *LYCEE*²⁰³

Socio-economic class	Probability rating
Liberal professions; upper managerial	0.482
Middle class managerial	0.372
Small industry and business	0.223
Employees	0.232
Agriculturalists	0.097
Unskilled workers	0.082
Farm labourers	0.073

-
- 658; cf. below, p. 140
- ¹⁹⁹ Collet, J.: Onze ans de la vie d'une école normale française, in *Dialogues*, November 1973, p. 58
- ²⁰⁰ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 325-335
- ²⁰¹ Baudelot, Christian and Estabiet, Roger: *L'Ecole capitaliste en France* (Maspero, Paris, 1971). The authors take a frankly anti-capitalist, pro-communist attitude to their subject.
- ²⁰² *ibid.*, p. 114
- ²⁰³ *ibid.*, p. 113. The ratings are derived by a mathematical formula and are meaningful only in relation to each other; they are not percentages in any sense.

Similarly, at the university level, official figures for the early 1970's showed that 29.6% of the students came from the homes of parents belonging to the liberal professions or upper managerial classes (who represented 9.6% of the total population), while 24.1% came from the homes of working class and employee parents (who represented 52.5% of the total population).²⁰⁴ The contrast would no doubt have been even greater in the earlier post-war years. All these figures are in marked contrast with those for students in the *écoles normales*, as Berger and Benjamin's analysis shows.

Observers noted also the difference in attitude to study between the two groups of senior students: "In general," said a lecturer in 1952, "our students are harder working and more methodical than those in the *lycées*."²⁰⁵ And the traditional attitude of condescension: "Pupils from the *lycées* have the impression that they are going downhill and departing from custom when they enrol (in an *école normale*)."²⁰⁶

Typical also of the student population of the *écoles normales* was the gradual increase in the proportion of girls. Though less marked than in some other countries, because of the close control of intake by the authorities, this led over the years to the proportion of girls to boys growing to something of the order of 54 to 46 (in 1966, for example, there were in the *écoles normales* 14,068 girls and 12,367 boys²⁰⁷). Outside the ranks of the *normaliens*, the proportion of women was much greater, as we shall see, so that the primary schools themselves were increasingly staffed by women.²⁰⁸ Roussel claimed in 1973 that "two schoolteachers out of three are today women," and thought that this "contributed to threaten the homogeneity and the cohesion of the corps of instituteurs."²⁰⁹ It must be remembered, however, that the *écoles maternelles*, forming an important part of the

²⁰⁴ Delion, André: L'Education en France (Documentation Française, Paris, 1973), p. 25

²⁰⁵ Charbonneau: Examen de conscience d'un professeur d'école normale, in Foi Education, May 1952, p. 77

²⁰⁶ Rustin, G.: L'Elève-maître à l'école normale, in Education Nationale, 11 April 1957, p. 4

²⁰⁷ Informations Statistiques (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Paris), No. 107, November 1968, p. 763; these figures do not include those for *remplacants*. For comparable pre-war figures, see above, pp. 61 and 67

²⁰⁸ See below, pp. 145-7

²⁰⁹ Roussel, Jeannette: Etre institutrice (Ed. du Cerf, Paris, 1973), pp. 47-8

primary sector²¹⁰, were staffed entirely by women, so that the balance in the whole sector remained more or less equal. Dolmazon indicated, too, that "the habit had grown up of generally placing women in charge of the 'one-teacher schools' in the smallest localities."²¹¹

Undoubtedly another important reason for the increasing feminisation of the profession was the relative modesty of the salaries paid.²¹²

However, it remains difficult to understand why, in this period of acute teacher shortage, no real effort was made to prepare a greater number of girls in the *écoles normales*. The need to spend a good deal of money to increase the accommodation available and to add the necessary facilities for larger classes probably represents a major factor. But the force of tradition was almost certainly stronger. Meanwhile, the proportion of girls applying for admission who were accepted grew steadily smaller (indicating that there was not a real shortage as great as that claimed), and the number of untrained temporary women teachers employed multiplied rapidly.

. . .

An examination of the scholastic origins of the students in the *écoles normales* reveals a persistence of the traditions established in the nineteenth century, in this regard also. As we have seen, until the Reform of 1959, the Primary and Secondary systems of education were largely kept apart, and the teachers in the primary schools had in almost all cases had no experience as students in either the secondary schools or any type of tertiary institution.²¹³ The *écoles normales* had recruited their students from the upper classes of the primary schools - the *écoles primaires supérieures* and the *cours complémentaires* - with only small numbers coming from the *lycées* (and these entering mainly at the level of the final, professional studies year, through a supplementary recruitment.²¹⁴) The Ministry of Education's Statistical Service surveyed the scholastic origins of the

²¹⁰ Cf. above, p. 38, for details of the increasing importance of this sector of education in France

²¹¹ Dolmazon, Albert, loc. cit., p. 658

²¹² *ibid.* "Equal pay" had already been granted to institutrices in 1919; cf. Roussel, Jeannette, op. cit., p. 37; but the salaries were not high in comparison with those in many other occupations: see Berger, Ida and Benjamin, Roger, op. cit., pp. 142-5, and *Code Soleil*, op. cit., pp. 296-8, for details; cf. also above, pp. 10-11, 18

²¹³ Cf. above, pp. 7-11

²¹⁴ Cf. above, pp. 94-6

students in the *écoles normales* in 1956 and again in 1962, and their figures show that this pattern of recruitment remained largely unchanged in the post-war period. (Further surveys made late in the 1960's are not comparable, having been made after the decisions which followed the May 1968 Student Revolution).

In both 1956 and 1962, approximately 70% of the students were recruited at the end of the First Cycle of the secondary schools, about 11% one year later, and the remainder at the point of entry to the Professional Studies course, i.e. after the *baccalauréat* examination. (Cf. TABLE 13, below). In 1956, before the introduction of the *collèges d'enseignement général*, 66.4% of the entrants had come from the *cours complémentaires*, either directly or via a *collège* or *lycée*; six years later, the proportion of entrants from the *collèges d'enseignement général* was 75.2%. Recruitment from either *collège* or *lycée* had represented 32.8% in 1956; in 1962, recruitment from the *lycées* was 24.3%. (Cf. TABLE 13 (b), below). Despite the fact that the statistics were gathered at this period of transition in provision for secondary education, it is clear that the *écoles normales* were continuing to draw their students at this level of recruitment from those schools which represented the old upper-primary tradition. Only a small minority of applicants came from the *lycées*, regarded as the schools of the children of the professional and middle classes.

Entry to the *classe de première* and to the professional course was inevitably from the *lycées* at this time, since only they provided for the Second Cycle of secondary education (apart from the *écoles normales* themselves). However, from among these recruits there were also some who had completed the First Cycle in *cours complémentaires* or *collèges d'enseignement général*, and interestingly, although the statistics cannot be regarded as closely comparable, the proportion of these rose from 10.7% to 30.0% in the six years between 1956 and 1962. (Cf. TABLE 13 (c), below).

These statistics give additional confirmation then of the fact that the *écoles normales* remained true to their traditional recruitment patterns, taking most of their students from the schools serving the lower middle class and working class segments of the population, and providing for them an alternative route to the *baccalauréat* and the possibility of rising in the social scale.

TABLE 13: SCHOLASTIC BACKGROUND OF STUDENTS ENTERING THE ECOLES NORMALES IN 1956 AND IN 1962²¹⁵

(a) PROPORTIONS RECRUITED TO EACH GRADE LEVEL:					
	1956		1962		
	Number	%	Number	%	
Seconde	4343	69.6	5756	69.3	b
Première	680	10.9	974	11.7	c
F.P.	1216	19.5	1578	19.0	
TOTAL	6239		8308		

(b) SCHOLASTIC ORIGINS OF THOSE RECRUITED TO CLASSE DE SECONDE:			
1956		1962	
	%		%
C.C. to E.N.	52.0	C.E.G.	75.2
C.C. to Collège to E.N.	8.0		
C.C. to Lycée to E.N.	6.4		
Collège to E.N.	22.5	Lycée	24.3
Lycée to E.N.	10.3		
Others (private, etc)	0.6	Others	0.6
C.C.: <i>Cours complémentaires</i> E.N.: <i>Ecoles normales</i> C.E.G.: <i>Collèges d'enseignement général (i.e. former cours complémentaires)</i>			

(c) SCHOLASTIC ORIGINS OF THOSE RECRUITED TO CLASSE DE PREMIERE AND PROFESSIONAL YEAR:		
Over 95% of these applicants were from collèges or lycées, and of these:		
	%	
	1956	1962
First cycle in C.C./C.E.G.	10.7	30.0
First cycle in Collège or Lycée	88.7	66.1

²¹⁵ These tables are adapted from information published in Education Nationale, 5 December 1957, pp. 10-11, and Informations Statistiques (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Paris), No. 52, October 1963, pp. 292-299. The latter includes a detailed commentary, with a comparison of the 1956 and 1962 findings (including consideration of boys and girls separately) and information about recruitment patterns in each *académie*.

One other aspect of the patterns of recruitment should perhaps be mentioned briefly: that of its extremely local nature. Although it was possible for a student to apply for entry to any école normale - the regulations only indicated that the oral examinations had to be taken at the école normale to which admission was sought²¹⁶ - the implications of the organisation of primary education in France were that instituteurs would be trained in their local centre and would then teach in the schools of their local département. Since each département has an area of only some 6000 square kilometres and the greatest distance between its borders generally does not exceed 120 kilometres, an intensely local pattern of recruitment was almost inevitable. It reflected the character of the region, its prosperity, its social organisation, its political colour, its religious background. The majority of the départements have as their local centre (the *chef-lieu*) a town of quite small size; only some one third of them exceed 100,000 in total population, and some have less than 20,000. In these smaller centres, the école normale was itself also very small. The students shared many aspects of the common local background, and inevitably tended to reinforce much of it when they began teaching. Nothing in the organisation of the écoles normales or of their courses in the period between the end of World War II and the late 1960's changed in such a way as to affect these patterns, which had already become typical of the primary school system in the earliest days of the Third Republic.

. . . .

As so far described, the structure of primary teacher preparation seems during the post-war period to have been characterised by extreme conservatism and stability. But an element of great instability was simultaneously gaining greater and greater importance within the system - this was the rapidly growing group of temporary and untrained teachers in the primary schools, the *suppléants* and *remplaçants*. (*Suppléants* were temporary teachers without the required academic standard for entry to an école normale, i.e. the full *baccalauréat*,²¹⁷

²¹⁶ *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-0 (a), p. 5: Article 91 of the *Arrêté organique* of 18 January 1887

²¹⁷ And who "would not legally be granted the status of teacher"; see Pierot, R.: *Le Statut de l'instituteur public* (Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, Paris, 1972), p. 54.

while *remplaçants* held this qualification).

As we have seen, while the number of pupils in the kindergartens and primary schools increased quite rapidly at this time²¹⁸, the number of teachers trained in the *écoles normales* increased only very gradually.²¹⁹ Thus, in the decade from 1950 to 1960, the total number of instituteurs increased from roughly 160,000 to 225,000, and the number to be replaced (allowing for resignations and retirements, estimated in the IVth Plan as about 4000 per year²²⁰) may have reached 100,000. In the same period, the total number of teachers provided by the *écoles normales* was no more than about 55,000.²²¹ There were therefore in this period some 45,000 *suppléants* and *remplaçants* recruited into the primary system. For the rather longer period 1951-2 to 1964-5, Prost estimated the number to be between 87,500 and 97,500.²²² The Report of the IVth Plan indicates that the annual recruitment of temporary teachers between 1955 and 1961 exceeded 10,000.²²³ These figures indicate the extent to which, in this period of rapid population growth, the normal provision for primary teacher preparation in the *écoles normales* failed to keep pace. There was growing dissatisfaction with the situation thus created, but it was only after population growth had slowed considerably and recruitment had become easier that more adequate measures were taken.²²⁴ By then the homogeneity of the body of primary school teachers was quite seriously threatened.

Provision had been made in the Law of 19 July 1889 and the Decree of 25 May 1894 for the employment of *suppléants* to replace qualified teachers who were forced to take leave or to fill places temporarily vacant (in the latter case, they were called *intérimaires*)²²⁵, but

²¹⁸ See above, p. 38

²¹⁹ See above, p. 97, but note that this is a period for which precise figures are not available. Cf. Prost, Antoine, *op. cit.*, p. 444

²²⁰ IVe Plan (1962-5), Rapport Général de la Commission de l'Équipement Scolaire, Universitaire et Sportif (Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1961)

²²¹ Figure based on estimates of number of students recruited annually during this period (approximately 4000 in 1950 and 7000 in 1960 - see p. 97, above), allowing for a small number who eventually moved to other areas of teaching or who failed to complete the course.

²²² Prost, Antoine, *op. cit.*, p. 444; cf. Crémieux-Brilhac, Jean-Louis, *op. cit.*, p. 569, where an estimate of 70,000 is given for the decade 1952-62

²²³ IVe Plan, *op. cit.*

²²⁴ See below, pp. 267-70

²²⁵ Gréard, Octave: La Législation de l'instruction primaire en France

their numbers had remained small until after World War II. They were paid on a daily basis and had little hope of becoming permanent members of the teaching profession. Only in 1936 was provision made for holiday pay and in 1937 for appointment as *suppléants permanents*.²²⁶ Sick leave was provided for in an *Arrêté* dated 10 January 1947.²²⁷

By 1951, it had become evident that, at least in the immediate future, regular recourse would have to be had to considerable numbers of *remplaçants* and *suppléants*:

[...] The population explosion which we have experienced since 1946 has led to a growing disproportion between the number of pupils presenting themselves at the doors of the primary school and the number of teachers, who belong themselves to the period of small classes (*classes creuses*). The number of *remplaçants* has been very insufficient in certain départements and it has been necessary to have recourse to *suppléants éventuels*.²²⁸

The Law of 8 May 1951 made specific provision for this development.²²⁹ It defined *remplaçants* as teachers used to replace teachers on leave or to fill positions temporarily vacant (Article 1). It indicated that the number of such teachers likely to be required in each département was to be determined each year, and a list established showing both those already appointed and who wished to continue teaching (in order of seniority, and allowing for proficiency, certification and family responsibilities within each year-group) and those seeking appointment (in order of application) (Article 2). If there were insufficient applicants to fill all places, the services of temporary *suppléants*, without full academic qualifications, could be called on (Article 3). Article 4 set out the details of the teacher training to be provided for *remplaçants*:

Article 4: The professional preparation of *remplaçants* is to include, firstly, theoretical and practical sessions in the écoles normales and in the practising schools or classes, and, secondly, supervised temporary teaching (*suppléances*).

This professional preparation is to begin in the first term after inclusion on the list defined in Article 2. For a temporary period, and until the écoles normales are in a position to assure

depuis 1789 jusqu'à nos jours (Delalain, Paris, 1889-92), Vol. VI, pp. 159f. and 562-4; cf. also Dossiers documentaires - séries information, June-July 1965, p. 5, and Encyclopédie pratique de l'éducation en France, op. cit., p. 365

²²⁶ Dossiers documentaires, op. cit., loc. cit.

²²⁷ Quoted by Guillemoteau, R. and Mayeur, P., op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 296

²²⁸ Dossiers documentaires, op. cit., loc. cit.

²²⁹ Bulletin Officiel, op. cit., 17 May 1951, pp. 1311-13

the professional preparation of *remplaçants*, the length of these sessions may be reduced in accordance with conditions fixed by ministerial *arrêté*.²³⁰

The provision made for reducing the length of the preparation if necessary proved to be a major point of contention as time went on. The Decree of 28 October 1952 indicated that

[...] the professional preparation of *remplaçants* is to last two years. [...] It is to include: in the first year, theoretical and practical sessions in écoles normales and practising classes; in the second year, temporary positions organised and supervised by [...] primary inspectors, and special instruction given by the latter and by *directeurs*, *directrices* and *professeurs* of écoles normales.²³¹

But, a year later, an *Arrêté* of 21 October 1953 provided as follows:

Article 11: (a) For a temporary period, it will be necessary to adopt the following measures: *remplaçants* may complete their theoretical and practical sessions in the course of the second year of their professional preparation;

(b) These sessions will take place either from October 1 to February 14 or from February 15 to June 30;

(c) *Remplaçants* who cannot be accommodated because of lack of places in the école normale of their département may be sent to another école normale of the *académie*, but must do their supervised teaching and special instruction in their home département.²³²

Article 13 made it clear that they would still be regarded as following their professional preparation for the full two years, the time not spent at the école normale being made up still of supervised teaching and the special instruction.²³³

It had not taken long for the authorities to realise that their original intentions were impractical, and the reduced period of four and a half months soon became the maximum length of time spent by these temporary teachers in formal training. And most of them were forced by the regulation to begin their "supervised" teaching immediately after being accepted as *remplaçants*, with no formal training.

The time spent in the écoles normales was to be devoted to the acquisition of "the essential notions concerning child psychology, basic principles of pedagogy, teaching methods appropriate to each

²³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 1312

²³¹ *ibid.*, 6 November 1952, p. 3050 (Article 6)

²³² *ibid.*, 5 November 1953, p. 2995

²³³ *ibid.*

subject, *morale professionnelle* and school legislation."²³⁴ In the majority of the *écoles normales* - perhaps even in all of them - this meant providing for them much the same course as was provided in the single Professional Studies year of the course for *normaliens*. In some cases, they merely became part of that class, with the inevitable consequences of confusion and rivalry. Practice teaching took place in the *écoles annexes* and the *classes d'application* associated with the *écoles normales*, under the same general conditions as for *normaliens*. Consolidated details were given in a Circular of 17 June 1958.²³⁵ These indicated that "*remplaçants* are to be sent for their practice teaching session at the same time as student-teachers (i.e. *normaliens*), the first group from 1 to 31 October and from 1 to 14 February, and the second from 15 to 28 February and for one month after the Easter vacation."²³⁶ A minimum period of one month all told was prescribed.²³⁷ *Remplaçants* were also required to participate in a special practice session for physical education, lasting at least fifteen days.²³⁸

Statistics available indicate that these students were nearly as numerous, even in the 1960's (figures are not available for the critical period 1950-60), as students following the full course in the *écoles normales* (See TABLE 12, below).

It seems certain that in the period of real scarcity - the mid- and late-1950's - more untrained teachers than trained teachers entered the primary schools. But the number who did not, during the first two years after their recruitment, have the opportunity for some professional study in an *école normale* may not have been as great as was sometimes claimed. The statistics for *remplaçants* in TABLE 12 imply that two intakes, each of perhaps 3,000 students, entered the *écoles normales* each year, and it has been suggested (*supra*) that perhaps 10,000 per annum were being recruited. Allowing for a fairly rapid turn-over because of resignations, this may mean that between 70% and 80% of newly recruited *remplaçants* were receiving a short course of training at some time during their first year of employment.

The fact that so many teachers were recruited as *remplaçants* was constantly commented upon. As early as 1954, a correspondent wrote in

²³⁴ *ibid.* (Article 12)

²³⁵ Guillemoteau, R. and Mayeur, P.: *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 461-9

²³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 462

²³⁷ *ibid.*

²³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 467

TABLE 14: NUMBER OF STUDENTS FOLLOWING THE PROFESSIONAL COURSE AS *NORMALIENS* COMPARED WITH NUMBER OF *REMPLAÇANTS* ATTENDING THE ECOLES NORMALES, 1960/61 - 1969/70²³⁹

Year	F.P. 1		F.P. 1+2		Rem. + Sup.	
	M	W	M	W	M	W
1960/61	1921	2166	734	1503	1057	2219
1962/63	1558	1938	687	1331	837	1955
1963/64	1810	1933	707	1353	923	1959
1964/65	1759	1999	962	1602	853	1895
1965/66	1806	2225	1149	1698	988	1848
1966/67	2315	2689	754	1071	1031	1823
1968/69*	3412	4179	383	396	443	1279
1969/70*	2718	3306	3312	4060	227	919

Notes: F.P. 1 - Professional Preparation - one-year course
F.P. 1+2 - Professional Preparation - total of students in Year I and Year II of two-year course
Rem. - Remplaçants; Sup. - Suppléants
M - Men; W - Women
* These years mark the introduction of the two-year course for all students, hence the seeming discrepancies in the figures

the journal of the *S.N.I.* that, in the département of Loire, "we have for some years been recruiting more staff through the channel of *suppléants* than through the channel of the écoles normales."²⁴⁰ The same journal indicated later in the same year that *remplaçants* already represented 10% of the total number of positions provided for in the budget, and added: "Soon we shall be offering tenure to more *remplaçants* each year than to *normaliens*."²⁴¹ Asselain, in his study of budgeting in the Ministry of Education, was very critical of the way in which the situation had developed. He wrote:

²³⁹ This Table is compiled from figures given in Informations Statistiques de l'Education Nationale, February 1965, January 1966, December 1966, November 1967, November 1968, and Statistiques des Enseignements (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Paris), 4.3c 1969/70 and 4.3c 1968/9, and photocopied material provided by the Service de Statistiques of the Ministère de l'Education Nationale (figures for 1960/61).

²⁴⁰ Baude, Henri: *La Réforme des écoles normales*, in Ecole Libératrice, 28 May 1954, p. 739

²⁴¹ Marangé, James: *La Crise de recrutement et les écoles normales*, in Ecole Libératrice, 3 December 1954, p. 265

In fact, [...] funding of the *écoles normales* represents during the whole period a very minor part (about 5%) of the budget for primary education, and a practically unchanging proportion; the growth (of the *écoles normales*) accompanied, with a slight delay, the growth in the number of pupils, instead of preceding it by several years, and was just proportional to it. The result was that, after 1952, for a number of years the qualifying *normaliens* provided (beyond what was needed to ensure the replacement of teachers leaving the service) only an almost insignificant contingent in comparison with the number of positions to be filled.²⁴²

In his opinion, the worst of the crisis was over by 1961, largely as a result of a "*crise de conscience*" on the part of the administration in about 1955.²⁴³ However, full recovery was delayed because the creation of new permanent positions occurred "much more parsimoniously than had been proposed" by the Third Plan.²⁴⁴ Students continued to be recruited as temporary teachers when it would in fact have been possible to recruit them as *normaliens*, and positions in schools continued to be filled by temporary teachers because funds had not been made available to reclassify them as tenured posts. If, as Asselain says, the proportion of the funds for primary education devoted to teacher preparation had been increased from 5% to perhaps 10% or 12%, "the most acute effects of the crisis would have been avoided without difficulties."²⁴⁵ The Report of the Third Plan indicated clearly why this was not done:

It would be a grave error, the consequences of which would be felt for several decades, to want at all costs immediately to fill the numerous positions to be created between now (1958) and 1961 with tenured teachers, increasingly mediocre and recruited among under-qualified staff, when, from 1964 on, the entry examinations, providing for a reduced number of positions, would become exceptionally selective and excellent candidates could not be employed in teaching. It will be preferable to fill the vacant positions for some years from under-qualified but transitory staff, who we know can be replaced at the end of this period [...].²⁴⁶

The fact that among the *remplaçants* recruited there were more than twice as many women as men (in 1960/61 they represented 68%, in 1965/66 65% and in 1968/69 74%²⁴⁷) meant that such replacement would

²⁴² Asselain, Jean-Charles: Le Budget de l'Education Nationale, 1952-1967 (P.U.F., Paris, 1969), p. 141

²⁴³ *ibid.*

²⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 142

²⁴⁵ *ibid.*

²⁴⁶ Quoted in Chevallier, P., Grosperin, J. and Maillet, J.: L'Enseignement français de la Révolution à nos jours (Mouton, Paris, 1968), p. 168

²⁴⁷ Cf. TABLE 12, above

be relatively easy. Berger and Benjamin, in their study of teachers in the primary schools of the Paris region, found that, in 1959-60, 58.1% of the women had been recruited as *remplaçantes* compared with 39.9% of the men.²⁴⁸ Although these figures are certainly higher than for France as a whole, they offer confirmation that the proposal of the Third Plan was feasible. One further factor was to help the supply situation materially at this time: the "massive influx of primary teachers" from Algeria, after the end of the struggle for independence there, enabled the Ministry quickly to limit recruitment of *remplaçants* to those who held the full *baccalauréat*.²⁴⁹

But, although it was true that there was from then on relative stability in the number of pupils in the primary schools and an increase in the number of potential recruits for teaching, the crisis continued to be evident until well into the 1960's. As we shall see, when the opportunity eventually came to cease recruiting *remplaçants*, appropriate action was quickly taken.²⁵⁰

The regulations of 1951 and 1958 had laid down a clear format for the training and eventual integration into the teaching service of the *remplaçants*. Apart from the period to be spent in the *écoles normales* - at first, as we have seen, twelve months, then four and a half months (and sometimes less²⁵¹) - it included special instruction by inspectors and heads of *écoles normales* and work in selected schools. The latter was defined in detail in the *Arrêté* of 21 October 1953:

Article 14: Supervised temporary teaching is to take place in schools with several classes, as near as possible to the *écoles normales*, and chosen on the basis of the competence of the *directeur*, or, if that is not possible, of a teacher who can fill the rôle of pedagogical advisor (*conseiller pédagogique*). *Inspecteurs* of primary and infant schools are required to supervise the *remplaçants* during these teaching sessions in the way which seems most appropriate to them, having regard for special cases and local circumstances. At the end of each school year, the *inspecteur* is to furnish a detailed report together with a numerical assessment of each of the *remplaçants* whose teaching he has supervised.²⁵²

²⁴⁸ Berger, Ida and Benjamin, Roger, op. cit., p. 150

²⁴⁹ *Education Nationale*, 20 September 1962, p. 9

²⁵⁰ See below, p. 272

²⁵¹ Cf. Duchatel, Charles: La Formation des instituteurs remplaçants, in *Education Nationale*, 2 February 1961, p. 19. Duchatel indicates that at the Ecole Normale in Versailles "the duration of the session is reduced to three months".

²⁵² *Bulletin Officiel*, loc. cit.

No precise period of time was laid down for this teaching, but it normally took place in the second year, and represented a sort of proving period following the work done in the *école normale*.²⁵³

Also in the second year, *remplaçants* were required to attend the "*journées pédagogiques*" organised in each *département*. Details of these were set out also in the *Arrêté* of 21 October 1953:

Article 15: Complementary instruction is to be given during *journées pédagogiques*. These days are to be arranged each month, preferably on a Thursday²⁵⁴, and are to gather together, under normal circumstances, unless ministerial approval has been granted, all the *remplaçants* in the *département* who are required to complete professional training. This instruction is to have as its aim the completion of the professional training of *remplaçants* by concrete and practical information. It is to be organised by the *inspecteur d'académie* with the participation of all staff members qualified by their teaching competence. It is placed under the supervision of the heads of the *écoles normales* and the *inspecteurs* of primary and infant schools, who are required personally to provide the essential parts of this instruction. [...] ²⁵⁵

Written work was also required to be done, in the student's own time, and corrected by the staff mentioned in the *arrêté*. This instruction soon became a major part of the work of *inspecteurs* and of heads of *écoles normales*, as the number of students concerned rapidly increased, and as the required time was accepted as being six or seven hours on each of a minimum of seven days during the year.²⁵⁶ It was not always easy either for students to participate; one wrote in 1967 that these *journées* "were compulsory, of course, but unfortunately not paid; we had to pay the costs of our travel and our accommodation in the town where the sessions took place. This was an enormous worry for many of us [...] young rather poorly paid *remplaçants*."²⁵⁷ (Later, payment was provided²⁵⁸).

In 1961, the rôle of *conseillers pédagogiques* in the professional preparation of *remplaçants* was for the first time defined by Circular. They were renamed *maîtres itinérants d'école annexe* and were required "under the authority of the *inspecteurs primaires*, to advise *remplaçants* and to initiate them into the problems of class management," and, in more general terms, to ensure their

²⁵³ Mayeur, Pierre: *Le Statut des instituteurs remplaçants*, in *Education Nationale*, 2 December 1954, p. 8

²⁵⁴ A non-teaching day in French schools at that time.

²⁵⁵ *Bulletin Officiel*, op. cit., loc. cit.

²⁵⁶ *Code Soleil*, op. cit., p. 267

²⁵⁷ *Préparons l'Avenir*, No. 3 of *Les Instituteurs*, October 1967, p. 5

"perfectionnement pédagogique".²⁵⁹ In this way it was hoped to relieve the primary *inspecteurs* of a part of their work, so that they could devote time to the problems newly created by the introduction of state aid to private schools.²⁶⁰ In general, the regular visits of the advisors, who did not come with the same hierarchical authority as the *inspecteurs* and who could more easily be accepted therefore as senior colleagues, were much appreciated. Many reported that the reaction to their advice was positive. In a detailed article in 1962, Pierre Houdeau wrote of the "hardly varying response" to the question whether progress was being made: "Things are better now! Things are going much better than last time!..."²⁶¹ and went on to suggest a programme of visits which would include "a half-day visit in the three or four days following appointment to a new position; frequent half-day visits to beginners; and longer but less frequent visits (one day, for example) to *remplaçants* who have acquired a certain amount of experience in the profession."²⁶² Practical problems were rife, naturally enough - the cost of transport (and whether a private car might be used), the costs of accommodation, the maintenance of the privileges of staff attached permanently to *écoles annexes*, and so on.²⁶³ But the scheme was clearly highly successful in bridging the gap between the *écoles normales* and the inexperienced unqualified beginner.

Remplaçants who completed their first year successfully could aspire to success in the *Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique*. In order to be accepted at the end of the first year, they were required to achieve an average mark of at least eight out of twenty in the following aspects of their work thus far:

a) at the *école normale*:

conduct and work (coefficient 1); average of marks in studies

²⁵⁸ Cf. *Code Soleil*, op. cit., p. 268

²⁵⁹ Circulars of 19 January 1961, 8 and 10 February 1961 and 10 September 1961; cf. Ouliac, André: *Maîtres itinérants d'école annexe*, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 16 February 1968, p. 991

²⁶⁰ Circular of 27 October 1960; see Guillemoteau, R. and Mayeur, P., op. cit., p. 302. (The *Loi Debré*, providing for state aid to the private schools, was passed on 31 December 1959).

²⁶¹ Houdeau, Pierre: *Le point de vue du maître itinérant d'école annexe*, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 13 April 1962, p. 1381

²⁶² *ibid.*, p. 1382

²⁶³ Cf. Ouliac, André: *Maîtres itinérants d'école annexe* (i), (ii) and (iii), in *Ecole Libératrice*, 16 February, 1 and 8 March 1968, pp. 991, 1047, 1105

- completed (coefficient 1); practice teaching (coefficient 2)
- b) during supervised teaching: assessment of *inspecteur* (coefficient 2)
- c) during *journées pédagogiques*: oral test and written assignments (coefficient 2)²⁶⁴

At the end of the second year (or its equivalent - no allowance having been made, for example, for military service and only half time allowed for teaching prior to completion of the *baccalauréat*²⁶⁵), the young teacher, if he was at least twenty years old, was eligible to sit for the examinations. Details of these have been given above²⁶⁶, but *remplaçants* had of course to sit the written examination and oral interrogation as well as satisfy in the practical test. The written and oral sections were prescribed in the *Arrêté* of 18 January 1887, as amended, and included the following:

Written tests:

A test of general pedagogy, duration three hours, coefficient 3; candidates will have the choice between two pedagogical topics;

A test of applied pedagogy, duration two hours, coefficient 2; candidates will have the choice between two topics of applied pedagogy as it relates to the subjects taught in the primary school. Candidates will also have the option of choosing a topic of applied pedagogy relative to activities in the infant school. [...]

Oral test:

This follows the practical test. Minimum length: one half-hour; It includes:

- a) an interrogation on school administration (syllabus used in écoles normales);
- b) an assessment of daily work-books, monthly work-books and class lesson note-books;
- c) an interrogation on practical pedagogical subjects (classroom organisation, methods and procedures of teaching, etc).²⁶⁷

Because the written tests were prepared for largely in the student's own time, numerous short text-books were written (generally by primary *inspecteurs*) to offer guidance in the types of questions to expect and in effective ways of answering, both for the written and for the practical and oral work.²⁶⁸ These indicate clearly enough that the

²⁶⁴ Bulletin Officiel, op. cit., loc. cit. (*Arrêté* of 21 October 1953, Article 16)

²⁶⁵ Cf. Guillemoteau, R. and Mayeur, P., op. cit., p. 306

²⁶⁶ General details of the requirements and specific information on the practical test are given on pp. 122-3.

²⁶⁷ Summary from Guillemoteau, R. and Mayeur, P., op. cit., pp. 307-8; cf. below, pp. 249-50

²⁶⁸ Typical examples from the late 1960's are:

Coiscault, H.: Aide-mémoire du C.A.P. (Hachette, Paris, 1966)

topics were based in the main on either the official *Instructions* or on the writings of the classic authors of texts on education. General pedagogy included in particular questions on the general aims of education, problems of school and syllabus organisation, problems of discipline and emulation, and questions of general methodology, including the essential aspects of audio-visual teaching. Typical questions for this paper were of this type:

The Official Instructions of 1923 indicate that the knowledge acquired in the primary school must provide the child with "all the practical learning which he will need in his lifetime." Has this ambition not been greatly reduced by more recent Instructions (1960)? Explain the causes of this evolution. What aim does elementary education now fix for itself in this regard?

"Order and punctuality." This slogan was printed prominently on the cover of a *bulletin départemental de l'enseignement primaire* fifty years ago. Has it lost its value today? How do you apply it in your class? How do you apply it to yourself?

- "What do you expect me to teach him, he does not love me."
- "The teacher must be heartless."

Comment on and discuss these opinions of two philosophers. Explain your own attitude on this point. What practical conclusions do you draw for the conduct of your own class?

What do you judge to be indispensable to be learnt by heart by the pupils you teach?²⁶⁹

The second paper offered subjects of a similar type concerning the methodology of each subject taught in the primary and infant schools. Typical were questions such as these:

Civics: Say briefly what the aim of Civics is in the primary school. How can one achieve this aim and give a true education in civics?

Mathematics: In some classes, all the pupils know their tables (addition and multiplication). In others, almost nobody... What, in your opinion, is the cause of this shocking difference? How will you set about seeing that tables are known with absolute security?

Social Studies: In the conclusion of his work, "*Demain ils*

Joseph-Gabriel, M.: La Dissertation pédagogique (Nouveautés de l'Enseignement, Paris, 1968)

Racq, A. C.: La Dissertation pédagogique au C.A.P. (Editions de l'Ecole, Paris, 1968)

Tronchère, J.: Le Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique (Colin, Paris, 1960)

See also below, p. 249, note 94

²⁶⁹ Selected from "A Hundred Essay Topics in Pedagogy", pp. 321-333, in Mareuil, A., Legrand, J. and Cruchet, M.: Guide pédagogique des jeunes (Hachette, Paris, 1965)

seront des hommes", Inspector-General Brunold insists on the need to make children understand the gravity of the problem of under-nourishment in the world. Are you of his opinion? Have you tackled this problem in your classroom, and how? What attitude does such information pre-suppose in the educator?²⁷⁰

In addition to passing the examinations for the *Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique*, the *remplaçant* was required to have been "registered" with the *inspecteur d'académie* for four years (a period which was reduced to three years in 1962) before seeking the status of *stagiaire* and then a permanent position.²⁷¹ "Registration" ("*mise à la disposition*") dated from the first inclusion on the list of *remplaçants* prepared in each *département*²⁷², and hence generally from the time when application was accepted. The period of *stagiarisation* lasted one year, from the 1st of January after the four (or three) years were completed, or, after October 1961, from the first of the month following this completion. It only ceased, however, if a position was available; in some cases, it was necessary for *stagiaires* to move to another *département* in order to find a position.²⁷³ At the end of this year, *remplaçants* received their "*titularisation*", and were listed for permanent appointment. Article 14 of the Decree of 28 October 1952 described the procedure:

[...] Each year in each *département* a list is prepared of (these) *titulaires* [...]. This list is drawn up in conformity with the Ministerial *arrêté* on the basis of length of teaching service acquired by applicants since nomination as *stagiaires*. Teachers on this list are appointed, in order of priority, to vacant positions in their home *département*. [...] ²⁷⁴

From this stage onwards, they became tenured primary school teachers and were treated exactly in the same way as those who had been fully trained in the *écoles normales*.

The preparation patterns of *normaliens* and those of *remplaçants* were therefore very different. The former had, in the majority of cases, been recruited at an early age and had become boarders at their local *école normale* where they had first completed their studies for the *baccalauréat* examination, generally under very advantageous conditions.

²⁷⁰ *ibid.*

²⁷¹ See Guillemoteau, R. and Mayeur, P., *op. cit.*, pp. 294-5, 299-300 (Decree of 28 October 1952, Articles 11-20, and *Arrêté* of 21 October 1953, Articles 17-21)

²⁷² See above, p. 142

²⁷³ *Bulletin Officiel*, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

²⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p. 3050 (6 November 1952)

The *remplaçants* had, on the other hand, completed secondary studies in an ordinary *collège* or *lycée*, and been recruited only after completion of the *baccalauréat* examination. At this stage a number of applicants had been recruited also directly into the *écoles normales* - those who had done best in the special recruitment examination - but these were not of course regarded as *remplaçants*. The *normaliens* had received a full year (and, in some cases, two years) of teacher preparation in the *écoles normales*, with appropriate practical experience, while the *remplaçants* had at best had only four and a half months at the *écoles normales*, and this time was not by any means always at the most appropriate stage. The *normaliens* had been able to pass the *Certificat de fin d'études normales* and hence were excused from the theoretical sections of the *Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique* examination, while the *remplaçants* had had to prepare partly while completing their other duties as temporary teachers. Regardless of the final results of this examination, the *normaliens* all took precedence over the *remplaçants* in gaining tenured status and permanent appointment. The only consolation of the *remplaçants* was that there existed a group of even more lowly teachers, the *suppléants*, without even the minimum of teacher training that they had received.

It would not have been surprising if these striking contrasts had resulted in great bitterness between the two groups. "The most amazing thing," as Toraille has said, "was that this amalgam of untrained and poorly trained teachers provided a body of instituteurs whose competence and concern for children compare most favourably with those of their predecessors."²⁷⁵ In fact, by allowing the ordinary secondary schools to provide the pre-*baccalauréat* work for all potential primary school teachers - with appropriate scholarships - it would have been possible to avoid the dichotomy almost entirely, but such a solution was rarely discussed seriously. The *Directeur-Adjoint* of the Paris men's *école normale* wrote in 1964:

So for twenty years we have retained in preference in the *écoles normales* students whom it would have been relatively easy to send elsewhere without their losing out in any way, and have prevented from entering the mass of *instituteurs remplaçants* who were the ones in the greatest need of coming. A paradoxical sense of priority!²⁷⁶

²⁷⁵ Toraille, Raymond: *Les Ecoles normales et leur avenir*, in Georges, G., Hannoun, H., Léon, L. and Toraille, R.: *La Formation des maîtres* (Editions E.S.F., Paris, 1974), p. 118

²⁷⁶ Delteil, E.: *La Structure des écoles normales*, in *Education*

But, as we have seen, such a radical change would have been in opposition to all the traditions of the primary school system and to the demands of both the officials in the Ministry of Education and the leaders of the unions. The *remplacants* continued to receive little effective preparation and sought as rapidly as possible to integrate themselves into the body of teachers trained according to the traditional patterns. They were in fact accepted there with little question. Only the events of the late 1960's and a concurrent change of attitude on the part of officials and union leaders brought about a substantial change in the approach to the whole problem of temporary and replacement staff.²⁷⁷

. . .

The details given in this Section of the way in which France prepared teachers for her infant and primary schools reveal clearly the extent to which a tradition established in the early years of the nineteenth century and reinforced by the organisation set out in the Republican regulations of the 1880's was maintained virtually unchanged until well beyond the middle of the twentieth century. At the same time, it is true, certain aspects of the system did change under the force of a rapidly changing social structure.

Unchanged throughout was the basic method of recruiting young men and women for service in the nation's primary schools. This recruitment remained an essentially local selection: the young student applied for entry to his local training institution and left it to teach in one of the local schools. Although provision was made for transfer to other départements, few took advantage of it and student-teachers in any one école normale therefore formed a close-knit community with essentially a common background. Recruitment was also still made at a comparatively young age, generally about fourteen, as it had been for more than a century. There was provision for selection at a later age, after the completion of secondary schooling, but this was regarded only as a method of filling vacant places. The type of assessment used to choose successful applicants had not changed fundamentally either. Although the average level of competence had risen markedly in the early years after the introduction of compulsory schooling, there had been an

²⁷⁷ *Nationale*, 11 June 1964, p. 12
Cf. below, pp. 267-74

assumption for many years that academic tests based on the syllabus of the final year of the junior cycle of secondary education and stressing those aspects considered important in primary school teaching were essential. The format of these tests did not change materially. Recruitment was also controlled so that approximately equal numbers of young men and young women were admitted, even though there was a steady increase in the proportion of girls applying. This reflected the fact that each département normally had two *écoles normales*, one for each sex and of roughly equal size. Even more importantly, assumptions concerning the types of background which were "suitable" for primary teachers remained strong and unchanging. As far as we can tell, the social and scholastic background of those entering the *écoles normales* remained to a large extent that of the lower middle classes. Applicants came from modest homes, from families where the parents sought "upward mobility" for their children, from farmers, minor government employees, artisans, small businessmen, from families with one or both parents already teaching in the primary school system. These children generally completed the first cycle of secondary studies in the equivalent of the upper grades of the primary system, the *cours complémentaires* or later the *collèges d'enseignement général*. The *écoles normales* to which they were admitted remained boarding establishments for all but a tiny number, and the organisation of life in them remained in general harsh and highly regimented. The atmosphere of a nineteenth century barracks remained paramount and was all the easier to maintain because of the fact that very few new buildings were erected; the traditions established in the nineteenth century still regulated the way of life of the inmates. The progression of students through the *écoles normales* and into primary teaching was as it had been for over a century: students became civil servants, with the privileges and restraints that that implied, and were bonded to the Ministry of Education for a period of ten years. Naturally, the security of employment which this provided was not challenged by either individuals or teacher organisations. Nor was there any substantial change in the course of study provided in preparation for teaching. The syllabuses included philosophy and psychology (the latter, it is true, substantially revised) and the methodology appropriate to the courses of study in use in the schools, as well as the study of educational legislation and *morale professionnelle* (the latter treated, however, with gradually growing scepticism). Practice teaching and the observation of model lessons

continued to be organised as in the past, using the *écoles annexes*, established in the grounds of each école normale, and the approved *classes d'application*. In these there was generally the assumption that the task was to pass on the sound methodologies of the past rather than to risk experiment with new approaches. The procedure for obtaining formal qualification and a tenured position also underwent no change. The examination for the *Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique* had been a requirement of the basic Law of 1886, and its essentially practical nature was maintained without any but superficial alterations. The progression was, then, known not only from official regulations but from long familiarity by all those concerned with teaching (and, in general, by the whole community). Changes in it were correspondingly difficult to achieve.

Changes there had nevertheless been since the pre-war period. The first of these was the adoption of the *baccalauréat* as the compulsory academic qualification of instituteurs in place of the *brevet supérieur*. The latter had been peculiar to the écoles normales, and the course of study prescribed for it had been specially constructed for pupils destined to a career in primary teaching. It was not regarded as the equivalent of the *baccalauréat* and did not give right of entry to universities. Its replacement by the *baccalauréat* during the Vichy régime was maintained after the war, with important repercussions for the system. It meant that it was now possible for *normaliens* to escape from the primary education sub-system and enter other professions, following university or other post-secondary studies. Although this possibility was symbolic rather than realistic (in view of the ten-year bond in particular), it had important effects on the attitude to the écoles normales. It meant also that the écoles normales became increasingly a special type of secondary school, concentrating on effective preparation for the academic examination rather than for teaching. The staff required in turn for this preparation were no longer almost exclusively trained in the *écoles normales supérieures*, as they had been before World War II, but were indistinguishable from other secondary teachers, and generally less fully committed to the task of teacher preparation than their predecessors. No special introduction to their rôle in the écoles normales was normally given to them before their appointment. The tentative introduction of a two-year course of post-*baccalauréat* studies to allow for a more effective professional preparation, which had been part of the revised regulations of 1946, was also a new

feature of some écoles normales, but it remained non-existent in many and experimental in the few where it was applied. The other new aspect of the work of the écoles normales was, however, of growing importance: this was the need to undertake the professional preparation of the corps of *remplaçants*. Into the écoles normales, in increasing numbers, came students without the traditional background of *normaliens*, many of them with some experience of teaching (often in difficult circumstances). They offered a new and complex challenge to staff often ill-equipped to cope with it.

Despite these new elements, however, the atmosphere of changelessness was the predominant one in France's primary teacher training colleges for the first twenty years of the post-war period. The ensuing Sections of this thesis seek to describe and explain the changes which occurred after this long era of stability.

. . . .

*Dans les écoles normales où l'on apprend
un beau métier et où se transmet une espèce
d'humanisme populaire, quelque chose bouge.
A l'horizon se dessine la promesse d'un
printemps de l'enseignement.*

- Paul Juif, 1965

*Or voici que le procès de l'école normale
va grand train. Le bûcher même est déjà
prêt; les bonnes intentions y convergent,
le fagot à la main.*

- André Galan, 1964

*La rénovation pédagogique est en cours,
lentement au moins, depuis l'invention de
l'écriture (...) mais elle n'a jamais été
catastrophique en elle-même avant 1968.
Alors elle a pris tout à coup la dimension
et la majesté d'une institution, ou plutôt
d'une contre-institution surréaliste,
étrange, pédante et solennelle, comme dans
un conte de Kafka. Tout le pays s'est
couvert comme par enchantement d'un réseau
serré d'organismes jacassants: colloques,
rencontres, congrès, séminaires, rallies,
meetings, états généraux, défilés, comités
départementaux, académiques, inter-
académiques, nationaux, internationaux,
etc, festivals, fiestas, parlottes et
décervelages en tous genres.*

- Pierre Grandgeorges, 1975

SECTION 5

CHANGING AN UNCHANGING TRADITION: THE IMPULSE TO CHANGE

Against this background of stability and tradition of changelessness, it is possible to trace the early moves for reform which gradually, almost imperceptibly, led, by the time of the important education conferences at Caen and Amiens in 1966 and 1968 and the student revolution of May 1968, to a climate in which quite radical reform was possible. Most of the factors involved were evolutionary in nature and can be traced back to suggestions, proposals, discussions, isolated journal articles and small sections of large projects for reform. Early moves are apparent from the first years of the twentieth century. The associations of primary teachers and of école normale staff had developed policies gradually over a long period which were ready for rapid adoption when the time came. Several of the senior administrators had had personal experience in the écoles normales and were ready to assist. Thus, although there were, equally, factors which remained beyond effective resistance - notably social and economic factors - the end of the 1960's saw rapid transformations in most of the system of primary teacher preparation.

. . . .

The aspect of primary teacher education for which there were the most constant efforts for reform was the age of recruitment. Allied to this was the effort to introduce some form of post-secondary training institute. The first official indications of this new way of thinking date from 1904, when the Massé Report was issued.¹ Massé was a Radical politician and the *rapporteur*² for the Education budget in the parliament at that time.³ The idea which he introduced in the budget

¹ Journal Officiel: Chambre des Députés (Imprimerie Nationale, Paris), December 1904, p. 1351. A detailed summary is included in Gontard, Maurice: La Question des écoles normales de la Révolution de 1879 à nos jours (I.P.N./C.R.D.P., Toulouse, n.d.), pp. 115-118

² See Glossary

report had been suggested at a conference of secondary teachers in the *académie* of Caen, and had already been favourably received in parts of the press. Massé proposed that the *écoles normales* should be abolished and that the training of primary teachers should be undertaken by the *lycées*, or "even higher education [...] which prepares teachers for secondary education." "Would it be so difficult," he asked, "to have in each *département*, or better in each university town, a *lycée* which would have the special task of preparing future instituteurs?" He pointed to four main advantages for such a reform. There would be a financial gain for the authorities at the national level and also in the *départements*. There would be an intellectual gain both in terms of knowledge and in terms of openness of mind, which would "preserve (the students) from the dogmatic approach often held against them." Recruitment would be easier, in a period when there was a decline in the number of applicants, particularly of men. Massé expected a considerable increase in the number of *lycéens* whose ambition it would become to take up "a position in Education which was both honorable and honoured." And finally, there were social and political advantages. Anti-militarism and socialism were claimed to be spreading rapidly among young primary teachers - a claim which was certainly true - and the cause of this was said to lie in their isolation from other young people while at the *école normale*.⁴ Moreover, they could not, while so isolated, learn to mix effectively with others from different backgrounds:

These young people, who today live isolated from and not knowing each other, will tomorrow be men called upon to live with each other. Are we not concerned that the special and peculiar education which they have received may give birth to and nourish endless misunderstandings between them?⁵

Other writers suggested the creation of new *écoles normales* in the university towns, or, more significantly, the transfer from the local *école normale* after two years to an "*institut normal*" attached to a university.⁶

There was naturally an immediate campaign against such proposals from

³ Prost, Antoine: L'Enseignement en France 1800-1967 (Colin, Paris, 1968), p. 447

⁴ Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., p. 116

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 447; Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., p. 118. The latter proposal came from the secondary teachers in the *académie* of Caen.

defenders of the *écoles normales* and the system they represented. Among these were Ferdinand Buisson, a famous Director of Primary Education, and Francisque Vial, a well-known philosopher of the period. The argument for financial savings was refuted with the claim that there would be additional expense in setting up and staffing the new classes in the *lycées*. But there would in fact be no additional recruitment, as "the bourgeoisie would never prefer the humble career of instituteur for their children." The particular political and moral attitudes of *normaliens* were said to be widespread among other sections of the community also, and therefore not caused by their isolation in the *écoles normales*. There were also seen to be numerous practical problems in trying to integrate the special tasks of teacher preparation into the programmes of the *lycées*. The students would not fit easily into the courses unless they had begun their secondary studies in a *lycée* (rather than in the upper grades of the *école primaire*). Some of the subjects they might be required to study - such as Latin or foreign languages - would be of no use to them. No-one would be able to provide the proper courses in manual arts, singing, writing and gymnastics. And, indeed, "who will take on the pedagogical training? The *professeurs de lycée*? They know nothing of the needs of primary education or of the nature of children aged from six to ten."⁷

This project came to nothing therefore, except in so far as the Ministry took something of its spirit into account in its reform of the course of study in 1905.⁸ The idea of providing a purely post-secondary institute for primary teacher training and the associated suggestion that recruits should receive their senior secondary schooling in the *lycées* were nevertheless not forgotten. Nor was the possibility that the universities might be required to perform the task of providing the professional preparation for instituteurs.

One of the most interesting manuscripts concerning teacher training prepared at the time is that by Gasquet, written probably about 1912 or 1913, and held by the Library of the Institut National de Recherche et de Documentation Pédagogiques in Paris.⁹ After a succinct account

⁷ Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., p. 117

⁸ Cf. above, p. 65

⁹ Gasquet, A.: La Réforme des écoles normales, typewritten document, undated, 63 pp., with numerous manuscript corrections. My suggested dates are based on internal evidence, for example

of the history of the *écoles normales* in France, Gasquet went on to indicate the shortcomings he saw in the system. The *écoles normales* were "insufficient for the needs of a continually increasing public service"; only 60% of appointments could be from qualified students, the remainder "entering teaching without any professional preparation."¹⁰ There was therefore an undeniable and profound division within the ranks of primary teachers between those with training and higher salaries and those without.¹¹ In addition, the course of study in the *écoles normales* was too difficult and led to constant feelings of anxiety on the part of students as they fought for life in this "limitless ocean" of extremely diverse subjects.¹² Gasquet then argued that the time had come to raise the point of entry; just as twenty-five years previously the *brevet élémentaire* had been required, now the *brevet supérieur* "or its equivalent" should be the basic qualification.¹³ Nothing then would "divert these training schools from their destiny, which is to form professionals." Preparation for the *brevet supérieur* would take place, not in the *lycées* (where the *baccalauréat* was the final qualification), but in the *écoles primaires supérieures* and the *cours complémentaires*. According to Gasquet, nothing prevented "the extension by a year or even more" of the course as then provided; it would thus be possible to spread the work over a full six years between the ages of twelve and seventeen.¹⁴ Such a change would result in the freeing of sufficient places in the *écoles normales* to offer a two-year professional course to all entrants and "allow all primary teachers to pass through the *école normale*, or at least the great majority of them."¹⁵ There were in this plan almost all the essential features of the type of primary teacher preparation which was to be discussed so fully and eventually introduced in the period following World War II.

But Gasquet went further and in his fourth chapter considered the

references at the beginning of Part III to statistics for 1911 and to the *Revue Pédagogique* for October 1912. Page references are to a straight numbering of the pages rather than to the generally eccentric paging by the writer himself.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 36

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 39

¹² *ibid.*, pp. 37-8

¹³ *ibid.*, p. 40

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 41

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 42

possibilities of requiring the universities to prepare primary school teachers. It is true that he concluded that this was neither desirable nor practicable, but the detailed arguments which he developed were remarkably similar to those frequently expressed later by those more inclined to urge such a development. Gasquet first pointed out the possible advantages, in terms of widened experience and a better understanding of academic methods. But he went on quickly to point out the practical problems of costs and of re-location of students and the more serious problems that would result from the attempt to mix the social classes in one institution. The latter danger has, as we have already seen, been one of the most constant assumptions of those concerned with teacher education in France.¹⁶

Before going further (wrote Gasquet), it would be well for us to ask ourselves whether it would be wise for poor young men, born and brought up in circumstances where saving and economising are essential, destined for tasks which are infinitely honourable but modest, to live in egalitarian promiscuity with the young men who frequent our universities.¹⁷

He saw this as an impossible situation, leading to immediate attempts by the "poor young men" to escape into other, better-paid and more highly regarded occupations. And he saw also the utter impossibility of providing this type of preparation for young girls, and hence a very real problem in maintaining side by side two very different types of primary teacher preparation - one for the men and the other, at a lower level, for the women. Finally, he pointed out the impossibility of requiring that the university faculties provide the professional pedagogy needed and of setting up practising schools as annexes to the universities. To do so would, in any case, simply establish in a new site a more expensive and less effective equivalent of the *école normale* as it was.¹⁸

This early document contains a clear outline of the thinking of those who wanted to reform the teacher preparation patterns in the early part of this century. The ideas expressed in it were to be taken up again and again for the next half century, before eventually being put into practice.

After World War I, there was a first move to provide for entry to the *écoles normales* in the third year of the course, that is at the level

¹⁶ Cf. above, pp. 7-10, 80

¹⁷ Gasquet, A., op. cit., p. 47

¹⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 49-53

of the *brevet supérieur*. The reason was simply that there were so few young men offering themselves for recruitment, as a result of war losses. The Law was dated 6 October 1919.¹⁹ This change might have resulted in a major widening of the social sources of recruitment, but it was made very difficult by the integrated programme of studies introduced in 1920²⁰, so that the numbers actually admitted at this level remained very small.

At the same time, attention in France was directed more and more towards the need to develop a more democratic school system, and the concept of the "*école unique*" was born. Instrumental in this were the group known as the *Compagnons de l'Université Nouvelle*, a section of the *Association Nationale pour l'Organisation de la Démocratie* which had been formed by young soldiers, many of them teachers, during the War.²¹ The *Compagnons* put forward a plan which "involved a structural change in education [...] based on the age of children and the level of their studies instead of on two types of school for two different social classes."²² This was a radical departure from the existing structure, and from the deeply entrenched assumptions of the population. Part of the plan involved the establishment of common primary schools for all children, with a choice of schools at age thirteen or fourteen. One choice was for entry to the *écoles normales*. The *écoles normales* were thus seen for the first time as establishments belonging to secondary rather than to primary education. An important article indicating this was published by Paul Lapie²³ in 1922. "Do we believe," he wrote, "that the inspector of buildings and supplies for *lycées* would not be qualified to taste the soup in the *écoles normales*? Is there perhaps a primary soup and a secondary soup?"²⁴ He speaks of *lycées normaux* (replacing the word "*écoles*" with

¹⁹ Cf. Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., p. 118

²⁰ See above, p. 66

²¹ The history of the development of the *école unique* is set out in, for example, Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 405-426, and in Wykes, Olive: Secondary Education in France During the Fourth Republic, 1944-58 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Melbourne University, 1961), pp. 117 et seq.

²² Wykes, Olive, op. cit., p. 118

²³ Paul Lapie (1869-1927) was *recteur* of the *académie* of Toulouse, then Director of Primary Education, before becoming *recteur* of the *académie* of Paris in 1925.

²⁴ Lapie, Paul: *Esquisse d'une réforme générale de notre enseignement national*, reprinted in Pédagogie Française (Alcan, Paris, 1926), p. 249. Cf. Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 427-8

"lycées"), and even of *sections normales* as part of ordinary *lycées*, in a way which immediately recalls the Massé proposals.²⁵ These revolutionary ideas fell, moreover, on ears favourably disposed to reform. They were supported by the left-wing parties as part of their platform, so that, when, in 1924, the *Cartel des Gauches*, a "coalition of radicals, socialists and communists under the leadership of the radical Herriot,"²⁶ came to power, it immediately became official policy. Herriot himself had in fact been a *normalien*. He appointed a committee to make plans for the *école unique*, and appointed as its *rapporteur* Paul Langevin, a man later to be famous for his post-World War II reform proposals.²⁷ However, there was no time for more than minor reform before the Government fell.

In the 1930's, the idea of post-secondary *écoles normales* continued to be put forward regularly. A. de Monzie did so in 1930,²⁸ and Maurice Robert made a significant contribution to the debate in a project he placed before the Parliament in 1934. Robert proposed that the *écoles normales* should cease to recruit before the end of the complete secondary course, taking in only applicants who possessed the *baccalauréat* or the *brevet supérieur*. Bursaries should be awarded to students in the final secondary years in either *collèges* or *écoles primaires supérieures* to enable them to prepare for entry. The *écoles normales* should then offer a fully professional course lasting two years.²⁹ In every detail this is the same as the Gasquet proposal and similar to the Massé recommendations.

Therefore, when a left-wing government came again to power in 1936 - the radical-socialist *Front Populaire*, led by Socialist Léon Blum - the way was already plain for reform in this aspect of education. Blum appointed as his Minister of Education a young lawyer and journalist, Jean Zay.

Jean Zay was filled with the reformer's zeal for democratic change, and set out to achieve the goals of the "*école unique*" movement, by

²⁵ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 447-8

²⁶ Wykes, Olive, op. cit., p. 138

²⁷ See below, p. 168, note 36

²⁸ See Rustin, G.: Faut-il brûler les *écoles normales*? in *Education Nationale*, 6 December 1962, p. 19

²⁹ Robert's proposals are published as Annex 2849 in *Journal Officiel - Documents Parlementaires, Chambre des Députés* (Imprimerie Nationale, Paris), 11 January 1934. Cf. Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., p. 119

introducing a single pattern of primary and secondary education within the public system. His plan was simple and coherent. First, it was necessary to turn primary education into a true first stage of education for all. This meant abolishing the junior classes of the *lycées*, and providing a *certificat d'études* at age eleven. The second stage of education would begin with a common year - a "*classe-vestibule*" or "*tronc commun*" - to allow for the proper "orientation" of the pupils: this was the most original of the suggestions in the project, and became a feature of all subsequent projects for education reform in France. There would follow three parallel sections - classical, modern and technical - to provide suitable secondary education for all children. The minimum leaving age would become fourteen.³⁰ Although the proposal was approved by the Government and by the *Conseil Supérieur*, it was not destined to proceed beyond the stage of consideration by the various parliamentary committees. Only the raising of the leaving age was voted into law (in 1936). Jean Zay was also able to achieve by decree a number of important changes, especially those concerning the directorates of each level of education and the programmes of study at the secondary level. In the latter case, the effect was to provide some common courses of study for the first four years of the *lycées* and *collèges* and the *écoles primaires supérieures*.³¹

Included in the Jean Zay project were important suggestions for the preparation and qualifications of primary teachers:

Article 16: In primary schools, no-one may carry out the functions of head-teacher or teacher or be in charge of a class, unless he or she is in possession of the *baccalauréat*.

Article 17: Candidates for the functions of teaching in public primary schools must receive professional preparation in the *écoles normales primaires*. Their study is to be sanctioned by a *certificat d'aptitude pédagogique*.³²

Two important suggestions from earlier reform discussions are incorporated in these two articles. The proposal that all primary teachers should have the *baccalauréat* - and not (necessarily) the *brevet supérieur* - placed the *écoles normales* clearly in the secondary sector, and meant that the professional work must belong to post-

³⁰ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 418

³¹ *ibid.*, p. 419

³² *Journal Officiel - Documents Parlementaires, Chambre des Députés*, op. cit., Annexe 2038, 5 March 1937. Cf. Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 448

secondary education. There would be a resultant need to adapt the academic work of all pupils who might aspire to eventual entry to the *écoles normales*. Article 17 implies - without any clear delimitation - that the *écoles normales* themselves would be confined to professional studies. Later, in a lecture delivered on 29 November 1937, Jean Zay indicated that he favoured a pattern in which *normaliens* would be recruited at the end of the fourth year of secondary education, would be accommodated as *internes* at the *écoles normales* from that stage, but would complete their academic studies at the nearest *lycée*.³³

There was considerable enthusiasm and support for these proposed reforms of primary teacher preparation, and not least among the conservative elements of society, which for social, religious and political reasons tended to be opposed to the existing *écoles normales*. They saw the changes as effectively destroying the power of the "*séminaires laïques*" to form a specific type of instituteur with immense power over the minds and feelings of their children.³⁴ The *Syndicat National des Instituteurs*, on the other hand, saw its future threatened: "To touch the Ecoles Normales would be to threaten the very recruitment of our secular teaching service, to reduce it in quantity and in quality, for the élite of the children of the working classes (*le peuple*) would head towards less repellent careers."³⁵

In fact, as we have seen, this major reform project did not become law, and World War II intervened before further progress was made with change in either the primary system itself or the pattern of primary teacher preparation. That Jean Zay's proposals for the latter became in essence the system put into effect by the Vichy government was, as we shall see, unfortunate, and prevented its adoption by any post-war administration for more than twenty years.

. . . .

When the *écoles normales* were reopened at the end of World War II, they remained as they had been in the pre-war years, with the one important exception that the *brevet supérieur* had not been reinstated but the *baccalauréat* had become the basic academic qualification. Of

³³ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., loc. cit.

³⁴ Details are given by Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., pp. 119-120

³⁵ Quoted by Gontard, Maurice, op. cit., p. 120, from *Journal des Instituteurs*, Vol. 84, No. 12

the other reform proposals that had been so frequently discussed, the suggestion that the *écoles normales* should offer two years of post-secondary professional training was accepted but scarcely put into practice, the idea of using the *lycées* in any way to provide the preparation for the *baccalauréat* was vigorously opposed because of its adoption under the Vichy régime, and the use of university facilities or staff for any aspect of the work of *normaliens* was not considered at all. But the idea of the "*école unique*" was by no means forgotten, and the first and the greatest of the reform proposals in the field of education prepared in post-war France put it forward again as the blueprint for the future of compulsory schooling in the nation. The document containing the proposals was the Langevin-Wallon Report. The Langevin-Wallon Commission was set up by the post-war Provisional Government under an *Arrêté* of 8 November 1944, and its report was presented on 19 June 1947.³⁶ In some eighty pages it provided a "lucid and audacious"³⁷ new picture of French education as it might be. It has remained, as Prost has said, "the almost liturgical point of reference for all those who seek the 'democratisation' of education in France."³⁸ Indeed, gradually over the last decade, most of its proposals have re-emerged as part of the accepted pattern of the national education system.

In accordance with the ideas of Jean Zay, but going further structurally, the Report set out to provide an "*école unique*" with

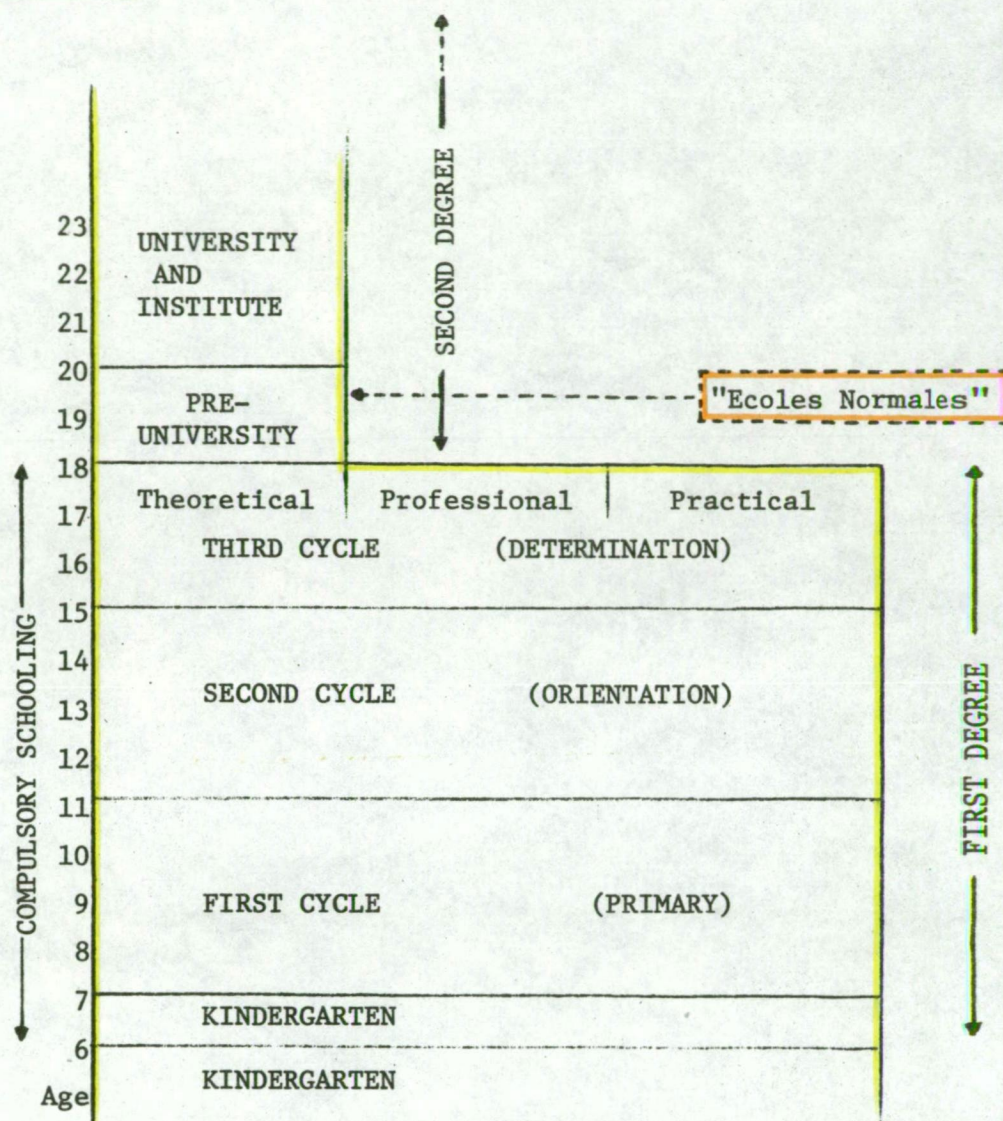
³⁶ The full text has been published a number of times; quotations below are from Projet de réforme Langevin-Wallon, 1947 (Institut Pédagogique National, Paris, 1962). For detailed commentary on the recommendations of the Project, see: Le Plan Langevin-Wallon de réforme de l'enseignement (Compte-rendu du Colloque organisé par le Groupe Français d'Education Nouvelle et la Société Française de Pédagogie) (P.U.F., Paris, 1964); Natanson, Jacques and Prost, Antoine: La Révolution scolaire (Ed. Ouvrières, Paris, 1963); Decaunes, L. and Cavalier, M.-L.: Réformes et projets de réformes de l'enseignement français de la Révolution à nos jours (S.E.V.P.E.N., Paris, 1962); Majault, Joseph: L'Enseignement en France (McGraw-Hill, Maidenhead, 1973), pp. 18 et seq.; Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 420 et seq.; Chevallier, P., Gersperrin, B. and Maillet, J.: L'Enseignement français de la Révolution à nos jours (Mouton, Paris, 1968), pp. 179 et seq.

Professor Paul Langevin (1872-1946) was a famous physicist and the initial Chairman of the Commission; his untimely death came before the Report was completed; Professor Henri Wallon (1879-1962), professor of psychology at the Collège de France, took his place and brought the work of the Commission to its conclusion.

³⁷ Haas, Georgette: La Formation des maîtres, in Ecole et la Nation, January 1974, p. 23

³⁸ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 420

FIGURE 13: THE LANGEVIN-WALLON PLAN, 1947



three successive stages: a primary cycle (6-11 years), an orientation cycle (11-15 years) which would resemble but greatly extend the orientation period proposed by Jean Zay, and a specialisation cycle (15-18 years). (Cf. Figure 13, above). This restructuring was to be accompanied by an equally radical reorganisation of the teaching service itself.

The whole of Chapter III of the Report was devoted to new measures for the preparation of teachers at all levels of education. Langevin regarded the first two cycles proposed in the Report as constituting compulsory education and began the chapter therefore by proposing the abolition of the distinction between primary teachers and secondary teachers and the introduction of the new concept of "basic subject" teachers as distinct from specialist teachers. The basic subjects would comprise the entire curriculum in the first cycle but only part

of it in the second cycle; specialist teachers would share the teaching in the second cycle and be completely responsible for it in the third cycle. There followed the first major new suggestion concerning teacher preparation: both of these groups would receive the same basic training, entry to which would require success in the *baccalauréat* examination. The Langevin-Wallon Report was the first major document in French educational development to propose some form of common preparation for all teachers. This common core would be provided in the *écoles normales*:

Future basic subject and specialist teachers will do two years of pre-university study in the *écoles normales*. They will receive both practical and theoretical education. On the one hand, they will be put into contact with pupils in the *écoles annexes* (an experience which could be delayed until later only at the cost of introducing serious pedagogical problems); on the other, each will receive a preparation in his own specialty for later theoretical studies at the university.

To a certain extent, the *écoles normales* will be a pre-university orientation cycle. A distinction may be made between future teachers who are interested particularly in children and their psychology and in pedagogical problems and those whose tastes lead them rather to literary and scientific studies.³⁹

This was an entirely new approach to the *écoles normales*, which would have ceased entirely to form a specialised extension of the upper grades of the primary school - or even of the *lycée* - and become a post-secondary institution providing simultaneously for later entry to a university and for initiation into practical aspects of teaching (cf. Figure 13, above). Langevin went on to indicate that all students should proceed from these two years of preliminary study to a university where they would spend two more years to complete a first degree. The total of four years of training was far more than had ever before been proposed for primary school teachers and represented a revolution in the stress it placed on teaching competence for specialist teachers. Following the gaining of the degree, teachers would be on probation for one year (as *stagiaires*, in the tradition of the primary system⁴⁰), and would gain their teaching certification after a practical examination of teaching aptitude.⁴¹ (Langevin recognised too that the most able academics would wish to proceed further, and retained the *agrégation*⁴² in a modified form which

³⁹ Projet de réforme Langevin-Wallon, 1947, op. cit., p. 21

⁴⁰ Cf. above, p. 123

⁴¹ Projet de réforme Langevin-Wallon, 1947, op. cit., p. 22

⁴² See Glossary

included pedagogical work, adding that "during the year of preparation for it they will have leave from their teaching positions"⁴³).

Four aspects of the proposals, as they would have affected the *écoles normales*, were essentially repetitions of ideas which had already had considerable circulation. The abolition of a special academic qualification for teachers was assumed - the *brevet supérieur* would not be reinstated. All work up to the level of the *baccalauréat* would be done elsewhere than in the *écoles normales* - the final years in nearby *lycées*. The *écoles normales* would therefore lose much of their special atmosphere and their special "mission". It would no longer be possible to impregnate impressionable youngsters with specific ideas about their future rôle as instituteurs. The political and religious background implicit in the pre-war teaching of the *écoles normales* would change and perhaps disappear. The authors of the reform were quite firm in believing that existing differences in mentality and attitude between different sections of the teaching profession should be erased. In a speech in 1946, Wallon said:

I believe it to be indispensable that the future teachers who enter the *école normale* should have passed through the secondary school system, whatever may be the very serious difficulties and inconveniences which are at present put forward. We cannot continue to prepare two types of teachers who are entirely distinct as a result of their training. It will be necessary to provide for the continued "popular" recruitment of instituteurs as in the past; this must be done with maintenance bursaries as well as scholarships. In the future, I would see it as a great disadvantage that candidates for entry to primary teaching should prepare the *baccalauréat* elsewhere than in the *lycée* - that would mean the retention of a sort of caste of exclusiveness on their part. [...] After the *Ecole normale*, and possibly in another *Ecole normale* situated in proximity to a university, these teachers must participate in university studies. [...] ⁴⁴

Wallon clearly believed that integration of the teaching profession was a vital necessity in post-war France. The other aspect of the proposal which was not new was, of course, that studies of a professional nature should extend over a period of at least two years.

One central aspect of the proposal seems however to have been entirely novel for France. The possibility of using the universities as one of the two training institutions for primary teachers had, at most, been

⁴³ Projet de réforme Langevin-Wallon, 1947, op. cit., loc. cit.

⁴⁴ From a speech delivered at Besançon in 1946; quoted by Georges, J., in La Formation des maîtres du premier degré, Syndicalisme Universitaire, 19 February 1946, p. 1068/8

given theoretical consideration and rejected as simply impracticable up to this time.⁴⁵ It would have meant the sudden promotion of the status of the trained primary teacher from that of the primary system to the post-secondary, and was almost certainly also seen as impracticable as an immediately applicable measure even by the members of the Commission themselves. Fraser reports Langevin as having said:

Do you think that I believe in the possibility of any total implementation, tomorrow, of this plan we are striving to design freely? No. We shall say, 'There, as a whole, is how one can conceive a unitary reform of our education. What we must hold to is the principles. The spirit. As far as implementation is concerned, we shall come to it gradually. By stages. Step by step, without catastrophic upheavals.'⁴⁶

Years later, in 1967, the *Directeur* of the men's école normale at Aix could still wonder "whether the French universities are ready to assume their new function."⁴⁷ Yet slowly the principle did permeate the thinking of many of those concerned with the future of primary teacher preparation, as we shall see.

It is true to say, however, that in general the proposals of the Langevin-Wallon Report were not received with any enthusiasm (apart from the initial favourable response in the earliest post-war days). The "circumstances became unfavourable," as Prost says, and "men of vision were lacking."⁴⁸ The unions representing the primary teachers and the staffs of the écoles normales (the *S.N.I.* and the *S.N.P.E.N.*) were hesitant, but not opposed:

We must point out to you that we shall, on certain important points, have questions to ask, and, on some essential aspects, very serious reservations to formulate.⁴⁹

(We) pay homage to the generous views which have inspired the project [...] and underline our agreement with the fundamental ideas [...]; (but we) consider that this reform can only proceed as a whole and request that there be no move in the immediate future for the disintegration of institutions which have proved their worth [...] and which will in the future be able to integrate themselves harmoniously into the overall plan of the reform.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Cf. Gasquet's comments, above, p. 162

⁴⁶ Fraser, W.R.: *Education and Society in Modern France* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1963), p. 109

⁴⁷ Juif, Paul: *La Rénovation des écoles normales*, in *Education Nationale*, 13 April 1967, p. 9

⁴⁸ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 421

⁴⁹ Pour l'étude du projet Wallon et de la formation des maîtres du 1er degré, Lettre de la secrétaire générale, in *Bulletin du S.N.P.E.N.*, December 1947, p. 7

⁵⁰ Motion sur la réforme de l'enseignement, in *Bulletin du S.N.P.E.N.*, May 1948, p. 3

But opposition came from the secondary teachers (particularly over the details of the second cycle and who would teach in it), from the Church (which felt its own schools to be under threat), and from the conservative elements in the Parliament and outside it (who were opposed ideologically to the Commission, many of whose leading members were left-wing).⁵¹ Mialaret, in his discussion of the project, speaks of the need that existed to "modify a very great number of prejudices" and to "overthrow habits which sometimes dated from the Middle Ages."⁵² The financial situation of the country also was such that no reform involving major additional expenditures could have been envisaged. And so this major project did not get beyond the stage of discussion, and it was to be the end of the next decade before fundamental reform of the system was eventually undertaken. When these changes did come, however, they were to prove to be in direct line with the concepts of the "*école unique*" as developed in the Langevin-Wallon Project: it had "shown the road which had to be followed."⁵³

. . . .

The Fourth Republic (1946-58) was to be a period marked by frequent proposals for reform of the education system, but none of the schemes put forward was adopted. It was only after the establishment of the Fifth Republic under De Gaulle that a cohesive scheme was at last implemented. Moreover, none of the proposals made under the Fourth Republic contained any suggestions for change in the preparation of teachers for the primary schools; some made no reference to the subject at all.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., loc. cit.

⁵² Mialaret, Gaston: *La Formation des maîtres*, in Le Plan Langevin-Wallon de réforme de l'enseignement, op. cit., p. 27

⁵³ Dezaly, R.: *Situation et avenir des écoles normales*, in Le Normalien dijonnais, September-October 1969, p. 5

⁵⁴ A detailed account of these schemes is included in Wykes, Olive, op. cit.; see also: Fraser, W.R.: Education and Society in Modern France, op. cit.; Fraser, W.R.: Reforms and Restraints in Modern French Education (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1971); Decaunes, Luc and Cavalier, M.-L.: Réformes et projets de réforme de l'enseignement français de la Révolution à nos jours (I.P.N., Paris, 1962); Capelle, J.: L'Ecole de demain reste à faire (P.U.F., Paris, 1966); and, for good brief summaries: Chevallier, P., Gersperrin, B. and Maillet, J.: L'Enseignement français de la Révolution à nos jours (Mouton, Paris, 1968), pp. 184-195, and Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 421-3

The first, the Delbos Plan (1949), included in its proposals:

Article 38: Teachers in public elementary schools are to receive their professional preparation in the *écoles normales départementales*.⁵⁵

The Berthoin Plan (1955) included a similar recommendation:

Section VIII, Article 47: Teachers in elementary schools are instituteurs recruited and trained in accordance with the legislation at present in force.⁵⁶

In 1956, a new Minister, Billères, attempted to get a cohesive proposal through the Parliament. Submitted to the *Conseil Supérieur* on 3 and 4 July, it recommended that the school leaving age should be raised to sixteen (as from October 1964), that all children should receive the same type of education up to the age of thirteen, the last two years of this period being an "orientation cycle", to be taught in special "intermediate" schools, and that there be three main streams available beyond that (housed wherever possible in the one school). This Plan met immediate and violent opposition from those concerned to defend the existing secondary schools, and received only limited support even from the primary teachers, who would nevertheless have gained from it by becoming involved in the orientation cycle.⁵⁷ It made no specific recommendations concerning the preparation of teachers except to indicate:

Section VII, Article 31: The organisation of the preparation and further training of teachers in State schools and the conditions under which these teachers will participate in the various levels of education defined by the present Law will be determined by decree.⁵⁸

On the official level during the Fourth Republic there were therefore no moves for change in teacher preparation. During the same period, the various teacher unions remained divided on the matter. The *Fédération de l'Education Nationale* had indicated that it was in favour of a common preparation for all teachers with recruitment after the *baccalauréat*; and the *Syndicat Général de l'Education Nationale* had, at a Congress in 1956, expressed itself in favour of the creation of *instituts pédagogiques*, where primary and secondary teachers would

⁵⁵ Quoted in Dessauvages, Claudie: "Réforme" des écoles normales, in *Vie Enseignante*, December 1957, p. 12

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁷ Cf. Prost, Antoine, *op. cit.*, p. 422

⁵⁸ Quoted in Desauvages, Claudie, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

share some work, with post-*baccalauréat* recruitment; but the *Syndicat National des Instituteurs* and the *Syndicat National des Professeurs des Ecoles Normales* were both opposed to changes of this type, and continued to urge the maintenance of the *écoles normales*, but with a lengthened professional course of two years.⁵⁹ There was clearly no detailed plan for a basic reform of teacher education prepared at this time by any of these bodies; at the most, there was a feeling that some aspects of the Langevin-Wallon reform proposals should be adapted for application to the system as it continued to exist.

Such adaptations would be dependent on the introduction of changes in the system of secondary schooling - essentially on the successful adoption of the "*école unique*" for all children in the State schools. When the Fourth Republic fell, and was replaced by the government of General de Gaulle, such a change became possible. De Gaulle's Minister for Education was Jean Berthoin, author of a previous plan (that of 1955). He took advantage of the period of government by decree granted to De Gaulle when he came to power, and introduced the new pattern by the Decree of 6 January 1959, a few days before the newly elected *Assemblée Nationale* met.⁶⁰ Berthoin raised the school leaving age to sixteen (to take effect in 1967), and introduced the two-year orientation cycle which had been proposed by Billères. But he did not envisage special intermediate schools for this purpose. Nor did he change the status of existing schools (though the *cours complémentaires* were renamed *collèges d'enseignement général*): Section X, Article 59 of the Decree stated that "the administrative and financial system of school establishments already existing is to be maintained despite the change of nomenclature of these establishments."⁶¹ This meant that differences remained marked at the junior secondary level despite the introduction of the compulsory period of orientation and the possibility of transfer of pupils from one type of school to another. And it meant that there was no change required in the training or status of teachers. Yet, despite its relatively limited nature, this important reform did quickly become part of the pattern of school organisation in France, and it prepared the way for the gradual introduction of other needed changes in the system.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 12-13

⁶⁰ This Decree is treated very fully in Fraser, W.R.: *Education and Society in Modern France*, *op. cit.*, and Wykes, Olive, *op. cit.*

⁶¹ *Bulletin Officiel*, *op. cit.*, 12 January 1959, p. 17

Meanwhile, efforts in the écoles normales were confined largely to the fight to gain two years of post-*baccalauréat* training for all *normaliens*. Already this was part of the official regulations, as we have seen, but it was not generally applied because of the shortage of places.⁶² As early as 1950, various types of organisation which would allow for two years had been proposed by the administration: a recruitment between the two pre-*baccalauréat* years, *seconde* and *première*, and a recruitment for some students into the écoles normales and some into the *lycées* in each of these two years.⁶³ At the same time, it was estimated that 250 new teachers and much new construction would be needed if the second year of professional study were to be simply added with no other changes.⁶⁴ However, none of these plans was applied, though in some areas various experimental modifications of the one-year course were tried out.

Of these, the Mériaux scheme is the best documented.⁶⁵ Robert Mériaux, *directeur* of the Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs at Douai (Nord), proposed a pattern spread over two years which would include the equivalent of one year at the école normale and one year of practical teaching. In this way, he was able to avoid adding to the numbers attending the école normale at any one time. Students in the scheme spent the first three (or four and a half) months in introductory studies with the lecturers at the école normale, and were then given temporary positions as full-time *suppléants*. Their temporary teaching continued (not necessarily in the same school) into the first half of the following year, and then they returned to the école normale to complete their professional studies. Mériaux believed that there were advantages to be gained by allowing students to have extended contact with the realities of the class situation at an early stage: "It is necessary to have lived through, to have come up against, a problem in all its forms, in order really to understand the necessity of arms

⁶² See above, pp. 104-6

⁶³ Henry: La Réforme des écoles normales, in Ecole et Education, October 1950, n.p.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*

⁶⁵ See, for example: Mériaux, Robert: La Formation professionnelle des élèves-maîtres, in Education Nationale, 14 January 1960; Mériaux, Robert: La Formation professionnelle, in Education Nationale, 1 March, 1962; Mongardé, M.: La Formation des élèves-maîtres, in Education Nationale, 24 March 1960. Additional information is contained in duplicated documents kindly provided by the present *directeur* of the Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs in Douai: Note aux professeurs enseignant dans les classes de F.P.1 (n.d.), and Les stages pédagogiques (n.d.)

with which to defend oneself and overcome obstacles," he wrote.⁶⁶ This scheme operated successfully in six écoles normales (one for women and five for men) from 1958 onwards. It was a useful pointer towards the organisation of two-year professional courses.

Other proposals were put forward by Lebette⁶⁷, Rustin (who placed great stress on the need for "a solid and thorough basis of learning")⁶⁸, and Laboucheix.⁶⁹ The Laboucheix scheme is interesting in providing a course not dissimilar from that used later in the "Leif Experiment". It proposed in the first year seven hours of work per week on problems of contemporary civilisation, two hours of foreign language, three of social anthropology, six of psychology and general pedagogy, nine of special studies (art, music, manual arts, agriculture or industrial science, and physical education) and four of options and personal studies. In the second year, there were to be five hours of psychology, general pedagogy and educational doctrines, five of special pedagogy (methodology), eight of special studies (as in first year, together with methods of teaching these subjects), one and a half hours of foreign language, seven hours of various activities involving local studies, and the inevitable one hour for school legislation and *morale professionnelle*.⁷⁰

The introduction at this time, and as a result of the Berthoin reform, of two-year courses for those who were to teach in the *collèges d'enseignement général* was also being discussed.⁷¹ And the provision of two-year courses was one of the aspects of earlier proposals which had the full support of the *Syndicat National des Instituteurs*.⁷² It is not surprising therefore to see, two years later, the setting-up of an official experimental pattern on a wider scale and the opening of a "wide debate"⁷³ into this and associated problems of the teacher

⁶⁶ Mériaux, Robert: *La Formation professionnelle des élèves-maîtres*, loc. cit., p. 4

⁶⁷ Congrès des Directrices et Directeurs d'Ecoles normales, in *Education Nationale*, 9 June 1960, p. 15

⁶⁸ Rustin, George: *Le Savoir et la culture dans la formation des instituteurs*, in *Education Nationale*, 5 October 1961

⁶⁹ Laboucheix, H.: *Projet de réorganisation des écoles normales*, in *Bulletin du S.N.P.E.N.*, February-March 1961, pp. 23-25

⁷⁰ Cf. The "Leif Experiment", below, p. 180 et seq., and the post-1968 syllabus, p. 240 et seq.

⁷¹ Laboucheix, H.: *Les Ecoles normales et l'Etat*, in *Education Nationale*, 17 November 1960, p. 13

⁷² See above, p. 175

⁷³ See *Education Nationale*, 19 March 1964, p. 11. The matters raised at this time are discussed below, pp. 186-7

training institutions.

. . . .

Meanwhile, the Berthoin reform had introduced new complications into the area of secondary teaching, and the traditional preparation for teaching at this level, which had included no pedagogical studies of any depth, was under challenge. The contrast between the *professeur* and the *instituteur* had always been extremely marked, and, while the primary system of education and the secondary system had been quite separate, they had had no point at all of contact. They came from different social backgrounds and had academic qualifications of widely differing sorts. The provision of a common secondary education for all children, as provided for in the Berthoin reform, shattered these patterns. Soon members of the two groups found themselves teaching together in the one school, and later, as more and more comprehensive junior secondary schools - the *collèges d'enseignement secondaire* - were established, the problem became an acute one.⁷⁴

Throughout the first half of the century, the number of *professeurs* in the *lycées* and *collèges* had hardly varied; excluding administrators, physical education and art teachers, and teachers in the primary sections of the *lycées*, they were a tiny body of about 5000. Of these, less than 2000 held the highest qualification, the *agrégation*. The remainder had increasingly completed a first degree, the *licence*. The *agrégés* taught only in the *lycées*⁷⁵, where they formed half or more of the total staff. The *licenciés* filled almost all the remaining places in the *lycées* and a rapidly increasing proportion of the places in the local *collèges*.⁷⁶

Almost none of these teachers had had any professional preparation apart from their academic studies and, for at least most of the *agrégés*, a short *stage pédagogique*, which included "twenty lectures having as their subject secondary teaching" and "one week's attendance at lessons in his special subject" followed immediately by three weeks in which

⁷⁴ These new *collèges* were established by the Decree of 3 August 1963. By 1967/68 there were over 850 of them in operation. For details of their establishment, see Fraser, W.R.: Reforms and Restraints in Modern French Education, op. cit., pp. 126-132, and Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 423-426

⁷⁵ Apart from those who taught in universities

⁷⁶ Prost, Antoine, op. cit., pp. 352-356

the full work of a *professeur* was carried out under the supervision of an experienced teacher.⁷⁷

However, a Decree of 1 April 1950, modified substantially on 17 April 1952, introduced the *Certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat de l'Enseignement du Second Degré*, the C.A.P.E.S., as a professional qualification for *licenciés* who did not hold the *agrégation*. Special Centres, the *Centres Pédagogiques Régionaux* (C.P.R.), were established to prepare students for this certificate.⁷⁸ Both theoretical and practical studies were included, the latter involving "a year of initiation into the task of teaching, under the direction of *conseillers pédagogiques* (i.e. experienced secondary teachers)" and regular lectures. Students enrolled in this course were public servants, were paid a salary, and were required to enter into a bond to teach in government schools for a minimum period of five years.⁷⁹ The similarities with the regulations for *normaliens* are apparent. Secondary teachers holding the C.A.P.E.S. were known as *certifiés*, and became the major group of teachers in the *lycées* and *collèges* as the proportion of *agrégés* declined through the 1950's.⁸⁰

As the secondary sector expanded, during the 1960's, and the student population became more and more heterogeneous, the corps of teachers at this level also became more and more varied. The number of instituteurs who were now teaching in secondary schools - almost exclusively in the *collèges d'enseignement général* and (in increasing numbers) in the new *collèges d'enseignement secondaire* - rapidly overtook the number of *certifiés*. And as the proportion of *collèges d'enseignement secondaire* increased in the later 1960's and 1970's, there was a steadily greater mixing of teachers who had come from the two distinct types of training and background - as well as large numbers of untrained temporary teachers of various types.⁸¹ "Thus the

⁷⁷ *Encyclopédie pratique de l'enseignement en France* (Institut Pédagogique National, Paris, 1960), p. 318

⁷⁸ Later (in 1957), *Instituts de Préparation aux Enseignements du Second Degré* (I.P.E.S.) were established in each university to recruit future secondary teachers at the end of the first university year and to facilitate their academic studies prior to their professional training.

⁷⁹ *Encyclopédie pratique de l'éducation en France*, op. cit., p. 319

⁸⁰ In 1950/51 there were 5000 *agrégés* of a total of 19,000 secondary teachers (26%); in 1960/61 there were 7200 of a total of 33,500 (21%). Cf. Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 462

⁸¹ By 1970, there were approximately 10,000 *agrégés* and 55,000 *certifiés* teaching in the secondary schools (the former virtually

image of the average secondary teacher is no longer the prestigious one of the *agrégé* of 1900, but an intermediate composite one ranging from the *agrégé* to the auxiliary teacher."⁸² This change in the nature and the importance of secondary education in France was to have increasingly important effects on the preparation of teachers for primary education and on the work of the *écoles normales*. Numbers of the more gifted *normaliens* transferred to work in the secondary system, the courses provided for teachers in the *collèges d'enseignement général* and increasingly in the *collèges d'enseignement secondaire* became more and more important and tended to overshadow other work in those *écoles normales* to which they were attached, and the demand for higher academic qualifications for instituteurs (and for better pedagogical qualifications for *certifiés* and even *agrégés*) became ever more pressing.⁸³

. . . .

The experimental lengthening of the professional course for *normaliens* known as the "*Expérience Leif*" (from the name of its instigator⁸⁴), which operated in the years from 1962/63 up to the post-1968 reforms, can be seen as a natural development in the light of the changes

exclusively in the upper classes), alongside some 70,000 teachers trained in the *écoles normales* and 35,000 teachers without any professional teacher qualifications. See Rapport de la Commission d'Etudes sur la fonction enseignante dans le second degré (Documentation Française, Paris, 1972), p. 18

⁸² *ibid.*

⁸³ For details of the work done in the *écoles normales* to prepare teachers for secondary teaching, see below, p. 289

⁸⁴ The Experiment was elaborated by the Ministry's Directorate of Organisation and Syllabuses (Director: Monsieur Jean Capelle), with the active participation of Monsieur Joseph Leif, an *inspecteur général* in the Ministry of Education, with special responsibility for the organisation of primary teacher preparation. Leif is the author of numerous works on education, including: (with Rustin, G.) Histoire des institutions scolaires (Delagrave, Paris, 1954); (with Rustin, G.) Morale professionnelle des instituteurs et des institutrices (Delagrave, Paris, 1956); (with Rustin, G. and Dezaly, R.) Pédagogie spéciale (Delagrave, Paris, 1963); (with Delay, J. et al.) Psychologie et éducation (Nathan, Paris, 1965-71); (with Biancheri, A.) Les Doctrines pédagogiques par les textes (Delagrave, Paris, 1966); Inspirations et tendances nouvelles de l'éducation (Delagrave, Paris, 1967); (with Debesse, M., Mialaret, G. et al.) Traité des sciences pédagogiques, Vol. 3 - Pédagogie comparée (P.U.F., Paris, 1972); (with Rustin, G. and Biancheri, A.) Philosophie de l'éducation (Delagrave, Paris, 4 vols, 1972-4); (with Petitjean, R. et al.) Pédagogie de l'école élémentaire (Delagrave, Paris, 4 vols, 1974-6)

outlined above. The basic argument for it referred to the Berthoin reform:

The introduction of the Education Reform has provided the opportunity for a general reconsideration of the structures of the national education system. The fact that all children aged eleven are to enter the Observation and Orientation Cycle presupposes a new definition of the aims and methods of Primary Education and imposes a renovation of teacher preparation. In this new pattern, the instituteur is no longer only the person who communicates basic knowledge - "that which one must not be ignorant of" - but also the teacher who prepares young minds to profit from education in the First Cycle. The Central Administration has therefore set up an experimental new system of professional preparation which extends this apprenticeship over two years and organises it in a new spirit.⁸⁵

With the aim of developing a course which would produce "a corps of instituteurs and institutrices of high quality, effectively prepared for their task"⁸⁶, the following four specific goals were proposed:

- the acquisition of a precise knowledge of the subjects taught in the primary school;
- the acquisition of an understanding of children and adolescents;
- the acquisition of theoretical knowledge and practical experience of teaching methods and techniques; and
- the acquisition of *culture générale*.⁸⁷

The last of these was to be achieved in large measure through the approach to the other three, but there were in addition to be a number of "optional subjects" from which each student would choose one for continuous study. The options included philosophy, literature, modern languages, history, geography, mathematics, physical sciences, biological sciences, agriculture, home arts and arts. "This search for *culture générale*" was aimed to permit "those who reveal particular aptitudes in the course of their professional studies to pursue these studies at a later stage, in conformity with their vocation."⁸⁸ In addition, provision was to be made for a visit to a foreign country where the students would see "an establishment having the same aims as the écoles normales."⁸⁹

These new aspects of the professional course were however less

⁸⁵ La Réforme de la formation professionnelle des maîtres de l'enseignement élémentaire (C.R.D.P./Institut Pédagogique National, Aix-Marseille, 1964), p. 5

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, p. 8

⁸⁷ *ibid.*

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p. 9

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 9-10

important than the provisions that were to be made for teaching practice. These were quite different from what had happened previously and were important in indicating a new direction to follow in this aspect of the work of teacher preparation. Apart from "practical initiation" provided by numerous exercises in the *écoles annexes* and the *écoles d'application*, there were no practice teaching sessions in the first year. On the other hand, the second year was to begin with a period of three and a half months of "*suppléance dirigée*" (from mid-September to the end of December) which would enable students to become familiar with the "real difficulties of class management."⁹⁰ It was suggested that, as in the future all teachers would receive their training in the *écoles normales*, these practical sessions would replace the classwork done by *remplaçants* in their first year of employment.⁹¹ The normal teachers of these classes would meanwhile be following a *stage de perfectionnement*, i.e. a refresher course, at the *école normale*. The students would be visited in their school classrooms by staff of the *école normale*, who would have "a certain number of teaching hours less" during this period.⁹² This aspect of the experiment was to be very fruitful in providing the patterns not only for practice teaching but also for in-service course planning in the period after 1968.

The syllabus itself for these two years was much less innovatory. Essentially it followed the outline of the two-year course which had been provided in 1947 and which had been in use in a small number of *écoles normales* with some students admitted after the *baccalauréat*.⁹³ There were however important differences. The proposed course was as follows:

SUBJECT	NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK
<u>Year I</u>	
Child Psychology (with practical exercises)	3
General Pedagogy (with exercises)	1
Special Pedagogy (Civics, French, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Science, Art and Writing, Music, Manual Arts, Physical Education)	15½
Legislation, administration, school hygiene	½
History of educational institutions	1

⁹⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 10-11

⁹¹ Cf. above, p. 144

⁹² *La Réforme de la formation professionnelle*, op. cit., p. 11

⁹³ See above, p. 106

Special subjects (Music, Art, Physical Education)	5
Foreign Language	2
Option [see above]	2
<u>Year II</u>	
Child Psychology (revision; practical studies; handicapped children)	1
General Pedagogy (theory of education; special schools; pre- and post-school activities; follow-up of practice session)	1
Concepts of education and pedagogical doctrines; <i>morale professionnelle</i>	2
Special Pedagogy (revision, etc) (+ one hour for girls on pre-school education)	9
Special Studies (regional history and geography; scientific study of the local area - geology, climatology, botany, zoology; physical education) (+ one hour for men of preparation for peri- and post-school activities)	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Foreign Language	1
Study of texts, diction, reading aloud	1
Audio-visual methods and techniques	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Modern Studies (sociology; study of history, geography, institutions of modern France; problems of modern science; contemporary literature)	5
Option [see above]	2 ⁹⁴

The main differences between this and the 1947 course were that the new course omitted the substantial time allowance for manual and home arts (five hours per week) and added compulsory work in a foreign language. The balance between special pedagogy and general studies was also substantially altered, the latter gaining time, especially in the first year, as a preparation for the practice session at the beginning of the second year. At the same time, the new course aimed more clearly at providing a genuine post-secondary syllabus of *culture générale* covering an extremely wide range of topics (including both intensive local studies and also general studies of modern social sciences, literature and science).

The Leif Experiment provided as well for a revised version of the *Certificat de fin d'études normales*. There were to be three series of tests, one written, one oral and one practical. The written tests were: (a) general pedagogy and doctrines of education; (b) special

⁹⁴ La Réforme de la formation professionnelle, op. cit., pp. 13-14. The course for Year II is intended for a period of six months only (January to June), following the practice teaching session.

pedagogy and *culture générale*; and (c) the average of marks for practice teaching during the professional course and for "general application". The oral tests included: (a) an interrogation on child and adolescent psychology; and (b) an interrogation on history of education and school legislation. The practical tests were: (a) preparation of material for a simple experiment in science or for manual or domestic arts; (b) presentation of a song or a text for recitation or the preparation of an art lesson; (c) presentation of and commentary on any one work of art, architecture, music, etc; and (d) a test of physical education.⁹⁵

The changes here are not great: the "interrogation on and practical work in" agriculture is naturally omitted; and the series of practical tests is new; the former "interrogation on personal work accomplished during the professional training year" is also omitted as there is no specific provision for this type of work in the Leif syllabus.

The Experimental course was tried first in eleven large écoles normales in 1962-63: Aix (men), Besançon (men), Bordeaux (women), Bordeaux (men), Châlons-sur-Marne (women), Dijon (men), Grenoble (women), Lille (mixed), Paris (women), Paris (men) and St-Etienne (women).⁹⁶ Between 1964 and 1968, fourteen other écoles normales joined the experiment: Aix (women), Amiens (women), Arras (women), Aurillac (mixed), Caen (women), Caen (men), Douai (men), Lyon (men), Montpellier (women), Montpellier (men), Moulins (men), Nice (women), Nîmes (women) and Tours (men).⁹⁷

Students involved in the experiment formed a small and exceptional group - there were generally only from fifteen to forty in any one école normale, and they formed a distinct class separate from those who were still following the official courses. They were all recruited at the level of the *baccalauréat*, and were therefore entitled officially to a two-year professional course.⁹⁸ It is important to note that because of this they were "deprived of traditions; [...] the weight of oral tradition handed down from year-group to year-group did not weigh on the experiment to place a brake on it or compromise it."⁹⁹ These

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 16-17

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 2 and p. 25

⁹⁷ personal communication from Monsieur Leif

⁹⁸ Cf. above, pp. 96-8

⁹⁹ La Réforme de la formation professionnelle, *op. cit.*, p. 27

students had either decided late that primary teaching was a suitable vocation for them or had chosen it after partial failure in university studies.

A large number of practical problems arose in individual écoles normales as the experiment was put into effect; these were reported on in some detail in the *Rapport de Synthèse* prepared in February 1964 by Monsieur Paul Juif, *directeur* of the Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs at Aix. Generally these were quite minor: there were difficulties in providing boarding facilities and therefore of integration; the more frequent use of the *écoles annexes* led to complications of staffing; there proved to be problems in presenting an effective course in psycho-pedagogy; there were many reservations concerning proposed new methods of approach (inductive methods, group activities, etc); a need for a brief practical "*stage de préadaptation générale*" at the beginning of the first year was often expressed; the full variety of "options" could rarely be offered; some regretted the loss of provision for assessment of "personal work"; and many noted with surprise that only the men were to engage in preparation for peri- and post-school activities.¹⁰⁰

Despite these and other minor problems, there was undoubted enthusiasm for the plan among those responsible for its introduction:

Many of our colleagues believe passionately in this Reform of Professional Studies. Belief, in this case, involves breaking with tradition, refusing the comfort and boredom of routine, attaching oneself to the future rather than to a dead past. An exciting professional adventure is offered to the *directeurs d'écoles normales*: the preparation, in a forward-looking spirit, of the écoles normales of the year 2000.¹⁰¹

It was confidently expected - and the Director-General of Organisation and of School Curricula, Jean Capelle, said so publicly in February 1964¹⁰² - that the scheme would be extended gradually to all écoles normales. The unions generally supported it - as was to be expected - though proposing a number of minor improvements¹⁰³ and expressing themselves rather disappointed that it had seemingly been conducted in

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 27-52

¹⁰¹ Juif, Paul: *La Réforme de la formation professionnelle*, op. cit., p. 57; cf. also, Juif, Paul: *La formation professionnelle des instituteurs français et sa réforme*, in *Repères*, October-December 1965, pp. 20-35

¹⁰² *Education Nationale*, 20 February 1964, p. 2

¹⁰³ Cf., particularly, La F.P. en 2 ans - l'expérience Leif, in *Syndicalisme Universitaire*, 10 March 1965, pp. ii-iii (Supplément)

an atmosphere of secrecy (the staff concerned had been "almost as discreet as the Minister of Education"!¹⁰⁴) Even without the catalyst of the Student Revolution of May 1968, it seems undoubted that this scheme, or a modification of it, would have become the normal pattern in the immediate future. Because of the events of May 1968, there does not appear to have been any formal assessment of its worth after a period of several years; but in all essentials the Leif Plan became the accepted basis for professional studies as soon as all students received two years of post-*baccalauréat* preparation.

One other important factor in increasing interest in the need for reform in the structure of primary teacher preparation was the attention given to the subject by the official weekly journal, *Education Nationale*, during the first half of 1964. The "wide debate" initiated on the question of "teacher preparation and the rôle of the écoles normales" roused a good deal of interest among teachers at all levels and led to an active correspondence. A first article on "Teacher Education in Europe" showed that the French system represented "the remnant of an obsolete past."¹⁰⁵ It pointed out that the "raising of the level of entry" was tending to become general in all countries, and that it was perhaps time for "everyone to reflect" on this fact.¹⁰⁶ Later articles raised the question of continuing education for teachers - "continuing education (*la formation continue*)", spread over the years and enriched by experience, permits the development of a constantly increasing awareness"¹⁰⁷ -, of the need to provide better training for teachers of handicapped children and slow-learners¹⁰⁸, of the urgent need to bring to an end the employment of *remplacants*¹⁰⁹, and of the need to reconsider the whole question of the école normale as a closed boarding establishment and as a single sex institution.¹¹⁰ The "voluminous mail" which resulted from this debate was generally congratulatory and revealed the extent to which informed readers shared

¹⁰⁴ Où en est l'expérience de F.P. en deux ans? in Former des Maîtres, March 1965, p. 8

¹⁰⁵ Mélet, R.: La Formation des maîtres du premier degré en Europe, in Education Nationale, 9 April 1964, p. 11

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p. 19

¹⁰⁷ Mériaux, R.: Les Ecoles normales et la formation des maîtres, in Education Nationale, 16 April 1964, p. 12

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p. 13

¹⁰⁹ Delteil, E.: La Structure des écoles normales, in Education Nationale, 11 June 1964, p. 12

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 13

the concerns of the major contributors.¹¹¹

The whole question of the effectiveness of the teacher preparation given in the écoles normales - and, more generally, of the training provided for teachers at all levels in France - was therefore a very lively one in the mid-1960's. Even so, few realised how rapidly events were to move in the following few years.

. . . .

One of the major events which opened up the whole problem for a wide cross-section of the academic community was the Congress held in Caen in November 1966. This Congress was organised by the *Association pour l'Expansion de la Recherche Scientifique*¹¹², and was chaired by André Maréchal. It was attended by some three hundred representatives of universities and scientific institutions. Among others, speakers at the Congress included Pierre Mendès-France and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.¹¹³ It is clear that the Congress was not at first regarded as being of special importance, and it received no more than cursory attention in the educational press. Thus, on 24 November, *Education Nationale* published the following announcement somewhat belatedly:

It is only after its conclusion that the Caen Congress has appeared as a gathering of considerable importance, the repercussions of which seem to have surprised even the organisers. For the quality of those taking part and their diversity - from university professors to political representatives - for the intensity of the themes exposed and developed, for the conclusions it adopted, this Congress already appears to mark a turning point.

It is for this reason that we have judged it worth while to assemble in our next edition the essential details of what was said, discussed and adopted during these three days, when, according to some, the whole education system was rethought.¹¹⁴

The Congress met to discuss "perspectives in higher scientific

¹¹¹ *Education Nationale*, 18 June, 1964, pp. 11-12

¹¹² Established in 1957 as a society "independent of all political parties, of all sectional interests, of all public or private control," the *Association pour l'Expansion de la Recherche Scientifique* had as its aim to establish a forum for educators from every level and every discipline. See *Pour une école nouvelle* (Dunod, Paris, 1969), p. x. The fullest published account of the Caen Congress is contained in *Revue de l'Enseignement Supérieur*, No. 4, 1966, pp. 45-214; this includes the reports of all the sub-commissions, the final proposals, and the opening and closing speeches.

¹¹³ Le Colloque de Caen, in *Education Nationale*, 17 November 1966

¹¹⁴ *Education Nationale*, 24 November 1966, p. 7

education and research."¹¹⁵ Both in the detailed preparation for the Congress and in the discussions themselves the accent was immediately placed on the importance of a reconsideration of the aims of the universities in France. The final summary of recommendations affirmed that "the required efforts in recruitment and finance must be coupled with a basic reformation of the universities in their structure, their internal regulations and their methods and teaching."¹¹⁶ It was pointed out also that practical research - in industry and agriculture, in particular - needed to be developed and extended. These two themes were at all stages uppermost in the deliberations of those who met at Caen. That their final impact was to be to such a large extent on the reform of teacher preparation is perhaps surprising in view of this.

Recommendations from the Congress were in three areas: the structure of the universities, the development of research, and the preparation and continuing education of teachers.

With regard to the universities, the creation of autonomous, competitive, public institutions was proposed, not organised in faculties but allowing for diversification and original groupings of disciplines. These would have no monopoly over a single geographic region, but would recruit from the whole country. They should be limited in size to a maximum of 20,000 students; this would mean "the creation of some fifteen distinct universities in the Paris region and several in each of the principal regional cities."¹¹⁷ The faculties as they existed should be converted immediately into "departments of teaching and institutes of research"¹¹⁸ each with a president elected for a limited period. The full responsibility for the teaching of each discipline was to be accepted by the department as a whole and not to be the privilege of a single professor or group of professors.¹¹⁹

Recommendations concerning research were equally sweeping. It was suggested that research should cease to be limited to the university experts and that "research contracts"¹²⁰ should be established between

¹¹⁵ Les recommandations du Colloque, in Education Nationale, 1 December 1966, p. 35

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, Recommendation 4

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, Recommendation 5

¹¹⁹ Under the Faure legislation in 1968, "teaching and research units" were in fact established, and the university pattern restructured; see, for example, De l'Université aux universités (Colin, Paris, 1971), pp. 7-204

¹²⁰ Education Nationale, *loc. cit.*, Recommendation 10

industrial concerns and the universities (thus avoiding "clandestine collaboration"¹²¹). Urgent attention needed to be given also to the funding of research centres and the perfecting of methods of scientific documentation.

Finally, and of great importance for the orientation of thinking in France about teacher education, there were a number of recommendations concerning teaching, teacher training and the continuing education of teachers. Having pointed out the necessity to provide systematic professional education for all young people, at whatever level of education they ceased their studies, and the need to provide "systematic information for teachers, pupils and parents, concerning careers and means of access to them,"¹²² the Congress approved the following recommendation:

(There is) a need to rethink our systems for the preparation of teachers at all levels. They must receive not only academic knowledge, but also psychological and professional preparation. The updating of their knowledge and their methods must be obligatory. Such aims require in particular the creation in each *académie* of an interdisciplinary institute of pedagogical studies attached to the University, and the extension of research in education, which must receive substantial funds.¹²³

Recommendation 15 went on to point out the importance of continuing education, not only for teachers, but for all sectors of the community. It would provide better approaches to work, updating of knowledge, possibilities for reconversion and socio-economic improvement, for all students and for all ages. It would use correspondence courses, audio-visual, programmed and electronic methods, and extra-university facilities where necessary.

At first sight, the document may not seem to say much that was new, but for French educators in the period before the Student Revolution of May 1968 it contained many novel ideas, not the least of them the suggestion that the teacher training system was in need of major rethinking. That much of what was suggested by the Congress has now become part of the new pattern of French educational organisation - and particularly of the organisation of the universities - is perhaps sufficient indication of its importance. It gave, as a writer said three years later, "the signal for a healthy *prise de conscience*" with regard to the national education system.¹²⁴

¹²¹ *ibid.*

¹²² *ibid.*, Recommendation 13

¹²³ *ibid.*, Recommendation 14

The single paragraph of the recommendations which concerned teacher education summarises what was clearly a major part of the discussions. It was based on the work of a group led by Monsieur Jean Capelle. Working documents had been prepared by five educationists (Messieurs Beaussier, Eurin, Ferry, Prost and Walusinski¹²⁵), and from these and the discussions held by this group a preliminary report was elaborated. Its author was Monsieur Girod de l'Ain.¹²⁶ The final report, after the work of the Congress's sub-commission on teacher preparation was concluded, was prepared by Monsieur Heller.¹²⁷

This final report began by apologising for the fact that it was not possible to do more than treat the problems of teacher education in fairly general terms. A whole congress on this topic alone would have been needed to treat it fully. "However," it went on, "it seemed essential to us to propose at Caen certain general ideas on the preparation of teachers and more particularly on the concepts and mission of higher education in this area."¹²⁸ In order to fit their ideas clearly into the pattern of the Congress, the main aim of which was, after all, to deal with "higher scientific education and research", the group dealt first with the need for greater emphasis in France on educational research: "In common with the measures taken over the last twenty years in (other) modern nations, it is essential that substantial resources be provided in France for educational research."¹²⁹ In addition, there were proposals for the creation of a Council for Educational Research and of a National Institute for Education Sciences as well as the establishment in each university of an Interdisciplinary Institute of Studies in Education.¹³⁰

¹²⁴ Voisin, Anne-Marie: Apprendre à enseigner, in Education, 29 November 1969, p. 14 (introduction to conversation with M. Bataillon, M.-A. Bloch and F. Walter)

¹²⁵ Beaussier was lecturer at the Nanterre Centre of the University of Paris, Ferry lecturer in Psychology in the University of Paris, Prost lecturer in the Faculty of Letters, University of Paris, Eurin president of the Society of Physicists, and Walusinski former president of the Association of Mathematicians.

¹²⁶ Bertrand Girod de l'Ain was a journalist, the chief education correspondent of the Paris newspaper, Le Monde; he was also responsible for part of the report of the Amiens Congress: see below, pp. 205-6

¹²⁷ René Heller was a professor in the Faculty of Science of the University of Paris.

¹²⁸ La Formation des maîtres, in Education Nationale, 1 December 1966, p. 17

¹²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 18

¹³⁰ Cf. the proposals of the Langevin-Wallon Commission, above, pp. 168-70 and below, pp. 250-8

The rest of the report was concerned more precisely, however, with the education of teachers for all levels of the teaching service in France. This was seen to involve three factors: academic preparation; psycho-pedagogical studies; and professional training. Of these, the first was not developed in the report, but the other two were treated in some detail.

The report dealt first with the reorganisation of primary teacher preparation:

[...] The écoles normales ought to be renovated so as to recover their professional vocation, which they have to a large extent lost. They should recruit their students from those having passed the *baccalauréat* and provide them with a course of two years as a minimum. This would ensure a preparation which would be simultaneously academic, psycho-pedagogic and professional. They would be higher educational establishments offering a short course (*établissements d'enseignement supérieur court*) linked with the Interdisciplinary Institute of Studies in Education of the nearest university.¹³¹

This seemingly innocuous proposal contained the seeds of two major controversies to be widely debated in the ensuing years: that entry to the écoles normales should occur only after the *baccalauréat* and that the écoles normales should be regarded as university-type institutions, providing "higher education" (and not as part of the secondary school system)¹³².

Details of proposals for the training of secondary teachers were then set out. These were the result of "long debate" by the sub-commission, and had clearly been arrived at only after opposition by the many vested interests in this area (the universities, the powerful secondary teacher unions, the conservative *Société des Agrégés*, etc). They are of interest because of the way in which they were taken up by the Amiens Congress. They proposed three phases, apart from academic studies: an initiation to the arts of communication; psycho-pedagogical and sociological studies; and professional preparation.¹³³ The problem of the best time to introduce each of these was seen as a very real one.

The way in which teachers were to be recruited and accepted into the profession received careful attention:

¹³¹ *Education Nationale*, loc. cit., pp. 18-19

¹³² Cf. below, pp. 222-9 and 250-8

¹³³ *Education Nationale*, loc. cit., pp. 19-20

The (Ministry of Education) should re-examine its recruitment policy in three areas:

1. It should fix requirements for entry which are no longer exclusively academic [...].
2. It should demand less limited professional knowledge than (at present) dispensed [...]. An *inspecteur général* needs a great deal of courage to eliminate as a result of the practical tests a candidate who, having already passed the theoretical examinations, shows himself to be a very bad teacher [...].
3. It should fix a longer period of probation.¹³⁴

Finally, the report dealt with the relatively new concept of "continuing education", which it claimed should be a "statutory obligation" for all teachers. It commented that "the great majority of teachers are able to teach during their whole career, that is for some forty years, without bringing their knowledge or their teaching methods up to date."¹³⁵ It proposed summer schools of two weeks' duration to provide for the up-dating of teachers' knowledge, and retraining in methods perhaps once every five years. In addition, it suggested that additional opportunities should be provided on a voluntary basis, particularly for the primary teacher:

In the present French system, the *instituteur*, for example, has no other possibility of improving his material situation than by escaping from it by preparing the competitive examination which gives access to teaching in higher classes. Another way ought to be offered, that of personal research, carried out for example under the direction of professors in the Interdisciplinary Institutes of Studies in Education, which might result in the granting of a university diploma, to be recognised by an increase in salary without change in teaching post.¹³⁶

The report concluded by returning to the framework of higher education within which the proposals were conceived:

All these innovations which we have suggested to organise teacher education on more rational bases bear the mark of the spirit of all higher education: the avoidance of superficiality and artificiality, the refusal of dogmatism, the awakening of initiative. These innovations aim to give to future teachers a full understanding of their profession, which will provide them with greater pride and confidence in their rôle, greater credit in the eyes of parents and pupils, and greater creative possibilities.¹³⁷

The reactions to the work of the Caen Congress seem to have been

¹³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 20

¹³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 21

¹³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 22

¹³⁷ *ibid.*

wide-spread and to have led quite quickly to a reconsideration in particular of the whole field of teacher training. It is true that the major area for reform was seen to be that of secondary rather than primary education. But the proposals that were made over the ensuing two years always included reference to the need at least to update the *écoles normales* and to postpone entry until after the *baccalauréat* examination had been passed successfully. The idea of *formation continue* also remained in the forefront of discussion.

Staff in the *écoles normales* were divided between those who were anxious for reform and those who were more cautious in their attitude. One of the leaders of the former was Pierre Chanut, *directeur* of the Ecole Normale for Protestant men in Strasbourg; one of the spokesmen for the latter was Paul Juif, *directeur* of the Ecole Normale for men in Aix.

Paul Juif wrote at considerable length in the official journal, *Education Nationale*, on the need for renovation without integration. He claimed:

Particularly in the rural départements, the école normale must remain the "home of primary teachers", the school which, by its cultural presence and its work, witnesses to the importance of the social function of the school teacher.¹³⁸

He argued that the *écoles normales* should cease to prepare students for the *baccalauréat*, but he did not believe that they should be linked with the universities (though some type of "regional école normale" might be considered). He went on:

There are intelligent people (*de bons esprits*) who consider such a reform as insufficient. Faithful to the recommendations of the Langevin-Wallon Commission, perhaps also with some thought of obtaining big salary increases for primary teachers, they propose that all primary teachers should have a university education. These "revolutionaries" have recently found opportunity to express themselves at the Caen Congress, in the columns of the Communist journal *L'Ecole et la Nation*, and even in a recent article in *L'Ecole Libératrice*, signed by a minority.¹³⁹

Juif saw a new rôle for the *écoles normales*, which could be adopted without the need for such restructuring:

[...] The *écoles normales* would continue to prepare teachers for pre-school, primary and junior secondary schools. (They) would

¹³⁸ Juif, Paul: La Rénovation des écoles normales, in *Education Nationale*, 13 April 1967, p. 9

¹³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 9. *L'Ecole Libératrice* is the weekly journal of the Syndicat National des Instituteurs.

also prepare the specialist staff needed for handicapped children, slower-learners, art, music and physical education, the staff to be used as *remplaçants*, and staff for post-school and adult education.¹⁴⁰

And, while not believing that the university "*à la mode française*" offered a solution to the difficult problem of teacher education, he was prepared to envisage "building a bridge between the *écoles normales* and the university faculties." "The *liaison*," he said, "could be beneficial to both."¹⁴¹

Pierre Chanut, on the other hand, argued for the creation of *instituts universitaires de formation pédagogique*. Pointing out that the professional preparation of teachers was more necessary than ever because of the "democratisation of education" and the growing demands for high quality at the elementary school level, he claimed that all teachers needed a minimum period of preparation of two years (and that teachers in the junior secondary *collèges d'enseignement général* needed three, including two of university academic studies). He went on:

The preparation of teachers must take place at a crossroads where academic or university education and professional practice meet. [...] Institutions providing professional teacher preparation must be organised so that they put this crossroads structure into effect. The model exists for other professions. It is the "*Institut universitaire de technologie*"¹⁴². In the same way - with the necessary adjustments and sufficient autonomy to ensure its efficacy - we must create "university institutes of teacher preparation" [...] in which (primary) *inspecteurs*, secondary teachers and teachers from higher education will collaborate.¹⁴³

He saw these institutes as preparing much the same groups as Juif had proposed: pre-school and primary teachers, teachers for special education, and junior secondary teachers. They would provide in-service education and engage in "applied pedagogical research" under the control of the university.¹⁴⁴

The annual Congress of the *Syndicat National des Instituteurs*, meeting the following year in July, expressed a view in between these two, arguing for closer co-operation with the universities, but anxious to maintain traditional organisation in other ways:

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 8-9

¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 10

¹⁴² See Glossary

¹⁴³ Chanut, Pierre: Faut-il réformer les écoles normales? in *Université Moderne*, December 1966, p. 12

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*

Absolute priority must be given to teacher preparation, and the *S.N.I.* would wish it to be common to all, from pre-school to junior secondary school, and raised progressively in standard to degree level. The *S.N.I.* reaffirms its support for recruitment to *écoles normales* at the end of the *classe de troisième*, and will attempt to ensure, as a first step, that the general and professional training is spread over two years, under the responsibility of the *écoles normales* and with university participation (general subjects, educational psychology and sociology, practical work and contact with classes), and that it is recognised by a Diploma at the same level at the First Cycle of university studies.¹⁴⁵

Walusinski, one of the authors of the preliminary reports, wrote after the Congress of the growing importance of in-service education:

We see the distance widen between what we learned in our time as students and what science or research is discovering or organising; we feel the difference between the needs of the youth of today and the needs that youth was expressing only five years ago [...]; we feel the need for a perpetual re-examination of our methods. For lack of this continuous revision, we know that teaching loses its primary virtue which must be to stimulate study, it turns to routine instead of being in a continual state of research.¹⁴⁶

He stressed the need for obligatory re-training - not, he said, as a statutory obligation, but as an "*obligation vitale*" - but the method he proposed to achieve this was by a reduction in teaching hours, a solution which was clearly unacceptable to the authorities. Others were later to see alternative and more effective methods.¹⁴⁷

Bataillon, Berge and Walter wrote on the same subject, stressing rather the need for the development of a real "feeling of want" among teachers and for detailed discussions of effective methods of in-service re-education; for this, they saw the central importance of an "*animateur*", a leader who would be capable of "bringing the participants to reveal the difficulties they had encountered and the solutions they had tried."¹⁴⁸

The Annual Conference of the *directeurs* and *directrices* of the *écoles normales* in early February 1967 "approved unanimously the conclusions [...] relative to the circumstances in which the reform of the *écoles*

¹⁴⁵ Syndicat National des Instituteurs, in Education Nationale, 21 September 1967, p. 21

¹⁴⁶ Walusinski, Gilbert: Formation continue des maîtres - des principes à la réalisation, in Education Nationale, 15 December 1966, p. 23

¹⁴⁷ Cf. below, pp. 274-83

¹⁴⁸ Bataillon, Marcel, Berge, André and Walter, François: Rebâtir l'Ecole (Payot, Paris, 1967), pp. 264-5

normales, now more urgent than ever, should be brought about."¹⁴⁹ And in October, the Minister, Monsieur Alain Peyrefitte, claimed:

We intend to re-organise the preparation of these new generations of teachers, provide for the regular up-dating of their knowledge, and organise a professional training in keeping with their rôle tomorrow and in the future on the basis of these requirements: orientation, pedagogical renovation and permanent education. [...] It is towards 1978 that we must look if we wish the year 1968 to mark a time of real progress in thinking and acting and not a time devoted only to facing up to matters of urgency and sudden crisis. [...] Beyond this growth, it is adaptation which concerns us, the adaptation of national education to its rôle - which is nothing other, in the long run, than its adaptation to the new, future face of France.¹⁵⁰

He could not have known how extraordinarily prophetic his words were or how short the time was to be before "real progress" would be forced on the government and the nation!

The Caen Congress prepared the way therefore for further discussions, by expressing so clearly the reforms that were necessary. The opportunity for these discussions came a little over a year later - and two months before the Student Revolution - in March, 1968, at the Amiens Congress of the *Association pour l'Expansion de la Recherche Scientifique*.¹⁵¹ Its discussions and recommendations have been published in full, and the preliminary papers prepared for it are available.¹⁵² They are of very great significance for the transformation of primary teacher education in the ensuing period.

As was the case at Caen, the Amiens Congress produced a "*déclaration finale*" which attempted to define in very general terms its concern about "an education system inherited from the nineteenth century, (marked by) excessive centralisation, rigidity and inertia" and to affirm "the urgent need for an educative and pedagogical renewal." It renounced any "intellectualist and encyclopaedist conception of culture" and expressed the need for "participation and dialogue." This "must imply the promotion, in the interests of the child, of

¹⁴⁹ Les Destinées des écoles normales, in Education Nationale, 9 March 1967, p. 16

¹⁵⁰ Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale (Imprimerie Nationale, Paris), 26 October 1967, p. 4181; cf. Le débat à l'Assemblée, in Education Nationale, 9 November 1967, p. 24

¹⁵¹ See above, p. 187, note 112

¹⁵² A.E.R.S.: Pour une école nouvelle - formation des maîtres et recherche en éducation (Dunod, Paris, 1969); a list of the preliminary papers is given in this report, pp. 445-6

co-operation between teachers, pupils and parents, an openness to outside influence and the favoring of contacts with the world of work by an integration into the setting of permanent education." Education was seen as needing to become more individualised so that each pupil could "base his general education on his own personal capabilities, whether they are literary, scientific, technical or artistic, with equal recognition, up to tertiary level."¹⁵³

Section 5 of this Final Declaration dealt specifically with teacher education, and was much more precise than the previous sections:

The participants in the Amiens Congress believe it necessary that everything should be done to end the present division within the ranks of teachers. They recognise the urgent necessity, for teachers at all levels, to have *continuous retraining* linked to the *initial training*. This training must relate at the same time to the intellectual disciplines and to professional preparation. The members of the Congress recommend in particular:

- a) a university education for all future teachers, including primary school teachers;
- b) two years of professional training for all future teachers, conceived in a new form: a "*stage de responsabilité*";
- c) statutory, compulsory continuous retraining for teachers at all levels;
- d) the establishment, in each *académie*, of a *Centre Universitaire de Formation et de Recherche en Education*, responsible for centres for continuous retraining in the départements.¹⁵⁴

The remaining sections of the Declaration concerned the need to develop educational research, "which must not be reduced only to theorisation and pedagogical experimentation" but provide for "liaison between research workers and practitioners [...] in order to permit an agreed style of innovation and effectiveness." The Congress finally expressed its belief that it was indispensable "that a decennial plan for the renewal of education and for teacher education should be associated with existing or proposed plans for the provision of schools and universities."¹⁵⁵

These recommendations show clearly that thinking about teacher preparation in France had continued to develop in the short period between November 1966 and March 1968. The generalities of the Caen Congress had tended to become quite specific proposals in the Amiens recommendations. And one quite new proposal had emerged - that of the

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, pp. 1-2

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 2-3

¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 3

"*stage de responsabilité*" - as a practical method of providing more effective pre-service practice teaching. The achievements of the Caen Congress must not be under-estimated: it helped sow the seed for a basic reorganisation of the preparation patterns and for possible integration of primary teacher training with that of other teachers, as well as making it clear that a new type of institution was desirable which could provide the missing link with university studies. It became the task of the educationists at the Amiens Congress to clarify these issues, to study effective ways of achieving changes seen to be necessary or desirable and to make precise recommendations for practical solutions.

The recommendations which were finally made were based largely on a document prepared, before the Congress, by a committee of three, following discussions by a working party of some fourteen people. Monsieur Bertrand Girod de l'Ain and Monsieur Louis Legrand¹⁵⁶ prepared the section of the document on "Initial Training", and Monsieur Robert Chapuis¹⁵⁷ the section on "Permanent Education of Teachers."¹⁵⁸ This document provided a detailed analysis of the changes seen as necessary at all levels of teacher education, and in particular proposed a basic reform of the system of preparation of primary school teachers.

Its first section proposed four basic areas which must be covered by a teacher education course: a "precise knowledge" of one or several academic subjects; an "initiation to the problems of communication"; an introduction to human development; and professional training. The proposal that academic work at a "tertiary" level should be part of the education of future primary school teachers was seen as novel:

It is necessary [...] to reaffirm that "knowing what one will have to talk about" remains the first essential for teacher education. It must be added that in France, a land of intellectualist traditions, this prime need has never been questioned for the preparation of future secondary teachers. On the other hand, and curiously, it has never been seriously defended for the preparation of primary teachers. The latter, who must teach all subjects, have only the knowledge acquired at

¹⁵⁶ Louis Legrand was the Director of the Research section of the *Institut National Pédagogique* (later the *Institut National de Recherche et de Documentation Pédagogiques*).

¹⁵⁷ Robert Chapuis was a *professeur* at the Lycée de Nanterre.

¹⁵⁸ Published in *Revue Française de Pédagogie*, October-December 1968, pp. 5-23, and later in *Pour une école nouvelle*, op. cit., pp. 249-284. Future references are to the latter.

baccalauréat level, slightly enlarged during the single year of professional training.¹⁵⁹

There was reference to the need to know about "modern mathematics" and current linguistic research¹⁶⁰, and more importantly to the necessity for "the possession of knowledge and conceptual tools at a tertiary level." There had been little direct discussion of this aspect of primary teacher preparation at the Caen Congress.

The other three proposals were, however, a direct repetition of the suggestions put forward at Caen. For the academic preparation of primary teachers they offered nothing really new, except in so far as the level of study was assumed to be higher than in the past. There were however important comments on "practice teaching". This was considered to have three potential major faults: the "almost complete separation of theory from practice", the lack of effective follow-up since the practice all took place after the theoretical work had been completed, and the artificiality of the practice itself. The suggestion was made that practice teaching was seen in many countries as "much less fruitful than used to be thought."¹⁶¹

From these suggestions, there followed a series of six major principles as a basis for discussion and for concrete proposals:

1. the necessity of tertiary education for all teachers;
2. the linking in one whole of preliminary training and in-service training;
3. the division of initial training into a period of full-time study and a "*stage en responsabilité*"¹⁶²;
4. the necessity for professional preparation before the "*stage en responsabilité*";
5. the necessity not to eliminate "characters" (those who "have put up with being first pupils and then students, for fourteen or more years, only with difficulty"¹⁶³);
6. the unification of the teaching profession.¹⁶⁴

Before going on to present in detail proposals concerning the reorganisation of teacher education into a unified system, the

¹⁵⁹ *Pour une école nouvelle*, op. cit., p. 250

¹⁶⁰ These subjects were later to become part of the revised primary school syllabus; cf. above, p. 5, note 13

¹⁶¹ *Pour une école nouvelle*, op. cit., pp. 252-4

¹⁶² Cf. the experimental provision of "*suppléance dirigée*" under the Leif scheme, see above, p. 182; and the Caen proposal, see above, p. 191; see also below, pp. 265-6

¹⁶³ *Pour une école nouvelle*, op. cit., p. 256

¹⁶⁴ Summarised from *Pour une école nouvelle*, op. cit., pp. 254-7

could "converge happily", and set out to develop the essential position of the Caen report.

The "model" proposed, first, participation in a non-specialist first university course ("*un premier cycle universitaire polyvalent*"), similar to some in Great Britain and the United States, which would provide for "the development of concepts and of methods of reasoning and an initiation into research methods (at different levels) for students preparing for a wide range of professions."¹⁶⁹ However, there was considerable disagreement about the exact way in which this would be accomplished, particularly as far as future instituteurs were concerned, and the working party was in fact divided on the matter:

One might be tempted to think that this system risks resulting in the less able students being pushed towards a career in primary teaching - which would of course be contrary to our intentions. In any case it seems to us essential that the course required of future primary teachers should not be distinguished merely by the requirement of a lower level of study in the academic subjects. In view of the fact that they will have to teach young children, with whom communication is more difficult, these students should be expected to acquire the concepts of social science as well as giving evidence of their interest in children and of their capacity to guide them [...]. In this regard, the working party was divided:

- some thought the course for future primary teachers at this stage should not be too wide or too demanding;
- others argued for providing for them a preliminary course in *psychopédagogie*¹⁷⁰, either running parallel with the other subjects or taking place during summer seminars.¹⁷¹

The second proposal was that there should be a system of preliminary practice sessions during the vacation before the course proper started. This, it was suggested, would "help in discovering those personalities suited to teaching (and) permit students to know whether the profession interests them and whether they are capable of being successful in it."¹⁷² Three such practice sessions would be required as a minimum. They would take place in such situations as *colonies de vacances*¹⁷³, young people's clubs, children's workshops, service sections of the Ministry of Education, and various other enterprises.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ Pour une école nouvelle, op. cit., p. 260

¹⁷⁰ i.e. a combination of educational philosophy and child psychology; cf. below, p. 243

¹⁷¹ Pour une école nouvelle, op. cit., p. 261

¹⁷² *ibid.*, p. 262

¹⁷³ See Glossary

¹⁷⁴ Pour une école nouvelle, op. cit., loc. cit.

Thirdly, it was recommended that there should be an introduction to teaching, provided concurrently with other university studies. This was to be achieved in part by the institution of regular seminars and practical classes, thus giving opportunity for practice in the skills of communication which were seen as central to teaching, and in part by an initiation into child psychology and into teaching techniques. The working party was, however, not unanimous in this proposal, some members believing that the additional work required should be done at the beginning of the second cycle of the course.¹⁷⁵

Finally, the working party gave details of the "*stage de responsabilité*" which would follow the academic studies and extend over a period of two years. This would be different in detail for teachers at different levels but the same in basic concept. For primary school teachers, in particular, the authors said:

One week before the start of the academic year, the student teachers would meet for a one week session at the *centre pédagogique*. This meeting would enable them to receive information and basic advice and to make contact with the staff of the *centre* and with the *conseillers pédagogiques*.

When schools opened, two student-teachers grouped together would be given the responsibility for one class, for the teaching of which they would be responsible alternately (half-service). The first two years of the primary school would be excluded from the experiment to avoid disturbing the youngest pupils by a change of teacher. [...] Other half-service formulas are possible, particularly in experimental schools where experiments have been started aimed at spreading the teaching for one class over more than one teacher.

The theoretical and applied studies based on this class situation might take place at different levels: at the school level through regular meetings with the *conseiller pédagogique* and the head of the school, and through seminars and discussion days at the *Centre Départemental* or the *Centre Régional de Recherche et de Formation en Pédagogie*.¹⁷⁶

The recommendations went on to discuss the practicability of the suggested "model", stressing the need to consider the enlarged rôle of the teacher in modern society, and the desirability of planning for change on a coherent and progressive scale. It was suggested that a trial situation might be set up first, for example allowing some universities to experiment with a non-specialist first course while others concentrated on liaison with specialist teacher-training institutions.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 263-4

¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 264-5

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p. 269

The next section of the report was concerned with the recruitment of teachers. It acknowledged the contribution of the Caen Congress in this area in that it had recognised how difficult it was to fail a student in the practical tests if he or she had done well in the theoretical work.¹⁷⁸ A solution was proposed which would allow for recruitment at two levels. The first stage would come at the beginning of the *stage de responsabilité*, and would be based on a number of factors: reports from university lecturers, reports from those responsible for the preliminary vacation experience session, suitable personality tests, and an interview. At this stage it would be hoped that "obvious cases of incompatibility" would be discovered and excluded. The authors foresaw also that selection at this stage would be likely in the future to become more severe because of the greater numbers of potential applicants. The second stage of recruitment would come at the end of the two years of practical work, and be based essentially on the teaching potential of the student. The report added that this stage would be held in derision "if the number of candidates admitted were equal to the number of places to be filled by the Ministry of Education." The former number would have to be substantially greater so that an effective selection could be made.¹⁷⁹

The second main section of the working paper was concerned with the "permanent education" of teachers. As we have seen, French educationists had provided only in the most desultory fashion for retraining schemes¹⁸⁰, and the Caen Congress had broken new ground when it claimed such retraining as an obligation for all teachers.¹⁸¹ The report put forward as the main reasons for the institution of a system of retraining ("*recyclage*") the rapidity of change in modern society, the growing demands made on the education system because of the greater proportion of the population remaining at school, the extension of the economic rôle of the school, the problems of the individual in society (and of the teacher's "authority"), the constant interaction between practical teaching and educational research, and the evolution of psychological and sociological knowledge. The need to make the teacher more mobile within the profession and within the work-force in general was also noted.¹⁸² Suggestions were then made

¹⁷⁸ Cf. above, p. 192

¹⁷⁹ Pour une école nouvelle, op. cit., pp. 269-71

¹⁸⁰ Cf. above, p. 192

¹⁸¹ Cf. above, p. 142 et seq.

for the organisation of an effective system of "permanent education" for teachers. The system should not provide a formal "school" approach, but rather an approach based on discussion and the examination of specific problems. It should provide "permanent education" both as an obligation for all teachers and as a right for all, and hence would involve complicated problems of co-ordination. It had to be linked with practical conditions, with experimental work, with scientific research and with university studies, and at the same time to allow for complete "decentralisation". The working paper recognised that many individual attempts had already been made by a variety of official and unofficial bodies, and added: "Official initiatives must be co-ordinated, but 'voluntary' initiatives must also be widely supported."¹⁸³ It suggested that a "*Service de la Formation Permanente*", with an associated "*Conseil de la Formation Permanente*", should be established to plan both at the national level and at the level of the *académies*. And it put forward a series of possible ways in which the system might operate in practice. Firstly, it suggested that there should be sessions organised by the Ministry, either as one-year courses or as vacation courses. It considered possible means of compensating teachers for this time, but made no firm proposal. Secondly, it considered ways of organising suitable programmes of work within individual institutions. Thirdly, it indicated possible forms of "temporary detachment" of teachers so that they could attend either university courses or specialised courses in pedagogical institutions. Finally, it referred again to the importance of sessions organised by voluntary bodies, including the teacher unions.¹⁸⁴ The working paper concluded:

[...] The permanent education of teachers, while closely linked with their initial training, must not lead - either now or in the future - to a sort of second university, specially set up for practising teachers. It must in fact be based on a number of activities which are at the same time co-ordinated and decentralised and which have a common aim, that of providing for each teacher to face up constantly to the professional needs of his teaching and his life.¹⁸⁵

This very detailed working paper was used as the basis for discussions at the Congress within "Commission D", presided over by Professor André Revuz.¹⁸⁶ The working paper was explained to the Commission

¹⁸² *Pour une école nouvelle*, op. cit., pp. 272-6

¹⁸³ *ibid.*, p. 281

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 280-4

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 284

initially by Monsieur Girod de l'Ain. At the general discussion which followed, there were several references to the special problem of the preparation of primary school teachers. Monsieur Girod de l'Ain listed the vital matter of where primary teachers should be trained as one that could not be eluded.¹⁸⁷ Monsieur Walter (vice-president of the "Association for the Defence of Youth at School") claimed that the working paper's outline of this preparation lacked precision.¹⁸⁸ Others then asked a number of questions on the details of the proposals. Monsieur Revuz decreed that the general meeting should divide into three Sub-Commissions, each to discuss the full range of the problems raised by the working paper.¹⁸⁹

The first Sub-Commission tackled the preparation of primary teachers at once, considering in particular methods of raising the standing of primary teachers in the community. It was agreed that a higher level of academic study was required than at present; all but one in the group agreed that four years were required after the *baccalauréat*.¹⁹⁰ Discussion then centred on the "renovation" of the *écoles normales* as centres of "culture and work", and their combination with university faculties to provide a complete preparation.¹⁹¹ Finally, there was some measure of agreement about the proposals for the *stage en responsabilité* and for the revised criteria for the recruitment of primary teachers.¹⁹²

The second Sub-Commission was in agreement that "the principal problem lies at the level of the primary school teacher (whose place needs to be defined in relation to other teachers) and also at the level of the children."¹⁹³ There was lengthy discussion of the exact form that the academic studies of primary school trainees should take. *Instituts Universitaires de Pédagogie (I.U.P.)* were proposed by the President of the Sub-Commission, Monsieur Tricart (University of Strasbourg). Studies at too high a level were regarded as possibly unsuitable - they might lead to the student's accepting a posting in an isolated school only "with difficulty".¹⁹⁴ It was agreed that pedagogical

¹⁸⁶ Professor André Revuz was a professor in the Faculty of Science of the University of Paris.

¹⁸⁷ *Pour une école nouvelle*, op. cit., p. 286

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p. 287

¹⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p. 289

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 290

¹⁹¹ *ibid.*, p. 291

¹⁹² *ibid.*, pp. 293-5

¹⁹³ *ibid.*, p. 296

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 296-9

studies should follow the first cycle of university work, though some still thought that the academic studies as well as the pedagogical studies should be done in the *I.U.P.*¹⁹⁵ There was also detailed discussion of the proposals for the "permanent education" of teachers, the incorporation of this in the teacher's normal career, and the need to link initial training and later re-training.¹⁹⁶

The third Sub-Commission, presided over by Monsieur Girod de l'Ain, also began by discussing in detail the need to define more exactly the proposals for the preparation of primary teachers. Monsieur Prost claimed that the *écoles normales* "are showing themselves to be unsuited to the preparation of teachers, who must be able to hand on knowledge which is in a state of constant evolution."¹⁹⁷ The suggested establishment of *Instituts Universitaires de Pédagogie* was considered, and an alternative title, *Instituts Universitaires d'Education*, was put forward.¹⁹⁸ There was also discussion of the proposals for the *stage en responsabilité* and for the in-service education of teachers.

A final report of "Commission D" was prepared on the basis of these discussions and presented to the full Conference. It first listed seven "principles":

1. Teachers at all levels should be prepared in the same institutions;
2. The need for continuing education, linked with initial training, is urgent;
3. Initial training should have two phases: (a) basic education should be given in a renovated and diversified university course; (b) professional education should be based essentially on effective practical work, done under real conditions, i.e. in a situation of responsibility;
4. Apprenticeship for the profession as well as continuing teacher education should take place in *Centres Universitaires de Formation et de Recherche en Education*, attached to each university, their work being supported by *Centres* in each département;
5. These institutions should be supple enough to accept students at all levels;
6. These institutions ought to be open to educators from all backgrounds;
7. In initial and final selection, it is indispensable to take

¹⁹⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 300-3

¹⁹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 303-9

¹⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 310

¹⁹⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 311-3

the human qualities and the personality of the students into account.¹⁹⁹

The practical proposals made were divided into those regarded as urgent and those which required further study. Among the former were listed the following:

1. The provision of primary teacher preparation in accordance with the following proposals:

- recruitment of future primary teachers after the *baccalauréat* examination, it being understood that an effective system will be established to encourage students from socially unfavoured backgrounds to continue studies beyond the statutory leaving age so that they will not be excluded from teaching careers;

- provision for them of two years of basic university education and two years of professional preparation *en responsabilité*.
[...]

2. To permit the professional preparation of newly recruited teachers and the in-service education of all teachers, it is necessary to establish rapidly and as a first priority *Centres Universitaires de Formation et de Recherche en Education*.

3. The organisation, for future teachers at all levels, of the professional preparation defined earlier, i.e. *stages en responsabilité*. The comparison of experiences and the discussion of problems encountered by trainees during their practical teaching experience should take place in seminars held regularly in the individual schools and in the teacher preparation centres.

Every effort should be made before and at the beginning of this *stage* to avoid major errors prejudicial to the students. This *stage* ought to be preceded, in the course of university studies, by practical experience with children and adolescents, preferably in the course of compulsory sessions in youth groups and popular education organisations (holiday centres, post- or peri-scholastic activities, international exchanges, etc).²⁰⁰

The proposals also included details concerning in-service education, which was to be considered as a part of a teacher's normal service and not as in any way connected with the traditional modes of promotion for teachers.

A number of problems which were seen as requiring further study were added. Among these was listed the specific problem of the institution in which pre-school and primary teachers should in fact do their studies and the exact form their academic studies should take. Three possible solutions were put forward, and it was recommended that each be the object of experimentation in several universities:

¹⁹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 317-8; cf. Education Nationale, 18 April 1968, pp. 36-7

²⁰⁰ Pour une école nouvelle, *op. cit.*, pp. 318-9

- a) Studies leading to the (normal) diploma at the end of the first university cycle, together with theoretical studies providing for "polyvalence"²⁰¹, and professional studies of the kind outlined above;
- b) Two years of university studies of a new type permitting the association of those disciplines which the present syllabuses of the university faculties separate, followed by the two years of professional studies outlined above;
- c) Two years of studies at university level in the *Centres Universitaires de Formation et de Recherche en Education*, followed by the two years of professional studies outlined above.²⁰²

It will be seen that the final proposals reflect fairly closely the suggestions made in the working paper. The discussions at the Congress seem to have done little more than refine the thinking and raise problems of detail. The final proposals were in general similar also to those put forward at the Caen Congress, but they represented a considerable advance in precision of detail, and they are of special importance because they came so shortly before the Student Revolution of May 1968.

Table 15, below, compares the proposals made at the two Congresses in so far as they concerned primary teacher education, and indicates the source of each proposal (where applicable) in earlier writings and discussions.

There was little time after the Amiens Congress for official or unofficial comment before the events of the spring of that year overtook all concerned with education. But it was clear that the stage was already set for change by the time the Congress was over.

Hacquard, in his work on school reform, wrote:

I am among those who believe that it was no longer possible after then (i.e. after the Amiens Congress) to go backwards. The Estates-General of Amiens had shown that the land of Descartes could again become a land of good sense, so far as education was concerned. All the tendencies, all the professional groups, had joined together: all had met, confronted each other and come to agreement.²⁰³

The Minister at the time, Monsieur Alain Peyrefitte²⁰⁴, showed clearly

²⁰¹ The term is used to indicate that students should have a wide academic background in all the "subjects" normally taught in a primary school.

²⁰² *Pour une école nouvelle*, op. cit., pp. 320-1

²⁰³ Hacquard, Georges: *Vers une école idéale* (Laffont, Paris, 1971), p. 10

²⁰⁴ Peyrefitte had attended the Congress and gave the closing address; see *Pour une école nouvelle*, op. cit., pp. 377-386, and, on teacher education, esp. pp. 381-3

TABLE 15

PRIMARY TEACHER EDUCATION: PROPOSALS OF THE CAEN AND AMIENS CONGRESSES		
CAEN CONGRESS	AMIENS CONGRESSS	COMMENTS
1. Recruitment should be after the <i>baccalauréat</i> examination; it should take account of personality; it should provide for a period of probation	1. Recruitment should be after the <i>baccalauréat</i> examination	The proposal dates back to at least the early years of the century
2. The professional course for primary teachers should last for at least two years after the <i>baccalauréat</i>	2. The course should last for four years for all student-teachers; it should be at true tertiary level, with two years of academic study and two years of professional preparation	A two-year post- <i>baccalauréat</i> professional course was part of official regulations (Decree of 6 June 1946), and had already been offered experimentally; demands for three or more years were already widespread
3. Teacher preparation should take place in an inter-disciplinary Institute of Pedagogical Studies attached to a university; the <i>école normale</i> should form part of this Institute	3. Teacher training for <u>all</u> teachers should take place in University Centres for Training and Research in Education (which might take various forms)	The proposal that the universities should be responsible for all teacher preparation dates back to the early years of the century; it was also part of the Langevin-Wallon plan of 1947
4. No change was suggested for professional preparation	4. Professional preparation should take the form of two years of <i>stage en responsabilité</i> , preceded by appropriate pre- <i>stage</i> practical experience, and with regular seminars during the <i>stage</i>	A shorter <i>stage en responsabilité</i> had already formed part of the Leif experiment; the participants in this experiment recognised the need for pre- <i>stage</i> experience
5. The continuing education of teachers should be organised on a regular basis, and be compulsory	5. The continuing education of teachers should be organised on a compulsory basis	Some in-service education had been implicit in the Leif experiment, but there had not previously been discussion of compulsion

how his thoughts were developing in a speech at Tours just after the conclusion of the Congress. He saw post-*baccalauréat* studies as "henceforth desirable" and two years of professional preparation as "not too much". On the correct place in which to provide this preparation he did not commit himself:

We might wonder where this formation ought to take place: in the universities, as the Langevin-Wallon report asked, or in the écoles normales, renovated and transferred to the *chef-lieu* of each *académie*, or in the universities but at a level below that giving access to the *licence*, as the Amiens Congress proposed.²⁰⁵

Nevertheless, he saw the model of the *institut universitaire de technologie* as a possible one for primary teacher training institutes, and spoke of an "ad hoc establishment [...] working in liaison with the universities" (which had "much to contribute" to the intellectual preparation of teachers).²⁰⁶ Peyrefitte may well have proceeded to put some of this into effect if he had remained at the head of the Education Ministry.²⁰⁷

Louis Raillon commented that the Congress had left with many observers "the impression that, all in all, a certain number of ideas are coming to fruition (even if some of them have been doing so for a long time) and that a new consciousness is awakening at the level of a certain number of responsible men in the Ministry of National Education."²⁰⁸ "It would be surprising," he added, "if in one year or five, I don't know exactly, something did not happen."²⁰⁹

It seems certain that from the work of the Caen and Amiens Congresses together with the experiments conducted in some of the écoles normales in earlier years and the demands of the primary teacher unions there would have come a number of permanent changes in primary teacher preparation and it seems likely that these changes would have been instituted quite quickly in many cases. Even if the events of May 1968 had not occurred, important changes being prepared by senior officers of the Ministry of Education would have been proposed. The demographic pressures had eased, more finance was available for the

²⁰⁵ La formation des maîtres, in Education Nationale, 18 April 1968, pp. 12-13

²⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p. 13

²⁰⁷ Cf. his recent comments in Peyrefitte, Alain: Le Mal français (Plon, Paris, 1976), esp. pp. 85-90

²⁰⁸ Raillon, Louis: L'Amorce d'une mutation, in Education et Développement, April 1968, p. 15

²⁰⁹ *ibid.*, p. 17

development of education and new approaches to primary education were being studied with increasing interest. The proposals for recruitment after the *baccalauréat* level combined with a two-year post-*baccalauréat* course would almost certainly have been adopted by the Parliament. The organisation of regular in-service courses for all primary school teachers - as a right rather than a privilege - would probably have been undertaken. And provision would have been made for *stages en responsabilité* as part of the initial training course. The year 1968 was already promising to mark the end of a long period in which little change occurred and in which there were constant problems of teacher recruitment for primary education. The need to employ large numbers of *remplaçants* and *suppléants* had nearly ceased and it was already apparent that there would be little growth in the total number of pupils undergoing elementary education in the immediate future. Provision for education in the national budget was increasing proportionately as the claims of the armed forces declined. However, few members of the Government or of the Ministry of Education were fully aware of the strength of the forces for radical change which were developing within the student population in the senior secondary schools and the universities at this time.

. . . .

The sudden, massive and violent Student Revolution of May 1968 stands clearly as a major turning-point in the history of the development of French education. It marked the end of a long period of procrastination on the part of successive governments and of dissatisfaction on the part of a growing sector of the school and university population, both students and staff. It resulted in a dramatic change in the attitude and approach to education on the part of both the general public and the policy makers in Government and Administration. As far as the reform of primary teacher education was concerned, it came at a most favourable moment, allowing the proposals of the Amiens Congress in particular, and also those of the teacher unions, to gain immediate consideration and in a number of cases to be put into effect much earlier than might otherwise have been the case. In that sense the events of May 1968 were as important for the future of teacher education as they were for all other aspects of secondary and higher education in France.

No attempt will be made here to examine the events in detail - a number of chronologies and many commentaries have already been

published²¹⁰, and the individual events themselves are relatively unimportant for an understanding of the total impact of the uprisings.

The immediate cause of the revolt was the continuing failure of the French universities and their administrators to understand the seriousness of student complaints. These were shared by students in many countries at this time, but were perhaps more acute in France than elsewhere. They concerned specifically the lack of opportunity

-
- ²¹⁰ Important publications dealing with the events of May 1968 include:
- Ardagh, John: The New France (Penguin, London, 2nd ed., 1973), esp. pp. 631-644
- Aron, Raymond: La Révolution introuvable (Fayard, Paris, 1968)
- Ayache, Alain: Les Citations de la révolution de Mai (Pauvert, Paris, 1968)
- Bachy, Jean-Paul and Bachy, Claudine: Les Etudiants et la politique (Colin, Paris, 1973)
- Besançon, Julien: Les Murs ont la parole (Tchou, Paris, 1968)
- Beneton, Philippe and Touchard, Jean: Les Interprétations de la crise de mai-juin 1968, in Revue française de Science politique, June 1970
- Bensaid, D. and Weber, H.: Mai 68: répétition générale (Maspero, Paris, 1968)
- Cohn-Bendit: Linksradikalismus - Gewaltkur gegen die Alterskrankheit des Kommunismus (Rowohlt, Reinbeck bei Hamburg, 1968); published in French as Le Gauchisme - remède à la maladie séniale du communisme, and in English as Obsolete Communism - the Left-Wing Alternative
- "Epistémon": Ces Idées qui ont ébranlé la France (Fayard, Paris, 1968)
- Fraser, W.R.: Reform and Restraint in Modern French Education (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1971), esp. pp. 72-106
- Goldey, David: A precarious régime - the Events of May 1968, in Williams, Philip M. et al.: French Politicians and Elections 1951-1969 (C.U.P., Cambridge, 1970)
- Gusdorf, G.: La Pentecôte sans l'Esprit-Saint - Université 68 (Génin, Paris, 1969)
- Lefèbvre, H.: Nanterre, de l'irruption au sommet (Anthropos, Paris, 1969)
- Marcellin, Raymond: L'Ordre public et les groupuscules révolutionnaires (Plon, Paris, 1969)
- Merle, Robert: Derrière la vitre (Gallimard, Paris, 1970)
- Mouchon, J.-P.: La Crise estudiantine et les événements de Mai (Ophrys, Paris, 1969)
- Posner, Charles (ed.): Reflections on the Revolution in France - 1968 (Penguin, London, 1970)
- Quattrocchi, Angelo and Nairn, Tom: The Beginning of the End - France, May 1968 (Panther, London, 1968)
- Schnapp, A. and Vidal-Naquet, P.: Le Journal de la crise étudiante (Le Seuil, Paris, 1968)
- Searle, Patrick and MacCornille, M.: Red Flags over France
- Singer, Daniel: Prelude to Revolution (Cape, London, 1970)
- Touraine, Alain: Mouvement de mai et communisme utopique (Le Seuil, Paris, 1968)

for students to participate in the decision-making processes and the lack of provision of adequate study facilities in many universities. The new University Centre at Nanterre in Paris provided the focus for considerable unrest for both these reasons, and it was here that, led by an ultra left-wing German student, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, the students began the confrontation which was to lead to revolution.²¹¹ The first major clashes with the authorities came during demonstrations in the Latin Quarter on the night of 6 May. These demonstrations already included many students and some staff from the *lycées*. The infamous "Night of the Barricades" (10-11 May) followed: "This night saw the greatest police violence, the greatest enthusiasm among the students, and the greatest sympathy of the population."²¹² By 13 May, students had occupied the main university buildings (the Sorbonne). The uprisings then rapidly became more general, involving the full trade-union movement, and strikes and occupations spread throughout the country. At this stage began the round-the-clock discussions and public debates which led in due course to the defining of a major restructuring of the whole university system.²¹³ Strikes had occurred in many of the nation's *lycées* also, and continuous discussion of reform there (often involving staff as well as students) had taken place. Finally the Revolt faltered in the last days of May, worker support was withdrawn, De Gaulle announced new elections, and a time of intense negotiation rather than confrontation began.²¹⁴

Those responsible for education, for industrial relations and for internal order in France were affected profoundly by the events. At no time since World War II - with the possible exception of the most serious moments of the Algerian conflict which led to the downfall of the Fourth Republic - was France so close to civil war. The seriousness of the revolutionary actions and the extraordinarily widespread support they received from almost all parts of the community were a measure of the extent to which the De Gaulle Government had got out of contact with the people. That the ministers and other members of the Government realised this, after an initial period of delay and shock, and participated quickly in discussions with representatives at all levels of the education system and with

²¹¹ Posner, Charles, op. cit., pp. 62-65

²¹² Goldey, David, op. cit., p. 243

²¹³ Posner, Charles, op. cit., pp. 66-74, and Goldey, David, op. cit., pp. 239-45

²¹⁴ Posner, Charles, op. cit., p. 107

the industrial unions, was fortunate for the Nation. That the President himself was deeply affected is certainly true. And that the development of education (and, to a less extent, of industrial relations) since 1968 has been greatly modified as a result is unquestioned.

The participation in the events by those concerned with primary teacher education varied a good deal, both with distance from Paris and with level in the educational hierarchy. Few primary schools or their teachers were affected, except in so far as some active unionists took a part in the major demonstrations. *Normaliens* in the *écoles normales* participated apparently only in certain larger centres (Paris, Orléans, Tours, Grenoble, etc)²¹⁵; in the smaller *écoles normales* (and even in some of the larger ones) life continued at first for them quite unaffected. However, many staff members, both *directeurs* and *directrices* and *professeurs*, found themselves quite unable to cope with the new student attitudes which became apparent in most *écoles normales* after the Revolution was over. Some Heads resigned and some were transferred; some *professeurs* also departed for other institutions. It became clear with great rapidity that a new approach to the education of even these least radical of France's students was required; in most cases, apparently, the staffs as reconstituted by the beginning of the new academic year were able in large measure to provide this new atmosphere and approach. Meanwhile, the leaders of both the main unions concerned, the *S.N.I.* and the *S.N.P.E.N.*, had profited effectively from the opportunity offered and essential reforms were already either in operation or promised.

The immediate practical results of the *événements de mai* were due to a large extent to the fine grasp of the situation revealed by De Gaulle's Minister of Education, Edgar Faure.²¹⁶ He believed that provision for "participation" by students (and parents) in the administration of the educational institutions was essential; he believed too that a complete restructuring of the universities so that they would be both smaller and more autonomous was urgently required. He provided for the latter in the *Loi d'orientation* of 12 November 1968, and for the former both

²¹⁵ A full account of activities at Tours is contained in Poisson, Denise: *L'Eveil des écoles normales en mai 1968 - à propos du 1er Congrès National des Ecoles Normales à Tours*, in *L'Educateur*, September-October 1968, pp. 9-13

²¹⁶ An excellent survey of Faure's work at this time is given in Ardagh, John, op. cit., pp. 466-487

in the same law and in a number of decrees and circulars.²¹⁷ That Faure ceased to be Minister of Education after the resignation of De Gaulle and the formation of a new Government under the new President, Georges Pompidou, may be considered a set-back to the full application of the reforms; both Pompidou and the new Minister, Olivier Guichard, were more conservative in their approach to educational change. Yet, the essential changes undoubtedly occurred, and will no doubt, as Ardagh has said, "appear in history as one of the most revolutionary innovations of De Gaulle's eleven years in power."²¹⁸

For the *écoles normales*, the changes which were proposed seemed to promise a new era: by October 1968 the *S.N.I.* could talk of the positive way in which "the advantages that our strike action gave us" had been "exploited" and claim that the months that followed May had allowed for further gains.²¹⁹ These gains included: the provision of two years of professional preparation (and three "in principle"²²⁰), the transfer of pre-*baccalauréat* classes to the *lycées*, the promise of university participation in teacher training for all teachers, the modification of the *Certificat de fin d'études normales*, the ending of the provisions for uncertificated teachers (*remplaçants*), and the expectation of a significant liberalisation of the internal régime of the *écoles normales*.²²¹ It will be seen that none of these things was new in itself - the more important changes had already been proposed at Caen and Amiens (and had a much longer history than that).²²² Yet, without the upheaval of May 1968, the fight for their adoption would undoubtedly have been longer and more arduous.

. . . .

Among the specific moves made by Faure was the setting up of several Commissions (and associated Sub-Commissions) to make recommendations to the Government on a number of aspects of the education system. These included a Commission for Teacher Education, which had a Sub-

²¹⁷ See *De l'Université aux universités* (Cahiers des Universités Françaises, Colin, Paris, 1971), which gives a good complete table with cross references, pp. 799-803

²¹⁸ Ardagh, John, op. cit., p. 466

²¹⁹ A propos de la formation des maîtres, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 4 October 1968, p. 128; see also: *Franchir une première étape*, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 28 June 1968, p. 1649

²²⁰ *ibid.*, 28 June 1968, loc. cit.

²²¹ *ibid.*, 4 October 1968, pp. 128-9

²²² Cf. above, p. 209

Commission for "Teacher preparation - pre-school and primary education." The Sub-Commission met regularly from October 1968 to April 1969. The recommendations of this body, headed by Joseph Leif, were published in the educational press at the time²²³, but were not proceeded with because of the change of Government and of ministerial control. They nevertheless provided a series of guide-lines likely to lead eventually to further reform.²²⁴

The Sub-Commission insisted that the instituteur should remain "polyvalent"²²⁵, at least with children up to the age of eleven (with possible reservations with regard to "aesthetic education, physical education, and even, if applicable, initiation to a foreign language"), though this need not preclude some "relative specialisation" in some areas, particularly with the prospects of team teaching in mind. The preparation of the instituteur should be spread over two periods, each lasting two years:

The Sub-Commission affirms the necessity for a double preparation:

- in the University, at least for certain of the basic aspects of mathematics and linguistics, with the aim of obtaining a first university diploma, nationally recognised and opening the way to study at *maîtrise* level of such a type that it would be compatible with access to secondary teaching; and
- in the Training Centre (*Centre de Formation*), with the aim of providing special academic preparation and initial pedagogical training, under the guidance of lecturers in the Centre, *inspecteurs départementaux* and primary teachers.²²⁶

Stress was placed on the desirability of including "common elements" in the preparation of all teachers, and the hope was expressed that the Training Centres "might group together all future teachers to provide this preparation, in liaison with research activities in education."²²⁷ The Sub-Commission recognised that an interim period would be necessary in which a three-year course might be all that could be made available,

²²³ See particularly *Education*, 16 and 23 October 1969, and *Vivante Education*, January 1971, for extracts from the recommendations; earlier progress reports are contained in *Education*, 7 November and 19 December 1968 and 27 March 1969

²²⁴ Cf. below, pp. 239 and 343

²²⁵ See above, p. 10

²²⁶ La Formation des maîtres, vue par les commissions ministérielles, in *Vivante Education*, January 1971, p. 16

²²⁷ The "common elements", listed in an appendix, included linguistics, mathematics, notions of methodology and epistemology, psychology, aesthetics and manual education, foreign language, and educational psychology; *ibid.*, p. 17

and suggested certain priorities concerning the first two years of either a three- or a four-year period:

The Commission suggests that, in any case, priority should be given, during the first two years, to higher education, with the aim of gaining the first cycle university diploma.²²⁸ But it is of the opinion that pedagogical training requires simultaneously provision of study guidance, through the Centre, for the basic studies done in the university, with the double aim of ensuring better assimilation of knowledge and an understanding of its possible later pedagogical exploitation. [...] It also believes that consideration of the aims of education (social anthropology and philosophy of education) must form part of the work of these first two years.²²⁹

At the end of the full four-year course, the certification should be the *maîtrise*.²³⁰ This qualification would include the specialist academic studies done during the first two years - which could at a later stage be converted to a specialist academic *maîtrise* for those wishing to teach at the secondary level - and the specifically pedagogic studies completed in the final two years. During a transition period in which a three-year course was offered, the qualification would be a "*diplôme d'études pédagogiques*".²³¹

These proposals, if they had been adopted fully, would have led to a revolutionary reappraisal of the position of the instituteur in French society. The cost to the Government, in terms of increased salaries (and undoubtedly of considerable in-service retraining), would have been very high. The reactions of some other sectors of the teaching profession would undoubtedly have been violent. The traditional barriers between "primary" and "secondary" education would have been irrevocably destroyed, and the whole nature of elementary education, as conceived in France, would have been changed as a new and totally different cadre of teachers took over. In these circumstances, it was perhaps fortunate that at the time the proposals remained unacceptable to the Government, and time was allowed for a more cautious approach to be made to them.

Simultaneously, the Opposition parties were putting together their

²²⁸ The *diplôme d'éducation générale universitaire*; see Glossary

²²⁹ *Vivante Education*, loc. cit.

²³⁰ Simultaneously, the Secondary Sub-Commission was recommending a five-year course of training, consisting of an academic *maîtrise* followed by one year of pedagogical studies; cf. *Education*, 27 March 1969, p. 24

²³¹ *Vivante Education*, loc. cit.

proposals for the reform of teacher education. These, published in full at the beginning of 1970, were surprisingly similar to those which Faure's Sub-Commission had made.²³² They first recalled the fundamental principles upon which they were based: all teachers should belong to a single unified profession; all should have a high level of academic qualifications; all should have an introduction to educational research; all should have the right to regular in-service education.²³³ The proposals called for the establishment of "*centres universitaires de formation des enseignants*", which would be "centres constructed within university complexes, comprising provision for boarding accommodation, work and documentation areas, meeting rooms, laboratories, and areas permitting the sharing of activities and experiences among future teachers."²³⁴ Each Centre would be autonomous within its university and would cater for every type of teacher at every level of teaching. All students would be regarded as *normaliens*, and so be in receipt of a salary, and would be expected to accept the normal ten-year bond to serve the State. Recruitment could take place either at the level of the *baccalauréat* or at the end of the first year or at the completion of the first cycle of university studies. All students would follow a five-year course, the first four years of which would be devoted to the completion of work for the *maîtrise* and the fifth to "systematic preparation for the profession of teaching." However, "during the years of preparation for the diploma at the end of the first cycle, *normaliens* will receive, in the *centres de formation*, a first initiation into child and adolescent psychology, (and) practice sessions in the *écoles annexes* [...] will permit the association of practical work and basic theoretical studies."²³⁵ After qualification, the teacher would still have one year of probation to serve, at the end of which a practical examination would give access to a tenured position. The Opposition proposals added details about the need for provision for transfer within the teaching service, after suitable "complementary studies", and the need to allow for regular

²³² The full proposals are set out in *Ecole et la Nation*, January-February 1970, pp. 171 et seq.; as part of the policy of the united left-wing parties, they are summarised also in *Ecole et la Nation*, December 1972, pp. 4 et seq.

²³³ *Formation des enseignants de l'école maternelle au quatrième cycle*, in *Ecole et la Nation*, January-February 1970, pp. 171-2

²³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 173

²³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 174

in-service courses and other methods of providing the teacher with up-to-date information. The "*centres universitaires de formation des enseignants*" would play the major rôle in these.²³⁶ The left-wing parties indicated that they expected that the staffs of the existing *écoles normales* would "collaborate" with the university staffs when such a new structure was set up.²³⁷ Clearly, these proposals followed the same line of thinking as those of the Faure Sub-Commission; they are important in that they represented the likely patterns which would have been attempted if a left-wing government had come to power in France.

By 1970, however, it was clear that, for the moment at least, no further radical changes would be made in the existing organisational structures as such. The political climate was conservative, and there ensued a period of consolidation, rationalisation and very restrained development. A brief general outline of the proposed growth in the whole field of teacher education was conveniently set out in the Education volume of the Sixth Plan, published in 1971.²³⁸ This undoubtedly reflected the attitudes of the Pompidou Government; it provided for no important change in any aspect of teacher education. However, there was a useful statement of general principles, together with a clear forecast of the areas in which some growth was to be expected. The general principles that were affirmed concerned four main matters: the level of education provided, the nature of the professional studies, the ending of the system of *remplaçants*, and the provision of in-service education. With regard to the first, the Report said:

The bringing closer together of the levels of preparation for each successive cycle of education is already being achieved, notably through the extension of the period of training of instituteurs. Certain teacher representatives were of the opinion that junior secondary teachers ought not to be subdivided into a multiplicity of categories, particularly as far as those teaching in *collèges d'enseignement général* or *collèges d'enseignement technique* are concerned. Others stressed the importance of a course spread over three years for primary teachers.²³⁹

²³⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 175-6

²³⁷ Juquin, Pierre: *Programme commun et l'éducation nationale*, in *Ecole et la Nation*, December 1972, p. 33

²³⁸ *Rapports des commissions du 6e Plan, 1971-1975 - Education* (Documentation Française, Paris, 1971). A detailed survey of this and earlier Plans, in so far as they referred to education, is given in Fraser, W.R.: *Reforms and Restraints in Modern French Education*, op. cit., pp. 107-117.

²³⁹ *Rapports des commissions du 6e Plan*, op. cit., p. 135

Here the Commission was merely reporting the views presented to it, and there was no indication that any of the proposals should be adopted. On the other hand, the Report did unanimously approve the "reinforcement of pedagogical studies" for teachers at both the primary and junior secondary levels. It also admitted that, in order to maintain the "quality of recruitment", the proportion of women accepted should be increased. The need to absorb *remplaçants* into the permanent ranks of teachers was stressed, and the completion of this task was foreseen, except for instituteurs²⁴⁰, during the period covered by the Plan. A long paragraph was devoted to the provision of regular in-service courses; the equivalent of "three months of retraining every six years" was proposed as desirable, and there was reference to the use of the *stage en responsabilité* as a method of releasing teachers for such courses. A final proposal of some interest was that "methods of recruitment and appointment of instituteurs on a greatly enlarged geographic basis - at the level of the *académie* rather than the *département*" - be instituted.²⁴¹

All but the last of these proposals - which was not accepted - were already in the process of being adopted at the time that the Report was prepared. They cannot be seen in any light other than as a confirmation of the carefully circumscribed patterns within which the Government intended to proceed. But relative stagnation at the structural level did not necessarily imply no change in educational thinking or in internal developments within the institutions already existing. In fact, the changes which occurred in the following years were often of considerable importance, and ranged well beyond those foreseen in the official Planning Report.

. . .

We have traced the principal factors which contributed to reform in primary teacher education after the long period in which it had seemed to be incapable of change. Some of these influences can be traced to the early years of the twentieth century, and several had their origins in the opinions expressed by isolated individuals or groups before World War II. Yet the major discussions which led to radical

²⁴⁰ It was expected that the number of *remplaçants* in the primary sector would be reduced from 48,000 to 18,000. Cf. below, p. 272

²⁴¹ Rapports des commissions du 6e Plan, op. cit., pp. 136-8

rethinking did not take place until twenty years after the end of the war, and were contributed to only marginally by those most closely engaged in the task of teacher education. The Congresses at Caen and Amiens must be seen as bringing together a large number of ideas, until then only partly expressed, and forming from them a coherent policy which could be accepted in general terms by all concerned. The isolated experiments conducted with a view to adapting various aspects of the system are also not without importance. But undoubtedly the cataclysm of May 1968 provided the impetus which led quickly to a number of important changes and created the atmosphere in which further change could be contemplated with increasing eagerness. What these immediate changes were and what further development seems likely to occur are the subject of the remaining sections of this thesis.

. . .

SECTION 6

CHANGING AN UNCHANGING TRADITION: THE RESULTANT CHANGES

The changes which resulted in the period from 1968 to 1975 in the whole area of primary teacher education in France ranged from minor and superficial to major and fundamental. Much was achieved, and there is now a great deal that is both new and original to be seen in the institutions concerned with this preparation. Yet much remains to be done in practical terms, and even more awaits further reform. "All major pedagogical change," as the *Directeur* of the Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs at Nancy has remarked, "represents an undertaking that is simultaneously huge and delicate, strewn with contradictory difficulties and always extremely perilous, for it involves endless problems affecting the whole of our culture and civilisation."¹

Changes took place in the recruitment patterns, in the consolidation of institutional structures, in the types of course offered and their staffing, in the organisation of practical experience for student-teachers, in the provision made for integration of temporary teachers and the re-training of qualified members of the profession, in the provision of specialised training in several areas, including that for teaching in the junior secondary schools, and, most particularly, in the attitudes of staff, of students, and to some extent of the public, to the work of the écoles normales. It will be the aim of this section of the thesis to examine each of these important changes, seeing how each came to be proposed and how it was applied, and what support and what opposition there were both before and after its introduction.

. . .

The decision to transfer the pre-*baccalauréat* work of the écoles

¹ Grandgeorges, Pierre: Voulez-vous sauter avec moi? in Courrier de l'Union Syndicale Nationale des Administrateurs de l'Education Nationale, No. 2, 1975, p. 57

normales to the *lycées* represented perhaps the most vital of the changes for the future of French teacher education. Opposition to it had remained strong, largely because of emotional arguments. Moreover, when it was made, insufficient care was taken to ensure that all the resultant problems had been considered. There was thus a good deal of confusion initially.

The opposition was often based on socio-economic arguments, as we have seen²: "The necessity of entering primary teaching young is one of the ideas which seem the most generally approved"³; "it is the only way, it seems to us, of ensuring a recruitment which is 'popular' in character, and this must remain typical of the *école normale* if it is to continue to fulfil its rôle effectively"⁴; it "lightens the costs of education, which weigh heavily on families of modest means, and provides perspectives of an assured future for the child."⁵ During the 1950's and 1960's, it was argued also that the pressure of numbers prevented any change: to think of admitting additional students to the *lycées* "is alas only a pleasant joke, since the *lycées* are overflowing with students and have refused [...] a very large number coming from the *collèges d'enseignement général*."⁶ In any case, the *écoles normales* did not "believe in the capacity of the *lycées* to orient an appreciable number of their good pupils towards primary teaching."⁷

But, by the end of the 1960's the pressures were diminishing, and the socio-economic arguments were becoming weaker. The *Syndicat National des Instituteurs*, which had been the most vocal opponent of the change, began to express itself somewhat less positively. Whereas, in 1966, it still proclaimed that it was "absolutely indispensable" that the preparation of the *baccalauréat* be done in the *écoles normales*⁸, in

² See above, pp. 128-9, 172

³ Beros, G.: Le Rétablissement des E.N. et la réforme de l'enseignement, in *Bulletin du S.N.P.E.N.*, No. 1, 1947, p. 9

⁴ Daubard, Jean: Recrutement des élèves-maîtres et Ecoles normales, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 18 November 1966, p. 445

⁵ Toraille, Raymond: Les Ecoles normales et leur avenir, in Georges, G., Hannoun, H., Léon, A. and Toraille, R.: *La Formation des maîtres* (Editions E.S.F., Paris, 1974), p. 132

⁶ Rogniaux, G.: Défense des écoles normales, in *Education Nationale*, 25 October 1962, p. 12; but cf. Bonnafous, S.: Ecoles normales de demain - réforme ou replâtrage? in *Syndicalisme Universitaire*, 5 December 1962, p. iii (Suppl.)

⁷ Labbe, Paul: La Fonction des écoles normales, in *Education Nationale*, 9 May 1957, p. 1

⁸ Le S.N.I. et les jeunes, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 13 May 1966, p. 1523

1970, while still finding it "necessary", it saw it as less important than "the effective use of all the places available in the écoles normales"⁹, and by 1973 it was arguing that "only a post-baccalauréat recruitment [...] can contribute to getting the entire corps of primary school teachers out of the rut in which they are persistently bogged down."¹⁰ Elsewhere, writers were already aware of the social and educational changes which made the traditional system anachronistic: "If, thirty years ago, the école normale was the only way for the son of a labourer to continue his studies, this is no longer the case today"¹¹. Observers asked whether it was desirable "to awaken the teaching vocation in a child before he has even concluded his secondary studies successfully"¹², and many, in fact, began to believe that "attendance at the *lycée* is a salutary thing for good pupils, both because of the spirit of the teaching itself and the reality of a more serious spirit of competition, and nothing permits us to affirm *a priori* that the less gifted pupils would lose anything from it."¹³ In the parliament, questions were asked of the Minister concerning the future of the pre-baccalauréat classes from 1965 on, particularly by Jean Royer, the Radical mayor of Tours:

I should like to know, Mr Minister, whether you will, in the future, consider the écoles normales as simple institutes for professional training, recruiting their student-teachers at the level of the baccalauréat. [...] ¹⁴

It would be preferable - this is the trend throughout Europe, from Great Britain to the U.S.S.R. - to recruit at the level of the baccalauréat. ¹⁵

The Events of May 1968 allowed this change to be adopted relatively quickly, from the beginning of the 1971-2 academic year. The Circular

⁹ Pommateau, Jacques: La vraie défense de nos écoles normales, in Ecole Libératrice, 4 December 1970, p. 653

¹⁰ Les écoles normales "rénovées" (prepared by members of the staff of the Ecole Normale in Agen), in Ecole Libératrice, 26 January 1973, p. 998. In mid-1975, conversations with Monsieur Bouchareissas, a *secrétaire général* of the S.N.I., indicated that the union's attitude was still at that stage "*nuancée*"; they regarded the introduction of two years of professional training as more urgent.

¹¹ Rougeaux, M.: La Formation des maîtres du premier degré, in Education Nationale, 14 May 1964, p. 12

¹² Michel, Franck: De la formation professionnelle, in Education Nationale, 21 May 1964, p. 13

¹³ Charbonnier, J.-C.: Faut-il brûler les écoles normales? in Education Nationale, 6 December 1962, p. 19

¹⁴ Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale (Imprimerie Nationale, Paris), 1965, p. 3813 (18 October)

¹⁵ *ibid.*, 1966-67, p. 1513 (1 June)

providing for it was issued on 8 January 1971, but it was not published in the *Bulletin Officiel* and was not known in advance to the Minister's senior administrators ("to avoid repercussions", according to a union official¹⁶). It stated:

At the beginning of the next school year, all *classes de seconde* are to be abolished in the *écoles normales* and the students enrolled in *lycées*. Students already enrolled in the *lycées* in 1970-71 will be invited to continue their studies there until they obtain the *baccalauréat*.¹⁷

The move had however begun before this date, with permission for some students to complete their pre-*baccalauréat* studies at a *lycée*, when this arrangement was satisfactory for the *école normale* concerned.

Circulars in 1962 and 1963 had made the following provision:

Pupils who are successful in the entrance examination and who are at present attending a *lycée* will in general continue their studies up to the *baccalauréat* in that *lycée*, as either day pupils, half-boarders or full boarders, in conformity with the situation in which they were previously. (This measure, envisaged here as a palliative to the current difficulties of accommodation in the *écoles normales*, must necessarily be applied in the case of successful pupils who wish to continue their studies in the classical or technical section if this is not provided in the *école normale* of their choice.) However, they will be attached administratively to the *école normale* to which they will later be admitted [...].¹⁸

And, in the following year, further details of the limits of this provision were set out: it was to be applied only if it was "completely impossible" to house the pupils at the *école normale*, and the "scattering" of pupils in a number of *lycées* was to be avoided; the alternative of opening suitable classes in the *école normale* itself was also to be explored.¹⁹

By 1971-72, therefore, there were already significant numbers of *normaliens* in the *lycées*, and the Circular of 8 January 1971 served only to regularise the final abolition of all the pre-*baccalauréat* classes in the *écoles normales*. In 1968-69, 255 pupils had been admitted directly to a *lycée*; in 1969-70, following the events of May 1968, there were 1114, and in 1970-71 the number was 2532, more than

¹⁶ Georges, Jacques: Les Ecoles normales - mort ou transfiguration? in *Syndicalisme Universitaire*, 11 February 1971, p. 9

¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸ *Recueil des Lois et Règlements* [hereafter referred to as *Recueil*] (Ministère de l'Education, Paris, 1974), Vol. VII, Section 722-1a, Circular of 28 May 1964, p. 14

¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 15-16 (Circular of 20 June 1964)

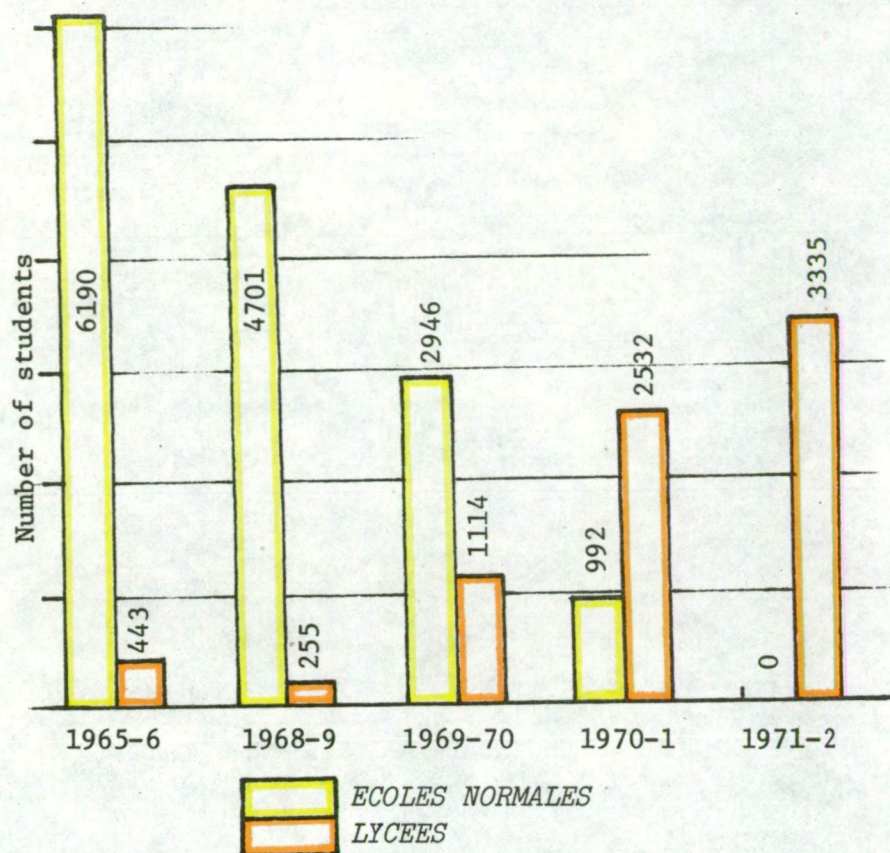


FIGURE 14: EVOLUTION OF DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENT-TEACHERS BETWEEN ECOLES NORMALES AND LYCEES (NUMBER OF ADMISSIONS TO CLASSES DE SECONDE), 1965-72²⁰

TABLE 16: EVOLUTION OF DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENT-TEACHERS IN ALL PRE-BACCALAUREAT CLASSES (SECONDE, PREMIERE, CLASSE TERMINALE), 1965-74²⁰

Year	Ecoles Normales	Lycées
1965-66	21929	1628
1968-69	18066	1389
1970-71	12909	5212
1971-72	6923	10256
1972-73	1689	13718
1973-74	-	14082

²⁰ Based on tables published in *Education*, 25 November 1971, p. vii, 12 October 1972, p. vii, and 31 May 1973, p. vii, and on publications of the Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale: *Informations Statistiques*, *Tableaux Statistiques* and *Statistiques des Enseignements*, for the appropriate years. It should be noted that the available figures show a rapid increase through this period of the proportion of applicants admitted to the *classe de première* (from 14.5% in 1962-63 to 39.8% in 1970-71 and 45.0% in 1971-72); see *Information Statistiques*, October 1973, p. 296, and *Education*, loc. cit.

double the number admitted to the first year of the *écoles normales*. (Cf. FIGURE 14 and TABLE 16, above). This gradual movement was no doubt inevitable in any case, to allow time for the *lycées* to provide the necessary places and to allow time for the *écoles normales* to adjust to their new rôle. The change-over occurred with little disturbance except for the problems of re-location of some staff members.²¹ In 1971-72 the *classes de seconde* disappeared, in 1972-73 the *classes de première*, and in 1973-74 there remained no *pre-baccalauréat* students in the *écoles normales* (the few required to repeat the year having been accommodated also in the *lycées*). (Cf. TABLE 16, above).

The change did not mean that these young students ceased to be recruited at the same age as before or that they ceased to receive the financial aid previously provided. Those who became boarders were in the same situation as before. The same special bursary (*bourse de trousseau et de fournitures*) was provided for them. This was evaluated in the regulations so that, if the ten-year bond was broken, the exact amount to be refunded could be calculated.²² The Circular of 28 May 1964 still applied, in that these students remained attached administratively to their *écoles normales*. In matters of discipline, a Circular of 14 September 1970 laid down that "the *directeur* or *directrice* of the *école normale* must be called in to sit on the disciplinary board, in a consultative capacity, and it will be his or her duty to inform the board of the rules applying to *normaliens* and the consequences of the disciplinary measures envisaged on the career of a future instituteur."²³ There were no substantial changes either in the general patterns of recruitment - the main intake was still at about age fourteen, with a supplementary intake to fill vacant places for students already possessing the *baccalauréat*. However, there was a steady growth in the proportion admitted at the latter stage²⁴, as TABLE 17, below, shows.

The principal effects of these changes on the *écoles normales* themselves were quite clear by 1975. The long overdue abolition of

²¹ Bulletin Officiel de l'Education Nationale [hereafter referred to as Bulletin Officiel] (Ministère de l'Education, Paris), 9 February 1971, pp. 483-4; cf. below, p. 284

²² See, for example, the Circular of 30 July 1970, Recueil, op. cit., Section 722-1(d), pp. 3-4

²³ *ibid.*, Section 722-1(a), p. 20

²⁴ Cf. below, p. 329

TABLE 17: ADMISSIONS TO ECOLES NORMALES - FIRST AND SECOND RECRUITMENT, 1969-1973²⁵

Year	Recruitment to <i>classe de seconde</i> (<i>lycée</i>)	Recruitment to école normale (F.P.)	% of total
1969-70	6185	933	13.1
1970-71	5859	1052	15.2
1971-72	6064	1817	23.1
1972-73	5432	1916	26.1
1973-74	4854	2153	30.1

the administrative restrictions conceived essentially for a group of young students aged from fourteen to eighteen had occurred in virtually all of them. The much more mature young men and women arriving either directly from the considerably freer atmosphere of the *lycées* or from life in the universities (since an increasing number of holders of the *baccalauréat* were recruited after they had attempted one or more years of study in a university faculty) had to be offered very different living conditions and very different facilities for study from their predecessors. The long dormitories, built to provide sleeping accommodation for forty or more boys or girls, were subdivided and redecorated; self-service restaurants replaced the former dining rooms in some cases; facilities for entertainment were extended; and regulations concerning attendance and hours when students could leave the premises were often radically altered. Provision had to be made also (in accordance with the general regulations made after May 1968 to ensure student representation in decision making) for student membership of the *conseil d'administration* in each école normale.²⁶ Such changes were made all the more urgent by the institution of the retraining courses for practising teachers and by the extension of the courses for *remplacants*, and, in many of the écoles normales, by the institution or extension of courses for teachers of handicapped children, slower-learners and the junior classes of the *collèges d'enseignement secondaire*, all of which brought considerable numbers of adults of all ages to share facilities with the *normaliens*. The resulting sudden and startling alteration in the life of these

²⁵ Based on *Statistiques des Enseignements*, op. cit., Vol. 3.2 for each of the years 1969-1973

²⁶ Circular of 14 September 1970; see *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-1(a), p. 18

institutions was in many cases most remarkable, and the fact that the staff concerned were generally able to cope with it so effectively is worthy of special note. The staffs in general were in fact little changed as a result of the loss of the *pre-baccalauréat* classes; in the view of many *directeurs* and *directrices* in 1975, they had adjusted with relative facility to a new type of teaching, and very few had left because they found the situation unacceptable. (Cf. the photographs reproduced as FIGURES 15-21, which show typical facilities and typical aspects of work in the *écoles normales* at this time²⁷).

. . . .

The change from a one-year to a two-year course in professional preparation had, as we have seen, been accepted as essential by almost everyone concerned with the *écoles normales*. It had already been provided for in the legislation which re-established the *écoles normales* in 1946.²⁸ Yet none of the students in the post-*baccalauréat* courses could in fact expect to have two years of professional preparation: those recruited at the end of the first cycle of secondary education were offered only one year; those recruited at the level of the *classe de première* or after the *baccalauréat* were almost all sent out into the schools after one year, often as *suppléants* with appropriate supervision and help. The latter system had been instituted as early as 1956: the two-year course had been "since last year reduced to one year also for the others (i.e. those entering at post-*baccalauréat* level)," wrote Rustin in early 1957²⁹; and Merlier wrote nearly a decade later of them: "If all goes well, they become *bacheliers* at the end of two years, which in theory should permit them to have two years of professional training, but in fact their fourth year has become a year of *suppléances*, completely outside the control of the *école normale*."³⁰ During the 1960's, first the Mériaux Experiment and then the more important Leif Experiment were tried with groups of these students³¹, and the Leif plan became the blueprint for the organisation of the two-year course when it was finally

²⁷ These illustrations may be contrasted with Figures 7-12, above, pp. 85-90

²⁸ See above, pp. 75-7, 104, 116-7

²⁹ Rustin, G.: L'Elève-maître à l'école normale, in Education Nationale, 11 April 1957, p. 5

³⁰ Merlier, André: Les Ecoles normales et la formation des maîtres, in Bulletin: Education et Enseignement, January 1965, p. 2

³¹ See above, pp. 176-7, 180-6



FIGURE 15: Part of the *Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs* in Paris (Auteuil): typical of the functional style of buildings erected in the two decades after World War II.



FIGURE 16: Students take notes during a professional studies class; teaching methods often changed considerably after 1968, but the lecture remained basic for many aspects of the work.



FIGURE 17: A meeting of the *Conseil d'administration* of the *Ecole Normale d'Institutrices* of Paris (Bd des Batignolles). After 1968, this body compulsorily included student representatives in all écoles normales.



FIGURE 18: The *école annexe* attached to the *Ecole Normale d'Institutrices* of Paris (Bd des Batignolles); the practising school, integrated with the training college, remained central to initial teaching practice in the post-1968 period.



FIGURE 19: A section of the Library of the *Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs* of Paris (Auteuil), one of the best-stocked in the country. The rapid changes in the composition of the student body and in the courses provided revealed the lack of effective resource centres in most *écoles normales* after 1968.



FIGURE 20: An observation lesson in the *école annexe* of the *Ecole Normale d'Institutrices* of Paris (Bd des Batignolles); the student-teachers are seated at the rear.

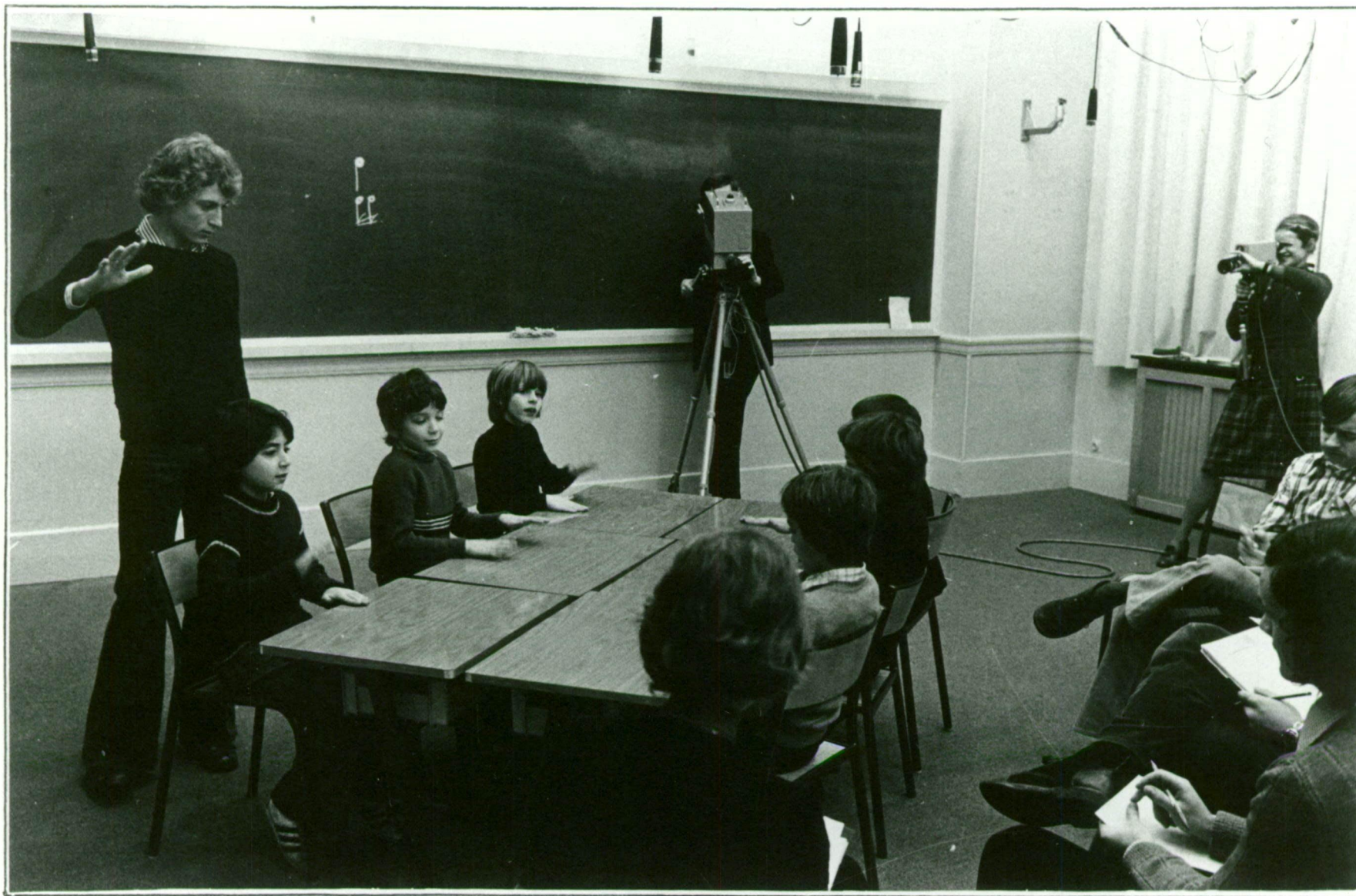


FIGURE 21: Practice teaching session, using closed-circuit television (with which almost all *écoles normales* were equipped after 1968): *Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs* of Paris (Auteuil).

established.

The decision to provide two years for all *normaliens* was one of the first taken by the Minister of Education, Edgar Faure, after the events of May 1968. He introduced it in the *Assemblée Nationale* in July and it became effective at the beginning of the new school year in September. In the Senate in November, he explained the measures he had taken:

In conformity with the declarations which I made in the *Assemblée Nationale* in July, I have been able to ensure that the training of instituteurs will henceforth be increased from one to two years and that it will take place at the university.³² This was in response to the demands of representative organisations and to the need to unify as far as possible the preparation of teachers. This measure in itself required the creation of 7,500 new positions, and this has been achieved. Henceforth, with an additional year of training, instituteurs will feel less the victims of segregation. In the course of this year, they will be able to acquire general education in different areas: modern mathematics and humanities, of course, foreign languages - all these, things of which they have been deprived up to the present.³³

The unions, particularly the *Syndicat National des Instituteurs*, rejoiced at this success:

We can only rejoice at the extension of the length of professional training to two years. [...] It is a first, and particularly positive, result of our action in May.³⁴

There were some complaints, particularly from students who had thought they would become teachers at the end of a single year of professional studies and from staff who thought themselves unprepared for such a change. The school year began in October 1968 in an "unbelievable atmosphere," with the staff not knowing what attitude to adopt and with no course of studies arranged; "we wondered," wrote a student, "how this new cycle which we were inaugurating would end; nobody was able to tell us."³⁵ "The application of the reform required simultaneously a restructuring of the timetables, the curricula and the practice teaching sessions: all that cannot be improvised, it requires careful thought. It would be wise to put the reform into operation on solid

³² The proposal to use the universities, on which Monsieur Faure insisted several times, was not put into effect. See below, pp. 250-1

³³ *Journal Officiel - Sénat*, op. cit., 1968, p. 1476 (29 November)

³⁴ A propos de la formation des maîtres, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 4 November 1968, p. 128

³⁵ Des Normaliens s'expriment sur la réforme des écoles normales, in *Vivante Education*, January 1971, p. 8

bases at the beginning of the next school year."³⁶ However, these were minor criticisms and in general the new arrangements worked quite smoothly.

By the end of the year, a detailed Circular had been issued indicating clearly how the two years were to be spent, and instructions had been sent out concerning students who for various reasons wished to spend only one year in the professional studies course.³⁷

Immediate demands were made for a further increase in the length of post-*baccalauréat* studies, reviving claims which had been made already by some before the 1968 upheaval. Jean Royer was soon suggesting three or four years:

In fact, the higher the structure the more solid the foundations must be. Prepare for us good teachers during the three or four years that the teaching cycle of the *écoles normales* will offer, in association, it is agreed, with the universities but without being integrated into them.³⁸

The unions added their new demands. The Secretary-General of the *S.N.I.* declared: "As we told the Minister when he received us at the end of December, we, in our case, seek a training course of three years, the only way in which, in our view, a true contact by the student-teacher with higher education can be made."³⁹ The Executive of the *Syndicat National des Professeurs des Ecoles Normales* demanded that "the university and pedagogical studies of instituteurs" be increased to three years from the beginning of the 1969-70 school year.⁴⁰ The *Syndicat Général de l'Education Nationale* indicated that "soon" three years would be expected, "side by side with students and future secondary teachers"⁴¹; a couple of years later, they indicated that four years represented the minimum expected for instituteurs.⁴²

³⁶ Raison, P.: La Réforme des classes de Formation Professionnelle dans les écoles normales, in *La Quinzaine Universitaire*, 15 November 1968, p. 175

³⁷ Circular of 6 June 1969, *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-2(a), pp. 19-23; Circular of 4 April 1969, *Bulletin Officiel*, op. cit., 17 April 1969, pp. 1421-3

³⁸ *Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale*, op. cit., 1970, p. 5565 (14 November)

³⁹ Ouliac, André: Pour une véritable rénovation pédagogique, in *Education*, 29 January 1970, p. 27

⁴⁰ Résolution Pédagogique, in *Former des Maîtres*, March-April 1969, p. 5

⁴¹ La Réforme de la formation professionnelle ne condamne pas les E.N. mais impose leur mutation, in *Syndicalisme Universitaire*, 9 January 1969, p. 8

⁴² Marquaille, J.M.: Le S.G.E.N. et la formation des maîtres, in *Vivante Education*, January 1971, p. 15

And the *Syndicat National des Enseignants du Second Degré* in due course demanded an "elevation of the training of instituteurs, which must in the immediate future be increased to three or four complete years before (teachers) enter the education service."⁴³

At the same time, as we have seen, the Commission on Teacher Education set up as one of the bodies to make recommendations on educational reform after May 1968 made its report.⁴⁴ It stated that four years of post-*baccalauréat* study were required, and that an interim extension to three years should be introduced immediately. The first two years were envisaged as purely study years spent in the preparation of the *diplôme d'études universitaires générales*. The recommendations were not proceeded with at the time, but the idea of a three-year course continued to be discussed, and only the very real administrative and financial problems involved prevented its acceptance by the authorities. Conversations with officials in 1975 indicated that a solution might initially be sought by returning to the idea of *suppléances dirigées*, which would come at the end of two years of theoretical and practical work rather than at the end of one.⁴⁵

Raymond Toraille (an *inspecteur-général*) made interesting suggestions concerning a possible third year in his contribution to a book on teacher education published in 1974. He proposed three alternatives. It would be possible to use it straightforwardly as "a year of training and study following directly on the two preceding years"; this might take the form of alternating temporary positions and discussion sessions at the *école normale*. It would be possible also to consider the third year as "a year of reflexion based on a longer period of experience"; the latter period could, in his view, be as short as one year "in normal conditions of work and responsibility." The third suggestion was that the third year might take the form of "three annual periods of four months", spread over the first three years of teaching, and providing opportunities at the *école normale* for detailed discussion and additional study. All of these proposals raised important problems of a practical nature, which Toraille discussed in detail. Their actual form is less important, however, than the fact

⁴³ Propositions du S.N.E.S., in *U.S.-Informations*, 10 April 1974, p. 13

⁴⁴ Cf. above, pp. 215-217

⁴⁵ Personal views expressed by M. l'Inspecteur-Général Leif and M. l'Inspecteur-Général Noël in separate conversations in June 1975; cf. below, p. 331

that they were indicative of a new openness of thinking in relation to teacher preparation and the *écoles normales*.⁴⁶

The new curriculum for the two-year course in the *écoles normales* was published in a Circular of 6 June 1969.⁴⁷ At the time when it was issued, it was regarded as a purely interim document, to be replaced later when decisions had been taken about the permanent form which teacher education was to take. It followed the lines of the curriculum used in the Leif Experiment quite closely. The first year was to be devoted to "the consolidation of basic knowledge, cultural development and initiation to pedagogical problems."⁴⁸ It would include:

studies in philosophy of education, child psychology and social anthropology;

theoretical and practical studies in pedagogy;

exercises in the *écoles annexes et d'application*; and

observation periods at each of the three important levels of the primary school and the *école maternelle* (approximately fifteen days).⁴⁹

The Circular made it clear that close co-ordination of the theoretical work and the observation periods was expected:

These different activities will be carried out in close association; thus, student-teachers will be called upon simultaneously to discover the social, psychological and material conditions of school work at all levels of teaching; they will study the different subjects taught in the primary school through an approach at a tertiary level providing a deepening of their *culture générale* and an examination of the pedagogical problems which each poses both in itself and in its essential relationship to the total educational experience.⁵⁰

The second year was to begin with the teaching practice session (the *stage en situation*) - as a temporary full-time teacher in a suitable school - which had already been adopted in the Leif Experiment.⁵¹

The remainder of the second year would be devoted to the completion of the studies begun in the first.

The full time allocations proposed for the two years are set out in TABLE 18, below. A note added to this table stated that, "As far as

⁴⁶ Toraille, Raymond: *Les Ecoles normales et leur avenir*, in Georges, G., Hannoun, H., Léon, A. and Toraille, R.: *La Formation des maîtres* (Editions E.S.F., Paris, 1974), pp. 133-137

⁴⁷ *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-2(a), pp. 19-23

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 20

⁴⁹ *ibid.*

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ Cf. above, pp. 180-186; details of the final form of the organisation of these *stages* are given below, pp. 265-267

TABLE 18: THE CURRICULUM IN THE ECOLES NORMALES AS
PRESCRIBED IN THE CIRCULAR OF 6 JUNE 1969⁵²

Subject	Hours per week	
	Year I	Year II
Philosophy of Education (General Pedagogy)	2	2
Child and Adolescent Psychology	3	2
Special Pedagogy, of which at least a half is to be devoted to French and Mathematics	10	10
Social Anthropology (and, in Year II, Problems of the Contemporary World)	2	3
Physical Education	2	2
Art and Music (Aesthetic Studies)	2	2
Foreign Language	2	2
Option (philosophy, social anthropology, humanities, foreign languages, history-geography, mathematics, economics, technology, plastic arts, drama, music)	3	3

the syllabuses of these subjects are concerned, lecturers are invited to use as a basis those which were worked out at the time of the institution of the experimental two-year course."⁵³

The time allocations differ in one or two respects from those of the Leif Experiment. The total number of hours was reduced from thirty a week to twenty-six. Considerably less time was allocated for special pedagogy (methodology) - the reduction was from fifteen and a half hours to ten in Year I with no significant change in Year II. The time for the optional study was increased from two to three hours a week. The studies in social anthropology and contemporary studies were redistributed - instead of five hours a week in the shortened second year, they were given two hours in Year I and three in Year II. However, the local studies in science, history and geography, to which three and a half hours had been allocated in Year II, were no longer included. Nor was the one hour a week of study of texts, diction and reading aloud.⁵⁴ The general effect was a lightening and simplification of the course, without any great change in its general emphasis. The central core of the work remained clearly the consolidation of understanding of the various subjects which made up

⁵² Recueil, op. cit., loc. cit., p. 23

⁵³ ibid.

⁵⁴ Cf. above, pp. 182-3

the curriculum of the primary schools. The recommended method of approach was by team teaching: "(The staff) will make every effort to promote team working, going as far as the simultaneous intervention of two or several with a single class; this will help to destroy the traditional notion of the lecture approach (*le cours magistral*)."⁵⁵ The suggestion of the educational trip to a foreign country, which had been part of the Leif scheme, appeared here also: "As far as proves possible, an educational visit to a foreign country, of one month, will take place during the course of the first two terms. The aim of this visit being essentially pedagogical, it may take place in a francophone country."⁵⁶

The details of the courses, as outlined, correspond very closely to those which had been proposed by the Minister's Commission on Teacher Education.⁵⁷ In this the Commission was more successful than in its proposals for four years of study. The courses proved generally acceptable also to most critics. "It is not uninteresting to note," said the generally hostile Communist journal *Ecole et la Vie*, "that the training of instituteurs has entered a new phase which seems an improvement on that of the recent past; in addition to the subjects taught in the primary school, more and more care is being taken to initiate teachers into the subjects of psychology, sociology and linguistics - sciences regarded as suspect or subversive in certain *milieux*."⁵⁸ (Mlle Dienisch, an Independent Republican, had said much the same thing in the *Assemblée Nationale* a decade before: "We must widen this training by adding particularly studies in psychology and sociology (and) all the techniques of group work."⁵⁹) "A desirable link" had been forged, in the opinion of Jean Vial, "between the spirit of the primary school of tomorrow and that of the école normale of today."⁶⁰ Soon there was talk of a "profound renovation of the content"⁶¹ of the course and writers began to offer suggestions for "a radical change of spirit."⁶² The very great freedom permitted by

⁵⁵ *Recueil*, op. cit., loc. cit., p. 21.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 20.

⁵⁷ These are set out in *Ecole Libératrice*, 8 November 1968, p. 406.

⁵⁸ Priouret, Jacques: *La Formation continuée des instituteurs*, in *Ecole et la Vie*, May 1974, p. 3.

⁵⁹ *Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale*, op. cit., 1967, p. 4191 (26 October).

⁶⁰ Vial, Jean: *La Pédagogie au ras du sol* (Editions E.S.F., Paris, 1973), p. 159.

⁶¹ Joseph Fontanet, Minister of Education, in the *Assemblée Nationale*: *Journal Officiel*, op. cit., 1973, p. 1741 (5 June).

the regulations - most staff began to write their own syllabuses in their speciality - certainly led in a number of cases to the introduction of new approaches to old topics and new areas of study within the disciplines defined; it equally led in some cases to very unbalanced or poorly presented courses. The most difficult area was that of psycho-pedagogy - a combination of the psychology and the philosophy areas of the course (and often the social anthropology as well) generally taught by one lecturer in the écoles normales. The two (or three) areas were often regarded as indissoluble; Joseph Leif told a meeting of philosophy lecturers in 1973:

The philosophy teacher is in charge of the teaching of psycho-pedagogy, of philosophy of education and of social anthropology. It is inconceivable that it should be otherwise, that these disciplines should be separated.⁶³

But, as one lecturer wrote, there was "no agreement on what the philosophy of education ought to be", and social anthropology, "because no-one knows very clearly what it is", was often taught by a history lecturer who was "short of work".⁶⁴ Philosophy teachers themselves recognised that the qualifications of the lecturers were often in question "so far as social anthropology is concerned."⁶⁵ An insuperable problem continued to exist in this area in the period following the introduction of the compulsory two-year course; it seems impossible that such a vast field should be satisfactorily encompassed by any one lecturer, and in most of the écoles normales it almost certainly was not.

Other aspects of the new course were also frequently commented upon, particularly the introduction of options, the suggestions for team teaching and the integration of studies. The central problem for their success - as for the psycho-pedagogical aspects of the work - was soon seen to be the lack of effective preparation of lecturers for their rôle. This was to become a major preoccupation during the early 1970's.⁶⁶

⁶² Thomas, J.-R.: Préparer foncièrement les maîtres à leur tâche, in Education, 6 February 1969, p. 9

⁶³ Reported in Ravoux, J.-P.: Imposture et chômage technique, in Revue de l'Enseignement Philosophique, June-July 1973, p. 29

⁶⁴ ibid., pp. 29-30

⁶⁵ Report of a Conference of Philosophy Teachers: La Philosophie dans les écoles normales d'instituteurs, in Revue de l'Enseignement Philosophique, December 1967-January 1968, p. 28

⁶⁶ Cf. below, pp. 283-7 and 337-9

In the case of linguistics and "new" mathematics - both thought to be essential studies for *normaliens*, in view of the changes that were being made in the primary school syllabuses⁶⁷ - a different solution was sought. In accord with Edgar Faure's expressed desire to involve the universities in primary teacher preparation, a detailed Circular was issued in September 1970 headed "Participation of tertiary education in the teacher preparation courses of the *écoles normales*."⁶⁸ This was to provide the detailed method of application of a suggestion contained in the earlier Circular on courses (that of 6 June 1969):

During their course at the *école normale*, student-teachers must, depending on the circumstances and possibilities, either participate in courses and practical classes at the university or have the benefit of the teaching of university staff in their own establishment. The participation of the latter is to concern essentially linguistics and mathematics envisaged in relationship to the two fundamental subject areas of the primary school - French language and mathematics.⁶⁹

The new Circular indicated that it was possible to proceed to a first assessment of the effectiveness of the scheme. There had been "a multiplicity of forms of intervention".⁷⁰ Significantly, one form of organisation had not met with success:

Certain (arrangements) have not achieved the desired goal; this has been the case specifically when *école normale* students have been integrated, without proper precautions or adaptations to their special needs, into courses in the first year of the first cycle of university studies.⁷¹

It was suggested that it would be preferable therefore to avoid this type of approach in the future. Two "satisfactory types" were then proposed. The first, the "direct approach", was applicable in towns where there was a university: lecturers should be required to give special courses in the *écoles normales* themselves (with appropriate grouping of students if numbers were small). The second, the "indirect approach", involved special meetings arranged in a university town where teachers from the more remote *écoles normales* would gather with their colleagues from the *écoles normales* of the university town and the lecturers from the university involved to become "duly informed"

⁶⁷ Details of these changes are given above, p. 5, note 13

⁶⁸ Circular of 7 September 1970, *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-2(a), pp. 24-5; see also *Education*, 17 September 1970, p. x

⁶⁹ *Recueil*, op. cit., loc. cit., p. 21

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 24

⁷¹ *ibid.*

of the academic background involved; they would then return to their own institutions and be responsible for presenting it to their students there. While not regarded as "rigid solutions", these were the only two proposals that the Circular made. The Circular required the *recteurs* and the *directeurs* and *directrices* of the *écoles normales* to "seek ways of making the participation of tertiary education effective" in time for the beginning of the new school year and provided a time allocation of not more than two hours for each subject area to be spent in this way.⁷²

The proposal to use university staff for some teaching in the *écoles normales* was linked with the more elaborate plans for the establishment of teacher education "institutions". The question was essentially one of integration or collaboration. Most wondered prior to 1968 "whether the university (was) ready to assume this new function."⁷³ Most believed that teacher education "ought to be of university level", and, at least, "provided in collaboration between the staff attached to the establishment [...] and university lecturers."⁷⁴ The Caen and Amiens Congresses supported an even closer collaboration, as we have seen.⁷⁵ Jean Royer, in a detailed speech before the *Assemblée Nationale* in 1967, had clearly stated the same aim:

It is essential that our instituteurs have contact with the professors in our university faculties, not only to ensure their cultural development but also to prepare for their possible promotion to the first or second cycle of secondary education.⁷⁶

And Jean Capelle, *rapporteur* for Education in the Parliament at that time, stressed that the university ought to have as one of its tasks "to remove from its closed situation the preparation of primary teachers," a change regarded as "a very great progress."⁷⁷

The Minister of Education (Edgar Faure) had seen the future in terms of integration in 1968:

One of the most important elements of this reform (the reform of the universities in 1968) consists precisely in attaching to the tree of the university a certain number of teachers, and more

⁷² *ibid.*, pp. 24-5

⁷³ Juif, Paul: La Rénovation des *écoles normales*, in *Education Nationale*, 13 April 1967, p. 9

⁷⁴ Ideas expressed at the annual meeting of the Heads of *Ecoles Normales* in February 1967; see *Education Nationale*, 9 March 1967, p. 16

⁷⁵ Cf. above, pp. 189, 197, 200, 207-8

⁷⁶ *Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale*, op. cit., 1967, p. 1513 (1 June)

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, 1968, p. 3002 (3 October)

particularly teachers in primary education, who were not attached to it.

Formerly, the university was a university for people of standing (*notables*) [...] while the teachers responsible in the villages and small towns for providing the opportunity for ordinary children to obtain the primary school certificate were not attached to the university.

In reality, it is necessary for us to consider the teacher in the primary sector, not as a teacher who was not capable of doing anything else but subordinate instruction, but as a specialised educator, whose vocation is to teach young children. He practises a different profession, in which pedagogy replaces the distribution of knowledge as it is practised later.

That is why I attach the greatest importance to this reform, which the Government has just put into application. [...] From this year on, all primary teachers will receive two years of training after the *baccalauréat*, and they will receive these two years at the university.⁷⁸

However, after the excitement of this early period had died down, it was quickly realised that the universities were not in any way ready for such a major change; nor was the major transformation in the *écoles normales* that it implied possible in the short term. Even if finance had been available, the opposition of reactionary forces - and, particularly, the *notables* to whom Faure had referred and their leaders among the graduates of the *grandes écoles* and the *agrégés* - was much too strong. Faure was followed by more conservative ministers, Olivier Guichard (1969-72) and Joseph Fontanet (1972-74), and the changes were confined to the introduction of some lectures by university staff, as we have seen.

Even the latter experiment did not always succeed. "Refusals and obstacles were quickly encountered"⁷⁹; "the very existence of the *école normale* was unknown at the university"⁸⁰; the *normaliens* "were not won over" by the lecturers, and the first attempts failed.⁸¹ The *S.N.I.* soon spoke of "the difficulties of all kinds which will arise in endeavouring to establish contacts with the university staffs, on both the human and the material levels."⁸² The 1968-69 year ended "without our being able to establish effective collaboration between

⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 3109 (8 October)

⁷⁹ Des *normaliens* s'expriment sur la réforme des *écoles normales*, in *Vivante Education*, January 1971, p. 8

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

⁸¹ Collet, J.: Onze ans de la vie d'une *école normale* française, in *Dialogues*, November 1973, p. 65

⁸² A propos de la formation des maîtres, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 4 October 1968, p. 128

the écoles normales and higher education."⁸³ However, it is true that in a significant number of the larger écoles normales (for example, the Ecole Normale d'Institutrices in Paris and the Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs in Grenoble) the collaboration was effective and continuing. A first, very tentative, step towards a more unified teacher preparation policy had been more or less successfully taken.

The introduction of the two-year professional course, together with the large-scale use of the écoles normales as centres for the retraining of teachers, led also to the modernisation of equipment in many places: closed-circuit television was developed in almost all of the écoles normales as a teaching aid⁸⁴; language laboratories took on renewed importance and life as the foreign language classes became oriented towards practical oral proficiency; libraries - which had been in many cases very meagre and rarely used - were developed into more effective resource centres.

There was also a need to reform the requirements for the *Certificat de fin d'études normales* and for the *Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique*.⁸⁵ Details of changes in the former were set out in a Circular of 6 June 1969⁸⁶ and in a further Circular, not published in the *Bulletin Officiel*, dated 5 November 1971.⁸⁷ The opportunity was taken to devise an entirely new form of assessment. In place of the two series of tests, the first written and the second oral, together with a mark for course work and for "conduct and application", the new regulations provided for "continuous assessment" combined with a series of terminal written and oral tests. For both these, the subjects of the course were divided into three series, grouped as follows:

1. Basic subjects: French language and mathematics;
2. General subjects: optional subjects; aesthetic education; foreign language; socio-cultural activities; physical education;
3. Pedagogical subjects: philosophy of education and social

⁸³ Nicolas-Charles, Désiré: Sur un aspect important du problème de la formation des maîtres, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 13 June 1969, p. 1881

⁸⁴ See for example the following articles: Mourgeon, Jacques: Opération Miroir, in *Média*, April 1969, pp. 39-42; Haumont, Marie-Louise: Un message aux messagers, in *Média*, December 1970, pp. 4-5; cf. also Figure 21, above, p. 236

⁸⁵ Cf. above, pp. 119-24

⁸⁶ *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-3, pp. 22-25

⁸⁷ La Formation pédagogique - les normaliens et le C.F.E.N., in *Ecole Libératrice*, 21 January 1972, pp. 893-4, and *Ecole Libératrice, Supplément Normaliens*, 13 September 1974, pp. 87-90

anthropology; child and adolescent psychology; special pedagogy⁸⁸

The method of providing the continuous assessment of each was defined as follows:

The semester assessments are to be decided, for each series, by the *conseil des professeurs*. They are to be based on the examination of the work dossier of each student-teacher (tests, individual and group work, notes taken during class, etc), together with an oral discussion, if necessary, with two *professeurs*, based on certain aspects of the dossier. The assessment for the third series for the third semester is to consist essentially of the assessment for the practice teaching session.⁸⁹

This method of providing part of the final result was new for the écoles normales, but was similar to procedures already widely adopted elsewhere in the French education system - notably in the secondary schools. Many of the staff in the écoles normales would already have had experience of these as former teachers in secondary schools. The change did not therefore present great difficulties, and the pattern was generally accepted as a desirable addition to the former procedures.

The final examinations themselves were as follows:

Series 1: For each subject, (a) a written test, exercising the candidate's ability to analyse and then to present the essential aspects of a document of literary or mathematical character; and (b) a discussion, following immediately, and bearing on the subject of the written test. (Written test - one hour; discussion - fifteen minutes).

Series 2: One test on the Optional subjects and one on one of the other subjects, the form of the tests to be defined by the staff concerned.

Series 3: A practical test, taking the form of a sequence of school activities (maximum time - one hour) organised by the candidate, and followed by a discussion concerning the methodological aspects of the subjects taught and the psychological problems encountered; the candidate to choose either pre-school or primary school, the actual grade being decided by lot; the candidate to have the opportunity to observe the class concerned in advance and to have the opportunity to prepare the material judged necessary.⁹⁰

Marks in a range from 1 (very satisfactory) to 5 (very unsatisfactory) were to be allotted for each series, both for continuous assessment and for the final tests, an average of 3 or less being generally

⁸⁸ *Recueil*, op. cit., loc. cit., p. 23

⁸⁹ *ibid.*

⁹⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 23-4

required (with the opportunity to repeat under certain conditions.)⁹¹

More precise details of the operation of this system were soon demanded by the *S.N.I.*, and the second Circular (5 November 1971) provided these, generally to the satisfaction of the union.⁹² In particular, there were exact details of the ways in which students could make up for failure or partial failure in one or more of the various aspects of the assessment. In many cases, it was made possible for students to sit again at the end of their first year of teaching (while on probation) for the series in which they had registered a failure.⁹³

The *Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique* was revised by the *Arrêté* of 21 July 1971, which modified Articles 156-159 of the original *Arrêté* of 18 January 1887.⁹⁴ The three series of tests - written, practical and oral - were retained, but with some modifications:

Written section:

A study of one or several texts or documents concerning teaching and understanding of children, including a critical commentary; duration: three hours; coefficient: 1.

Preparation of a sequence of school activities on one of three types of activity, for each of which one or more topics may be proposed: French language, mathematics, enrichment subjects; the candidate is to indicate the duration and progression of the sequence and justify briefly the work proposed, the aims to be achieved and the pedagogical means used; duration: three hours; coefficient: 1.

Practical section:

A half-day sequence concerning the enrichment subjects, taken in the candidate's own class (or in a class provided for him or her at his or her request); coefficient: 2.

Oral section:

(a) a discussion of a pedagogical nature centred on one or several of the exercises presented in the class, to follow the practical test; (b) a critical examination of pupils' work; (c) questions on school legislation; duration: 30 minutes; coefficient: 1.⁹⁵

⁹¹ *ibid.*, p. 24

⁹² La Formation pédagogique - les normaliens et le C.F.E.N., in *Ecole Libératrice*, 21 January 1972, p. 894

⁹³ *ibid.*, pp. 893-4

⁹⁴ *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-4, pp. 2-4. Recent publications dealing with the revised *Certificat* include: Marot, J. and Dardenne, M.: *Guide du candidat au Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique* (Magnard, Paris, 1973); *Aide-mémoire du nouveau Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique* (Hachette, Paris, 1972); Gloton, R.: *Les Epreuves écrites au C.A.P.* (Colin, Paris, 1973); S.N.I.D.E.S.: *Recueil de sujets des deux épreuves écrites du C.A.P.* (S.U.D.E.L., Paris, 1972); and Tronchère, J.: *Le Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique* (revised edition) (Colin, Paris, 1974).

⁹⁵ *Recueil*, op. cit., loc. cit., p. 3

As had previously been the case, candidates who already held the *Certificat de fin d'études normales* were exempted from the written and oral sections, having only to satisfy in the practical test. The other sections were required of *remplaçants*, under the same conditions as previously.⁹⁶

The changes were essentially those that had been sought by the *S.N.I.* and agreed upon by a "work group" including representatives of the Ministry, of the *inspecteurs primaires* and of the *S.N.I.* itself (4 May 1971).⁹⁷ The written tests were altered to replace the commentary on a short quotation (the "test of general pedagogy") by a discussion of a much longer text (or texts), and to modernise the form of the "test of applied pedagogy", basing it on a practical sequence rather than on a quotation. The values of these two written tests were changed also, so that they became of equal importance. (Formerly the first had a coefficient of 3 and the second a coefficient of 2). The minimum assessment required for permission to repeat part of the course was also effectively lowered (from the equivalent of 50% to 40%).⁹⁸ None of these moves represents more than a modification of the procedures for assessment in the light of already accepted principles of testing. They were accepted by both the staffs of the *écoles normales* and the union representatives with little criticism.

. . . .

One of the major reforms proposed by the Minister of Education (Edgar Faure) in the aftermath of the May 1968 Student Revolution was, as we have noted, the integration of the preparation of primary teachers into the restructured universities. Declarations in the Parliament seemed to imply that the change was already a *fait accompli*: "The University will be expected [...] to gather together all teachers and particularly to take over the preparation of teachers in primary education"⁹⁹; "From this year, all teachers in primary education [...] will spend these two years (of professional preparation) at the

⁹⁶ Cf. above, pp. 123, 149-52

⁹⁷ Pommatau, Jacques: *La Réforme du C.A.P.*, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 10 September 1971, p. 34

⁹⁸ *Ecole Libératrice*, 14 May 1971, pp. 1577-8, and 10 September 1971, loc. cit.; see also Marot, Jean and Dardenne, Maurice: *Guide du candidat au Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique*, op. cit., pp. 21-5

⁹⁹ *Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale*, op. cit., 1968, p. 3002 (3 October 1968) (statement by Jean Capelle, *rapporteur*)

university"¹⁰⁰; "As I have already said [...], all new primary school teachers will participate in university training"¹⁰¹; "I have been successful already in ensuring that primary teacher preparation shall be spread over two years instead of one and that it shall take place at the university."¹⁰²

The proposal proved, however, quite unworkable in the short term. It formed but one strand of a very complex problem, discussion of which had been going on inside and outside primary education for a very long period. Essentially the problem concerned the extent to which the *écoles normales* should be wholly independent institutions, or, if they were not to be, the extent to which they should collaborate with or be integrated into the universities. This in turn involved consideration of whether primary teacher preparation was a part of the secondary system or a part of higher education, a question which had already been much discussed, as we have seen.¹⁰³ Proposals for the latter ranged from the full integration of primary teacher education as part of the first diploma and degree pattern of the traditional universities, through suggestions of several types of associated institute, variously called *centres* or *instituts (universitaires) de formation pédagogique* or *professionnelle*, to loose associations involving various degrees of liaison between two essentially separate establishments. In fact, as time went on, the likelihood of any form of integration or even of close association became more and more remote again, and the proposals of Education Minister René Haby in 1975 indicated that this type of organisation was not likely to be approved in the near future.¹⁰⁴

We have already seen that the Caen and Amiens Congresses had revived the question of university participation in teacher education, and that there had been earlier proposals of a similar sort dating back to the beginning of the century.¹⁰⁵ We have seen too that the Langevin-Wallon plan included similar recommendations and that this plan had slowly become the blueprint for much that was occurring in the progressive reform of the education system as a whole.¹⁰⁶ Observers both from

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p. 3109 (8 October 1968) (statement by Edgar Faure)

¹⁰¹ *Journal Officiel - Sénat*, op. cit., 1968, p. 897 (24 October) (statement by Edgar Faure)

¹⁰² *ibid.*, p. 1476 (29 November) (statement by Edgar Faure)

¹⁰³ Cf. above, pp. 165-6, 170, 191, 197

¹⁰⁴ Cf. below, pp. 341-3

¹⁰⁵ Cf. above, esp. p. 209

¹⁰⁶ Cf. above, esp. p. 170

overseas and from within France believed that it was essential that in due course primary teacher education should become a university responsibility. Parliamentarians at the time of the two Congresses thought so too. Left-wing speakers based themselves generally on the Langevin-Wallon pattern:

Such a structure assumes the progressive creation of a common preparation for all teachers in pre-schools and compulsory education, resulting in a single corps of teachers. They would spend four years at the university, three of them generally in a pedagogical institute. Their training would be integrated with their general and specialised psycho-pedagogical and professional education. A fifth year, spent in a *centre pédagogique départementale*, would complement the professional preparation.¹⁰⁷

Others were more guarded but implied nevertheless that work at university degree level would be essential:

There must be a common basic preparation. The distinctions between primary teachers and all other teachers at compulsory education level must be removed. All have the right to equal dignity, even if each category of teachers requires a training which is in part specific to it. According to the patterns already proposed in the Langevin-Wallon plan, all teachers ought to possess a general teaching degree conceived in such a way that it satisfies all the demands of the vocation of primary teaching.¹⁰⁸

The Article dealing with teacher preparation in the Law of 12 November 1968 (establishing the new patterns of university organisation) was subject to some discussion and amendment before its final acceptance. In its final form, it left the situation sufficiently indefinite for the *status quo ante* to be maintained. As originally proposed, it read:

Chapter I. Article 1 (para. 6): They (the universities) are to ensure the general unity of the preparation of teachers in the national education system - without prejudice to the adaptation of the different categories of teachers to their respective tasks - and are to encourage the continuous improvement of pedagogy and the updating of knowledge and methods.¹⁰⁹

In the Senate, the Minister accepted the following version, proposed by the Commission for Cultural Affairs:

They are to prepare all teachers in the national education system in such a way that the general unity of this preparation - without prejudice to the adaptation of the different categories

¹⁰⁷ Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale, op. cit., 1967, p. 1392 (30 May) (statement by Pierre Juquin, Communist).

¹⁰⁸ ibid., p. 1495 (31 May) (statement by André Labarrière, Socialist).

¹⁰⁹ Journal Officiel - Sénat, op. cit., 1968, p. 895 (24 October).

of teachers to their respective tasks - shall permit the continuous improvement of pedagogy and the updating of knowledge and methods.¹¹⁰

The final version became:

They are to prepare teachers in the national education system, have regard for the general unity of this preparation - without prejudice to the adaptation of the different categories of teachers to their respective tasks - and permit the continuous improvement of pedagogy and the updating of knowledge and methods.¹¹¹

The omission of "all" in the final version, and the replacing of "ensure" by "have regard to" were in fact sufficient to prevent a precipitate attempt to integrate primary teacher education forthwith into the university structure.

However, the way was left open for a great deal of uncertainty and of heated discussion concerning the extent to which the spirit of the Law might be applied. There were supporters, of course, of full integration: the *Syndicat Général de l'Enseignement National* continued to press for the creation of pedagogical units within the universities and to claim that "the preparation of all teachers for all levels belongs to university education."¹¹² These units were not thought of by this union as "rivals to existing preparation organisms"; on the contrary, "they must be integrated."¹¹³ With regard to primary teachers in particular, it made these suggestions:

So that (primary teacher preparation) may take place in the universities, it must be recognised by a national diploma, a new grouping of elements of study from the first cycle of university studies in French and mathematics. The adoption of the system of "units of study" will permit the assessment of both academic and pedagogical studies in the same way, so as to integrate in one structure the whole of the preparation. The elements of professional study, including practical work, will count in the normal way as "units of study", and the more technical side of the primary teacher's training will no longer be under-estimated in comparison with the more academic preparation of the *professeur*, since both will be awarded the same diplomas.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 897 (24 October)

¹¹¹ The full text is published in *De l'Université aux universités* (Cahiers des Universités Françaises, Colin, Paris, 1975), pp. 108-127, together with the subsequent communications from the Ministry.

¹¹² Marquaille, J.M.: *Le S.G.E.N. et la formation des maîtres*, in *Vivante Education*, January 1971, pp. 14-15

¹¹³ *ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 15; cf. also Garrigue, François and George, Jacques: *Points de vue d'adhérents du S.G.E.N.*, in *Vivante Education*, September-October 1973, esp. p. 10

Other individual groups also continued to make proposals of this type. One well-planned scheme, for example, was prepared by the school psychologists in the Bordeaux *académie*; they proposed that all future teachers and other specialists in education would share the major part of a four-year university course, the first two years leading to a "university diploma in psycho-pedagogical studies", the third year via various options to a degree in education, and the fourth via practice sessions and further specialised study to a *Certificat d'aptitude*.¹¹⁵ However, such plans met with little positive success. The main primary teacher unions were concerned to maintain separate strands, and claimed - with accuracy - that the universities were far from ready for such moves; and the Government quickly realised that considerable additional expenditure would be involved in providing any form of lengthened, common teacher training.¹¹⁶

Proposals for various forms of collaboration with the universities for teacher education were much more widely disseminated. These were the natural sequel to the discussions at the Amiens Congress and to the publication of the proceedings of the Congress.

The Communist and Socialist parties in their "United Front" policies aimed for the creation of "*centres pédagogiques universitaires*" which would be "the *écoles normales* of our time."¹¹⁷ These centres would gather together all future teachers, of all subjects, at all levels. They would be the "melting pot" from which would emerge a single body of teachers. They would resemble the *écoles normales supérieures*, in that their students would be able to follow the normal courses taken by other students in the universities; but they would have *classes d'application* and all the other facilities provided by the *écoles normales* to ensure effective practical contacts.¹¹⁸ The Communist party itself, in its proposal entitled "*Reconstruire l'Ecole*", stated:

Student-teachers will follow a normal programme in a university U.E.R.¹¹⁹ up to the level of the *maîtrise*. But they will also be

¹¹⁵ Rumeau, Jean: Un seul titre - enseignant, in *Education*, 3 February 1972, pp. 12-13

¹¹⁶ Some estimates of these costs are given below, p. 328

¹¹⁷ Juquin, Pierre: Programme commun et l'éducation nationale, in *Ecole et la Nation*, December 1972, p. 5

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 5-6

¹¹⁹ *Unités d'enseignement et de recherche* were the teaching and research units into which the universities were divided by the Law of 12 November 1968.

in contact, from the beginning of their preparation, with the realities of their future profession from a theoretical point of view (courses in Science of Education...), as well as through a fifth year of professional training (with a practical session). The *centre pédagogique universitaire* will also be a centre for research in education [...].¹²⁰

This was clearly very close to the proposals for complete integration of teacher education into the universities, especially if - as is implied - practical work in *classes d'application* were confined entirely to the final year. Supporters of this approach were aware of the need both for major changes within the universities themselves and for very great increases in finance if the plan was to be effective, but they believed that "higher education can ensure within a very short time both the initial and the continuing education of primary teachers."¹²¹ The integration of the teaching staffs of the *écoles normales* into the university system was assumed in this restructuring: "(It) assumes as a priority the political decision to entrust it (i.e. primary teacher training) to the universities in collaboration with the present lecturing staff."¹²²

The main secondary teachers union (the *Syndicat National de l'Enseignement Secondaire*), the union of physical education teachers (the *Syndicat National des Professeurs d'Education Physique*), the university teachers union (the *Syndicat National de l'Enseignement Supérieur*) and the union of teachers in the *écoles normales* (the *S.N.P.E.N.*) defined their positions in a national conference held in early 1973.¹²³ They put forward as their first aim to integrate completely within the university the preparation of all secondary teachers (including technical, art and physical education staff).¹²⁴ Their longer-term aims were defined as:

- the progressive unification of the preparation of all teachers;
- academic preparation in the university;
- association of pedagogical and academic preparation;
- guaranteed in-service education for all teachers.¹²⁵

It is clear that they were not prepared to interfere with the interests

¹²⁰ Haas, Georgette: *La Formation des maîtres*, in *Ecole et la Nation*, January 1974, p. 25; cf. above, pp. 217-9

¹²¹ Mazauric, Claude: *Les Futurs instituteurs seront formés dans l'enseignement supérieur*, in *Ecole et la Nation*, December 1972, p. 33

¹²² *ibid.*

¹²³ See *Former des maîtres pour notre temps*, the report of the Conference, issued as a supplement to *Bulletin du S.N.E.S.*, July-August, 1973

¹²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 19

¹²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 21

of other teacher unions, and specifically with the work of the *écoles normales*, at least in the immediate future. The representatives of the *S.N.P.E.N.* at the conference concentrated on the work of the *écoles normales* in preparing teachers for the first cycle of secondary work and sought its integration into the suggested *centres universitaires de formation*.¹²⁶

The *Syndicat National des Instituteurs*, on the other hand, continued to support the transformation of the *écoles normales* into *centres de formation départementaux*. This did not prevent their claiming "a degree for all teachers of children aged from two to sixteen,"¹²⁷ and speaking constantly of "collaboration with the university faculties"¹²⁸ and "indispensable contacts with higher education."¹²⁹ Their position was clearly defined in a special issue of their journal in May 1972 and in a publication entitled "*L'Ecole Fondamentale*" issued in 1973.¹³⁰ The "*école fondamentale*" was defined as covering the age range from two to sixteen, i.e. from pre-school to the end of the first cycle of secondary education. The *S.N.I.* claimed that teachers at this level should be trained "under the responsibility of the teaching staff of the *école normale*, with the participation of higher education as such."¹³¹ The training institution should be "on a scale appropriate to a département," and provide initial and continuing education as well as a base for "applied pedagogical research."¹³² A "structure of *écoles annexes* covering the whole range of the *école fondamentale*" would be an essential part of the reformed *écoles normales*.¹³³ Renamed "*centres de formation départementaux*", they would be "at the level of higher education."¹³⁴ The universities would "act as information centres, the link between discovery and practical adaptation, between research worker and the teacher-pupil group."¹³⁵ This regular

¹²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 70; statement by Monsieur Guy Bouillon, administrative secretary of the *S.N.P.E.N.*

¹²⁷ Lordon, Jeanne: *Franchir une première étape...*, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 28 June 1968, p. 1649

¹²⁸ *Action pédagogique, sociale et laïque*, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 15 September 1967

¹²⁹ *A propos de la formation des maîtres*, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 4 October 1968

¹³⁰ *La Formation du maître de l'Ecole Fondamentale*, special issue of *Ecole Libératrice*, 8 May 1972; and *L'Ecole Fondamentale* (*Syndicat National des Instituteurs, S.U.D.E.L., Paris, 1973*)

¹³¹ *Ecole Libératrice*, 8 May 1972, p. 1514

¹³² *ibid.*, p. 1516

¹³³ *ibid.*, p. 1527

¹³⁴ *L'Ecole Fondamentale*, op. cit., p. 51

¹³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 57

"reciprocal consultation"¹³⁶ would keep the two institutions in contact with each other, but any form of closer integration was clearly not part of the proposals of the *S.N.I.*

Others were of the same opinion. Jean Royer, in the *Assemblée Nationale*, spoke of the need for the instituteur "to participate in higher education but not to be integrated directly into it."¹³⁷ Jean Vial wrote of the development of "a close liaison with the university" and of the possibility of developing a university diploma with a major in sciences of education.¹³⁸ Raymond Toraille developed his concept of training institutes which would offer "an initial common preparation" followed by all student-teachers.¹³⁹ The *Syndicat National des Professeurs d'Ecoles Normales* pressed for "access to university studies for all future instituteurs"¹⁴⁰, and sought the integration of secondary teacher training into university training centres.

The changes in leadership and in control of the Education Ministry in 1969 led quickly to claims of "a deliberate political sabotage of the liaison with higher education."¹⁴¹ The new Minister, Olivier Guichard, replied by stating that the Government had so far taken only "a first step (*une étape*) - an important first step - in the transformation of our écoles normales into true centres of professional preparation."¹⁴² However, no further moves were in fact to be made in this direction in the immediate future. The Minister concentrated on organising university participation in the teaching of linguistics and mathematics in the écoles normales, as we have seen¹⁴³, and left the question of closer liaison unanswered. When tackled by the influential newspaper, *Le Monde*, he replied: "The liaison between what is done in the écoles normales and what is done in the primary schools is of course the first priority, much more urgent than the liaison with tertiary education."¹⁴⁴ When new proposals for

¹³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 94

¹³⁷ *Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale*, op. cit., 1970, p. 1008 (14 April)

¹³⁸ Vial, Jean: *La Pédagogie au ras du sol* (Editions E.S.F., Paris, 1973), p. 157

¹³⁹ Toraille, Raymond, op. cit., pp. 130 et seq.

¹⁴⁰ Motion Pédagogique, in *Former des Maîtres*, April 1971, p. 10

¹⁴¹ Rapport d'activité, in *Former des Maîtres*, March-April 1969, p. 7; see also *Former des Maîtres*, April 1971, p. 9

¹⁴² *Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale*, op. cit., 1970, p. 5546 (14 November)

¹⁴³ Cf. above, pp. 244-5

the transformation of the education system were put forward by a new Minister of Education, Monsieur René Haby, in 1975, it seemed clear that any type of integrated teaching service was no longer contemplated. Haby indicated that the preparation of primary teachers would continue to take place in the traditional *écoles normales*. Preparation of *professeurs* would be organised in *centres de formation*, which would co-ordinate university teaching and professional courses (the latter offered in a variety of institutions, depending on the type of teaching concerned, including the *écoles normales*). These proposals represented no important change in the patterns as they had existed since 1968.¹⁴⁵

. . .

Meanwhile, however, important transformations in the *carte scolaire* of the *écoles normales* - their number and distribution - were taking place. With the loss of pre-*baccalauréat* classes, many of the smaller *écoles normales* were much reduced in size. Often two such small institutions existed very near each other in a small city, each unable to develop effectively, each confined to a single sex, each trying to maintain its long-established traditions. On the other hand, the larger *écoles normales* in the university cities which were centres of an *académie* were increasing in size as they developed various specialised sections. The principle of "mixed" classes (young men and women together) was not, as *Ecole Libératrice* stated, "a matter for disagreement"¹⁴⁶, and it was possible therefore for the Ministry to proceed to the consolidation of the smaller *écoles normales* without any great opposition. It issued the following Decree in 1973:

Article 1: The first clause of the Law of 9 August 1879 is repealed in so far as it imposes on the départements the requirement that each have cumulatively one *école normale* for men and one for women.

Article 2: In those départements which have two *écoles normales*, one for men and one for women, the Minister for Education may, upon the request of the *conseil général* and after having sought the advice of the *conseil départemental* for primary education,

¹⁴⁴ Guichard, Olivier: interview in *Le Monde*, 8 October 1969, quoted in *Former des Maîtres*, March-April 1970, p. 7

¹⁴⁵ The text of the Haby proposals is contained in *Propositions pour une modernisation du système éducatif* (Documentation Française, Paris, 1975); cf. below, pp. 341-3

¹⁴⁶ Questionnaire - les fonctions de l'école normale de demain, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 4 January 1974, p. 702

transform by *arrêté* the two establishments into a single mixed establishment. [...] ¹⁴⁷

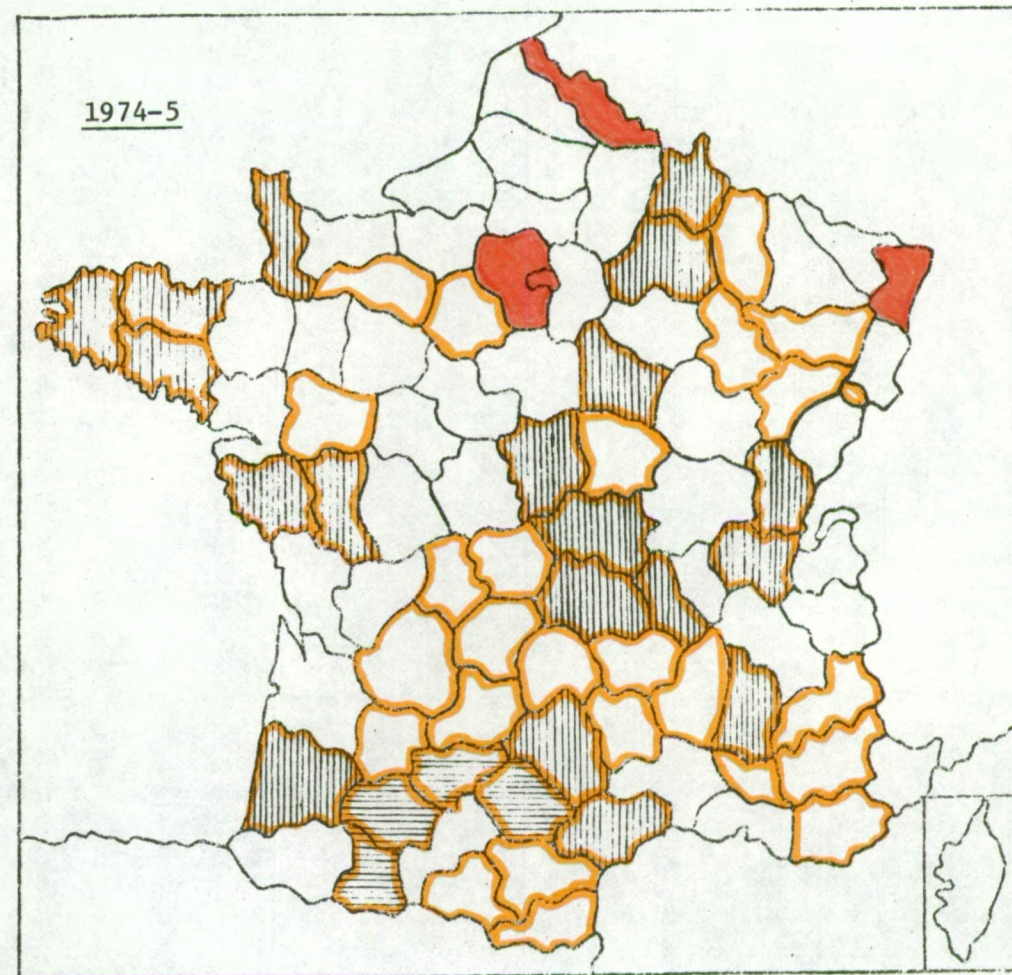
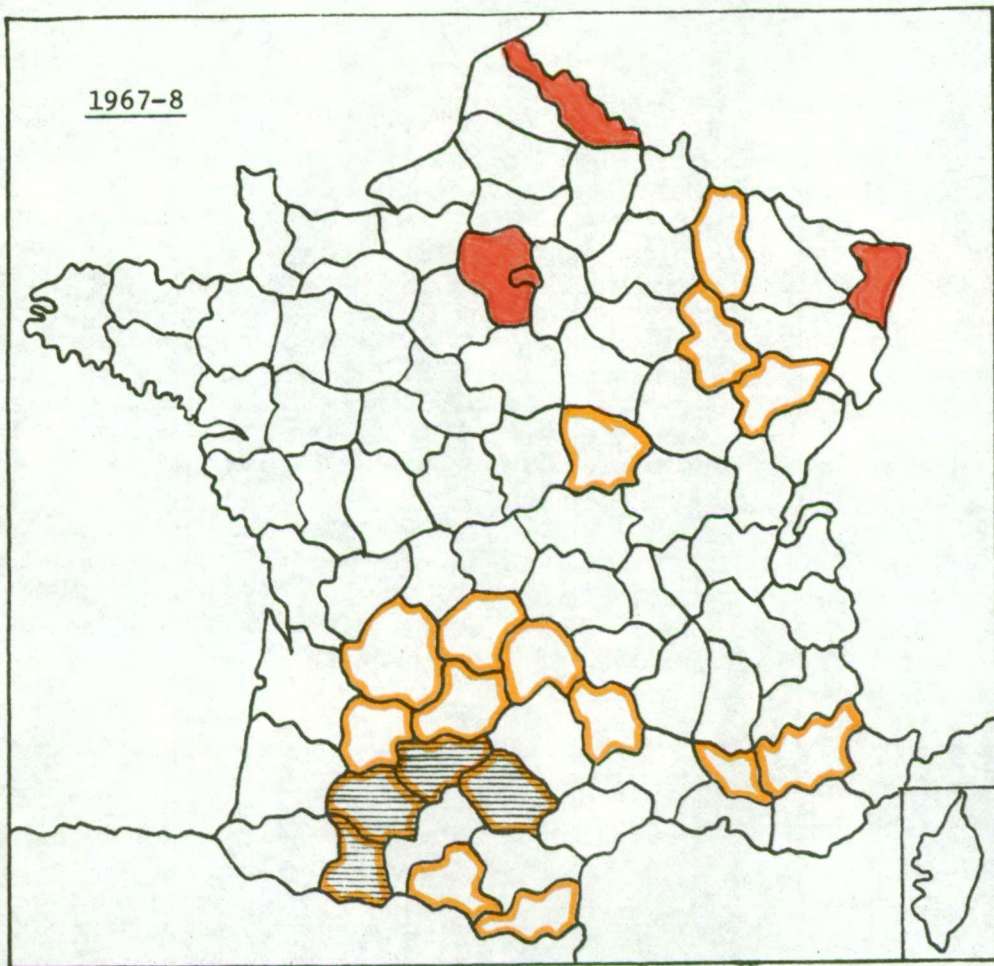
Following this decree, many "transformations" took place, and the old pattern of two écoles normales in most départements was replaced by a new pattern in which there was only one (often consisting of two separate sets of buildings under one *directeur* or *directrice*). MAPS 9-10, below, show where the changes occurred. The small number of départements which possessed an *école normale mixte* and the small number which shared a single-sex école normale with a neighbouring département - the big majority of them in the more sparsely populated central and southern part of the country - were joined by many others. Only the more heavily populated northern départements and those in university towns retained two (or more) écoles normales. This led to much more effective provision both for initial training and for in-service training, as well as, in some cases, new initiatives in providing special courses in the smaller centres.¹⁴⁸ In general, the development was accepted by the unions concerned, with the single reservation that écoles normales should remain small enough for community cohesion to be maintained.¹⁴⁹ There were in fact very few which were threatened in this way.

However, the Paris region did present real problems, problems which had been raised frequently by the *S.N.I.* and the *S.N.P.E.N.* Until 1964, the Paris region had been divided into two départements, Seine (with a population of about five million) and Seine-et-Oise (with a population of about 1,700,000). These two départements were served by the two Paris écoles normales (Auteuil and Bd des Batignolles) and écoles normales at Versailles, St-Germain-en Laye and (more recently) Le Bourget. In 1964, this region was restructured to include seven départements: Paris, Hauts-de-Seine, Seine-St-Denis, Val-de-Marne, Essonne, Yvelines and Val-d'Oise. Paris had two écoles normales, Yvelines had two, Seine-St-Denis had one, and the others had no écoles normales at this time. At first there was little agitation to construct new institutions, but from 1968 on active moves were made by






¹⁴⁷ Decree of 6 August 1973; see *Bulletin Officiel*, op. cit., 20 September 1973, p. 2665

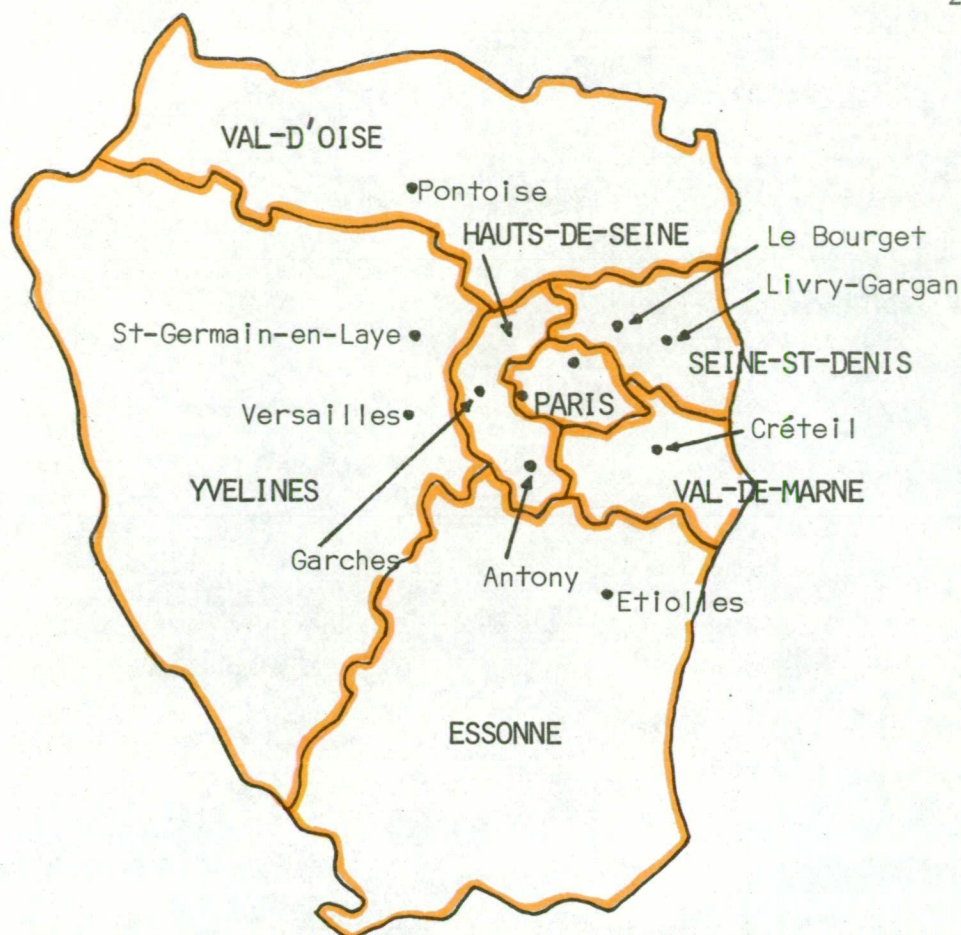
¹⁴⁸ For example, the tiny école normale at Foix (Ariège) prepared detailed plans for courses for teachers of "*classes vertes*" and "*classes de neige*" (special centres in rural or mountain areas for children from urban centres). See below, pp. 315-6

¹⁴⁹ See *Les Fonctions de l'école normale de demain - les problèmes posés*, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 4 January 1974, p. 702



MAPS 9 and 10: THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE ECOLES NORMALES, 1967-1975¹⁵⁰

-  départements with two separate écoles normales
-  départements with one école normale
-  départements sharing two écoles normales
-  départements with two écoles normales under one *directeur/directrice*
-  départements with other arrangements



MAP 11: ECOLES NORMALES, PARIS REGION, 1974-5

Paris: Auteuil, Bd des Batignolles

=====

the unions and others concerned. By 1970, questions were being asked in the parliament: "We demand that the construction of new écoles normales, especially in the Paris region, be accelerated"¹⁵¹; and the first governmental promises were forthcoming: "We noted a precise engagement on the part of the Minister concerning the future and the expansion of écoles normales, which will be given concrete effect this year with the construction of a new establishment in the Paris region."¹⁵² In 1973, there was a request in the *Assemblée Nationale* for information about an école normale at Pontoise, "the land for

¹⁵⁰ The basis for these maps is a document prepared by the *Directrice* of the Ecole Normale at Vannes; the information for the 1974-5 map is from her tabulations, the information for the 1967-8 map is from the Répertoire d'Etablissements (Ministère de l'Education Nationale) for that year.

¹⁵¹ Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale, op. cit., 1970, p. 5568 (14 November); Mme Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier (Socialist)

¹⁵² Pommatau, Jacques: Bilan et objectifs, in Ecole Libératrice, 4 June 1971, p. 1701

which was purchased in 1964."¹⁵³ The Ministry replied at once that the "first buildings are included in the 1974 budget," and that four écoles normales in the region would be constructed to the same standards: Livry-Gargan (Seine-St-Denis), Antony (Hauts-de-Seine), Etioilles (Essonne) and Pontoise (Val-d'Oise).¹⁵⁴ A review prepared in May 1975 for the *Syndicat National des Professeurs d'Ecoles Normales* showed that the area was slowly acquiring suitable facilities in accordance with this promise. In Hauts-de-Seine, Garches was in unsuitable buildings, but a new école normale was due to be constructed at Antony¹⁵⁵; in Val-d'Oise, Pontoise (St-Ouen-l'Aumône) was growing rapidly in size and construction of permanent buildings was planned; in Essonne, Etioilles was expected nearly to double in size within a year; in Seine-St-Denis, it was proposed to close down Le Bourget (but opposition to this from the unions was strong) and to centralise activities in the new école normale at Livry-Gargan; but in Val-de-Marne, the Créteil "Centre" was very overcrowded.¹⁵⁶ (Cf. MAP 11, above).

These new Paris écoles normales were planned to be considerably larger than elsewhere. Livry-Gargan, opened in 1972, was to provide for 1050 students (including 600 *normaliens* following the two-year initial professional preparation course).¹⁵⁷ Antony was planned to have parking for one hundred vehicles in its basement and a main lecture theatre seating over 300.¹⁵⁸ They were intended to be the first planned *instituts pédagogiques départementaux* and to be to some extent experimental in their organisation. The unions expressed concern over their size and over the lack of provision for sufficient funds to staff them fully. However, they were clearly setting a new pattern for a type of institution quite different from the universities and providing for all teachers other than the specialist *professeurs* required in the secondary schools.

. . . .

¹⁵³ *Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale*, op. cit., 1973, p. 5673 (13 November); M. Claude Weber (Socialist)

¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 5689 (14 November); M. Jacques Limouzy, *secrétaire d'état*

¹⁵⁵ Details of this école normale are given below, pp. 339-41

¹⁵⁶ Documentation provided by Monsieur Tanguy, general secretary of the *S.N.P.E.N.*: Communication relative aux E.N. de la région parisienne, 2 May 1975

¹⁵⁷ Naissance d'une école normale - la future E.N. de Livry-Gargan, in *Former des Maîtres*, December 1971-January 1972, p. 7

¹⁵⁸ Cf. below, p. 340

The abolition of all pre-*baccalauréat* teaching and the lengthening of the professional course to two years changed the balance of concern of the staffs of the *écoles normales* so that methods of practice teaching and effective preparation for it became of considerable importance. The work of the *écoles annexes* and the *écoles d'application* was viewed with greater critical attention and the introduction to all *écoles normales* of the *stage en responsabilité* as a major part of practice teaching was tackled with great vigour and generally with considerable success.

The Circular of 6 June 1969 set out the organisational patterns for the first year of the two-year course. In addition to practical exercises in the *écoles annexes et d'application* based on the theoretical studies in general and special pedagogy, there were to be "observation periods for each of the three important levels of the elementary school [...] and for the pre-school."¹⁵⁹ As far as possible, arrangements were to be made for men to take part in the pre-school observation session as well as women. These observation sessions were to be regarded as the basis for reflection and discussion rather than as the beginning of some type of practical apprenticeship:

During these observation sessions, the student-teacher must neither confine himself to the exclusive rôle of passive observer nor become animated by a prior and premature concern for a practical apprenticeship in the craft. The essential task is to associate the student progressively with the activities of the class and to lead him to experience more effectively the reality of the problems which it poses: he must see in these practical sessions the opportunity for a critical analysis of these problems, but without being tempted to solve them, being content with the solutions proposed by the *maître d'application*.¹⁶⁰

The implication was that the first year of the two-year course was a preparatory year, including observation and analysis, but deferring the opportunity for the student to take full control of the activities of a class until the second year. The work of the teachers in the *écoles annexes* and the *écoles d'application* became therefore more complicated, involving much more demonstration work and considerably less supervision of practice teaching. Combined with the additional work created by the development of retraining programmes and the extension of courses for *remplaçants*¹⁶¹, the task appeared to many as "*démentiel*"¹⁶². There were immediate moves for a reduction in the

¹⁵⁹ *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-2(a), p. 20

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁶¹ See below, pp. 271, 276

teaching load. In December 1969, the hours of teaching required were reduced from twenty-seven to twenty-four, the remaining three being taken by a *remplaçant*, and in April 1970 special provisions were made so that head-teachers with at least three *classes d'application* in their school taught only half-time, and those with five or more were relieved completely of classroom teaching.¹⁶³ The *S.N.I.* pressed, without success, for "three teachers for each group of two classes."¹⁶⁴ There continued to be criticism of the fact that the *écoles annexes* did not in most cases provide experience of the *classe unique* - the one-teacher school - situation.¹⁶⁵ And the need for experimental work to be a continuing part of the activity of these schools was pointed out:

The *classes d'application* of the *écoles normales* must no longer remain solely instruments for duplication and propagation through generations of *normaliens* of the exemplary pedagogical successes of the past, but must also be a melting-pot where one can establish a fair balance between the rashness of modern educational thinking [...] and the material, social and legal demands of real life.¹⁶⁶

The work of the *conseillers pédagogiques*¹⁶⁷ also became more complex. Created in 1960 as assistants to the *inspecteurs* in the work of guiding *remplaçants*, they were renamed in 1961 as *maîtres itinérants d'écoles annexes*.¹⁶⁸ An important Circular of 29 November 1973 provided a detailed definition of their functions. Their rôle was confined clearly to certain groups of teachers - pre-school and primary instituteurs and teachers of slow-learners in the first cycle of the secondary school (then called *Filière III*¹⁶⁹) and of handicapped children. They were to work with both students in initial training and teachers following in-service courses, with first priority for those

¹⁶² Rozes, Jean: La Participation des instituteurs à la formation des maîtres, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 9 June 1972, p. 1729

¹⁶³ *ibid.* (Note of 12 December 1969 and Circular of 27 April 1970)

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*; cf. also La Journée des maîtres-formateurs, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 7 June 1974, p. 1589, and Bègue, Simon: Maîtres formateurs, in *Ecole du Grand Paris*, April-May 1974, p. 25

¹⁶⁵ Cf. letter by A. Poirrier in *Education Nationale*, 23 September 1965, p. 18

¹⁶⁶ Chanut, P.: Faut-il réformer les écoles normales? *Preliminary Paper No. 10* for Amiens Congress, March 1968, p. 11

¹⁶⁷ Cf. above, pp. 147, 179

¹⁶⁸ *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 723-1, p. 1 (Circular of 27 October 1960) and pp. 2-3 (Circular of 8 February 1961)

¹⁶⁹ See below, p. 290

in initial training or their first years of teaching. In addition, they were "to assist the *inspecteurs départementaux* in the organisation of group meetings of teachers (*la concertation pédagogique*) and in the preparation of teaching materials and documents [...]."¹⁷⁰ Their work could therefore take place throughout the whole of the *département* to which they were attached; they were not in any formal sense under the control of the *directeur* or *directrice* of the *école normale*.¹⁷¹ They rapidly became an important sector of the training personnel; in 1974, for example, in the typical *département* of Morbihan there were some twenty-four *maîtres d'écoles annexes* and sixteen or more *maîtres itinérants*.¹⁷² One of the tasks of the *S.N.I.* was seen to be "to assure the unification of the functions of *maîtres formateurs*" of these two types.¹⁷³ The increasing stress on an adequate provision for specialised advice and demonstration at the practical level became one of the marked changes brought about by the reforms following 1968.

Associated with these changes was the introduction into the programme of the two-year professional course of the *stage en situation* or *stage en responsabilité* which had been so important and successful a part of the Leif Experiment,¹⁷⁴ and which had been discussed fully at the Amiens Congress following criticism of the "*stages en simulation*" which placed students in a "false situation" and offered the opportunity only for a "deadening and impoverished" experience.¹⁷⁵ The new pattern was regarded almost universally as "one of the most important decisions taken by M. Edgar Faure"¹⁷⁶ so far as teacher preparation was concerned. Full details concerning methods of organising the *stages en situation* were included in an Appendix to the Circular of 6 June 1969. This Appendix first pointed out the advantages of the scheme - the greater authenticity of the experience, the opportunity for the student to make a true assessment of his potential, the intense motivation for the period of "reflection and

¹⁷⁰ *Recueil*, op. cit., loc. cit., p. 7

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*

¹⁷² Information given by the *Directrice* of the Ecole Normale of Vannes at the Journées Académiques des Directeurs d'Ecole Normales, 1974-5; duplicated report, p. 12

¹⁷³ Henry, André: Où en sont les problèmes des maîtres formateurs? in *Ecole Libératrice*, 4 January 1974, p. 670

¹⁷⁴ Cf. above, pp. 181-2

¹⁷⁵ Bataillon, Marcel, Bloch, Marc-André and Walter, François: Apprendre à enseigner, in *Education*, 27 November 1969, p. 15. The authors are quoting from comments by Prof. Péquiot at the Amiens Congress.

¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p. 15 (Marcel Bataillon)

exploitation" which would follow - and the possible risks involved, both for students who experienced discouragement as a result of "repeated failures revealed too late" and for children who might be "victims of their inexperience". The detailed organisation proposed was then set out. The practice period was to be of three months either in one session with a single class or in two sessions with two successive classes; under no circumstances was a series of temporary teaching positions to be substituted. In order to provide such classes, student-teachers would be allocated either to classes taken normally by experienced teachers (who would during the period participate in in-service training courses) or to classes taken by *remplaçants* (who would during the period attend their initial training course or an enrichment course). To provide adequate supervision and effective reporting of the progress of the student-teachers during their *stage en situation*, a number of different people would be involved: the *directeur* or *directrice* of the school involved, the normal teacher of the class (or some other experienced teacher), and particularly the *maître itinérant d'école annexe* for the district (or a staff member from the *école annexe*). In addition, there would be regular visits, at least once each month, of the *directeur* or *directrice* or of a *professeur* from the *école normale* or of an *inspecteur*, who would in each case prepare a report on the progress of the student. The Appendix recognised that it would be desirable also for the student to continue at least some of the studies begun in the first year, and suggested "releasing the student-teachers from their professional obligations for several half-days during the session" (or using the mid-week free day) for this purpose. The *inspecteurs d'académie* were charged with the task of adapting and introducing the scheme in each region.¹⁷⁷

There were some initial criticisms: "*Directeurs* and *professeurs* in the *écoles normales* receive no funds and benefit from no reduction in contact hours in order to support it, encourage it and supervise it - in classes very often situated in the four corners of a *département*"¹⁷⁸; "the need for pre-*stage* preparation is beyond any doubt"¹⁷⁹; and the

¹⁷⁷ *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-2(a), pp. 22-3 (*Annexe 2*)

¹⁷⁸ *Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale*, op. cit., 1969, p. 3625 (13 November); Henri Lavielle (Communist)

¹⁷⁹ Walter, François, in Bataillon, Marcel, Bloch, André and Walter, François: *Apprendre à enseigner*, loc. cit., p. 15

"multiple imperfections" of the first session (1969-70) require "the issue of extremely precise instructions" to all concerned.¹⁸⁰ The students on the other hand were well pleased: "It is a very positive move, for the possibility is given, after a term of teaching, to deepen this brief experience of total responsibility in discussion with the école normale lecturers"¹⁸¹; "the practice session went off well for everyone [...] (though) the final discussions ought perhaps to have taken place with the class teachers and not with the lecturers."¹⁸² In subsequent years, the system was further refined, particularly by providing opportunities for contact between the student-teacher and the class's regular teacher, and by ensuring as often as possible a single three-month session, allowing time for the student to become well acquainted with the pupils. The pattern seemed very likely to remain a permanent feature of the preparation of primary school teachers in France.

. . . .

The pattern was all the more attractive to those responsible for teacher preparation because it allowed effective provision to be made for the initial course of preparation for *remplacants* and for the continuing education courses for practising teachers. The latter were also helped by the drop in numbers of pupils in the primary schools and the increase in the number of fully trained teachers. Whereas in 1966 there were insistent complaints that "the number of positions provided for is manifestly insufficient" and demands that the number of places in the écoles normales be increased¹⁸³, and as recently as 1970 the Minister spoke of the impossibility of "creating places for teachers in training" because more urgent demands absorbed available funds¹⁸⁴, by 1974 a new Minister was pointing out that the situation had changed - "the growth of numbers of pupils has eased, the number of qualified teachers has increased" -, it had been possible to provide funds for additional positions, and the need for the recruitment of

¹⁸⁰ Stages en situation des élèves-maîtres et stages d'information des titulaires à l'E.N., in Ecole Libératrice, 11 September 1970, p. 15

¹⁸¹ Des normaliens s'expriment sur la réforme des écoles normales, in Vivante Education, January 1971, p. 9

¹⁸² ibid.

¹⁸³ Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale, 1966, p. 4120 (2 November); Fernand Dupuy (Communist)

¹⁸⁴ ibid., 1970, p. 5546 (14 November); Olivier Guichard

temporary teachers had passed.¹⁸⁵

The problem of providing effectively for the professional training of all the *remplaçants* already in the schools who had not received it was therefore given full attention. The pressure maintained by the Opposition parties in the Parliament no doubt played a significant part in this. A Communist *député* claimed in the *Assemblée Nationale* in 1966 that such *remplaçants* represented 31% of the total, and that in some centres they were "as many as 80%".¹⁸⁶ The following year, another left-wing *député* said:

This emergency personnel is not trained. A certain number of *suppléants*, for example, were failed in the examination for entry to the fourth year of the *école normale*, even though all the places available were not filled. They were then recruited as *suppléants* without receiving any preliminary training. So they were declared unsuitable for professional training but suitable for teaching nevertheless! Moreover, they were given *classes préparatoires*, which are the most difficult and the most important. Given the unattractive conditions in which they were placed, their instability is hardly surprising.¹⁸⁷

Madame Ploux, a member of the parliamentary majority, spoke later in 1967 of the "simple holders of the *baccalauréat*" who became *suppléants* "without passing through the *école normale*, without pedagogical preparation," and who later gained permanent positions; she described the pattern as "paradoxical and distressing."¹⁸⁸ Another *député* described it in the session following the events of May 1968 in similar terms, and lamented that "*ils n'ont pour tout bagage que leur bonne volonté*."¹⁸⁹ He went on to point out that industry managed to provide adequate preliminary training for its employees, and asked why it was not possible to obtain "an analogous service" from the Ministry.¹⁹⁰ A year later, the same complaint was made: "We know that there exists in our country at present a high proportion of auxiliary teachers who, when they enter on their career, are confronted with all the difficulties that it involves without having received the

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 1974, p. 5835 (5 November); René Haby

¹⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 1966, p. 4132 (2 November); Robert Hostier (Communist)

¹⁸⁷ *ibid.*, 1967, p. 1494 (31 May); André Labarrère (F.G.D.S.)

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*, 1967, p. 4208 (26 October); Suzanne Ploux (U.D.R.)

¹⁸⁹ i.e. they are like travellers with no luggage other than their own good-will; "*bagage*" also carries the secondary meaning of "know-how".

¹⁹⁰ *Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale*, op. cit., 1968, p. 3670 (29 October); Antoine Gissinger (U.D.R.)

preparation that they would have liked to have."¹⁹¹ "Has there not existed since 1953," asked another parliamentarian in 1970, "a statute for *instituteurs remplaçants* requiring them to have one year of compulsory professional training?"¹⁹² The same speaker mentioned that in the département of Bouches-du-Rhône in that year only 140 of 500 *remplaçants* recruited annually were receiving even a half-year of training.¹⁹³ Despite efforts that year to increase the proportion - the Minister announced provision for 2000 additional places, thus doubling the number of *remplaçants* being trained¹⁹⁴ - Madame Vaillant-Couturier spoke of "almost 50,000 *instituteurs remplaçants* teaching without having received the training initially provided for by the Law of 8 May 1951" and expressed her amazement that "some places have remained vacant" in the écoles normales.¹⁹⁵ Later the same day, a Gaullist *député* spoke of the thousands of *remplaçants* who had had practically no training and demanded from the Government "a greater financial effort, and that in the months immediately ahead."¹⁹⁶ Three years later, the position seemed unaltered: "At the present rate, twenty years would be needed to permit all *remplaçants* to be properly trained."¹⁹⁷

Elsewhere, in the same period, the same comments were being made:

"The only way of defending the *remplaçants* is to demand for them the same preparation as for others. [...] There must be no more badly paid and badly trained auxiliary teachers, but only qualified teachers [...]."¹⁹⁸ The *S.N.I.* claimed that the training provided was "unanimously condemned for its insufficiency and its too theoretical character"¹⁹⁹, and demanded a minimum period of one year; it expressed its satisfaction, however, when the Minister announced an increase in the number of places available from 1200 to 3500 for 1971.²⁰⁰ The

¹⁹¹ *ibid.*, 1969, p. 3625 (13 November); Henri Lavielle (Socialist)

¹⁹² *ibid.*, 1970, p. 1066 (15 April); Edmond Garcin (Socialist)

¹⁹³ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*, 1970, p. 5546 (14 November); Olivier Guichard

¹⁹⁵ *ibid.*, 1970, p. 5566 (14 November); Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier (Socialist)

¹⁹⁶ *ibid.*, 1970, p. 5568 (14 November); Antoine Gissinger (U.D.R.)

¹⁹⁷ *ibid.*, 1973, p. 5652 (13 November); Adrien Zeller (R.D.S./R.I.)

¹⁹⁸ La Réforme de la formation professionnelle ne condamne pas les E.N. mais impose leur mutation, in *Syndicalisme Universitaire*, 9 January 1969, p. 8

¹⁹⁹ Bouchareissas, Michel: Le C.A.P. des remplaçants, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 13 March 1970, p. 1323

²⁰⁰ Stages d'institutrices et d'instituteurs remplaçants dans les écoles normales, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 11 September 1970, p. 14;

S.N.P.E.N. was critical of even this move, seeing the conditions under which the one-year course was provided as "a caricature of the wide-ranging preparation" they, in common with other unions, had asked for.²⁰¹

This continuing demand for adequate preparation - of at least one full year - for all *remplacants* suddenly achieved positive results in 1973, and from that year on the problem of integration of *remplacants* into the primary teaching service took on a new aspect. It seems beyond doubt that until this time few had realised how rapidly the demographic patterns were changing and how soon it would be possible to think in terms of a fully trained - and even too numerous - corps of teachers in the primary schools. A consideration of the progression in the numbers of instituteurs and the reduction in the number of pupils in the primary schools must have led to the conclusion that the years of penury had already passed. (Cf. Figure 4, above, p. 36). In fact, whereas in 1966 there were some 5.8 million pupils and 226,000 teachers, in 1973 there were 4.76 million pupils and 260,000 teachers in the primary sector.²⁰² André Delon, *rapporteur général* of the Education Commission for the Vith Plan, wrote perceptively in 1973: "This decrease, coupled with the continued increase in numbers of teachers recruited and the effort in construction, constitutes a decisive factor for the success of the renovation in elementary education."²⁰³

Definite plans were quickly formulated for the complete absorption of all *remplacants* into the permanent teaching service, through an increase in provision for their initial professional preparation, and for the development of a new type of primary teacher, the *instituteur mobile titulaire*, who would carry out the work of temporary replacement normally performed in the past by *suppléants*. Simultaneously, the way was made clear for the institution of plans for compulsory in-service courses for all primary school teachers, as had been foreseen by

see also Education, 16 September 1971, p. ii; Bouchareissas, Michel: De la conférence de presse du S.N.I. au débat sur l'Education nationale à l'Assemblée, in Ecole Libératrice, 27 November 1970, p. 602; and Ecoles normales primaires, in Education, 1 October 1970, p. iii

²⁰¹ Motion pédagogique, in Former des Maîtres, April 1971, p. 9

²⁰² The figures for 1966 still include some 500,000 pupils in upper primary classes (*classes de fin d'études*); cf. Données Sociales, op. cit., pp. 116, 118

²⁰³ Delon, André: L'Education en France - problèmes et perspectives (Documentation Française, Paris, 1973), p. 81

some senior officials of the Ministry concerned with teacher education as early as 1968.²⁰⁴

At the time of the introduction of the *stage en situation* for *normaliens*, the ministerial Circular had suggested that in some cases *remplaçants* liberated by this *stage* would be able to attend the école normale for their initial training course.²⁰⁵ A year later, instructions were issued concerning the organisation of full one-year training courses for them.²⁰⁶ Those to be offered such courses initially were to be chosen by the *inspecteurs d'académie* from *remplaçants* who had already had a minimum of one year of teaching experience and who appeared "likely to gain the most" from the course. Four main aims were defined: to provide academic enrichment, to encourage pedagogical reflection, to give practical pedagogical instruction, and to instil habits and methods of work which would prepare the way for later in-service courses. As far as possible, and as soon as their number exceeded eight, the group of *remplaçants* was to be "pedagogically autonomous". However, the possibility of involving them in some of the work of *normaliens* was not excluded. They were to gain practical experience in the classes of the *maîtres d'application* when the latter were absent on visits to second-year *normaliens* (who would be engaged in the *stages en situation*). Appropriate assessments were to be provided for each half year and a final examination held; successful students were to be granted a *certificat de stage*.²⁰⁷ Further Circulars in 1972 stressed the importance of the practical experience gained in the classes of the *maîtres d'application* and of the organisation of as many practical exercises as possible.²⁰⁸ The modification at this time of the teaching in the écoles normales from that directed entirely at inexperienced students to that for teachers who already had a background

²⁰⁴ including particularly Monsieur Joseph Leif (cf. above, p. 180, note 84) and Madame Best (*inspectrice pédagogique régionale* for Philosophy at Caen), who had at that time jointly discussed this method of effectively combining pre-service and in-service teacher education in the one institution (personal communication from both).

²⁰⁵ *Recueil*, op. cit., Section 722-2(a), p. 23 (Circular of 6 June 1969, *Annexe 2*), and Section 722-2(c), p. 19 (Circular of 27 October 1969)

²⁰⁶ *Bulletin Officiel*, op. cit., 10 September 1970, pp. 2550-2552 (Circular of 7 September 1970)

²⁰⁷ *ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *ibid.*, 13 January 1972, p. 95 (Circular of 4 January 1972), and 11 January 1973, p. 91 (Circular of 27 December 1972).

of practical experience was naturally not always easy; the official instructions reflected the concern for an appropriate adaptation of approach.

The transformation of the temporary positions held by *remplaçants* into permanent tenured posts proceeded concurrently. This had, as Fernand Dupuy claimed in the Parliament in 1966, been "a very grave problem." "Thousands of instituteurs and institutrices who fulfil the legal conditions cannot receive tenured posts because insufficient have been created."²⁰⁹ The reason lay essentially in the additional costs involved - a 30% increase in the budgetary expenditure in this area would be required, as René Haby noted in 1974.²¹⁰ The claims were for the transformation of 8000 temporary positions into permanent ones.²¹¹ In fact, in the academic year 1974-75, provision was made in the Budget for the creation of 6000 "supplementary primary teaching positions"²¹², following the earlier transformation of 2000 positions in 1973-74²¹³. The crisis in this area seemed to disappear therefore almost overnight, and it was possible to consider effective ways of providing for the staffing of positions left vacant temporarily by resignation or illness, rather than those vacant because not filled by tenured instituteurs. Recruitment of *remplaçants* for the latter purpose could therefore cease, and in fact virtually did so from 1975-76 on.

The creation of a corps of qualified teachers available for temporary replacements had been suggested in the mid-1960's by the *Syndicat National des Instituteurs*. In 1966, Jean Daubard had explained in some detail how such a corps could be used to "correct and regulate" the annual patterns of recruitment; he indicated that an increase of 2% in the number then being recruited would suffice to build up the total sufficiently - thirty in a département with 1500 primary teaching positions provided for in the Budget; he saw these teachers as being used throughout an *académie* rather than confined to a single

²⁰⁹ *Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale*, op. cit., 1966, p. 4120 (2 November); Fernand Dupuy (Communist); for earlier criticisms, see above, pp. 144-6

²¹⁰ *ibid.*, 1974, p. 5835 (5 November)

²¹¹ *ibid.*, 1973, p. 5663 (13 November); Michel Sainte-Marie (Communist)

²¹² *ibid.*, 1974, p. 5835 (5 November); René Haby

²¹³ Letter from Joseph Fontanet (Minister of Education) to the Secretary-General of the *S.N.I.*; see *Ecole Libératrice*, 16 November 1973, p. 424

département, and as becoming eventually the élite of the primary teaching service - "*maîtres chevronnés*" - possibly with special status.²¹⁴ In the period after 1968, demands for the establishment of such a corps rapidly became insistent: the only *remplaçants* should be "qualified teachers [...] temporarily required to fill vacancies," said the *Fédération de l'Education Nationale*²¹⁵; in 1970 they had been named "*titulaires-remplaçants*" by the Secretary-General of the *S.N.I.* and it was clearly indicated that they should have "a professional preparation at least equal to that of the teachers whom they temporarily replace"²¹⁶; the 1971 Congress of the *S.N.I.* called for the creation of "*postes mobiles de titulaires remplaçants*"²¹⁷; and in an interview in September of that year the Minister (Olivier Guichard) confirmed that "the position of the Minister of Education was favourable" to this proposal²¹⁸, a statement hailed as a "victory" by the Union.²¹⁹ In September the following year, the Secretary-General of the Union announced that the Minister had agreed to the creation of 3000 positions of *titulaires-remplaçants* - to the great surprise of the other teacher unions, according to the report of Jacques Pommatau.²²⁰ In fact, 2200 positions were filled in the first year, a further 800 in the second and 700 in the third.²²¹ The *S.N.I.* was quick to raise the problems that such a corps of teachers might create - problems of selection of suitable applicants, problems of appropriate travelling and accommodation allowances - but was sure that a "decisive milepost" had been passed.²²² The introduction of

²¹⁴ Daubard, Jean: D'autres aspects du rôle des écoles normales, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 2 December 1966, p. 557

²¹⁵ La Réforme de la formation professionnelle ne condamne pas les E.N. mais impose leur mutation, in *Syndicalisme Universitaire*, 9 January 1969, p. 8

²¹⁶ Gibiat, J.-P.: Pour une véritable rénovation pédagogique (report of discussion with André Ouliac), in *Education*, 29 January 1970, p. 28

²¹⁷ Le S.N.I. considère la formation des maîtres comme un problème prioritaire, in *Vivante Education*, January 1971, p. 12

²¹⁸ Une lettre de M. Olivier Guichard au Syndicat national des instituteurs, in *Education*, 23 September 1971, p. iii

²¹⁹ Ouliac, André: Notre victoire, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 14 April 1972, pp. 1291, 1306

²²⁰ Pommatau, Jacques: Création de 3000 postes mobiles de titulaires-remplaçants, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 22 September 1972, p. 51; the decision was published later in a Circular of 27 March 1973: see *Bulletin Officiel*, op. cit., 5 April 1973, pp. 1190-3

²²¹ La Formation initiale et continuée des maîtres, in *Education*, 13 September 1973, p. iii; and *Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale*, op. cit., 1973, p. 5675 (13 November); Joseph Fontanet

titulaires-remplaçants, fully trained and properly compensated, was in fact clearly an important initiative in the organisation of primary teaching.

...

Even more significant was the introduction of compulsory in-service courses for all primary school teachers in France. We have seen that this was one of the important proposals made at both the Caen and the Amiens Congresses.²²³ The Caen Congress had sought "*formation continue*" as a statutory obligation for all teachers, as well as regular voluntary in-service courses. The sub-commissions of the Amiens Congress had also supported the incorporation of regular re-training courses into the teacher's career, and the working paper prepared for use at the Congress itself had proposed "*formation continue*" as both a right and an obligation for all teachers; the final recommendations from the Congress had included that for "statutory, compulsory continuous re-training for teachers at all levels" (Recommendation 5(c)). Even earlier, similar ideas had been discussed by the *Syndicat National des Instituteurs*: at its Congress in Toulouse in 1962 it had demanded that "an important financial effort be made to give all primary school teachers the possibility of permanent re-training, promotion and cultural renewal."²²⁴ But the suggestion of obligation was only marginally present at this time. A survey of young teachers' views in 1963 had revealed how great was the desire for regular refresher courses: "Some form of *formation continue* ("*recyclage*") is judged indispensable by the majority. They are inclined to think that the instituteur is abandoned too much to himself."²²⁵ One suggested that the *Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique* be subject to renewal following such re-training every three years for the first nine years of a teacher's career.²²⁶ But it was really the clear proposal of the Caen Congress which caused careful plans to be considered for achieving compulsory in-service courses for all

²²² Pommatau, Jacques, loc. cit.

²²³ Cf. above, pp. 192, 197, 203-4, 206

²²⁴ Loudon, Jeanne: *Formation continue des maîtres*, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 14 November 1969, p. 487

²²⁵ *Eux-mêmes, qu'en pensent-ils?* in *Education Nationale*, 10 January 1963, p. 1

²²⁶ *Les Difficultés des jeunes maîtres*, in *Education Nationale*, 3 January 1963, p. 11

primary school teachers. The principal problem was seen to be the finding of a method of gaining for teachers the "free time" to engage in such courses.²²⁷

Between 1967 and 1972, continued efforts were made to provide optional courses organised at the local level: these centred generally on introductions to the recently revised syllabuses in French language and mathematics. This encouragement of *concertation* and *animation pédagogique* was given definitive form by Circulars issued in 1969 and 1970. Early accounts of *stages* of this type include those issued by regional authorities in Strasbourg (a session of "*recyclage pédagogique*" on new teaching methods)²²⁸, Nancy (three successive sessions on the teaching of "new" mathematics)²²⁹, Rennes (with simultaneous sessions on the preparation of teachers, mathematics, French, enrichment subjects and physical education)²³⁰ and St-Etienne (dealing with modern mathematics, linguistics and group dynamics)²³¹. At Sèvres (near Paris) in October 1969, the Minister of Education (Olivier Guichard) addressed a national gathering on in-service education and spoke of "the putting into action for the first time of a co-ordinated and adequately financed plan to ensure regular teacher re-training (*formation continue*)"²³². In the Parliament there had been talk of "an indispensable *recyclage*"²³³ and of the example already set in industry²³⁴, so that Olivier Guichard could speak with obvious approval in the *Assemblée Nationale* in November of the "original methods" which his officers were introducing to provide effective re-training: the reduction of the number of hours of teaching required (to twenty-seven per week) and the use of television were key points in these.²³⁵ The first groups of teachers to have the opportunity for

²²⁷ See, for example, Walusinski, Gilbert: *Formation continue des maîtres: des principes à la réalisation*, in *Education Nationale*, 15 December 1966, p. 23

²²⁸ *Stage Pédagogique de Wattwiller* (C.R.D.P., Strasbourg, 1967)

²²⁹ *Bilan d'une expérience de formation continue des instituteurs en mathématiques* (C.R.D.P., Nancy, 1972)

²³⁰ *Rénovation pédagogique et formation permanente des maîtres* (C.R.D.P., Rennes, 1969)

²³¹ *Points de vue sur un stage de recyclage E.N. in Syndicalisme Universitaire*, 19 February 1970, p. 7

²³² *Compte-rendu du Stage National: Rénovation pédagogique et formation permanente des maîtres* (C.R.D.P., Bordeaux, 1969); Speech of the Minister, p. 3

²³³ *Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale*, op. cit., 1968, p. 2573 (25 July); Maurice Brugnon (F.G.D.S.)

²³⁴ *ibid.*, 1968, p. 3670 (29 October); Antoine Gissinger (U.D.R.)

in-service sessions in the *écoles normales* while student-teachers were engaged in their *stage en responsabilité* were at this time returning to their schools, and were expected to "assume the responsibility of a discussion group"²³⁵ following television broadcasts on new methods. And the first Circulars spelled out the patterns to be followed. Reference was made first to the Circular of 6 June 1969 (which had provided for the two-year professional course for *normaliens*, including the *stage en responsabilité*) and the Circular of 27 October 1969 (which had given brief details of training courses to be offered to both qualified teachers and *remplaçants* attending the *école normale* while their classes were used for the *stage en responsabilité*). Then the Circular of 5 December 1969 included a long *annexe* giving instructions about *l'animation pédagogique* and in-service courses.²³⁷ It was intended that regular discussion meetings (*réunions de concertation*) be held, based on radio and television programmes "specially prepared for primary school teachers" and transmitted at times when they were free. These meetings would be chaired either by a head teacher or by a teacher who had completed an in-service course already; a carefully devised work-plan with limited but relevant objectives "capable of effective assessment" was to be followed. Additional conferences at regional and national level (similar to that held at Sèvres) would be organised. And each *inspecteur d'académie* was to provide two reports each year on the progress of the scheme.

A year later, the Circular of 7 September 1970, even longer than the previous one, set out suggestions for the aims and practical organisation of the in-service courses to be offered in the *écoles normales*.²³⁸ The aims were to include both the up-dating of "knowledge concerning content and methodology of the various subjects" and the "promoting of a deeper pedagogical awareness." The session was to be regarded as a time of "impulsion". Courses could be either for three months or for six weeks, although the arguments in favour of the longer period "seem to have been fairly generally considered as decisive." Participation at this stage was still seen as voluntary, with preference given to those "who seem able to profit the most effectively from the in-service course." Nothing prevented teachers

²³⁵ *ibid.*, 1969, p. 3581 (12 November)

²³⁶ *Formation des maîtres*, in *Education*, 6 November 1969, p. 30

²³⁷ *Recueil*, *op. cit.*, Section 722-6, pp. 1-6

²³⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 6-13; see also: *Ecoles normales primaires - stage des instituteurs*, in *Education*, 17 September 1970, p. x

in the *écoles d'application* from participating also, if they wished. Proposals were made for some of the topics that might be treated during the courses: the new aims of the primary school; the interdependence and the specificity of the different subjects taught; new methods and techniques; the essential unity of all pedagogical action. Seven half-days a week were regarded as an appropriate time allocation, thus allowing "each participant to return each week to his own class and meet the student-teacher temporarily in charge of it" and to do the necessary research and preparation for active participation in the sessions. The work should be essentially practical, based on precise examples of school activities, or on the radio and television programmes, and including appropriate documentary research. *Inspecteurs départementaux* and *conseillers pédagogiques*²³⁹ were to assist the staff of the école normale in the work.

The scheme in fact worked effectively, though, as the Secretary-General of the S.N.I. said, it should not be seen as "the magic formula that will solve all the difficulties," the results in the various départements being, "very variable, some excellent, others frankly bad."²⁴⁰ He believed that "nothing solid can come from compulsion, and the results will have little value if the teacher does not himself feel the need ceaselessly to improve his teaching and his educative action."²⁴¹ The *Syndicat National des Professeurs des Ecoles Normales* saw equally how limited the period of three months was and how necessary various forms of follow-up were; the scheme thus far "only revealed the immensity of the task - what use is this tiny sprinkling involving a few hundred instituteurs in the face of 200,000 primary teachers?"²⁴²

Yet, by November 1971, the Minister could announce in the *Assemblée Nationale*:

The 1972 Budget will permit us to take a decisive step forward, that of the systematisation of the re-training of instituteurs. Already more than 20,000 teachers have followed three-month or

²³⁹ i.e. *maîtres itinérants d'école annexe*; see above, p. 148, and Glossary

²⁴⁰ Gibiat, J.-P.: Pour une véritable rénovation pédagogique (interview with André Ouliac), in *Education*, 29 January 1970, p. 27

²⁴¹ Ouliac, André: Formation permanente, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 22 October 1971, p. 323; see also: Bataillon, Marcel, Berge, André and Walter, François: *Rebâtir l'Ecole* (Payot, Paris, 1967), pp. 264-5

²⁴² Motion pédagogique, in *Former des Maîtres*, April 1971, p. 9

six-week courses since 1969. This first group has permitted the écoles normales to perfect their methods in an activity that was new for them. [...] Studies taking place at present with representatives of the teachers will enable us to fix a formula by which, in a very brief period, every instituteur will have participated in these in-service courses.²⁴³

On 20 June 1972, the Circular was issued which set out the details of the new, compulsory in-service training scheme.²⁴⁴ This was the outcome of detailed consultation with the officials of the *Syndicat National des Instituteurs*, which instantly claimed full credit for its acceptance. A letter from the Minister to the S.N.I. on 15 September 1971 indicated agreement to "the putting into effect of a plan which would permit the acceptance in the écoles normales of a considerable number of instituteurs so that the entire corps of teachers concerned could be 'recycled' within a few years."²⁴⁵ Negotiations continued until March, when the final document was approved and made public.²⁴⁶ Its contents were essentially those of the Circular itself issued nine months later.²⁴⁷ The proposition was as follows:

This plan is founded on the granting to every tenured teacher in an active teaching position of an in-service training credit equivalent to a full-time year, to be spread over his or her career, excluding the first five and last five years. The application of this principle should permit, in due course, the organisation of the in-service education of teachers in a flexible fashion, notably by proposing to teachers a number of formulas, different in length and nature, so that it can be adapted regularly to real needs.²⁴⁸

Two basic aims in the organisation of the plan were formulated: first, to "assure the re-training of all the tenured teachers concerned within a period of six years," and, second, to diversify the programmes offered in the light of "regional or local needs." The two types of session previously in operation - the longer one of one full term, while *normaliens* were away for their *stage en responsabilité*, and the shorter one of six weeks with replacement provided by *titulaires*-

²⁴³ *Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale*, op. cit., 1971, p. 5549 (9 November); Olivier Guichard

²⁴⁴ *Recueil*, op. cit., loc. cit., pp. 13-16

²⁴⁵ La Formation permanente des maîtres - une importante victoire du S.N.I., in *Ecole Libératrice*, 14 April 1972, p. 1305

²⁴⁶ *ibid.*

²⁴⁷ *Recueil*, op. cit., loc. cit.; the full text was also published in *Education*, 13 April 1972, pp. i-iii, and (with detailed commentary) in *Ecole Libératrice*, 14 April 1972, pp. 1305-6 and 1319-20; see also a summary in *Education*, 14 September 1972, p. iv

²⁴⁸ *Recueil*, op. cit., loc. cit., p. 13

remplaçants - were again proposed, the latter to be provided several times each year in each école normale. A number of specific patterns of organisation were then put forward, with the note that "the authorities in each *académie*, after having made the necessary inquiries, will need to determine the extent of the needs and limitations which might lead them either to partial solutions or to original patterns [...]." The three-month session, it was suggested, might be organised as follows:

Phase 1: The formation of groups and the formulation of needs: one week;

Phase 2: Study at the école normale with the staff of the école normale and with the participation of *inspecteurs départementaux*; consideration of the aims and methods of pedagogical renovation: four weeks;

Phase 3: Return to the schools to reconsider activities in the light of the preceding studies; possibly experimental work in the schools: one week;

Phase 4: Return to the école normale; continuation of theoretical studies in the light of the visits made and experiments conducted: four weeks;

Phase 5: Either at the école normale or in the local area; establishment of level of gain and organisation of action to introduce changes in practical teaching, if appropriate: one week.²⁴⁹

The six-week sessions might consist of two phases: one week for the reception in the teacher's class of the *remplaçant*, for the formation of groups and for the discussion of needs, and five weeks at the école normale with the staff there and the participation of the *inspecteurs départementaux*. These shorter sessions should "highlight one particular aspect", either content, method or level of teaching; for this reason they soon became known as "*stages à dominante*". The Circular went on to discuss selection of participants for the earlier sessions, and indicated that "the advertising for applications is to be accompanied by a programme indicating the sessions to be offered in the following school year" with appropriate dates; various factors, including age and experience, geographical location, previous experience and expressed motivations, should be taken into account in forming each group. Two or more teachers from the one school might be recruited together where possible. In some cases, it might prove possible to conduct the sessions outside the normal centre. Further instructions appeared on 18 October 1972, but these were not published

²⁴⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 14-15

in the *Bulletin Officiel*. They stressed that what had been proposed was in the form of suggestions and could be adapted where appropriate by the local authorities. "The first reactions registered and the information provided by the *inspecteurs d'académie*," it claimed, "reveal a diversity of attitudes and of solutions which give evidence of the richness of the procedures adopted and of the reality of the obstacles, both objective and subjective."²⁵⁰

The first aim seemed likely to be achieved without difficulty - the participation of all concerned in at least one session within six years. A summary of the reports from the *inspecteurs d'académie* showed that in 1972-3 the total number involved that year was 18,237 (of a total possible number of places of 21,000), and that in most départements over 40% of the potential total had already participated (eighty of the eighty-six which supplied statistics).²⁵¹ A note in *Education* in the same year indicated that between 1969 and 1972 about 20,000 had participated and that a further 20,000 were anticipated in 1973-4.²⁵² In the *Assemblée Nationale* in November 1974, the Minister (René Haby) stated that thus far 85,000 instituteurs had "benefited from the ensemble of measures concerning in-service education which the Parliament voted several years ago."²⁵³ The methods of organisation varied quite widely, as had been expected. A summary in 1973 showed that the commonest method was to offer one three-month session and five six-week sessions in the year: thirty-six départements were doing this; on the other hand, several offered no long sessions and only limited numbers of short ones (four with three short sessions, two with four and one with five) while others offered only long sessions (five all told, ranging from one a year to four or more).²⁵⁴

It is clear that this method of in-service education was very widely accepted. The Minister of Education in 1973 (Joseph Fontanet) considered it as a first move in the complete renovation of teacher education,²⁵⁵ and described it as both "original and systematic."²⁵⁶

²⁵⁰ See: Formation permanente des maîtres, in *Former des Maîtres*, March-April 1973, p. 14

²⁵¹ Duplicated letter from the *Direction chargée des personnels enseignants* to *recteurs* and *inspecteurs d'académie*, 17 September 1973

²⁵² *Education*, 13 September 1973, p. iii

²⁵³ *Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale*, op. cit., 1974, p. 5883 (5 November)

²⁵⁴ Duplicated letter from the *Direction chargée des personnels enseignants*, loc. cit.

"An event of importance," echoed a writer in the journal of the *Fédération de l'Education Nationale*²⁵⁷; "a really original enterprise," said the education journal of the Communist party²⁵⁸; "an educational adventure," claimed Jean Vial in his book on the practical problems of the teacher.²⁵⁹ Only the *Syndicat National des Professeurs des Ecoles Normales* seemed somewhat surprised, and urged that three months were barely enough "to ensure efficacious help for instituteurs."²⁶⁰

In the years immediately following the adoption of the system, there appeared in France a large number of reports of varying length and perceptiveness setting out details of various individual sessions. Guy Georges provided three successive assessments in the journal of the *Syndicat National des Instituteurs*: it was, he wrote, "the collective success of a mass organisation, [...] a matter of perseverance supported by the whole of the membership (of the union)"²⁶¹; "primary school teachers will be the first to put into practice what remains still for many merely a hope or a claim"²⁶²; "some countries have resolved the question by obliging teachers to do in-service training at the universities during holidays, weekends or evenings after lessons: it was not for such a result that we engaged in the struggle"²⁶³; in most places there were "no insurmountable problems"²⁶⁴; but there were still complaints because the staffs of the *écoles normales* did not always understand "that the aim of these

²⁵⁵ *Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale*, op. cit., 1973, p. 1741 (5 June). However, he was not to remain long enough as Minister to see the pattern extended much further, though technical teachers gained the same provisions in 1973 (see Ferry, Gilles: *Experiments in continuing teacher training in France* (O.E.C.D., Paris, 8 March 1974; duplicated), p. 22).

²⁵⁶ *Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale*, op. cit., 1973, p. 5635 (13 November)

²⁵⁷ Evanno, Jean-Michel: *Formation continuée - la position des Syndicats de la F.E.N.*, in *Vivante Education*, September-October 1973, p. 10

²⁵⁸ Priouret, Jacques: *La Formation continuée des instituteurs*, in *Ecole et la Vie*, May 1974, p. 6

²⁵⁹ Vial, Jean, op. cit., p. 160

²⁶⁰ *Formation permanente*, in *Former des Maîtres*, June 1972, p. 12

²⁶¹ Georges, Guy: *La Formation continuée des instituteurs à son départ*, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 29 September 1972, p. 104

²⁶² *ibid.*, p. 105

²⁶³ Georges, Guy: *Après un premier stage de six semaines*, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 1 December 1972, p. 611

²⁶⁴ *ibid.*

stages is not to provide a series of lectures"²⁶⁵; in some départements there were insufficient applicants, and more effective decentralisation was sought²⁶⁶; however, no-one had really denied the usefulness of the sessions, there was an excellent opportunity for "contacts and exchanges" which broke down the teacher's isolation, and relationships with the *inspecteurs départementaux* became more positive.²⁶⁷ Jacques Priouret summed up the feelings of many concerning their return to the école normale in this way:

It (the école normale) no longer has for its former pupils such disagreeable connotations as boarding-school life, discipline, marks, examinations and punishments, but offers rather rejuvenation, a provisional liberation from certain of the problems of adult existence.²⁶⁸

The rejuvenation of the école normale itself and of the staff was an equally positive result in many cases. "A subtle dialectic"²⁶⁹ was established which changed many attitudes amongst those responsible for the organisation of teacher education courses. It is this which appears most constantly as the principal comment in the documents prepared by participants at the end of the various subsequent in-service sessions.²⁷⁰ A detailed enquiry among nearly 4000 instituteurs on this and other aspects of change in primary education also revealed this clearly.²⁷¹ Although conducted before the compulsory scheme was in operation, it showed that there was already an awareness of the need for a renewal of approach on the part of the teaching staffs of the écoles normales: "Short courses at the école normale seem the

²⁶⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶⁶ Georges, Guy: La Formation continuée - un premier bilan, in Ecole Libératrice, 1 June 1973, p. 1883

²⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p. 1884

²⁶⁸ Priouet, Jacques: La Formation continuée des instituteurs, loc. cit., p. 9

²⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 8

²⁷⁰ Examples of this material examined by the writer include the following, published by the various *Centres régionaux de documentation pédagogique*: La Formation continue des instituteurs dans le Cher (1972), Animation pédagogique et formation des instituteurs (Montpellier, 1973), Animation pédagogique et formation des instituteurs (Poitiers, 1973), Rénovation pédagogique de l'enseignement élémentaire (Dijon, 1973), Cassagnes, P.: Réflexions autour d'un stage (Rodez, 1973), Vial, M.L.: Formation continue des maîtres (Annecy, 1975), Formation continue - classes vertes, classes de neige (Foix, 1975), Formation continue des instituteurs dans le Cher (Bourges, 1975), Formation continue des instituteurs (Grenoble, 1975), Recyclage des instituteurs - 1er trimestre (St-Lô, 1975); cf. also: Experiments in Continuing Teacher Education in France (O.E.C.D., Paris, 1974), and Priouet, Jacques: La Formation continuée des instituteurs, in Ecole et la Vie, May 1974, pp. 1-11

most effective, provided they are conducted by lecturers who are well acquainted with the problems of the primary school; [...] they would be most beneficial if the innovators were in agreement with each other so that the staffs of the *écoles normales* knew what they had to provide for instituteurs."²⁷² With this as a main criticism, it was possible to see one immediate need as the provision of effective courses of "recyclage" for the "teachers of teachers" themselves.

. . . .

From the early 1950's onwards, as we have seen, it had become slowly clearer that there was a need to revive and revise the special courses which had been offered to future lecturers in the *écoles normales* by the two *écoles normales supérieures* at St-Cloud and Fontenay prior to 1942.²⁷³ By 1970, the vast majority of *école normale* teachers lacked more than superficial contact with primary teaching, having been prepared almost always for teaching in the *lycées* and possessing either the *agrégation* or the *C.A.P.E.S.* as their principal qualification.²⁷⁴ Already in 1954 a member of the *S.N.I.* was writing of the need for the *écoles normales supérieures* to "return to their former specialisation."²⁷⁵ In the early 1960's there were regular proposals. Rogniaux spoke of the desirability of requiring all to pass the examination for primary school *inspecteurs*, with appropriate preparatory courses provided.²⁷⁶ Rustin, a *directeur* of an *école normale*, claimed that there really had never been a specially trained corps of teachers for this purpose, since even the *écoles normales supérieures* "had not provided courses in pedagogy."²⁷⁷ A conference of *école normale* lecturers in 1964 discussed the problem with *Monsieur l'Inspecteur-Général* Leif, and were critical of the suggestion of requiring qualifications as primary school *inspecteurs*:

²⁷¹ Hu, Colette, et al.: La Rénovation pédagogique à l'école élémentaire (I.N.R.D.P., Paris, 1973)

²⁷² *ibid.*, pp. 31-2

²⁷³ See above, pp. 28, 60 and 125-6, for details of the establishment of the institutions at St-Cloud and Fontenay and for some criticisms of the abandonment of their courses for *école normale* teachers; cf. also above, p. 243

²⁷⁴ Cf. above, pp. 178-80

²⁷⁵ Baude, Henri: *Réforme des écoles normales*, in Ecole Libératrice, 28 May 1954, p. 740

²⁷⁶ Rogniaux, G.: *Défense des écoles normales*, in Education Nationale, 25 October 1962, p. 13; cf. above, p. 126

²⁷⁷ Rustin, G.: *Défense des écoles normales*, in Nos Ecoles Publiques, October 1962, p. 17

"We do not think, at least in the present circumstances, that many *certifiés* or, for even better reasons, many *agrégés* will give themselves the additional task of preparing for a new examination in order to go and teach in the *écoles normales*, unless the position of *école normale* teacher is made a really privileged one." Monsieur Leif gave two assurances: as far as possible, to organise *stages de formation* which would provide "the opportunity for making contact with the realities of primary education", and to create a category of staff "enjoying special advantages".²⁷⁸ The organisation of special one-day conferences was also suggested by one of the participants in the subsequent discussion.²⁷⁹ However, in 1966, there was still the claim that "it is urgent to grant to *école normale* teachers - the young ones in particular - the means for perfecting themselves in psycho-pedagogical training"²⁸⁰, and in 1969 that "in the case of teachers at present in the *écoles normales* there must be provision to give them the opportunity to improve their qualifications."²⁸¹ At the General Meeting of the *S.N.P.E.N.* in 1969, there was a demand for "a specific preparation course for *école normale* teachers adapted to their special functions."²⁸² With the disappearance of classes preparing for the *baccalauréat*, many staff members began to "feel ill at ease"²⁸³; they were "handicapped by their absence of training in working with adults" as in-service courses developed²⁸⁴, and nothing seemed to be being done "to increase their number and their quality."²⁸⁵

Then, quite suddenly, there was action. The *Syndicat National des Instituteurs* and particularly the *Syndicat National des Professeurs des Ecoles Normales* were able to gain provision for courses to be begun. It was agreed that there should be sessions of six months and also of one year.²⁸⁶ A series of courses in linguistics, mathematics and

²⁷⁸ Henry, André: Les Journées d'études des professeurs d'école normale à Sèvres, in *Syndicalisme Universitaire*, 10 March 1965, p. iv

²⁷⁹ *ibid.*

²⁸⁰ Rogniaux, H.: Rôle et avenir des écoles normales, in *Bulletin du S.N.P.E.N.*, November-December 1966, p. 2

²⁸¹ Rapports sur les projets de motion pédagogique, in *Former des Maîtres*, March-April 1969, p. 31

²⁸² Résolution pédagogique, in *Former des Maîtres*, March-April 1969, p. 6

²⁸³ Voisin, Anne-Marie: Apprendre à enseigner, in *Education*, 27 November 1969, p. 16 (interview with Marcel Bataillon)

²⁸⁴ Points de vue sur un stage de recyclage E.N., in *Syndicalisme Universitaire*, 19 February 1970, p. 7

²⁸⁵ J.-M.: Le S.N.I. considère la formation des maîtres comme un problème prioritaire, in *Vivante Education*, January 1971, p. 13

enrichment subjects was set out, and it was agreed that "it will be necessary to add to this a course for teachers of psychology in relation with the other subjects."²⁸⁷ The first *stages* lasted in fact only ten days, but they whetted the appetites of many, and the *S.N.P.E.N.* hastened to set out in detail what it thought to be desirable: for practising lecturers in the *écoles normales*, short courses for all, including the psychology specialists, with follow-up sessions later, and some "pluridisciplinary" gatherings; for initial preparation, a centralised course (at St-Cloud) followed by a practice period in an *école normale* and appropriate follow-up activities.²⁸⁸ In an audience with the Minister of Education in May 1971, members of the *S.N.I.* were assured of the "opening of one or several specialised institutes for the training of these teachers, permitting the acquisition of a real understanding of the child and the necessary pedagogical qualities for future teachers of teachers."²⁸⁹

The Circular containing details of the necessary organisation appeared on 22 June 1971.²⁹⁰ Two types of course would be offered, the first for new lecturers (thirty all told) at St-Cloud for a period of two terms, the second for those already teaching - particularly those then teaching in *pre-baccalauréat* classes "who have to make an important change in so far as they intend to take up the pedagogical preparation of future instituteurs" - with four groups of thirty-five at two *écoles normales* selected for the purpose (Dijon and Toulouse) for periods of four months. The arrival of the official Circular so late in the academic year created difficulties of organisation, but an effective start was nevertheless made in 1971-72.

The Minister, Olivier Guichard, spoke of the move in the *Sénat* in November:

This year I have opened [...] several retraining courses for these lecturers, whose profession is undergoing major renewal. This has never been done before. I should like these teachers

²⁸⁶ *Problèmes actuels - après une série de rencontres intersyndicales*, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 4 December 1970, p. 683

²⁸⁷ Jolibert, Josette and Haremza, Jean: *Les Travaux de la commission pédagogique*, in *Former des Maîtres*, December 1970, p. 13

²⁸⁸ *Motion pédagogique*, in *Former des Maîtres*, April 1971, p. 13

²⁸⁹ Pommatau, Jacques: *Bilan et objectifs*, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 4 June 1971, p. 1701

²⁹⁰ See *Former des Maîtres*, October 1971, pp. 15-16; this Circular was not published in the *Bulletin Officiel*.

to see in these measures, as I do, a guarantee for the future. Their function in the future will be important.²⁹¹

And in the following year he announced the setting up of a fourth centre (at Caen) and the raising of the total number of école normale teachers who could participate each year to 200.²⁹²

Monsieur F. Marchand set out the details of the conduct of the early courses both in a lecture in February 1973²⁹³ and in an article published in May 1974.²⁹⁴ The initial preparation course for teachers to be appointed in the écoles normales had by then a fairly clear pattern; the shorter courses varied considerably. For the former, the following sequence was offered:

Stage 1: observation "in the field": visits to écoles normales, primary schools and the area covered by an *inspecteur primaire*; duration: three weeks;

Stage 2: theoretical session: initiation to school organisation, to educational psychology, to modern mathematics and linguistics, together with study of the methodology of each participant's special subject; duration: ten weeks;

Stage 3: practical session: a short period (two weeks) in a primary school or pre-school, to enable an understanding of the professional life of a primary school teacher and to allow some practice teaching if desired; discussion with these teachers (whose positions will meanwhile be filled by *remplaçants*) of the problems raised; evaluation; total duration: ten weeks;

Stage 4: application session in an école normale, with a written follow-up report.²⁹⁵

A report on one of the shorter courses appeared in *Vivante Education* in 1973: it stressed the heterogeneity of the participants, the novelty of working in groups, and the great need to learn to work effectively with experienced adults.²⁹⁶ There was obviously an enthusiastic response to this whole new approach to the teachers in the écoles normales and their work, careful planning quickly resulted in effective courses and the future of in-service education in

²⁹¹ Journal Officiel - Sénat, op. cit., 1971, p. 2218 (23 November)

²⁹² Formation des formateurs, in Education, 14 September 1972, p. iv

²⁹³ Duplicated document for Stage des professeurs belges de pédagogie, Sèvres, 26 February - 3 March 1973

²⁹⁴ Marchand, F.: Formation des professeurs d'école normale, in Le Français Aujourd'hui (Special issue), May 1974, pp. 85-89

²⁹⁵ ibid., pp. 88-89

²⁹⁶ Petitgirard, Pierre: Sur une expérience de formation continue de professeurs d'écoles normales, in Vivante Education, September-October 1973, pp. 16-17

particular seemed assured in a much more positive way. In a very short period a rejuvenated section of the teacher education service was being created.²⁹⁷

...

Mention should be made of one other important factor which transformed the work of many écoles normales and affected their approach to the preparation of instituteurs during this period: this was the establishment of special sections training teachers for various rôles outside the primary school. Three main types of Centre were set up: that for the preparation of teachers in the *collèges d'enseignement général* (these were in all cases in the écoles normales of the *chefs-lieux* of the *académies*); that for the preparation of teachers of handicapped children (*enfance inadaptée*); and that for the preparation of teachers of slow-learners in the *collèges d'enseignement général* (at first referred to as *classes de transition* and *classes pratiques*, and later given the title of Track III - *Voie III*²⁹⁸). The Centres for *professeurs d'enseignement général de collège* were generally of considerable size and had considerable impact on the écoles normales to which they were attached. The other Centres were smaller, but, as they were generally made part of small écoles normales, their effect was in most cases also quite significant. The distribution of these Centres (in general, one of each for each of the *académies* except the smallest ones) is shown in MAP 12, below. Table 19 shows the number of students in each type of Centre in the period 1963/4 - 1974/5.

TABLE 19: NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN SPECIAL SECTIONS OF ECOLES NORMALES, 1963/4 - 1974/5²⁹⁹

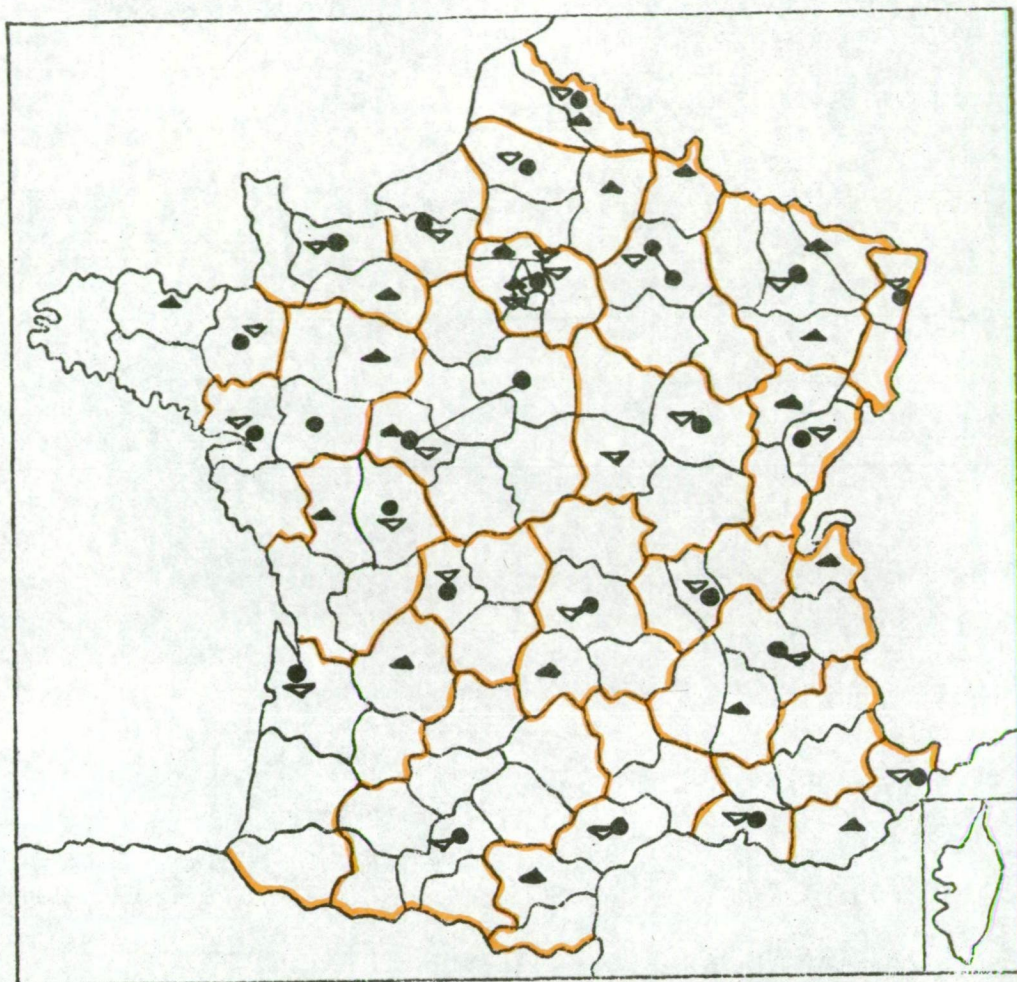
	P.E.G.C.		Voie III		Enfance inadaptée	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1963-64	2167	2771			51	81
1966-67	1180	1523			93*	50*
1971-72	1806	2879	526	572	513	832
1974-75	2072	3618	949	662	521	667

* listed for this year only as "*préparations diverses*"





²⁹⁷ See also below, pp. 337-9

²⁹⁸ destined to disappear as such under the legislative proposals made by the Minister of Education (René Haby) in 1975

²⁹⁹ details from *Tableaux Statistiques* and *Informations Statistiques*, op. cit., for the relevant years



MAP 12: DISTRIBUTION OF SPECIAL TRAINING CENTRES
(P.E.G.C., VOIE III AND ENFANCE INADAPTEE)
IN FRANCE, 1975³⁰⁰

	Limits of <i>académies</i>
	P.E.G.C.
	Voie III
	Enfance inadaptée

=====

In particular, the numbers in the Centres for P.E.G.C. are quite large in comparison with the numbers in the associated écoles normales preparing to teach in primary schools: in 1966-67, for example, the last year unfortunately for which these statistics are available, there were 10,158 students preparing for primary teaching (including *remplacants*) in écoles normales with such Centres attached - of whom 4766 were in the post-baccalauréat classes - compared with 2703

³⁰⁰ Details of the locations in 1975 are taken from lists provided by the Centre Régional de Documentation Pédagogique in Paris. In some cases, changes in the location of Centres had occurred in the period prior to 1975. Cf. Appendix 1.

students preparing for junior secondary teaching.³⁰¹ The influence of these academically very able students, and of those responsible for their academic preparation, on the attitudes of the remainder was undoubtedly one of the important factors in bringing about a more open, more critical approach to teacher education in the larger *écoles normales*.

The training course for future *professeurs d'enseignement général de collège* was a demanding one.³⁰² Details of it were set out in a Decree of 21 October 1960 and another of 30 May 1969. The course was for a period of three years³⁰³, the first of which was to consist of the first year of a university degree course with suitable support from the staff of the *école normale Centre*, the second was to consist of study in the two areas of specialist teaching of the student and to lead to a first examination, and the third was to consist of pedagogical and practical preparation for teaching and to lead to a second examination.³⁰⁴ Success in both examinations was required for the *C.A.P.E.G.C. (Certificat d'aptitude au professorat général de collège)*. Recruitment to the first year was fairly restricted, many students being accepted at the end of a successful first year of university studies; on the other hand, failure at the end of the second year was frequent, unsuccessful students transferring to primary teacher preparation in the primary sections of the *écoles normales*.³⁰⁵ Teachers prepared in this way were expected to be able to teach at least two subjects in the secondary schools; the normal combinations were as follows:

- I French, history and geography
- II French and a foreign language
- III Mathematics, physics and chemistry
- IV Physics, chemistry and natural science
- V Science and agricultural science
- VI Science and domestic economy³⁰⁶

³⁰¹ *ibid.*

³⁰² An outline of its development can be traced in *Education Nationale*, 1 March 1956, pp. 8-9, 17 November 1960, p. 13 and 26 September 1962, p. 5

³⁰³ Prior to 1967-68, two years; the change was made by a Circular of 15 September 1967

³⁰⁴ Guillemoteau, R. and Mayeur, P.: *Traité de législation scolaire et universitaire* (Colin, Paris, 1970), Vol. 3, p. 374 (Decree of 30 May 1969, Article 11)

³⁰⁵ For example, the Centre in Nancy in 1975 admitted 35 students in Year I and 110 in Year II; the failure rate at the end of Year II was approximately 30%. (Information provided by the *directeur d'études*).

The training course for teachers in Track III classes was established by a Decree of 27 July 1966. Recruitment to this course was from instituteurs who had taught for at least three years in a tenured position.³⁰⁷ The course was of one year's duration (frequently provided over a two-year period with alternating sessions in the teacher's class and at the école normale³⁰⁸), and a *Certificat d'aptitude* was granted following success in the special examinations provided for in the Decree. The assessment included consideration of case studies done during the year (both of a psychological and of a pedagogical nature) and of theoretical and practical work completed by the student as well as theoretical and practical examinations.³⁰⁹ A great deal of the work at the école normale was concerned with technological or commercial subjects, with a wide range of practical options.

The preparation of teachers of handicapped children has had a much longer history: the Decree of 14 August 1909 had already provided for a *Certificat d'aptitude* for teachers of retarded children.³¹⁰

However, the organisation of special regional training centres was set out in the Decrees of 12 July 1963 and 1 April 1964. The one-year course was to provide for study of "the general, psychological, physiological, pedagogical and sociological problems" of handicapped or retarded children.³¹¹ Both theoretical and practical work was to be included, and a special examination leading to a *Certificat d'aptitude à l'enseignement des enfants inadaptés* was prescribed.³¹²

There was a good deal of apprehension about the effect on the work of the écoles normales of these Centres, and especially of those for P.E.G.C.; they were seen as likely to lead to division rather than unity among teachers: "Whatever the definitive options, the measures

³⁰⁶ Guillemoteau, R. and Mayeur, P., op. cit., pp. 378 et seq. (*Arrêté* of 11 July 1961). Many more options were added later.

³⁰⁷ Originally five years; see Guillemoteau, R. and Mayeur, P., op. cit., p. 361, and Letierrier, L., op. cit., p. 660

³⁰⁸ For example, at Annecy and Valence; see Formation des maîtres spécialisés pour l'enseignement dans les C.P.P.N., C.P.A., etc., Circular from *recteur* of *académie* of Grenoble, 20 March 1975

³⁰⁹ Guillemoteau, R. and Mayeur, P., op. cit., pp. 361-6 (*Arrêté* of 6 October 1966 and Circulars of 16 and 28 February 1967)

³¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 353; prior to 1963 this work had been centred at Beaumont-sur-Oise in a national institution (*ibid.*, p. 358)

³¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 358 (Decree of 1 April 1964, Article 5)

³¹² *ibid.*, pp. 354-8 (Decree of 12 July 1963 and *Arrêtés* of 23 September 1963 and 3 January 1964 [modified on 15 February 1966])

taken for the teachers in the *collèges d'enseignement général* accentuate the division between the two modes of preparation for the profession of instituteur, deepening a rift instead of filling it."³¹³ There was also, however, approval for the possibilities of transfer for *normaliens*: "The social rôle they assume in permitting young *normaliens* or practising instituteurs to improve their situation and their cultural level" was stressed in the Parliament.³¹⁴ But equally there continued to be fear about the results of the "departure towards higher education" of the most able of the students recruited to train initially for teaching in the primary sector.³¹⁵ Few seemed to have appreciated that all these Centres could provide a vastly enriched environment in which teacher preparation of various types could take place. It appears that in most *écoles normales* the specialist groups were kept well segregated from those following the primary course, even the staff concerned being in general quite independent, under the control of a specially appointed *directeur d'études*. Yet in those *écoles normales* possessing these special Centres existed the real possibility of building up the type of *Centre départemental* (or *régional*) *de formation* so frequently described by the various unions in the same period.³¹⁶

. . .

In view of the rapid and profound changes which occurred in the preparation of teachers for primary education in the period after 1968, it seemed important to attempt to see to what extent there had also been changes in the types of students being recruited into the *écoles normales*. As we have seen, this is an area in which statistical information has been particularly lacking and in which a great many assumptions based on tradition had been made.³¹⁷ A survey of a small sample of students was therefore made by the writer in the third term of the 1974-75 academic year, the results of which are set out below. The survey was conducted with 315 students in twelve *écoles normales*; 145 of the students were in the first year of the two-year course.

³¹³ Lordon, Jeanne: *La Formation des maîtres de C.E.G.*, in *Ecole Libératrice*, 29 September 1967, p. 61

³¹⁴ *Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale*, op. cit., 1969, p. 3645; Pierre Lepage (U.D.R.)

³¹⁵ *ibid.*

³¹⁶ Cf. above, pp. 250-8

³¹⁷ Cf. above, pp. 131-7

The sample represents approximately 2% of the total number of students and cannot therefore be regarded as in any way statistically significant. However, the views expressed are perhaps to some extent representative of those held by students at present studying in the écoles normales, and are presented in that light.³¹⁸

The students included in the survey may be classified as follows:

TABLE 20: CLASSIFICATION OF STUDENTS IN SURVEY (WITH CORRESPONDING NATIONAL FIGURES)

	SURVEY TOTALS		TOTALS FOR FRANCE ³¹⁹	
	Year I	Year II	Year I	Year II
Male	62 (43%)	60 (35%)	2583 (37%)	2769 (39%)
Female	83	110	4161	4135
Externe	39	53	1567	3301
Demi-pens.	43 (57%)	77 (76%)	1893 (52%)	1893 (77%)
Interne ³²⁰	63 (43%)	40 (24%)	3227 (48%)	1651 (23%)
Entry: 2e	67 (46%)	61 (36%)	(49.6%)	(59.2%)
lère	64 (44%)	84 (49%)	(27.2%)	(19.0%)
Bac.	14 (9%)	25 (15%)	(23.2%)	(21.8%)

Demi-pens.: *demi-pensionnaire*

2e: *classe de seconde*

lère: *classe de première*

Bac.: *baccalauréat* (including students who had already completed some post-baccalauréat studies)

³¹⁸ The survey was made, with the permission of the *directeurs* and *directrices* of the écoles normales, in the period April-June 1975. The following groups of students were involved:

Ecole Normale	Sex (Boys/Girls/Mixed)	Year	Number
Foix	Mixed	2	16
	Mixed	1	13
Chambéry	Girls	2	27
	Girls	1	25
Aurillac	Mixed	2	28
Clermont-Ferrand	Girls	1	3
Rodez	Mixed	2	12
	Mixed	1	6
Albertville	Boys	2	18
	Boys	1	17
Nancy	Girls	2	18
	Girls	1	26
	Boys	1	14
Orléans	Girls	1	24
Châteauroux	Mixed	2	8
	Mixed	1	5
Bourges	Mixed	1	36
Vannes	Mixed	2	9

In 1974-75, the total number of students in each year of the

These figures show that in general terms the small sample was quite representative of the total student population in the professional years of the course, so far as sex ratios, level of entry and type of accommodation are concerned. To that extent, at least, the opinions given by the sample group on several controversial matters may be taken as reasonably representative also. It should be noted, however, that the sample groups come almost entirely from the smaller *écoles normales* outside the very big population centres (Paris, Marseille, Lyon, Lille), so that the contrast, if any, between metropolitan and provincial students will not be accurately represented.

Students were asked to give an indication of any studies that they had undertaken between the time when they passed the *baccalauréat* examination and their entry to the first year of the professional course. The number who had done so was not large, but significant in that in earlier years there were virtually no such students in the *écoles normales*. All of the thirty-nine students (12.4%) in the survey who sat for the entry examination at the post-*baccalauréat* level had completed some form of additional study before entry to the *école normale*. Details of the type of study and of the number of years spent are given in Table 21, below. University study other than in the normal faculties were in a *Unité d'enseignement et de recherche* for Physical Education (one student), in *Instituts universitaires de technologie* for accounting and administration (one student), for

professional course in all *écoles normales* was: Year I - 6770; Year II - 6948 (*Tableaux Statistiques*, op. cit., No. 4562, June 1975, p. 4). The text for the questions asked in the survey was as follows: "1. Sex and age; 2. Details concerning status as boarding or day student; 3. Level at which entry to the *école normale* was gained; 4. Studies between completion of *baccalauréat* and first year of the *école normale* course (if any); 5. Parents' occupation(s); 6. An indication of political and of religious interests; 7. Reasons for choosing primary school teaching as a career; 8. Main interests outside teaching and the *école normale* course." The questions were asked orally, and additional explanations given if requested. Answers were in all cases in writing by the students.

³¹⁹ These figures do not include the small number of students who were repeating a year of the course (79 in Year I and 29 in Year II). Figures are from *Tableaux Statistiques*, op. cit., No. 4562, June 1975, pp. 4, 9, 10, and No. 4448, March 1974, p. 9.

³²⁰ *Externe* means that students attended only for classes; *demi-pensionnaire* covers all students who had any meals at all at the *école normale* (and may differ therefore from the definition used for the official figures); *interne* means that students boarded full-time at the *école normale*. Cf. Glossary.

TABLE 21: POST-BACCALAUREAT STUDIES OF STUDENTS
IN SURVEY

University study:		humanities	16
		science	11
		law	4
		economics	2
		others	5
		not stated	<u>1</u>
			39
Years of study:		one	27
		two	7
		four	1
		not stated	<u>4</u>
			39

technology (one student) and for engineering (one student). One student indicated "*sciences naturelles et gymnastique: C.E.G.*", which may refer to a year of teaching as an uncertificated teacher or to a year of preparation for secondary teaching.³²¹

Frequently among the responses from this group of students reference is made to the *P.E.G.C.* course, for which they had been selected but in which they had failed after one or more years. This course, as we have seen, included university studies only in its first year, and those who failed in this year were normally transferred to the first year of the primary teacher preparation course. Second-year *P.E.G.C.* students who failed could also return to the *école normale* and begin the primary teacher preparation course.³²²

This significant proportion of students who had engaged in some study after the *baccalauréat* before joining the primary course seemed already to be having an effect on attitudes among *normaliens*: there seemed to be a clear desire to pursue studies at somewhat greater depth than formerly, particularly if this could be confined to one or two subjects freely chosen by the student. There was also a growing insistence on greater academic "freedom" and on the need for some forms of elementary research as part of the required studies. These aspects are undoubtedly encouraged by students fresh from an introduction to university studies.

At present, students in this category are very unevenly distributed among the *écoles normales*. In those included in this survey, some had

³²¹ See Glossary for definition of terms used in this paragraph

³²² Cf. above, pp. 287-9

none at all (Foix and Rodez - both relatively isolated and distant from a university city, and both quite small towns); others had a quite high proportion (Nancy (boys) 57%, Albertville (boys) 37%, Chambéry (girls) 17%).³²³ It seemed likely that the pattern would become more widespread as entry to teaching became more competitive, and that it might eventually have considerable impact on the standards of work in the *écoles normales*.

In order to gain some insight into the social categories from which students at the *écoles normales* came, information was sought concerning parents' occupations. The traditional belief has been that *normaliens* - particularly boys - tend to come from families in the lower socio-economic groups, and several of those interviewed indicated that this was their belief also. The statistics collected did not indicate this, however. Table 22 summarises the results and compares them with the national figures for the total population.

TABLE 22: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CATEGORIES OF STUDENTS IN SURVEY (WITH CORRESPONDING NATIONAL FIGURES) [Cf. FIGURE 22, below]

Socio-economic categories ³²⁴	% of total working population	% of students' families ³²⁵
Agriculturalists (owners and salaried workers)	10.4	13.0
Proprietors (industry and commerce) ³²⁶	9.5	6.7
Liberal professions; top managerial ³²⁷	6.4	5.7
Middle class (technicians and administrators) ³²⁸	12.6	11.1
Employees (government and business)	16.3	22.1
Working class (including foremen, etc)	37.2	36.6
Service personnel	5.9	1.7
Others (including army and police)	1.7	3.0

³²³ Cf. above, p. 289

³²⁴ The categories are those used by the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (*I.N.S.E.E.*). The percentages for each category are taken from *Données Sociales*, Vol. 39 - *Ménages* (*I.N.S.E.E.*, Paris, 1974), pp. 19-20, and are for 1973.

It is quite startlingly evident that the student population of the écoles normales included in the survey very closely reproduces the socio-economic patterns of the working population as a whole. The information provided was such that even the slight discrepancies in the proportions cannot be regarded as significant, and can, if necessary, be easily explained. The somewhat higher proportion of agricultural workers, for example, is probably merely a reflection of the fact that a rather high proportion of rural écoles normales is included.

Only once have statistics of this type been collected for *normaliens* by the Government statistical services. This was in 1960-61. They are compared with the results of the present survey in Table 23, below.

TABLE 23: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CATEGORIES OF STUDENTS IN SURVEY COMPARED WITH OFFICIAL FIGURES FOR 1960-61³²⁹

Socio-economic categories	Percentages	
	1960-61	1974-75
Agriculturalists	12.9	13.0
Proprietors (industry; commerce)	13.0	6.7
Liberal professions; top managerial	3.7	5.7
Middle class	18.3	11.1
Employees (government; business)	13.3	22.1
Working class	26.0	36.6
Service personnel	2.1	1.7
Others (including, for 1960-61, those with independent incomes)	10.7	3.0

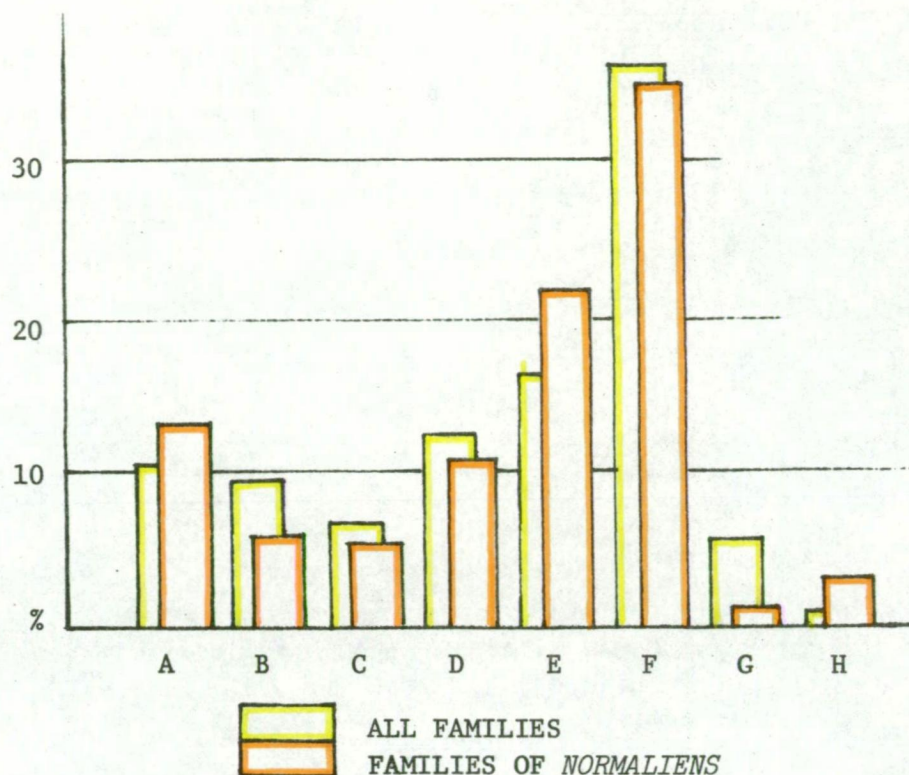
³²⁵ The percentages in this column are based on information from 298 students in the survey, i.e. excluding those whose parents were deceased, invalids or retired; the profession of the father has been taken except when the father was deceased and the mother working; naturally it has been necessary to make assumptions in the case of a few of the stated occupations, but generally the categories were clearly indicated by the respondents.

³²⁶ This category includes proprietors of small businesses and artisan-craftsmen.

³²⁷ University and secondary school teachers are included in this category. Ten of the seventeen parents in this category were secondary school teachers (59%, compared with the national proportion of 18-20%).

³²⁸ Primary school teachers are included in this category. Twelve of the thirty-three parents in this category were primary school teachers (36%, compared with the national proportion of 25%). All told, there were twenty-seven parents (mothers and/or fathers) who were primary school teachers.

³²⁹ Official figures are from Informations Statistiques, op. cit., 1961, No. 39



Categories:

- A Agriculturalists
- B Proprietors (industry; commerce)
- C Liberal professions; top managerial
- D Middle class
- E Employees (government; business)
- F Working class
- G Service personnel
- H Others (including army, police)

FIGURE 22: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASSES - DISTRIBUTION FOR FAMILIES OF *NORMALIENS* IN SURVEY COMPARED WITH NATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

=====

The differences here are quite important ones. There is a much greater proportion of parents who are included in the categories of employees and working class (58.7% compared with 39.3%) - much greater than might be expected from the national change in these categories (49.2% in 1962 compared with 53.5% in 1973³³⁰). It would appear that a greater number of families in these categories may be seeing primary teaching as a suitable career for their children; this may well be the result of greater prosperity among these families. On the other hand, there is a big drop in the proportion of families in both the category of proprietors and that of the middle class: for these, it may well appear that a university education is a more desirable path

³³⁰ Données Sociales, op. cit., Vol. 39, pp. 18, 19

to follow, and one which they can more often easily afford. The change - which brings the proportions so closely into line with national figures - would, if this argument is correct, be largely the result of economic factors.

Berger and Benjamin, as we have seen, collected similar information about all primary school teachers in the Paris region during the year 1959-60.³³¹ Their figures apply to primary teachers of all ages and to a largely urban area (and contrast markedly from these points of view with the present survey). Table 24, below, sets out the figures from these two surveys.

TABLE 24: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CATEGORIES FOR STUDENTS IN SURVEY COMPARED WITH THOSE FOR TEACHERS IN BERGER AND BENJAMIN'S SURVEY³³²

Socio-economic categories	Percentages	
	Berger/ Benjamin	Present survey
Agriculturalists	6.7	13.0
Proprietors (industry; commerce)	15.9	6.7
Liberal professions; top managerial	5.7	5.7
Middle class	18.2	11.1
Employees (government; business)	20.6	22.1
Working class	23.8	36.6
Service and other	9.1	4.7

It is interesting also to compare the socio-economic origins of the students in the *écoles normales* with those in the universities. Table 25, below, indicates that there are important differences between these two groups. A much larger proportion of university students are children of "upper class" families than is the case for *normaliens*. This clear difference has been noted by many writers, and has been the basis for the often repeated claim that the *écoles normales* provide the best means of social promotion for the gifted child of middle and lower class parents.³³³ The figures may indicate

³³¹ Cf. above, pp. 131-4

³³² Berger, Ida and Benjamin, Roger: *L'Univers des instituteurs* (Editions de Minuit, Paris, 1964), p. 125. Berger and Benjamin's figures are given separately for men and women (1905 men; 5280 women); they have been combined proportionately in this table. Cf. Prost, Antoine, op. cit., p. 380, and Baudelot, Christian and Establet, Roger: *L'Ecole capitaliste en France* (Maspero, Paris, 1971), p. 245

TABLE 25: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CATEGORIES FOR STUDENTS
IN SURVEY COMPARED WITH THOSE FOR
UNIVERSITY STUDENTS³³⁴

Socio-economic categories	% Parents University Students	% Parents Ec. Nor. Students
Agriculturalists	9.5	13.0
Proprietors (industry; commerce)	14.6	6.7
Liberal professions; top managerial	29.6	5.7
Middle class	*	11.1
Employees (government; business)	9.6	22.1
Working class	14.5	36.6
Service and other	*	4.7

* not listed; total is 22.2%

that the difference is narrowing, but it is still nevertheless very marked. It has had a real effect also on the attitudes to study and to university life among *normaliens*.³³⁵

An attempt was made in the survey to examine the political and the religious beliefs of students in the *écoles normales*, since there are assumptions of long standing concerning these matters.³³⁶

Students were asked to indicate as precisely as possible - but voluntarily - what their political orientations were. Their replies are classified in Table 26 and Figure 23, below. It is clear that the traditional beliefs are more than sufficiently confirmed by these statistics. The students in the *écoles normales* are (or believe themselves to be) very clearly left-wing in their political views. A significant proportion classified themselves as ultra-left-wing (10.4%) and thus allied themselves with similar groups active particularly in the universities. A clearly higher proportion of men than of women were left-wing, and twice as many women as men were uncommitted or

³³³ Cf. above, pp. 11-12, 131-7

³³⁴ The figures for university students are for 1970-71, and are therefore not strictly comparable with those for the *normaliens* in the survey, which are for 1974-75. The former are taken from Delion, A.G.: *L'Education en France: Problèmes et perspectives* (Documentation Française, Paris, 1973), p. 25. (They are stated to be provided from unpublished statistics of the Ministry of Education). Figures for 1963 are contained in Sauvy, Alfred and Girard, Alain: *Les Diverses classes sociales devant l'enseignement*, in *Population*, March-April 1965, pp. 230-1; for the seven categories in the table, their percentages are respectively: 7.1, 16.6, 26.0, 17.4, 7.4, 7.9 and 17.6.

³³⁵ Cf. above, p. 136

³³⁶ Cf. above, pp. 14-15

TABLE 26: POLITICAL BELIEFS OF STUDENTS IN SURVEY

Political grouping	WOMEN		MEN		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ultra Left ³³⁷	10	5.8	19	17.8	29	10.4
Communist ³³⁸	8	4.6	6	5.6	14	5.0
Socialist	28	16.3	9	8.4	37	13.3
Left, unspecified	61	35.5	50	46.7	111	39.8
TOTAL - Left	107	62.2	84	78.5	191	68.5
Centre-Left	1	0.6	3	2.8	4	1.4
Centre	7	4.1	2	1.9	9	3.2
Right	10	5.8	2	1.9	12	4.3
Personal views	2	1.2	4	3.7	6	2.2
Uncommitted	13	7.5	2	1.9	15	5.4
Apolitical ³³⁹	32	18.6	10	9.3	42	15.0
Total	172		107		279	
No answer	21		15		36	

=====

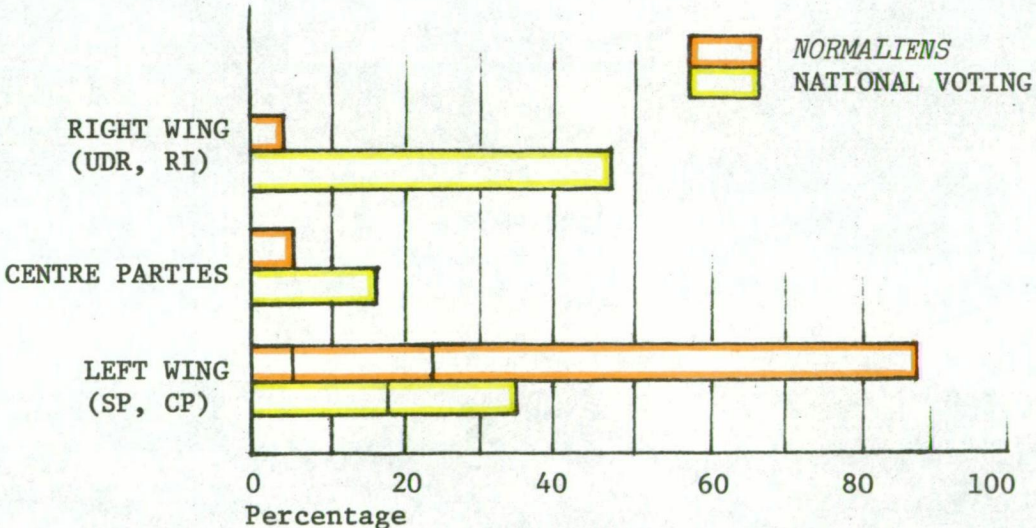


FIGURE 23: POLITICAL TENDENCIES - DISTRIBUTION FOR STUDENTS IN SURVEY COMPARED WITH NATIONAL DISTRIBUTION (ELECTIONS OF 1973)³⁴⁰

³³⁷ Including tendencies expressed as "anarchist", "Marxist", "Trotskyist", "Marxist-Leninist", "extreme revolutionary left", "ecologist" (sic), as well as "far left wing"

³³⁸ Only four of those who used the label "communist" indicated that they were active members of communist organisations

³³⁹ Including those who said they were not interested in politics

³⁴⁰ The percentages are based on the opinions expressed by the students in the survey, excluding those who were "uncommitted" and those who expressed no opinion. The national figures are from Blondel, Michèle: *La Vie politique en France* (Hachette, Paris, 1974), p. 46

apolitical (26.1% compared with 11.2%). The political spectrum for the écoles normales was very different therefore from the pattern for the nation as a whole (see Figure 23, above). This is the more interesting since we have seen that the socio-economic patterns were very similar. Two main forces at least were probably involved: first, students from right-wing backgrounds probably regarded the école normale as an unsuitable place to pursue their studies, and, second, students who arrived without definite views were probably influenced by the atmosphere and the views of their fellows to turn towards the political left.

The question of religious attitudes was broached in somewhat different terms with various groups. In some écoles normales, it was agreed that there was no real difference in religious beliefs and attitudes between students at écoles normales and other young people of the same age. When students were asked to record their opinion in this way, there was generally almost 100% agreement. One wrote as follows, echoing the general opinion: "I do not believe that the fact that one is a *normalien* imposes an attitude any different from that of others." Among students who were asked to record definite religious views - a total of 117 - by far the majority indicated clearly that they regarded themselves as atheists. Many of the atheists indicated that they had been "baptised as Catholics" and many took care to state that they respected the beliefs of others ("tolerant but non-believer"). Only three of the total indicated views that could be classified as anti-clerical. Small numbers indicated that they were uncertain or actively seeking their precise beliefs. Of the total, only twenty-two indicated continuing attachment to Catholic or Protestant beliefs, and these varied from regular participants (11) to non-practising believers (6). There were five others who indicated non-Christian religious beliefs, including one Buddhist.³⁴¹ Figure 24, below, compares the statistics for this small sample with the national percentages for all Frenchmen. Figures for the corresponding age-group seem not to be available, so that an exact comparison is not possible. It seems likely, however, that the claim of many *normaliens* that there is little difference between their attitudes and those of

³⁴¹ Cf. Berger, Ida and Benjamin, Roger, who give as the percentages for "believers" (whether practising or not) among primary teachers in the département of Seine in 1954: men - 30%, women - 42.8%; op. cit., p. 46

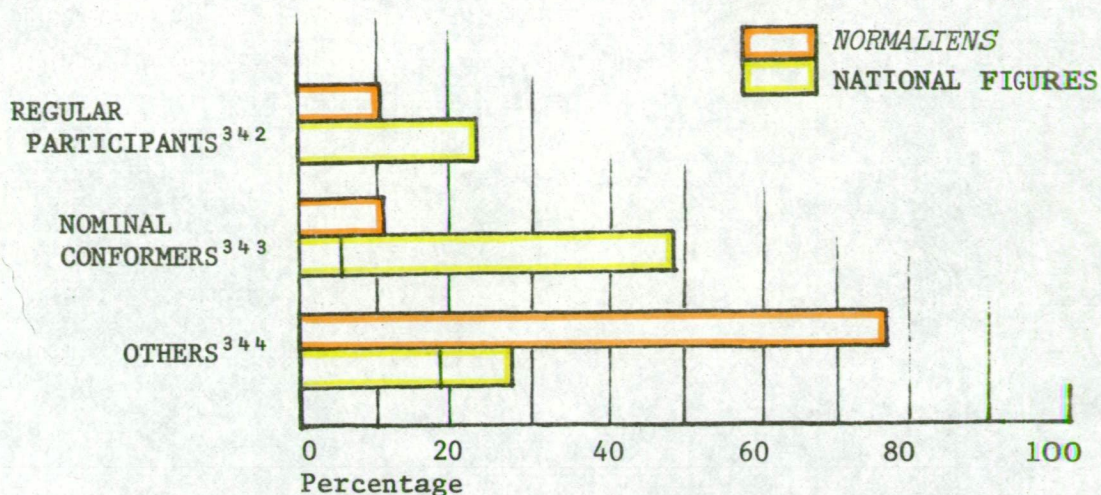


FIGURE 24: RELIGIOUS BELIEFS - DISTRIBUTION FOR STUDENTS IN SURVEY COMPARED WITH NATIONAL DISTRIBUTION³⁴⁵

other young people of their age may be a justified one.

Students in the survey were also asked to indicate their reasons for aiming to become primary school teachers. Their replies are classified in Table 27, below.

TABLE 27: REASONS GIVEN BY STUDENTS IN SURVEY FOR AIMING TO BECOME PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

Reason*	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	32	21.0	75	28.0	107	25.5
2	25	16.4	71	26.5	96	22.9
3	18	11.8	39	14.6	57	13.6
4	17	11.2	29	10.8	46	11.0
5	22	14.5	23	8.6	45	10.7
6	12	7.9	5	1.9	17	4.0
7	6	3.9	8	3.0	14	3.3
8	1	0.7	6	2.2	7	1.7
9	1	0.7	1	0.4	2	0.5
10	16	10.5	7	2.6	23	5.5
Other	2	1.3	4	1.5	6	1.4
TOTAL ³⁴⁶	152		268		420	

* see below

³⁴² Those who attend a church service every Sunday

³⁴³ Those who attend a church service occasionally (festive seasons; baptisms, marriages, funerals)

³⁴⁴ Including, for the national figures, 18% who are baptised but non-participant, and for the *normaliens*, 5% who claimed non-Christian beliefs

* The reasons given have been classified as follows:

- 1 VOCATION (Wanted to follow this profession; interesting profession)
- 2 LOVE OF CHILDREN
- 3 INFLUENCE OF PARENTS ("Advice, influence, example" of parents, of family)
- 4 FINANCE (Financial independence; only way to continue studies)
- 5 SECURITY (Teaching provides employment security)
- 6 HOLIDAYS
- 7 INFLUENCE OF TEACHERS
- 8 FAMILY (Suitable profession for married women; good employment for married couple)
- 9 SOCIAL PROMOTION (Provided a way to social promotion)
- 10 CHANCE ("By chance"; "with no convictions"; "not tempted by anything else"; "no real idea")

In general, the reasons advanced are those one would expect - and the frequency with which they are suggested is also to be expected. The most interesting proposal is that concerning the influence of the family - listed by 13.6% as a reason for entering teaching. This can be linked too with the importance of financial considerations, mentioned by 11.0% of the students. Students who listed this reason generally wrote of the desire or the necessity to be self-supporting during the teacher education course: "Through financial necessity I contented myself with becoming a primary school teacher," wrote a girl from Bourges. Girls mentioned their vocational interest and their love of children and desire to work with them more frequently than boys. On the other hand, boys were more concerned with the security of employment offered by teaching and with the long holidays offered. Many students wrote with considerable force about their sense of vocation, as though conscious that other reasons might be considered less "acceptable". Many also spoke of the problems presented by the need to make a decision at the age of fourteen or fifteen, when most had sat for the entry examination. "I chose this profession when I was very young, and I had no idea of what the profession involved," said a girl in Nancy. There was reference occasionally to the alternative of studying at a university, and the problems that that might involve. "I was not courageous enough to go to the university,"

³⁴⁵ The percentages for *normaliens* are based on the views expressed by 117 students in the survey. (198 students were either not asked to express their views or were asked in terms not suitable for classification). The national figures are taken from Solé, Robert: *Les Chrétiens en France* (P.U.F., Paris, 1972), p. 14.

³⁴⁶ The totals are greater than the number of students who gave replies, as in many cases several reasons were given.

said one boy in Bourges. A girl in the same city said: "I should have liked to be a teacher of German - studies which are long and expensive." A girl in Orléans indicated: "In fact, I am going to continue my studies to become a secondary teacher rather than remain an institutrice." It is interesting to note how infrequently mention was made of social promotion as a reason for entering the école normale. No doubt the thought was in the minds of more than mentioned it, but it seems clear too that this is not seen as an important factor for most. A girl in Chambéry was one of the few to mention it: "The choice was originally made by my parents: it is a 'promotion' still highly prized among the peasants, I believe."

It would seem that *normaliens* in the post-1968 period have the same basic motivations as their predecessors, that vocational and practical reasons both play a part in their choice, that in a significant number of cases the choice is made by parents or made fairly haphazardly, and that for many the early age at which the initial choice was made prevented an informed decision.

The survey cannot be claimed to be more than indicative; yet it seems to reveal certain clear features of the student population in the écoles normales:

1. *Normaliens* represent the socio-economic categories of the total population quite accurately - and do not in this regard resemble other students in higher education in France. The traditional belief that they come only from the lower socio-economic groups is no longer true.

2. There is a significant increase in the number of *normaliens* who have done some university study (often not very successfully in an attempt to enter secondary teaching) before starting the école normale course.

3. The vast majority of *normaliens* class themselves as left-wing in political thinking. This is in line with the long-standing traditions of the écoles normales.

4. *Normaliens* show little interest in religion. They classify themselves in the main as atheists, but do not see themselves as having an active anti-clerical rôle, in clear contrast with the earlier traditions of the écoles normales.

5. The reasons given for entering primary teacher training are generally the traditional ones: vocational interest, love of children, security of the teaching profession, opportunity to continue education

without financial problems. A significant percentage entered teaching as the result of family pressures, but few apparently for reasons of social advancement.

It is to the possible future growth and change in the patterns of professional preparation of these young people that we shall look in the concluding section of this thesis.

. . .

SECTION 7

SOME CHARACTERISTIC ECOLES NORMALES

This Section of the thesis aims to describe some representative écoles normales as they adapted themselves to the changed rôles they were expected to play in the mid-1970's. They include both large and famous écoles normales in the big cities and very small rural écoles normales in sparsely populated départements. All were visited by the writer in the first half of 1975 or late in 1976. It will become apparent that there was a great uniformity in the general organisation of these institutions, but a growing variety of detail in the approaches adopted by the different *directeurs* and *directrices* and other staff members. While the larger écoles normales seemed generally to be preparing for an increasing part in the formation of secondary teachers, the smaller ones were often seeking specialised functions which would enable them to increase their numbers and hence their viability. In all the smaller centres there were active moves for amalgamation, if this had not already occurred. It was clear that diversification within a common organisational pattern was likely to be characteristic of France's primary teacher training schools in the last quarter of the century.

PARIS: Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs (Auteuil)

The two central Paris écoles normales were among the last to be founded.¹ The women's college is in the northern section of the city and the men's in the western section adjacent to the Bois de Boulogne, both far removed from the "dangers" of the Latin Quarter and the administrative centres. The men's école normale at Auteuil has in fact now become a mixed college with almost as many women students as men. This change dates from the same year as that of the final abolition of full boarding provisions as the last pre-*baccalauréat*

¹ Cf. above, pp. 43-4, 47, 64

students moved into the professional course in 1972.² The école normale has also changed fundamentally in the types of students which now attend it:

We see side by side in the école normale, students fresh from secondary school entering the two-year professional course, qualified primary teachers taking part in in-service courses of six weeks' or three months' duration, teachers in one- and two-year courses preparing for teaching either in classes for handicapped children or in slow-learners classes, *remplaçants* on a one-year training course, student-teachers and practising teachers in the Centre for the preparation of teachers in the first cycle of secondary education [...] who will spend two or three years here. This is a grouping of exceptional variety, ideal for offering teachers at different levels the opportunity to get to know each other better and for facilitating professional interdisciplinarity as well as initial and in-service training.³

In fact this institution has virtually ceased to function as a traditional école normale, the numbers of students who will eventually become non-specialist instituteurs being less than half the total number. In keeping with this change, the organisation and the structures of the college have changed so that they resemble those of tertiary institutions. "The traditional title, école normale - that venerable label - is still in use, but it no longer covers the same realities as before."⁴ The atmosphere is one of fairly earnest and purposeful study, the facilities for practical work and for theoretical research are good (the library is probably the best in any of France's écoles normales, with over 42,000 volumes; the use of closed-circuit television is well developed), and students inevitably have enormously more freedom than was the case formerly. Nevertheless, this is an institution in which everyone is a *fonctionnaire*, a public servant, and a close and continuing attention is paid to the progress and behaviour of every student. The results of the events of May 1968 are particularly clear here, in the organisation of the "class councils" (*conseils de classe*)⁵. Each council includes two elected representatives of the class, the college doctor, the social worker (or the college nurse), and all the teachers concerned. Its chairman is the *directeur* or his deputy. The two tasks of these councils are:

² Details from the Carnet d'Accueil provided for new students at the Ecole Normale d'Auteuil, 1974-75 edition, p. II-4

³ *ibid.*, pp. I-1-2

⁴ *ibid.*, p. I-2

⁵ Cf. above, p. 214

- through discussion, to seek the most appropriate methods of work for the class, to provide for effective co-ordination of the various subjects, and to ensure the most effective results from the efforts of everyone; and
- in liaison with the students concerned, to establish a progress report on the work of each student.⁶

This style of "participation" in the activities of the institution was defined by the *Loi d'orientation* of 12 November 1968, and, in a relatively large école normale, requires formal organisation if it is to be effective. In the Auteuil école normale, with a total of more than 1200 students, it appears to have provided an effective form of liaison between them and the relatively large and diverse staff. In an institution which has lost its boarding facilities and its younger students, this is a particularly important gain. (There is also, as in all the écoles normales, a *conseil d'administration* under the chairmanship of the *directeur*, which includes among its twenty-four members four elected representatives of the students). It is of the large multi-purpose écoles normales like that at Auteuil that it is now possible to say with considerable truth that they "have passed resolutely from teaching at the secondary level to university teaching." That is, as its *directeur* claims, "a considerable mutation."⁷

PARIS: Ecole Normale d'Institutrices (Bd des Batignolles)

Established in the same year as the men's école normale, and offering courses to as many students in as wide a range of teaching areas, the Ecole Normale in the Bd des Batignolles nevertheless provides a marked contrast to it. The strength of the traditions of the *séminaire laïque* remains clear on this cramped, fully-enclosed site. The lack of facilities within the institution for effective individual study, preparation and research is startling. The library occupies a tiny space largely taken up with catalogues, staff desks and periodical stands; the collection is housed in glass-fronted cases around the walls; seating is available for a maximum of twenty students.⁸ In these circumstances, work with classes is almost inevitably limited to the most formal of lecture and discussion approaches.⁹ Despite these short-comings, the standard of entry

⁶ *Carnet d'Accueil*, op. cit., p. VI-3

⁷ *Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs de Paris: 1872-1972* (Coopérative de l'Ecole, 1972), p. 18

⁸ Cf. above, Figure 11, p. 89

remains high: in 1973, only one applicant in nine gained admittance to the first year of the professional course.¹⁰ The staff is well qualified and the *école annexe* provides excellent models of current classroom practice. Yet it seems unlikely that this *école normale* will be among the leaders in reform in teacher education; whereas at Auteuil one has the impression already of being in a tertiary institution, at Bd des Batignolles one feels immediately plunged back into the atmosphere of a well-run but very traditional senior secondary school.

STRASBOURG: Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs (Av. de la Forêt-Noire)

The Protestant men's *école normale* in Strasbourg is the oldest *école normale* in France.¹¹ The forbidding nature of its nineteenth-century façade would not lead one to expect other than a venerable and traditional institution operating there. Such is however not the case: this is one of the most impressive *écoles normales* in the country. Like the *école normale* at Auteuil, it is large and provides for the preparation of teachers at a number of levels.¹² The *directeur*, M. Pierre Chanut, has been extremely active in developing a close liaison with tertiary education and with the adapting of the traditions of the *école normale* to the needs of the immediate future.¹³ While much of his work has been concerned with the development of the course for *professeurs d'enseignement général de collège*, there is no doubt that, since his active interventions at the Caen and Amiens congresses, he has been a leader in the reform of the preparation of primary teachers also. While maintaining where possible the most positive of the activities of the traditional *écoles normales* - for example, the fine musical activities - he has created in his establishment a spirit of academic and professional progress which contrasts markedly with the atmosphere of some others. The proposed experimental linking of this *école normale* with the University of Strasbourg is of particular interest. The proposal

⁹ During a visit in February 1975, the writer was able to explain to a staff member the use of an overhead projector, a piece of equipment which she until then had never seen.

¹⁰ Statistiques des enseignements: le personnel enseignant (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Paris), 3.2, 1973, pp. 7, 11

¹¹ Cf. above, p. 45

¹² The Centre for P.E.G.C. has more students than are enrolled for primary teacher preparation.

¹³ Recent articles by him include: *La technologie et l'université*, in Cahiers Pédagogiques, June 1968; *La technologie éducative*, in

suggests the adaptation of the university *diplôme d'études universitaires générales* so that it makes adequate provision for preliminary studies for future teachers. The *diplôme* course would include three sections: the academic discipline or disciplines chosen for later teaching specialisation; education courses common to all (history and philosophy of education, psychology, psychopathology, group dynamics and characterology, sociology of education, and initiation into school and administrative law); and complementary studies, providing support to the specialised discipline chosen.¹⁴ Such a course is seen as initially available for secondary teachers but as indispensable ultimately for all primary teachers also.¹⁵ Chanut clearly recognises the need to reform the present "fractional distillation" which removes all the most gifted students from primary teacher preparation as they opt for positions higher on the "parrot ladder", higher in the present hierarchy of pedagogical posts.¹⁶ Such *directeurs* will inevitably be influential in the continuing reform of teacher education in France.¹⁷

DOUAI: Ecoles Normales d'Instituteurs et d'Institutrices

The two écoles normales in Douai (near Lille, in the north of France) are among the largest and most enterprising in France.¹⁸ There is a very active tradition of experiment and innovation in primary teacher education in this region¹⁹, and it is clear that these two écoles normales continue to provide a lead for this. Both establishments are concerned almost exclusively with the preparation of primary teachers (though the women's college has an interesting course for teachers of immigrant children²⁰). Both have experimented continuously with ways of organising practical teaching experience more effectively. At the men's école normale, a sequence of a new

Bulletin du S.N.E.Sup., February 1975; Projet d'un centre expérimental de formation des maîtres (with Braun, Lucien), May 1975 (duplicated document provided by the author).

¹⁴ Projet d'un centre expérimental de formation des maîtres, op. cit., p. 14

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 18

¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁷ Cf. esp. below, p. 330

¹⁸ Over 600 students were enrolled in initial training courses in the two écoles normales in 1975-76. Cf. Appendix 1.

¹⁹ Cf., for example, above, pp. 176-7

²⁰ See Enseignement de soutien aux enfants immigrés (duplicated report, Inspection Académique du Nord, Lille, 1976)

type has been tried. In Year I, a two-week audio-visual *stage* at the beginning of the year was followed by practical work at the *école normale* and preparation for a first practice session of eight weeks at *cours élémentaire* level; after a four-week "intersession", a second eight-week practice period was devoted to the *cours moyen*, and the year ended with a further "intersession", a single week in a *classe maternelle*, and a final period of short courses of various types. In Year II, a preparatory session led to eight weeks of practice with the *cours préparatoire*, considered to be the most difficult level for students, before the main *stage en situation* was undertaken. The latter was therefore later than in most *écoles normales* (with the attendant problem of taking over a class in mid-year). It was further broken into two sessions, each of five weeks, with a five-week break between the sessions for discussions at the *école normale*.²¹ At the women's *école normale*, a somewhat similar pattern was tried, but with four shorter practical sessions in Year I (of between four and six weeks), and the two sessions of the *stage en situation* separated by a total of nine weeks.²² It is planning of this kind - obviously undertaken meticulously in both these *écoles normales* - together with a very enlightened approach to staff-student relationships and a richly equipped series of classrooms and laboratories, which is typical of these establishments. The fact that the alternative methods practised in such situations are not always ultimately acceptable does not alter their importance for the system.

The well-produced handbook of the women's college includes a clear analysis of the syllabus in each subject of the course - the only such analysis seen in any of the *écoles normales* visited.²³ The lack of undue restrictiveness and the care to define content in easily understandable terms are perhaps typical of the care taken to involve students fully in their own education at this institution. It and its neighbour prove that such institutions can, in favourable circumstances, provide a fully viable educational experience for trainee primary teachers.

²¹ Details provided by the *directeur*

²² Details provided by the *directeur*

²³ Programme des différentes disciplines, in Carnet d'accueil (Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Douai, n.d.)

LILLE: Ecole Normale Mixte

This école normale is of recent foundation, having been established essentially to relieve the pressure on the two écoles normales at Douai in the early 1950's. The present buildings were completed in 1961.²⁴ Apart from the département of Bas-Rhin (where there are four écoles normales because of religious separation), the département of Nord is the only one to have more than two primary teacher training establishments. However, the number of primary teacher trainees is in fact small, Lille having developed specifically as a centre for the preparation of *professeurs d'enseignement général de collège* (for which, with over 400 students, it is the largest in the country). The site is a pleasant one, and functional buildings provide excellent facilities (including a well planned library and a self-service restaurant serving up to 600 students daily). The traditional atmosphere encountered in many of the écoles normales occupying buildings erected in the late nineteenth century is singularly lacking at Lille. Moreover, the high proportion of students who have studied or are studying at the University of Lille (having completed one or more years of university work before entering the école normale, or engaged in studies for the *D.E.U.G.*) creates a clear difference of attitude to academic achievement. Lille represents at present, perhaps, the closest equivalent to a *centre de formation départemental* of the type envisioned at the Amiens Congress and by various groups immediately after the May 1968 Student Revolution.²⁵

TOULOUSE: Ecole Normale d'Institutrices

The women's école normale at Toulouse is typical of the majority of the larger écoles normales in *chefs-lieux d'académie*. Founded in the 1880's, occupying buildings erected at that time, maintaining almost unconsciously many of the characteristics of the pre-war period, it is nevertheless active in seeking a new rôle in teacher education and aware of the need to transform both the physical facilities and the teaching methods at present in use. Like almost all the other larger écoles normales, this institution has acquired new tasks in teacher education: there is a centre for the preparation of teachers of

²⁴ Bulletin de rentrée - Ecole normale mixte de Lille (duplicated document, 1976), pp. 3-4; see also Ecole Normale de Lille (duplicated booklet, n.d.)

²⁵ See above, pp. 209-11, 218-19, 256

handicapped children and also a centre providing in-service courses for école normale lecturers. (Toulouse provided the first centre for teachers of handicapped children outside Paris in 1961). The building plan is absolutely typical of those provided in the nineteenth century and only modified since. A *cour d'honneur*, divided by a solid barrier from the street, contains the *loge* of the *concierge*. Beyond stands the principal building, in the form of the letter H. The main entry leads to the offices of the *directrice* and the *intendante* and to the staff common-room on one side, to the classrooms of the two first-year classes on the other. Beyond the offices lie the specialist rooms for art and music and the audiovisual centre, with its closed-circuit television system. In the remainder of this wing are the kitchens and the refectory. On the opposite side lie the remaining classrooms (for Year II), the science laboratories and the gymnasium. The upper floor, which formerly housed the dormitories, is now partly transformed into a library and documentation centre and partly serves as the centre for in-service courses for école normale lecturers. A park at the rear leads to two sets of classrooms; one of these comprises the two *écoles annexes* (one for primary classes and the other for pre-school classes), and the other is the small centre for the preparation of teachers of handicapped children and its associated school. A simple sports oval separates these two sets of buildings. The total number of staff is approximately twenty-five, of whom about fifteen are concerned with the professional course for future primary teachers. Admission to this école normale - an institution for girls in a major city - has been extremely competitive for many years: statistics published in the *Carnet d'accueil* show that in 1969 there were 590 applicants for 35 places, in 1970, 694 for 35 places, in 1971, 924 for 25 places, in 1972, 846 for 25 places, and in 1973, 748 for 25 places. Recruitment at Toulouse at the level of the *baccalauréat* was introduced in 1971; in 1972, there were 586 candidates for 20 places, and in 1973, 510 for 10 places.²⁶ As might be expected, the majority of the latter places are inevitably being gained by students who have already completed one or more years of study at a university.²⁷ Because the academic standard is relatively high, it is possible here, as in many other larger écoles normales,

²⁶ Carnet d'accueil - Ecole normale d'institutrices de Toulouse
(duplicated handbook, 1974-75), p. 14

²⁷ Cf. below, p. 329

to attempt to offer enrichment courses beyond the prescribed curriculum. The handbook gives the following details:

The school year 1973-74 saw the establishment of *activités par thèmes*. One afternoon of three hours per week in each year of the professional course was devoted to these. Groups of lecturers and students were constituted in accordance with the interest provoked for an inter-disciplinary study of subjects such as: the teacher-pupil relationship, failure in school, motivation, creativity, utilisation of audio-visual techniques, ancient civilisations, Occitan culture, etc...²⁸

RODEZ: Ecole Normale Mixte

Rodez is typical of the small, isolated *chefs-lieux de département* which are to be found particularly in the centre and south of the country. Rodez has a population of some 30,000 people, and lies huddled around its cathedral at the southern edge of the Massif Central. Formerly, it had two *écoles normales*, each small, and only a few hundred metres from each other. They have since 1974 been combined under one *directeur* but both buildings continue in use (a pattern that is now frequent in such cities²⁹). The number of students following the initial professional preparation courses in such *écoles normales* is small: at Rodez, in 1974-75, there were two first-year classes with a total of thirty-eight students and two second-year classes with a total of thirty.³⁰ The possibility of providing an effective environment for post-secondary study with such numbers is remote, and students at *écoles normales* of this type undoubtedly suffer in comparison with those in the larger cities. At Rodez, effective steps have been taken to consolidate on the one site as many resources as possible, however. In particular, a *centre départemental de documentation*³¹ has been installed in a vacated section of the former men's *école normale*, and its library, documentation centre and audio-visual resources are available to student-teachers. As increasing numbers of teachers come to the *écoles normales* for *recyclage* courses, and wish to spend at least part of their time in individual study and even research, such centres become of increasing importance. In such institutions, at the same time, one gets a strong impression of solidarity in support of the development of education in the local region. Although numbers may

²⁸ *Carnet d'accueil*, op. cit., p. 17

²⁹ Cf. above, Map 10, p. 260

³⁰ Other even smaller centres included (with approximate total enrolments in these two years in brackets): Guéret (37), Montauban

indicate that the maintenance of an independent institution is uneconomic in the smaller départements, this spirit compensates in large measure for the costs involved. At Rodez, under an enterprising *directeur*, the école normale has become much more than a training centre for future teachers: in co-operation with other members of the administration at the level of the département (*inspecteurs, directeur* of the *centre départemental de documentation* and heads of practising schools in particular), he has ensured that it can become the centre for educational development of all kinds for the local region. Regular newsletters give indication of the many work-shops, short courses, research projects and other activities carried on at the école normale.

FOIX: Ecole Normale Mixte

This tiny école normale in the foothills of the Pyrénées has sought a guarantee of its continued existence in attempts to provide a specialist course in addition to the normal professional preparation of primary teachers. Its plan for *stages inter-académiques* concentrating on problems of ecology within the framework of *classes vertes* and *classes de neige*³² was put forward in 1974-75 with the strong support of the *inspecteur d'académie* of the region.³³ It provides one example of the way in which écoles normales with small numbers of full-time students but ample accommodation and facilities can operate more economically (though it does not solve problems of isolation from effective study and research centres). In November 1974 plans were elaborated for sessions lasting six weeks intended for teachers who felt the need for detailed background preparation for the conduct of their *classes de neige*, particularly as far as the ecology of the Pyrénées region was concerned. Five such sessions per year were approved, each for a group of from ten to fifteen participants, three specifically concerned with winter activities and two with autumn activities. A detailed timetable providing a total of twenty-six hours of activities each week was drawn up. Basing their proposal

(45), Cahors (47), Ajaccio (49) and Foix (57). (The figures are for 1975-76; cf. Appendix 1).

³¹ Local centre for educational documentation

³² Special classes conducted in a suitable location (generally in former school premises or specially constructed buildings with simple accommodation) for children from an area inaccessible to country, mountain or seaside activities (*classes vertes, de neige, de mer*, respectively). Such classes are widely organised in France.

³³ Formation continue - classes vertes, classes de neige (duplicated brochure, Ecole Normale de Foix, 1974)

essentially on the "remarkable richness of the local milieu", they were able to suggest a wide range of ecological studies and a suitable variety of practical and sporting activities for the courses. The suitability of the under-used école normale was stressed: "Our establishment is installed in a five hectare park, the site of which is classified by the National Trust, dominating the city of Foix and facing the Pyrénées; the buildings are large and functional, the accommodation facilities ample, with individual sleeping quarters, and it is the unanimous opinion that the meals served are of excellent quality. [...] The library of the école normale is particularly well stocked."³⁴ Such careful preparation and publicity merited more than a local response, and the Minister of Education gave it his approval as a project at the level of the local *académie* in March 1975.³⁵

CHAMBERY: Ecole Normale d'Institutrices

ALBERTVILLE: Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs

These two single-sex institutions serve the prosperous département of Savoie. Savoie is one of several départements with teacher preparation colleges in two different towns some distance from each other.³⁶ Until 1968 it was of little importance whether the two écoles normales were situated near each other as they were in almost all cases single-sex and operated quite independently. But the loss of pre-baccalauréat classes and the abandonment of compulsory *internats* made the operation of two small separate écoles normales in the one area uneconomic, and even undesirable on social grounds. As we have seen, such écoles normales are being combined under one *directeur* or *directrice* when this becomes possible through resignation or transfer of staff.³⁷ In the case of Chambéry and Albertville, such a move will involve the abandonment of one of these two centres - which are some fifty kilometres apart - as well as some expansion on the site chosen.³⁸ The problem will be further compounded by the fact that the traditions of the two écoles normales in this département have been very different. Chambéry has remained close to the lines set out in the official *instructions*, its teaching is still formal, its

³⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 1-10

³⁵ Duplicated letter to the *recteur* of the *académie*, 19 March 1975, made available by the *inspecteur d'académie* (Ariège)

³⁶ The others are: Landes (Dax/Mont-de-Marsan), Pyrénées-Atlantiques (Lescar/Pau), Manche (St-Lô/Coutances), Haute-Savoie (Bonneville/Annecy), Loire-Atlantique (Nantes/Savenay), Deux-Sèvres (Parthenay/Niort), Aube (Troyes/Ste-Savine), Bas-Rhin (Catholic) (Strasbourg/

facilities fairly limited; but its standards are high and its research work in the area of modern mathematics (under the leadership of its *directrice*) of importance. It follows the national guide-lines for teaching practice, with eight weeks of school experience in the first year and three months for the *stage en situation* in the first term of the second year. At Albertville, on the other hand, there is comparatively little stress on theoretical or academic studies, but much attention is given to practical work of all types. The total amount of time spent by students in *stages* of various kinds during the two years is thirty-four weeks (i.e. almost half the total time available).³⁹ The *directeur* claims this is particularly appropriate for young men in a rural département. To adapt the two patterns to operate within a single institution will require considerable ingenuity, yet such changes are certainly in line with the current relative freedom to experiment granted to the écoles normales.

GRENOBLE: Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs

In contrast to the women's école normale in Grenoble, which occupies a gracious nineteenth century building near the city centre, the men's college is a modern four-storey structure on the main artery leading to the Olympic Village.⁴⁰ Its forward-looking policies are in keeping with its architecture. Grenoble is a rapidly growing centre with an active student population and a number of important research institutions. The men's école normale not unexpectedly has a high proportion of students who have already completed some university studies.⁴¹ However, its links with the city's universities are not close (in contrast, for example, with the situation in Strasbourg). Rather, it has aimed to develop as fully as possible

Sélestat), Haut-Rhin (Colmar/Guebwiller) and Yvelines (Versailles/St-Germain-en-Laye).

³⁷ Cf. above, Maps 9-10, p. 260

³⁸ Although, at St-Lô and Coutances, for example, one *directeur* heads the two écoles normales, which have remained distinct.

³⁹ Stages de formation professionnelle (duplicated document, October 1974; supplied by the *directeur*)

⁴⁰ The original building, a "decrepit, decaying mill", acquired by the département in 1873, was replaced in 1956-60 by a centre designed specifically as a regional école normale to cater equally for the preparation of primary teachers and of *professeurs d'enseignement général de collège*; as such, it was jointly financed by the département (45%) and the Ministry of Education (55%). See La Revue de l'Econome, December 1956, pp. 1866-7.

⁴¹ Cf. above, p. 295

the internal activities of the institution. This is a problem that has been faced by all the *écoles normales* as the *internat* system has been dismantled in the years since 1968. The establishment of some type of student association has often been attempted, and that at Grenoble - the *Foyer socio-éducatif* - is a good example of those that have proved successful. Its aims are made clear in the handbook of the *école normale*:

- to develop the collective and community life of the establishment while safeguarding the personal development of each student;
- to promote a sense of responsibility and prepare for civic life in a democracy;
- to maintain a climate of permanent dialogue between young people and adults;
- to develop the socio-educative life of the *école normale* by encouraging the participation of all in the various specialist cultural and leisure-time clubs [...];
- to offer opportunity for teamwork.⁴²

Administered by a committee which includes the *directeur* and some staff members, this *Foyer* has as co-ordinator a primary school teacher specially appointed for the purpose. As well as ensuring the smooth operation of the association itself, he is able to encourage contacts with the many societies in the city with similar aims (*Maison de la Culture, Maison de Jeunes et de la Culture*, other cultural clubs, and sporting bodies). Finance comes both from annual subscriptions and from profits made by the "co-operative" of the *école normale*. Such efforts ensure that something of the spirit of the boarding establishments of earlier years is retained: but it is evident that a different age-group, a more mobile community and major differences in organisational patterns prevent any pretence to the retention of the united *esprit de corps* which existed in the *écoles normales* before 1968.

BOURGES: *Ecole Normale Mixte*

This recently amalgamated *école normale* still occupies two sites, one at each side of the city centre, but has created mixed groups for most classes and uses each site as is most appropriate. Bourges is one of the *écoles normales* where active attention has been given to the need to develop practical research activities in liaison with practising

⁴² *Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Grenoble* (duplicated handbook, 1974-75 edition), pp. 14-15

teachers. Thus, while the normal *recyclage* sessions are organised, specific projects involving experienced teachers, école normale staff and one or more *inspecteurs départementaux* are also developed, particularly in the field of curriculum reform. Specifically, during 1974-76 there, considerable work was done on the development of new syllabuses in "enrichment subjects"⁴³, under the guidance of a staff member, Mlle Presle.⁴⁴ Such research has up till now been organised essentially on the basis of *ad hoc* needs and individual expertise. A clear realisation that this is one of the rôles which the écoles normales will be called on increasingly to fulfil is evident at Bourges and in a large number of other écoles normales.

Particular attention has been given also at Bourges to the preparation of students for effective practical observation during visits to *écoles annexes* and *classes d'application*. A double aim is perceived: to make students sensible to the problems of the teaching situation and to encourage the development of clearly defined educational philosophies. Two stages in the process are delineated: the period of search for models and the period of reflection. Carefully prepared suggestions for students, for lecturers and for *maîtres d'application* ensure that full use is made of the periods of study in the practising schools. And the co-operation of these three groups is effectively gained in a process seen as successful in proportion to the unity of aims and actions of all.⁴⁵

RENNES: Ecole Normale d'Institutrices

While offering the usual courses available in écoles normales situated in *chefs-lieux d'académie* (including the P.E.G.C. course), this école normale has developed in addition a specialist interest in comparative education. Regular liaison with the Reading College of Education in England, and regular visits of American students arranged by the *Institut Franco-Américain* have enabled *normaliennes* at Rennes to engage in comparative study of the education systems of the three countries as well as offering opportunities for foreign language practice and for cultural exchanges.⁴⁶ In association with this,

⁴³ See above, p. 5, note 14

⁴⁴ The new national syllabuses for primary classes in these subject areas were due for publication in 1977.

⁴⁵ Instructions concernant les stages d'observation (duplicated document issued by the *directeur*, 1975)

⁴⁶ Dossier de présentation de l'école normale et de son organisation (Ecole Normale d'Institutrices, Rennes), p. 10

research has been going on in association with the *Institut National de Recherche et de Documentation Pédagogiques* into the teaching of English as a foreign language to children at both the pre-school and the primary levels.⁴⁷ The provision in this way of centres of specific theoretical and practical research in one discipline (or in a cross-disciplinary area) is of importance if the *écoles normales* are to develop beyond their former restricted rôle of teacher preparation and become local pedagogical institutes. At Rennes, under the guidance of an enthusiastic *directrice*, such a centre is clearly fulfilling an important developmental rôle.

TOURS: Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs (Fondettes)

Situated well away from the centre of the city (Fondettes is a village some five kilometres downstream from Tours), this *école normale* has suffered more than most from the loss of its *internat*. It is clear that as soon as students were able to find independent accommodation in the city they did so, and deserted the *école normale* each day as soon as their classes were over. The loss simultaneously of younger students, with the abolition of pre-*baccalauréat* classes, and the increase in the proportion of adult students, especially in the courses for *P.E.G.C.* and in in-service courses, served further to emphasise this change in the life of the institution. Those concerned for the development of extra-curricular and sporting activities lament the change⁴⁸, but see little prospect of recovery. The *école normale* at Fondettes offered a limited range of clubs to students in 1974-75: a photography club, an audio-visual club, a theatre club and a film society. In the previous year the film society had started with élan and then become "extremely fluctuating", and the theatre club viewed "with a certain bitterness" the lack of support for its efforts.⁴⁹ It is obvious that small institutions situated away from the centre of a city will continue to find the problem of "*animation*" an impossible one to solve, and, since they inevitably also lack satisfactory facilities for independent academic work (except perhaps in limited fields), the continued development of such institutions seems likely to be very difficult. At Tours, the solution may be found in the consolidation of the work in one larger *école normale*,

⁴⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁸ Bulletin de rentrée - E.N.G. Fondettes (duplicated handbook, 1974-75 edition), p. 12

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 12-13

situated more centrally and preferably within easy access of university and municipal resource centres.

CHATEAUXROUX: Ecole Normale Mixte

Châteauroux may be regarded as typical of the large number of middle-sized écoles normales, situated in regional centres with populations ranging from 40,000 to 80,000.⁵⁰ There is now generally only one *directeur* or *directrice d'école normale* in such centres, and in most cases where there were formerly écoles normales on two separate sites some effort has been made to rationalise their use. For these écoles normales the problem of effective development is a continuing one. At Châteauroux, the former women's école normale has become the main site, the men's college being much less attractive and less well maintained and more remote from the city's centre. With a total of some 100 students in the two years of the professional course, it is possible to form two classes in each year with appropriate differentiation of options between them. In addition, the usual in-service courses are offered, both during the period when second-year students are engaged in their *stage en situation* and (for shorter courses) at other times of the year. There is therefore a complex blend of students and practising teachers in attendance at most times of the year, and most staff members have contact with both groups as well as with activities in schools (the *écoles annexes* and *d'application* and also schools used for the *stages en situation* are all visited). The staff includes at least two specialists in each of the main study disciplines, and adequate provision has been made in the establishment for most types of practical activity as well as for laboratory and television work. Yet, in a city like this, which has no university or university college, whose public library facilities are limited, and which is relatively isolated from other centres of post-secondary study, one can only remain aware of the limited nature of what can be offered to young students. The advantages of study in cities such as Orléans or Tours (each about 120 kilometres away) are very great for such young people (and the academically able

⁵⁰ There are many such écoles normales: Agen, Albi, Angoulême, Annecy, Arras, Auxerre, Avignon, Beauvais, Blois, Bourg-en-Bresse, Bourges, Carcassonne, Châlons-sur-Marne, Chambéry, Charleville-Mézières, Chartres, Evreux, Mâcon, Melun, Périgueux, Poitiers, Quimper, Roche-sur-Yonne, La Rochelle, St-Brieuc, Tarbes, Troyes, Valence, Vannes.

undoubtedly often escape there to pursue university studies or to prepare for secondary teaching). The advantages of more intense contact with staff and of uncrowded working conditions are not sufficient to outweigh the many disadvantages.

GARCHES: *Ecole Normale Mixte*

Garches lies in the outer suburban ring of Paris, some twelve kilometres west of the centre of the city. It houses for the time being the école normale for the newly created département of Hauts-de-Seine.⁵¹ Some details of the proposals for a new series of buildings for the permanent école normale of the département (at Antony) are given elsewhere in this thesis.⁵² Meanwhile, despite the enthusiastic administration of the *directeur*, the shortcomings of an establishment occupying two separate sites, both intended for a different purpose, are manifest. The two hundred students are divided between the sites according to their courses, the first-year group being separated from the rest for virtually all their work. Every effort has been made to provide adequate facilities for a wide range of activities - art, science, photography, audio-visual work, manual arts - and there is clear enthusiasm for these, despite the fact that students come from a widely scattered area. A small library of some 4000 books and an annexe providing a selection of school textbooks and a good range of periodicals are located on the main site. But such a temporary establishment only serves to emphasise the enormous problems posed by the rapid growth of the départements surrounding the city of Paris and the need to make provision for trained teachers for a rapidly increasing number of pre-schools and primary schools. For many years, this task was performed either by the two écoles normales of the city itself or by the two old-established écoles normales at Versailles and St-Germain-en-Laye. The temporary institution at Garches has to some extent served as an experimental college, where new proposals for the use of resource materials of all kinds and for the integration of certain subject areas can be tried, and from which concrete proposals for new buildings can emerge. Unfortunately, little attention has been given to creating means of access to the very rich resources of many kinds available within the Paris region and to the possible development of close relationships of many kinds with

⁵¹ Cf. above, pp. 259-62

⁵² Cf. below, pp. 339-41

institutions of similar types which are within easy reach. The *Ecole Normale Supérieure* at St-Cloud, for example, is only a few minutes away from the present temporary buildings.⁵³ Fortunately, plans for the new école normale for this département (and for others in the Paris periphery) are of such a nature that future development as fully effective tertiary institutions is not impossible.

. . . .

This brief survey of some characteristic primary teacher preparation institutions has emphasised the many changes that have occurred in the relatively short period since 1968 while underlining the many problems which remain to be solved. While there is every reason for optimism that the écoles normales will continue to prosper in their reformed rôle as local centres for initial training, for continuing education, and for research, it is clear that the majority of them will find it increasingly difficult to offer facilities commensurate with the new tasks imposed on them. In particular, problems of effective resource provisions - libraries; film, videotape and sound collections; local and specialist research materials - will continue to arise in all the smaller centres. However, all the écoles normales which were visited between April 1975 and January 1977 were making active attempts to find suitable activities - in some cases, of a quite individual nature - for the teaching community which they served. The relative isolation in which many of them had existed prior to 1968 had largely gone, and contacts were being sought with other post-secondary educational establishments - even, in some cases, with the universities. The prospect of further diversification in every aspect of primary teacher preparation can only continue to provide challenge for all the écoles normales: the immediate future is likely to reveal to what extent they will be able to meet the challenge successfully.

. . . .

⁵³ The fact that an école normale is a secondary establishment and is financed partly by the département, while an *école normale supérieure* is a national establishment, operating as a *grande école*, financed wholly by the Ministry of Education, makes any practical co-operation impossible in this case.

De nouveaux statuts surgissent à l'horizon.

- Jacques Gilbert-Collet, 1976

SECTION 8

THE WAY AHEAD

This thesis has had three main aims: to examine the background to primary teacher education in France, to describe the patterns of primary teacher preparation as they existed in the period of twenty years between the end of World War II and the Student Revolution of 1968, and especially to attempt to account for and to describe the principal changes which have occurred in these patterns since 1968. We have seen that primary education in France has been characterised by a highly structured organisation, conservative in its approach to teaching, placing stress on formal knowledge and hard work, deeply conscious of the hierarchy of professions and of its rôle as guardian of a continuing secular tradition. For long, primary education existed quite separately from a clearly different and quite independent secondary system. The change in France to a pattern in which primary schooling was common to all and preceded a compulsory period of secondary schooling for all pupils dates only from the end of the 1950's. The provision of teachers for the watertight primary sector of education was the traditional task of the écoles normales, the first of which date from long before the introduction of compulsory schooling in France. These institutions had in the period up to the beginning of World War II provided all but a small proportion of the teachers for the pre-schools and primary schools of the nation. After World War II a variety of problems beset the écoles normales, and in general they failed to respond to the enormous new demands being placed on them, becoming slowly less and less effective in their task of teacher preparation while preparing also a steadily diminishing proportion of the total number of primary teachers. Proposals for reform were occasionally made, though only in the 1960's were these of sufficient thoroughness to merit widespread discussion. The two important congresses at Caen and Amiens in the mid-1960's brought together most of the the more serious criticisms and put forward coherent plans for change. Their propositions were overtaken by the

upheaval of 1968 before there had been a chance to assess them fully. But the major changes they had proposed were quickly instituted after 1968 in so far as this was possible without disturbing other parts of the educational structure and in particular without affecting the secondary schools or their highly hierarchised staff and their traditional paths of preparation. By 1975, institutions very different from the earlier *écoles normales* had emerged, catering for a much wider group of teacher trainees, both in initial and in continuing education courses, much more open to current educational thinking, much more aware of their central task of preparing educationists for a rapidly changing school system.

The way was in fact prepared quite effectively in these half dozen years for further, potentially much more radical, reform in primary teacher preparation in France. The example of other countries had already for the first time affected the thinking of educationists working in this area. The reform of the universities carried out after 1968 had influenced the growth of pedagogical studies at all levels. The altered nature of the teaching force in the comprehensive four-year secondary schools had caused a reconsideration of patterns of preparation for teachers at this level. Only the conservative approach of the succession of Ministers of Education following Edgar Faure - Olivier Guichard, Joseph Fontanet and René Haby - and fear of the financial repercussions of possible reforms had prevented the quick adoption of new solutions to a problem seen by most educationists as of increasingly crucial importance. Moreover, comparative stability in other areas of the educational structure - the reform of the universities and the development of the *instituts universitaires de technologie*, the completion of the provision of *collèges d'enseignement général* and of the reform of secondary curricula - and stability in the demographic sense - there was no immediate increase in numbers of children entering primary school in prospect - enabled discussion and planning to be concentrated at least to some extent on other, relatively neglected, parts of the system, and in particular on teacher education. The reforms proposed by René Haby in 1975 did not, it is true, place any emphasis on this area in their initial form, but it is clear that once the reforms are put into effect the question of teacher preparation will become of ever increasing importance. The time has clearly come to consider further major reorganisation of the *écoles normales*, of the courses they provide and of the provision of teacher education at all levels

in France.

What rôle might the *écoles normales* of the future have? It seems unlikely that their distribution on the basis of one or two in each *département* could or should be altered: once consolidation of two small institutions into one larger one is completed in all of the *chefs-lieux* except those which are the centres of *académies*, they will in most cases undoubtedly develop as the major non-university post-secondary educational centres in those cities. Their work in providing initial preparation for teachers and *recyclage* for practising teachers will undoubtedly develop further, as will their participation in research at all levels of education. They will provide initial preparation for all intending to teach at the pre-school and primary levels. The institutions in the *chefs-lieux d'académie* - and perhaps some others - will continue to provide preparation for *professeurs d'enseignement général de collège*. Provision will continue to be made in these *écoles normales* also for various other groups of specialist teachers.

But the existing dichotomy between these groups of teachers and the remainder - the academically highly qualified subject specialists in the *lycées* and *collèges*, the teachers of art, of music and of physical education at all levels, and all the teachers of technical subjects - will not in this way be removed. The question of relative status is of such long standing, and at present so difficult of solution in the eyes of all concerned, that any rapid reform is clearly impossible. Yet ultimately the aim will surely be to provide a unified profession, uniting all primary and secondary teachers, and recognising their common characteristics rather than their differences. The question of status is complex because it is not only a political and financial problem - though these aspects of it are in themselves of almost insurmountable difficulty - but also a question of social attitudes. Only gradually, given a favourable political and sociological approach, will the nation gradually be persuaded that primary and secondary teachers may be regarded as belonging to one profession. Meanwhile, however, much is likely to be achieved by bringing the professional preparation of *instituteurs* and that of other teachers as closely together as possible.

This would almost certainly involve the inclusion of at least one year of university studies - and probably of two, so that the first university qualification (the *D.E.U.G.*) could be obtained - in the

initial training of all instituteurs. This would approximately equate their academic studies with those at present provided for *professeurs de collèges d'enseignement général*.¹ Simultaneously it is likely that it would be necessary to add an additional year of initial training to that provided for *certifiés*, so that while the first group were four-year trained the latter would be five-year trained. The cost of the first step would be considerable - the difference in initial salaries is approximately 16%², and the costs for the additional staff required in the universities and perhaps in the *écoles normales* would further increase the differential; that of the second would be likely to be as great. These are essentially the proposals made by the sub-commissions of the Commission for Teacher Education set up in 1968 by Edgar Faure.³ They would result in closer unification of the teachers in the primary schools and the *collèges*, but would leave the *agrégés* - teaching almost exclusively in the *lycées* - as an élite group possessing a prestige based on a highly competitive examination with no pedagogical component. The retention of this separate group of teachers (possibly with more appropriate pedagogical preparation⁴, and with provision for those seeking it of special leave to prepare the examinations giving access to it) seems inevitable in the short term and may be regarded as a positive advantage in terms of the overall image of the teaching profession. The *école normale* would under such circumstances become a professional school, providing initial courses in teacher education, two years in length, for all teachers except *agrégés*, and in-service courses for all teachers. The development of the latter seems assured already for instituteurs, as both a right and an obligation; it would be essential to ensure that similar provisions were made for all those (including the *agrégés*) teaching at the secondary level. The *école normale* would equally become - as is already beginning to be the case in many centres - an active organisation for practical pedagogical research, and would in this

¹ Cf. above, p. 289

² i.e. the difference between the salaries for index 211 and index 251, the first-year rungs respectively for *instituteur* and for *professeur de collège d'enseignement général*; see, for example, *Code Soleil* (S.U.D.E.L., Paris), Section 651, for details of salary scales.

³ See above, pp. 215-7

⁴ *Agrégés* are at present required only to complete some pedagogical training during their first year of teaching; cf. Majault, Joseph: *L'Enseignement en France* (McGraw-Hill, Maidenhead, 1973), p. 82

regard work in close liaison with the universities.⁵

In turn, such reforms would further reinforce the already obvious trend towards a different level of recruitment of *normaliens*, both academic and socio-economic. The survey of students in some *écoles normales* given earlier⁶ provided clear evidence that significant change was under way, and this was confirmed in conversations with a number of *directeurs* and *directrices*. Particularly in cities where there is a university, there are already large numbers of university students seeking transfer into an *école normale* at the end of one or more years of academic study.⁷ Recruitment will henceforth take place exclusively at the post-*baccalauréat* level⁸, and the *écoles normales* will lose their last, tenuous links with academic secondary education. The competition is likely to become more and more intense as more and more candidates attempt to gain a steadily smaller number of places (or at best a more or less unchanging number) over the next few years.⁹ The fact that so many will sit the special entry examination after completing one or more years of tertiary study will tend further to raise the standard. The examination itself, with its tests of essay writing, scientific exposition, oral exposé and mechanical explanation¹⁰, was last defined by the *Arrêté* of 7 June 1946, and is perhaps in need of revision. The results of the *baccalauréat* examination itself ought also perhaps to play a part in the final decision to admit a student. In particular, the course followed by the student, whether essentially literary (Sections A, B) or scientific (Section C, D), must affect the quality of the work done in the *école normale*. A tendency to assume that only students with a literary background should apply must

⁵ The rôle of the *unités d'enseignement et de recherche* in educational studies in the universities requires particular study so that the work of these centres can be extended and fitted into the total pattern of teacher education in the most effective way, while ensuring that theoretical research in the various education disciplines at this level is stimulated and fully developed. Details of the current courses were conveniently set out for 1970-1 in Juif, Paul and Dovero, Fernand: *Guide de l'étudiant en sciences pédagogiques* (P.U.F., Paris, 1972), pp. 183-199.

⁶ See above, pp. 291-305

⁷ For example, in 1975-76, *directeurs* and *directrices* indicated that the proportion at Lille was as high as 60%, at Grenoble (men), 52%, at Versailles (men), approximately 50%, and at Paris (women), "well over 50%".

⁸ i.e. the pattern of recruitment at entry to the *classe de seconde* for a substantial number of applicants (who then completed their secondary studies as bursary-holders in *lycées*) will be abandoned. Cf. *Education*, 26 February 1976, p. 17.

⁹ Cf. Figure 4, above, p. 36

¹⁰ See above, pp. 96, 227

clearly be opposed. The actual school record of the student ought also undoubtedly to be taken into consideration, as was suggested by the Congress of the *Syndicat Général de l'Education Nationale* in 1974.¹¹ Some form of interview has also been suggested as desirable; this is perhaps less essential than a careful consideration of reports from the applicant's teachers, possibly coupled with interviews where thought necessary.¹² The socio-economic level of applicants seems very likely to be changing quite rapidly at present. The post-*baccalauréat* recruitment together with the increase in numbers recruited after university studies make such a change seem almost inevitable. The results, in the long term, will be of considerable importance, if this is so. The present distribution of *normaliens* is probably an almost exact reflection of the distribution of the whole community in socio-economic classes¹³: this is undoubtedly a desirable state of affairs in a profession which deals with the whole range of the population. A change which caused the distribution to be biased towards the upper socio-economic levels would lead also to changes in teaching styles and in the whole community attitude towards primary education. Although it is undoubtedly true that there was a noticeable evolution during the early years of this century (and perhaps before), the fairly sudden change which now seems likely needs careful study if the traditional qualities of primary education in France are not to be lost.

The question of suitability for teaching has until now had little consideration in recruiting students for the *écoles normales*. Proposals have from time to time been made for possible early informal practice with groups of children and for possible probationary periods. Suggestions for some form of pre-vocational testing have also occasionally been made.¹⁴ It would seem that the long period of bonding which is likely to remain a part of the system ought to include

¹¹ Congrès de Clermont-Ferrand - les écoles normales en 1975, in *Syndicalisme Universitaire*, 7 February 1974, p. 18

¹² An experimental approach of this type was in use at Strasbourg in 1973; it took into account: (a) the applicant's school record; (b) and interview, to determine "culture, orientation and motivation"; (c) a group dynamics session (eight to ten days); and (d) the results of the entry examination. See *Former des Maîtres*, October 1973, p. 14

¹³ Cf. above, pp. 295-6

¹⁴ Cf. particularly suggestions made at the Caen and Amiens Congresses; see above, pp. 192, 201-2, 207

at least the opportunity to withdraw without penalty during the early part of the course if the student (or perhaps a suitable staff panel) feels strongly that a wrong choice of vocation has been made.

The lengthening and rearranging of the content of the teacher preparation course would undoubtedly simplify some of these problems. One should consider both the immediate prospect of an increase in the length of the course for instituteurs to three years and the longer-term prospect of a further additional year for all primary and secondary teachers. Several possibilities have been suggested for the addition of a third year: that a first year of purely university academic studies be provided, that provision for some academic specialisation be made within the *écoles normales*, that the third year take the form of guided full-time school experience with appropriate opportunities for return to the training institution. This third suggestion was discussed widely in the period 1970-1975¹⁵ and was generally regarded by both staff in the *écoles normales* and by instituteurs themselves (through their unions) as an unacceptable proposal. It would have had the advantage (in terms of ease of implementation) that no change in salary structures would have been required and no substantial additions to the staffing or equipping of the *écoles normales* would have been needed. It might nevertheless have been a first step towards a more radical reform. It now seems more likely that a third year (at least) of full-time studies will be instituted, and the arguments will revolve around the way in which this can best be done. The proposals made in 1970 by a group of educational psychologists in Bordeaux might be considered as a viable pattern: these involved the provision of a special first university diploma (a *diplôme universitaire d'études psychopédagogiques*) similar to other first university diplomas of that time¹⁶, with a single common study (pedagogy) for all and a series of options, both educational and general, followed by a third year leading to a *licence d'enseignement*.¹⁷ But it is much more probable that the alternative of one year of studies "*à prédominance universitaire*"¹⁸ followed by

¹⁵ Cf. above, p. 245, and the details of the Haby Reform proposals, below, pp. 341-3

¹⁶ The two separate titles of the first cycle diplomas (*études littéraires* and *études scientifiques*) have since been replaced by the single title: *diplôme d'études universitaires générales*.

¹⁷ Rumeau, Jean: Un seul titre - enseignant, in *Education*, 3 February 1972, pp. 12-13

two years centred on the pedagogical work of the écoles normales will be adopted. The content of this first year of university studies would need to be considered with care. The present general diplomas are available in arts, science, economics and law, and each is made up of a number of *unités de valeur* in a restricted range of subjects. If pedagogical studies are to remain the preserve of the écoles normales for all primary school teachers, and if these studies are postponed until the second year, there is little difficulty in setting out appropriate requirements in terms of first-year university courses. It would seem desirable to encourage the study in some depth during this time of a subject appropriate for primary school teaching. It would be important to ensure that the student could continue university studies at a later stage (to complete the *diplôme*, the *licence* and the *maîtrise*) either as additional qualifications for primary teaching or in preparation for teaching at another level. If some pedagogical studies are to be included in the first year - or if some preliminary practice teaching is to be allowed for - appropriate modifications will be required, and these might be quite difficult to obtain without affecting the overall pattern of university studies. The ensuing two years would consist essentially of a modified form of the present two-year course leading to the *certificat de fin d'études normales*.¹⁹ The next stage of reform would involve the addition of a second year of university studies, leading to the *D.E.U.G.* The question of adapting the university course to allow for some pedagogical studies and some practical experience would at that stage become of great importance: there is widespread consensus that these aspects of teacher preparation should not be left until the third year, both because the student is left for too long without opportunity to check his own likely professional competence and because contact between the student and the staff of the école normale is too long delayed. The inclusion of at least one strictly pedagogical (and practical) *unité de valeur* would provide a possible solution, but would certainly face attack from the universities as not being appropriate for inclusion as part of their studies. Two years of university specialisation would also lead to considerable

¹⁸ The phrase was used in 1969 by Marcel Bataillon; see *Apprendre à enseigner, un entretien avec Marcel Bataillon*, Marc-André Bloch, François Walter, in *Education*, 27 November 1969, p. 16

¹⁹ The examination for the *certificat de fin d'études normales* was substantially revised in 1969 and 1971. Cf. above, pp. 247-9

pressure for at least some specialisation in teaching at the primary level, and might considerably alter the approach to the curriculum at that stage.

Such projected changes also raise important questions concerning the methods of study adopted and the provision to be made for them in the *écoles normales* themselves. The present "provisional" course of study is essentially that devised for groups engaged in the "Leif experiment" and has been due for revision for some time.²⁰ It is typical of curricula which endeavour to cover an encyclopaedic range of knowledge and skills in a short period of time. In general it has been used as a guide for staff in the *écoles normales* rather than as an exact and prescriptive document. However, despite a number of important differences from earlier curricula, it reflects in the main the traditional approach to the training of the *normalien* in the period prior to the 1968 Student Revolution. Its successor will undoubtedly be very different, both in content and in proposed methods of study and assessment: M. Joseph Fontanet was already promising a "basic renovation of the content of the education given in the *écoles normales*" in 1973²¹, and M. Joseph Leif indicated in 1975 that the completion of the preparation of new courses was imminent.²²

The central discipline of the revised course is likely to remain "*psycho-pédagogie*", a discipline which has been the subject of much dissatisfaction already.²³ Its combination of education disciplines is such as to make it almost impossible for one lecturer to present it effectively, and it has generally had a very philosophical bias because of the initial training of most of those teaching it. A good deal has been written since 1968 on the "nature, sense and necessity" of the lecturer's task in this subject.²⁴ The absence of real unity in the subject matter at present prescribed - educational philosophy, child and adolescent psychology and social anthropology - makes it

²⁰ Cf. above, pp. 182-3

²¹ Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale (Imprimerie Nationale, Paris), 1973, p. 1741 (5 June)

²² Personal communication to the writer, 20 June 1975

²³ See above, pp. 242-3

²⁴ See, in particular, detailed articles in the journal of the S.N.P.E.N.: Fouilloud, Colette: *Le professeur de psycho-pédagogie dans les E.N.*, in Former des Maîtres, October 1973, pp. 19-22, and Cousquer, J.C.: *Misère dans la psycho-pédagogie ou psycho-pédagogie dans la misère*, and Ravoux, Jean-Philippe: *Réponse à une interrogation sur la [...] psycho-pédagogie dans les écoles normales*, in Former des Maîtres, February 1974, pp. 8-14

inevitable that the course is divided into segments and taught with varying skill according to the individual lecturer's predispositions. There is clearly a case for a new approach to this subject, either by acknowledgement of the differences between the three main study areas and provision for the training of appropriate staff for each, or by the establishment of a team-teaching approach. The latter might well prove the more rewarding in the long run, though more difficult of achievement in the immediate future. In particular, there is a clear need for more attention to the specific discipline of psychology - a need recognised by many *directeurs* and *directrices*, as well as most lecturers in *psycho-pédagogie* with whom the matter was discussed in 1975.

The remainder of the course will perhaps be revised considerably to give great weight to the areas of literacy and numeracy, and to provide more effectively for a degree of specialisation by the provision of a series of optional studies. The work in methodology - with its close attention to the primary school syllabuses and to the official *instructions* - is unlikely to change materially; nor is the use of the *écoles annexes* both as providers of "model lessons" and as centres for experiment in teaching methods: for both these purposes, they seem admirably suited. The rôle of the head of the *école normale* as dispenser of wisdom concerning school legislation might well remain, but the former stress on professional ethics (*la morale professionnelle*) seems certain to disappear (where it has not done so in fact already). Optional academic studies may be of two types: if the first year of the course (or, *a fortiori*, the first two years) has been devoted substantially to university studies, these studies might well be further advanced; alternatively, supporting studies seen as specially relevant for the level of teaching proposed might be offered. In either case, both staffing and facilities in the *écoles normales* would in many cases need substantial upgrading. Such upgrading will be all the more essential as methods of study evolve.

The inclusion of regular in-service education courses for all pre-school and primary teachers - and, no doubt, shortly also for teachers in the *collèges* - in the work of the *écoles normales* has already resulted in reconsideration of teaching methods, with less reliance on the lecture approach and more on individual study, seminar participation and group activities of all types. These imply, in particular, effective resource centres in all *écoles normales*, with appropriate research areas. Such facilities do not at present exist

in any. While considerable work has been done in many institutions to provide modern accommodation and refectory areas, there seems little evidence at present of a realisation of the great expansion that is urgently required in the provision of libraries.²⁵ One obvious way in which immediate improvement could be made in many towns would be to combine the library facilities of *centres régionaux de documentation pédagogique* (and *centres départementaux*, as they are created) with those of the *écoles normales*.²⁶ The combining of two *écoles normales* in smaller centres also enables consolidation of collections in these cases. The faster the change in teaching approach, the more there is attention to in-service education, the more the *écoles normales* become responsible for pedagogical studies for secondary as well as primary school teachers, the more urgent will be the need for the development of media centres for them.

Flexibility and individuality in the approach to teacher preparation has become much more marked in the *écoles normales* in the post-1968 period. The very fact that no new syllabus of studies and no new *instructions* were issued, but that lecturers were encouraged to use the current syllabuses as no more than a basis for their work, has meant that a wide variety of approaches has developed. This has perhaps been most noticeable in the area of *psycho-pédagogie*. In this and other areas, the staffs of the *écoles normales* often lead in developing a more flexible approach to the individual needs of students than has generally been the case in French education at any level in the past. On the other hand, and for this very reason, many staff members in the *écoles normales* are inexperienced in adapting a syllabus to specific needs and the result has sometimes been a very incomplete or biased approach to a subject area.²⁷ It is no doubt desirable that each *école normale* should be encouraged to retain some individuality in this matter, having regard at the same time to specific needs of the area which it serves (whether mainly rural or mainly urban, whether within easy contact of other tertiary institutions or relatively remote), while still maintaining a general

²⁵ Cf., however, the plans for the new *école normale* at Antony (Hauts-de-Seine); see below, p. 340

²⁶ This has happened in several *centres départementaux*, e.g. Chambéry and Rodez, but not in any of the larger *centres régionaux*.

²⁷ One of many examples was the course prepared by a lecturer in *psycho-pédagogie* at Annecy devoted almost entirely to the writings of Illich and intended for students in the first year of teacher preparation.

uniformity in the major areas treated. As early as June 1969, members of the *S.N.P.E.N.* were in fact claiming "a greater degree of freedom in determining the organisation of the content of the teaching in the professional preparation year;"²⁸ in the period since, they would seem to have gained substantially what they were requesting.

The main area, however, where very great freedom to experiment and to adapt has existed has been that of in-service courses. The organisation of these courses so that practising teachers who are to participate have a preliminary opportunity to suggest matters they wish to consider and to choose from a range of options has resulted in a multitude of interesting approaches. The staffs of the *écoles normales* have found themselves constantly challenged to tackle topics in new ways, ways have been found to integrate practical experience and theory, new teaching materials have been developed and tested in many areas. On the other hand, it is clear that in some cases there has been a lack of effective co-operation between the participants and a lack of care in preparing for the courses, so that feelings of frustration and of time-wasting have developed. Further progress within this generally liberal pattern seems certain. The publication of regular reports with details of organisation and of course development has resulted in a great deal of worth-while information being available to the staffs of all the *écoles normales*²⁹; the opportunity for preliminary training and for in-service work for members of these staffs further ensures a widespread understanding of the tasks involved.³⁰ This aspect of the work of the primary teacher training colleges will undoubtedly serve as a basis for the introduction of in-service courses for teachers in the secondary and perhaps the upper-secondary schools in due course.

Related to this development is the diversification of approaches to the future rôle of the *instituteur* as new types of organisation are developed in the schools. Experimental work with "open-plan" primary schools and with team-teaching both within the traditional framework and outside it³¹ - some at least under the direct supervision

²⁸ Enseignement supérieur et écoles normales, in Former des Maîtres, September-October 1969, p. 6

²⁹ Cf. above, p. 282

³⁰ Cf. above, pp. 284-7, and below, pp. 337-9

³¹ Such experimentation has been quite widespread in France; for a full bibliography for the post-war period, see Van Quang, Jean-Pierre:

of lecturers and *inspecteurs primaires* working in the *écoles normales* - has resulted in much discussion of ways of preparing teachers to participate more effectively in the educational process. The formerly inviolable belief in the *instituteur* as a "generalist" is for the first time being questioned, and discreet proposals for the preparation of some specialist primary teachers in areas such as music, art, physical education and foreign language have been made. The *S.N.P.E.N.* proposed in 1970 that the professional studies course should be amended so that, while a *tronc commun* for all was retained (French, mathematics, physical education), an "*option approfondie*" was available in "each subject applicable in pre-school or primary teaching, for example: artistic expression, environmental studies, foreign language."³² Similar proposals had been made five years earlier by a lecturer at the *Ecole Normale* in Caen.³³ While still opposed by the majority of staff members, and officially by the Ministry³⁴, it would appear that changes in this area will be made in response to the needs of the schools.

Such regular reconsideration of the rôle to be played by the *instituteur* and of the consequent need for adaptation in the professional preparation patterns will be further encouraged as the courses of training for the staff members of the *écoles normales* develop fully. These courses were first made available in 1971.³⁵ Discussions in 1976 with the *Directeur* of the initial training course showed clearly that this is an aspect of education in France which is likely to develop considerably over the next few years. The present course is offered at the *Centre National de Formation des Professeurs d'Ecole Normale* (attached to the *Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs* in Paris); in 1976, this *Centre* had a staff of five and an enrolment of thirty-five students. Recruitment is from applicants holding either the *agrégation* or the *certificat d'aptitude à l'enseignement secondaire* who have already been accepted for a lecturing position in an *école normale*. The *Centre* also provides an initial orientation

Sciences et technologie de l'éducation (Casterman, Paris, 1974), pp. 144-149, 203-211

³² Jolibert, Josette and Haremza, Jean: *Les Travaux de la Commission Pédagogique*, in *Former des Maîtres*, December 1970, p. 13

³³ Touyarot, Charles: *Réflexions sur le travail*, in *Education Nationale*, 7 January 1965, pp. 12-13

³⁴ The curriculum of 6 June 1969 still remains the official guide to studies; cf. above, pp. 240-1

³⁵ Cf. above, pp. 285-6

for those appointed as *inspecteurs départementaux*. The main course has three aims: to provide didactic training, to introduce students to the work of the primary schools, and to provide inter-disciplinary studies in a team situation. The initial period of studies is provided in common with the *inspecteurs départementaux*. It is based on a series of visits to primary schools in the départements to which those involved will later be appointed, and includes the organisation of an in-service course for practising primary teachers. The second term is devoted to two periods of theory work, the first especially concerning work in kindergarten and primary classes and the second work in the initial training of instituteurs. These two sessions are divided by a short further period of observation, generally in the école normale to which appointment has been made. The major part of the third term is devoted to the preparation of a dissertation on a topic agreed on in advance (entitled "*travail sur contrat*"). This paper is normally devoted to a problem of practical pedagogy, and involves liaison either with classes in primary schools or with students in an école normale.³⁶

The organisation of the special in-service course mentioned above was the subject of considerable discussion, and the proposals made for it in 1976 were set out in a detailed paper by the *Directeur*. It was seen as essential that the teachers who were to be the "guinea pigs" for the trainee-lecturers in the in-service course should be limited to the staffs of a restricted number of schools and that all teachers from the schools selected should participate. It was proposed that participation should be spread over three years, with teachers from one or two class levels only attending in any one year. This would enable the schools involved to be used effectively for initial observation; it would allow for additional experimentation to take place more easily; and it would simplify the problems of providing relieving teachers and of giving them appropriate support.³⁷ This pattern was instituted successfully in 1976-77.

The *Centre* has also explored the most effective means of liaison with

³⁶ Details from duplicated documents provided by the *Directeur*, M. Franck Marchand: Stage des P.E.N. 1976-77 - Projet de calendrier, and Stage pour 25 instituteurs de Paris au Centre National de Formation des I.D.E.N. - P.E.N.

³⁷ Propositions de fonctionnement pour l'année scolaire 1976-77 (duplicated document provided by the *Directeur*), esp. pp. 5-8

staff in university departments of educational studies. Such co-operation has been rare until now in France; the only organised links between the universities and the primary teacher preparation institutions have been in the areas of linguistics and mathematics, and these have not often been very successful.³⁸ Liaison at the level of professional studies, if successfully achieved, would be of considerable importance for the future development of teacher education in France. The *Centre's* proposals are carefully circumscribed, and stress the need to avoid formulae which involve any "formal agreement" with a university or any formation of a "permanent team of university lecturers". Rather, the suggestion is made that there should be set up, under the general control of the *Centre*, of a "permanent conference", meeting regularly - perhaps every fortnight - to explore specific questions, determined by the "conference" itself. Some detailed suggestions are made for the operation of such a scheme, all of which stress the need for the *Centre* to retain responsibility for its development. Wariness before the possibility of any form of integration with a university is clearly evident.³⁹ Nevertheless, such a scheme, if operated successfully, would add an important new dimension to primary teacher preparation in the future (even though indirectly, through the preparation of lecturers, rather than directly in the *écoles normales* themselves).

Associated with these new initiatives in the preparation of lecturers and the planning of courses is the need to plan new buildings for many of the *écoles normales*. If the multiple new rôles to be played by these institutions are to be fully effective, the traditional structures, dating from the nineteenth century, and intended for pupils completing their secondary schooling rather than for young adult students and experienced teachers, will need to be very substantially modified or, in many cases, completely replaced. The most interesting current move in this direction is taking place in the département of Hauts-de-Seine, in the western suburbs of Paris.⁴⁰ Discussions with the *Directeur* of the recently established *Ecole Normale Mixte* for this new département indicated that plans there will result in a building very different in concept from those built in

³⁸ Cf. above, pp. 244-5

³⁹ Propositions de liaison avec l'enseignement supérieur (duplicated document provided by the *Directeur*)

⁴⁰ Some details of the temporary organisation of primary teacher preparation in this département are given above, pp. 322-3

earlier years and equally from the few completed in the post-war period.

The new école normale, at Antony, is to be a two-storey structure on a site largely enclosed by parkland and forest. The basement will include parking for one hundred vehicles, "thus preserving, to a certain extent, the quality of the environment from the invasion of the automobile." The centre of the two main floors will be taken up with the media centre ("*médiathèque*"). This will have an audio-visual section on the lower floor, with facilities for closed-circuit television (and the distribution of television programmes to other parts of the building), for the preparation of sound recordings, for photographic work of all types, and for other appropriate media activities. The first floor will contain the main multi-media library and the documentation centre. Carrels will be provided for individual work both with written materials and with sound and video materials, and a number of small rooms will be available for group activities. The language laboratory is adjacent to this area, as are the facilities for copying of printed materials and for duplication. The remainder of the ground floor includes the entrance hall and reception area, a self-service restaurant, and a theatre seating 300 people, together with the suite of rooms for mathematics, science and technology in one wing and the humanities area in the other, linked by a lecture area seating seventy-five students. On the first floor, in addition to offices and a recreation area for staff, there are classroom wings for aesthetic and practical subjects and for professional studies (psychology and pedagogy).⁴¹ There is no provision at all for boarding accommodation, but the new école normale will be well served by public transport and will be adjacent to extensive sporting facilities. In these regards, it will be radically different from the typical establishment build at any period up to the late 1960's.

Such a building is based on an educational philosophy very different from that underlying those of other periods: the research and information complex rather than the formal classroom becomes the

⁴¹ These details are based on information given by the *Directeur*, M. Amelineau, together with a study of the preliminary plans and an audio-visual presentation, the script of which is entitled Présentation du projet du C.D.I. de l'école normale mixte des Hauts-de-Seine à Antony.

centre of activities, and each student's work can be more effectively self-directed than was the case formerly. Planning of this type clearly shows the direction in which development in primary teacher education may proceed, if the relatively small separate institutions at present in existence remain the basic element of the system.

Whether this will be the case, or whether there will be further attempts to establish larger colleges combining the work of the *écoles normales* at the level of the *département* with that of the secondary training institutions (i.e. the *centres de formation de professeurs d'enseignement général de collège*, the *centres régionaux pédagogiques*, the specialised colleges for teachers of subjects such as music and physical education, and the universities) is to a large extent dependent on political decisions.⁴² During 1974 and 1975, the Minister of Education, René Haby, put forward proposals for reform in many areas of the education system. These reform proposals, "for a modernisation of the education system", were presented to the public in a detailed brochure published in early 1975, and gave some indication of the likely ways in which teacher education would be organised under the current administration, but did not add specific details.⁴³ The general propositions, somewhat modified, became law in mid-1975⁴⁴, but they still included no definitive indication of any possible restructuring of teacher preparation and in-service education. They affirmed that "the improvement of the professional preparation of teachers (length, methods and content) is one of the essential conditions for the transformation of the education system."⁴⁵ The dual rôle of this initial preparation - to complement the future teacher's *culture générale* and to provide pedagogical training - was stressed. The academic level of all teachers had to be "very much above the level of the teaching" they would be required to give.⁴⁶ Two years of professional study were proposed for both

⁴² For a summary of proposals for teacher education made by the *Front Commun* (i.e. the Socialist and the Communist parties) in 1972, see above, pp. 217-9

⁴³ Haby, René: Pour une modernisation du système éducatif (Cahiers Français, Documentation Française, Paris, February 1975); see also: Spécial Réforme - moderniser notre système éducatif, in Courrier de l'Education, 10 February 1975, Texte de l'avant-projet de loi, in Courrier de l'Education, 26 May 1975, and La Réforme Haby, in Le Monde de l'Education, March 1975

⁴⁴ Law of 11 July 1975, in Bulletin Officiel de l'Education Nationale (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Paris)

⁴⁵ Haby, René, op. cit., p. 33

instituteurs and *certifiés*⁴⁷, to be provided for the former in écoles normales, which might be either *départementales* or *inter-départementales*, and for the latter in *centres de formation*.⁴⁸ A *Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique théorique* would be awarded at the end of these studies. In the following year, students would assume guided responsibility for a class, returning regularly to their training institution for discussion sessions. At the end of this year, a practical test would be passed, giving right to permanent appointment.⁴⁹ The universities would be involved to a considerable extent in the preparation of *certifiés*⁵⁰, but not at all apparently in the preparation of primary school teachers.

There were numerous supporting statements during the ensuing weeks and months, but nothing more precise was indicated. In the issue of the official publication of the Ministry for 17 February 1975, the proposals were set out a little more clearly but with no greater detail, and in an issue of *L'Education* early in 1976 a long interview with the Minister was published, again without giving more information.⁵¹ It would appear that little effective change in the patterns established in 1968 was envisaged. The addition of the year of guided responsibility is the only new element in the organisation of initial preparation for primary teachers. There is little indication of any move to bring closer together the preparation of teachers for primary and for secondary teaching, although the Minister did state that he believed that "the teacher is less than ever enclosed within the *cadre* of his initial training and is necessarily called upon to evolve, constantly perfecting what he acquired at the initial stage."⁵² The further consolidation of the écoles normales, so that the smaller ones are combined in *écoles normales inter-*

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 34

⁴⁷ Haby introduced a third category of teacher, the *brevetés*, at a level between that of the instituteurs and that of the *certifiés*: these would include educational counsellors, teachers of artistic and technical subjects, and some general secondary teachers; their preparation would be different from that of the other two; cf. Haby, René, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-5.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 35

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 34

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 35-6; the position of the *agrégés* was also safeguarded by the proposals, a period of one year of professional preparation being provided following their success in the academic *concours*.

⁵¹ *Courrier de l'Education*, 17 February 1975, pp. 2-3; Les réponses de René Haby, in *Education*, 15 February 1976, pp. 3-5

⁵² Les réponses de René Haby, *loc. cit.*, p. 5

départementales (under State and not local control), seems possible under this plan, thus further breaking down the traditional position of the *école normale* as the local teacher training institution, while simultaneously attempting to ensure that more effective preparation is provided in larger, better equipped, more efficiently staffed colleges.

. . . .

That the policies enunciated in the Haby Reform proposals will be put into practical effect in their present form is, however, far from certain. There would appear to be a growing movement within the Ministry as well as within the unions for forms of reorganisation closer to those suggested at the beginning of this Section of the thesis. There has been considerable opposition in particular to the proposal for a year of guided responsibility, and there have been renewed pressures for reintroduction of the proposals of the 1968 Commission for Teacher Education. These moves must be seen against the current background of political uncertainty at the national level in France. While the Government parties and the Opposition are very nearly equally balanced in public support, it is clearly impossible to make predictions with any certainty.

However, some features of the respective patterns likely to develop under each potential political majority can be outlined. A Left Wing (Socialist and Communist) majority would endeavour to institute common patterns of teacher education for teachers at all levels up to the end of compulsory schooling. This would involve the development of some type of autonomous *centre universitaire de formation*, as proposed in the policy statements of 1970 and 1972, and would undoubtedly lead to confrontation between the conservative forces within the universities and the teaching service and the Government. A continuing Conservative (*Union pour la Défense de la République* and *Républicains Indépendants*) majority would probably attempt to follow the lines of the Haby Reform while gradually adopting some of the 1968 Commission recommendations. Confrontation between them and the very strong forces seeking more rapid and more radical reform would be equally inevitable. The possibility of a regular and well-controlled movement further along paths already fairly clearly defined cannot however be entirely ruled out under either potential political majority.

Meanwhile, one can review the enormous progress that has been made in the reformation of the organisation of primary teacher preparation in France in the relatively short period since 1968, and recognise that this achievement already represents one of the major changes in the structure of French education. That an institution so deeply embedded in the mores of the nation could be so completely challenged, so completely uprooted, so completely reformed in such a brief period would have seemed a complete impossibility even in the mid-1960's. The many contributing factors have been considered in detail in this thesis. These all seemed at the time very tentative and unlikely to result in radical change. Even the reasonably cohesive schemes put forward by the Caen and Amiens Congresses and the various experiments conducted in some of the *écoles normales* themselves could hardly have led one to suspect how thoroughly reform would in fact be achieved. The reactions of the central authorities of the Ministry of Education, of the *directeurs* and *directrices* and the staff members of the *écoles normales*, of the officials of the teacher unions, and of the student-teachers, to the catalyst of the *événements de mai* in 1968 could not have been foreseen. That these reactions were as they were may reassure us with regard to the future development of teacher education in France. A first period of major reform has in fact been concluded with considerable success; a second period of equally major change may well be imminent.

. . .

APPENDIX 1

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ECOLES NORMALES IN 1975-76: DISTRIBUTION, SPECIAL COURSES, STUDENT NUMBERS

ACADEMIE, département and city in which école normale is located	Pupils following primary teacher preparation (see note below)		Pupils following other courses (see note below)	
AIX-MARSEILLE				
Alpes de Haute Provence <u>and</u> Alpes, Hautes (Digne)	65	X		
Bouches-du-Rhône (Aix- Marseille)	491	M W	EI P	77 123
Vaucluse (Avignon)	95	X		
AMIENS				
Aisne (Laon)	145	M W	V	71
Oise (Beauvais)	209	M W		
Somme (Amiens)	230	M W	EI P	65 283
BESANÇON				
Doubs (Besançon)	166	M W	EI P	18 125
Jura (Lons-le-Saunier)	105	M W		
Saône, Haute (Vesoul)	101	X	V	30
Belfort, Territoire de (pupils to Besançon)				
BORDEAUX				
Dordogne (Périgueux)	98	X	V	61
Gironde (Bordeaux)	335	M W	EI P	65 222
Landes (Dax/Mont-de-Marsan)	70	M W		
Lot-et-Garonne (Agen)	80	X		
Pyrénées Atlantiques (Lescar/ Pau)	147	M W		
CAEN				
Calvados (Caen)	183	M W	EI P	69 216
Manche (St-Lô/Coutances)	95	M W		
Orne (Alençon)	66	X	V	46
CLERMONT-FERRAND				
Allier (Moulins)	104	M W		
Cantal (Aurillac)	71	X	V	38
Loire, Haute (Le Puy)	61	X		
Puy-de-Dôme (Clermont-Ferrand)	169	M W	EI P	51 97

CRETEIL					
Seine-et-Marne (Melun)	311	M W			
Seine-St Denis (Livry-Gargan/ Le Bourget)	435	X X	P		162
Val-de-Marne (to Paris)					
DIJON					
Côte-d'Or (Dijon)	161	M W	EI		31
			P		230
Nièvre (Nevers)	73	X	EI		29
Saône-et-Loire (Mâcon)	196	M W			
Yonne (Auxerre)	115	M W			
GRENOBLE					
Ardèche (Privas)	68	X			
Drôme (Valence)	181	M W	V		30
Isère (Grenoble)	369	M W	EI		51
			P		233
Savoie (Albertville/Chambéry)	154	M W			
Savoie, Haute (Bonneville/ Annecy)	209	M W	V		76
LILLE					
Nord (Lille/Douai)	765	X M W	EI		111
			V		268
			P		435
Pas-de-Calais (Arras)	581	M W			
LIMOGES					
Corrèze (Tulle)	64	X			
Creuse (Guéret)	37	X			
Vienne, Haute (Limoges)	116	X	EI		33
			P		35
LYON					
Ain (Bourg-en-Bresse)	199	M W			
Loire (St Etienne)	186	M W			
Rhône (Lyon)	379	M W	EI		93
			P		228
MONTPELLIER					
Aude (Carcassonne)	78	X	V		142
Gard (Nîmes)	128	M W			
Hérault (Montpellier)	224	M W	EI		41
			P		69
Lozère (Mende)	73	X			
Pyrénées Orientales (Perpignan)	109	X			
NANCY-METZ					
Meurthe-et-Moselle (Nancy)	158	M W	EI		72
			P		506
Meuse (Bar-le-Duc)	67	X			
Moselle (Metz)	256	M W	V		142
Vosges (Epinal)	108	X	V		59
NANTES					
Loire Atlantique (Nantes/ Savenay)	245	M W	EI		34
			P		215
Maine-et-Loire (Angers)	97	X	P		69
Mayenne (Laval)	91	M W			
Sarthe (Le Mans)	205	M W	V		108
Vendée (Roche-sur-Yonne)	78	M W			

NICE

Alpes Maritimes (Nice)	202	M W	EI	20
			P	67
Corse (Ajaccio)	49	M W		
Var (Draguignan)	189	X	V	128

ORLEANS-TOURS

Cher (Bourges)	85	M W		
Eure-et-Loir (Chartres)	133	X		
Indre (Châteauroux)	102	X		
Indre-et-Loire (Tours)	159	M W	EI	53
			V	138
			P	238
Loir-et-Cher (Blois)	100	X		
Loiret (Orléans)	147	M W	P	109

PARIS

Paris	622	M W	EI	98
			V	141
			P	781

POITIERS

Charente (Angoulême)	75	M W		
Charente Maritime (La Rochelle)	89	M W		
Sèvres, Deux (Parthenay/Niort)	118	M W	V	29
Vienne (Poitiers)	100	M W	EI	39
			P	265

REIMS

Ardennes (Charleville)	144	M W	V	89
Aube (Troyes/Ste Savine)	79	M W		
Marne (Châlons/Reims)	100	M W X	EI	58
			P	197
Marne, Haute (Chaumont)	88	X		

RENNES

Côtes-du-Nord (St-Brieuc)	93	M W	V	29
Finistère (Quimper)	208	M W		
Ille-et-Vilaine (Rennes)	269	M W	EI	47
			P	181
Morbihan (Vannes)	78	M W		

ROUEN

Eure (Evreux)	149	M W	V	42
Seine Maritime (Rouen)	405	M W	EI	32
			P	274

STRASBOURG

Bas-Rhin (Strasbourg/Sélestat)	203	M W W X	EI	39
			V	30
			P	258
Haut-Rhin (Colmar/Guebwiller)	217	M W		

TOULOUSE

Ariège (Foix)	57	X		
Aveyron (Rodez)	80	M W		
Garonne, Haute (Toulouse)	163	M W	EI	82
			P	54
Gers (Auch)	62	M		
Lot (Cahors)	47	W		
Pyrénées, Hautes (Tarbes)	65	W	V	39
Tarn (Albi)	89	W		
Tarn-et-Garonne (Montauban)	45	M		

VERSAILLES

Yvelines (Versailles/St Germain)	527	M W	EI	64
			P	87
Essonne (Etiolles)	307	X		
Hauts-de-Seine (Garches)	202	X		
Val d'Oise (Pontoise)	165	X		

NOTES: Pupils following primary teacher preparation

M Men's écoles normales

W Women's écoles normales

X Mixed écoles normales

Pupils following other courses*

EI Enfance inadaptée (special education)

V Voie III (slow learners)

P P.E.G.C. (professeurs d'enseignement général de collège)

* See Section 6, pp. 287-291

SOURCE: Preliminary statistical information provided by the Service des Etudes Informatiques et Statistiques of the Ministry of Education (Département de la Documentation et de la Diffusion de l'Information Statistique), January 1977

APPENDIX 2

THE DECREE OF 18 JANUARY 1887

Chapitre V: Ecoles Normales Primaires

SECTION I

De l'organisation des écoles normales

Art. 56. Les écoles normales primaires sont des établissements publics destinés à former des instituteurs ou des institutrices pour les écoles publiques (écoles maternelles, écoles primaires élémentaires et écoles primaires supérieures).

Art. 57. Les écoles normales relèvent du Recteur sous l'autorité du Ministre de l'Instruction publique.

Art. 58. Le régime des écoles normales est l'internat. L'internat est gratuit. Sur la proposition du Recteur et avec l'approbation du Ministre de l'Instruction publique, les écoles normales peuvent recevoir des demi-pensionnaires et des externes, à titre également gratuit et aux mêmes conditions d'admission.

Art. 59. La durée du cours d'études est de trois ans.

Art. 60. Les années passées à l'école normale à partir de dix-huit ans pour les jeunes gens, de dix-sept ans pour les jeunes filles, comptent pour la réalisation de l'engagement de servir pendant dix ans dans l'enseignement public proscrit par l'article 70 du présent décret.

Art. 61. Une école primaire, dans laquelle les élèves s'exercent à la pratique de l'enseignement sous la direction d'un maître spécialement nommé à cet effet, est annexé à chaque école normale. Il doit y avoir, en outre, annexée à chaque école normale d'institutrices, une école maternelle.

SECTION II

Du personnel administratif et du personnel enseignant

Art. 62. Le directeur de l'école normale est nommé par le Ministre de l'Instruction publique. Les directeurs d'école normale doivent être pourvus du certificat d'aptitude à l'inspection des écoles primaires et à la direction des écoles normales. Ils doivent être âgés de trente ans révolus.

Art. 63. Un fonctionnaire, spécialement chargé du service de l'économet et pourvu du titre d'économe, est attaché à chaque école normale, soit d'instituteurs, soit d'institutrices. Dans les écoles normales d'instituteurs, l'économe est chargé de l'enseignement de la tenue des livres. Dans les écoles normales d'institutrices, l'économe est chargée de l'enseignement de la tenue des livres et de l'économie domestique. L'un et l'autre peuvent en outre être chargés d'autres cours, suivant leurs aptitudes. Dans les écoles

normales de plus de cent élèves, l'économe peut être déchargé de cours.

Art. 64. Les économes sont nommés par le Ministre. Ils doivent fournir un cautionnement, dont le chiffre est fixé par le Ministre de l'Instruction publique, de concert avec le Ministre des Finances. Les candidats à l'économat doivent être pourvus du brevet supérieur et du certificat d'aptitude pédagogique. Ils doivent être âgés de 21 ans au moins et avoir accompli une année de stage auprès de l'économe d'une école normale. Ils ne reçoivent, pendant la durée de leur stage, aucune indemnité, mais ils peuvent être logés et nourris à l'école. Ils subissent, à la fin de leur stage, un examen spécial.

Art. 65. L'enseignement est donné par des professeurs nommés par le Ministre et, à défaut, par des instituteurs délégués par le Ministre à titre provisoire en qualité de maîtres adjoints et qui doivent être pourvus du brevet supérieur et du certificat d'aptitude pédagogique. Des maîtres spéciaux, nommés ou délégués par le Ministre, suivant qu'ils sont ou non pourvus du titre de capacité correspondant à la fonction qu'ils exercent, peuvent être chargés, à défaut de professeurs pourvus des mêmes titres, de l'enseignement des langues vivantes, du dessin, du chant et de la musique, de la gymnastique, des travaux manuels. L'enseignement de l'agriculture, dans les écoles normales d'instituteurs, est confié au professeur départemental nommé conformément à l'article 6 de la loi du 15 juin 1879, et, à défaut, à un maître désigné par le Ministre.

Art. 66. Dans toute école normale d'instituteurs, un des maîtres est spécialement chargé de la direction de l'école annexe. Dans les écoles normales d'institutrices, deux maîtresses sont chargées de diriger, l'une, l'école primaire, l'autre, l'école maternelle annexées à l'établissement.

Art. 67. Des maîtres ouvriers peuvent, avec l'approbation du Ministre, être employés dans les écoles normales d'instituteurs à titre d'auxiliaires du professeur de travail manuel; ils reçoivent un salaire dont le chiffre sera fixé par le Ministre, sur la proposition du Recteur.

Art. 68. Dans toute école normale, le nombre de professeurs, non compris l'économe et le directeur de l'école annexe, est fixé à cinq (deux pour les lettres, trois pour les sciences et le travail manuel) si l'école reçoit plus de soixante élèves; à quatre (deux pour les lettres, deux pour les sciences et le travail manuel) si le nombre des élèves ne dépasse pas soixante.

SECTION III

Des élèves-maîtres

Art. 69. Tous les ans le Ministre fixe, sur la proposition du Recteur et après avis du Conseil départemental, le nombre d'élèves à admettre en première année dans chacune des écoles normales.

Art. 70. Tout candidat doit:

1° Avoir seize ans au moins, dix-huit ans au plus au 1^{er} octobre de l'année durant laquelle il se présente;

2° Etre pourvu du brevet élémentaire;

3° S'être engagé à servir pendant dix ans dans l'enseignement public;

4° N'être atteint d'aucune infirmité ou maladie le rendant impropre au service de l'enseignement.

Le Recteur peut autoriser à se présenter au concours des candidats âgés de plus de dix-huit ans.

Art. 71. Nul ne peut se présenter au concours plus de deux fois.

Art. 72. Un mois au moins avant l'examen, l'Inspecteur d'académie communiquera au Recteur les résultats d'une enquête faite par ses soins sur les antécédents et la conduite des candidats. Au vu du dossier et d'après les résultats de l'enquête, le Recteur arrête la liste des candidats admis à concourir.

Art. 73. Les candidats sont examinés par une commission nommée par le Recteur. L'Inspecteur d'académie en est le président. Le directeur, les professeurs ou maîtres de l'école normale et un inspecteur primaire en font nécessairement partie. Un arrêté ministériel, pris sur l'avis du Conseil supérieur, déterminera la forme et les conditions de cet examen.

Art. 74. Les candidats admis sont classés par ordre de mérite sur une liste qui est transmise au Recteur, avec les procès-verbaux de l'examen. Le Recteur prononce l'admission des élèves-maîtres d'après l'ordre de mérite. A la liste primitive est jointe, s'il y a lieu, une liste supplémentaire, également dressée par ordre de mérite et suivant laquelle le Recteur prononce, en cas de vacances, les admissions ultérieures.

Art. 75. Tous les ans, au mois d'août, sur le vu des notes obtenues par les élèves dans les examens de fin d'année et sur la proposition du directeur délibérée dans le conseil des professeurs, le Recteur, après avis de l'Inspecteur d'académie, arrête la liste des élèves admis à passer de première en deuxième année et de deuxième en troisième année, et avise le Ministre des exclusions qu'il prononce.

Art. 76. Tous les élèves-maîtres sans exception sont tenus de se présenter aux examens du brevet supérieur à la fin du cours d'études.

Art. 77. Dans le cas de maladie prolongée, un élève-maître peut, sur la proposition du directeur et du conseil d'administration et après avis de l'Inspecteur d'académie, être autorisé par le Recteur à redoubler une année. Le Recteur doit informer le Ministre des autorisations qu'il a accordées.

Art. 78. Tout élève-maître qui quitte volontairement l'école ou qui en est exclu, ou tout ancien élève-maître qui rompt l'engagement prescrit par l'article 70 ci-dessus, est tenu de restituer le prix de la pension dont il a joui. La somme à restituer comprend exclusivement:

- 1° Les frais de nourriture;
- 2° Les frais de blanchissage;
- 3° Le prix des fournitures classiques.

Toutefois, sur la proposition du Recteur, après avis du conseil des professeurs et de l'Inspecteur d'académie, le Ministre peut accorder des sursis pour le payement des sommes dues, ainsi qu'une remise partielle ou totale de ces mêmes sommes.

Art. 79. Tout élève-maître sorti de l'école après les trois années d'études reçoit, quand il est appelé pour la première fois aux fonctions d'instituteur public, titulaire ou stagiaire, une indemnité de 100 francs.

Art. 80. Les élèves-maîtres qui sortent de l'école normale ont droit, selon leur âge et les titres dont ils sont pourvus, aux premiers emplois d'instituteur public, titulaire ou stagiaire, qui se trouvent vacants dans le département.

Art. 81. L'engagement de servir pendant dix ans dans l'enseignement public peut être accompli dans tout département, toute possession française ou tout pays soumis au protectorat de la France. Tout

élève-maître qui quitte le département où se trouve l'école normale dans laquelle il a fait ses études doit être muni d'un exeat délivré par l'Inspecteur d'académie.

SECTION IV

De l'enseignement

Art. 82. L'enseignement dans les écoles normales primaires, soit d'instituteurs, soit d'institutrices, comprend:

- 1° L'instruction morale et civique;
- 2° La lecture;
- 3° L'écriture;
- 4° La langue et les éléments de la littérature française;
- 5° L'histoire, et particulièrement l'histoire de France jusqu'à nos jours;
- 6° La géographie, et particulièrement celle de la France;
- 7° Le calcul, le système métrique, l'arithmétique élémentaire avec applications aux opérations pratiques; des notions de calcul algébrique; des notions de tenue des livres;
- 8° La géométrie élémentaire;
- 9° L'arpentage et le nivellement pour les élèves-maîtres seulement;
- 10° Les éléments des sciences physiques et des sciences naturelles avec leurs principales applications;
- 11° L'agriculture pour les élèves-maîtres; l'horticulture;
- 12° L'économie domestique pour les élèves-maîtresses;
- 13° Le dessin;
- 14° Le chant et la musique;
- 15° La gymnastique et, pour les élèves-maîtres, les exercices militaires;
- 16° Les travaux manuels pour les élèves-maîtres; les travaux à l'aiguille pour les élèves-maîtresses;
- 17° La pédagogie;
- 18° L'étude d'une langue étrangère.

Un arrêté ministériel pris en Conseil supérieur déterminera, d'une manière générale, l'emploi du temps, les programmes d'enseignement des diverses matières, ainsi que le nombre d'heures assigné à chacune d'elles.

SECTION V

Du régime intérieur et de la discipline

Art. 83. Dans les écoles normales d'instituteurs, les élèves-maîtres ont toute facilité pour suivre les pratiques de leur culte. Dans les écoles normales d'institutrices, les élèves-maîtresses sont, sur la demande des parents, conduites, le dimanche, aux offices.

Art. 84. Les seules punitions que les élèves-maîtres peuvent encourir sont:

- 1° La privation de sortie prononcée par le directeur;
- 2° L'avertissement donné par le directeur;
- 3° La réprimande devant les élèves réunis infligée, suivant la gravité de la faute, par le directeur ou par l'Inspecteur d'académie;
- 4° L'exclusion temporaire, pour un temps qui ne peut excéder quinze jours, prononcée par le recteur, sur le rapport de l'Inspecteur d'académie, après avis du conseil d'administration;
- 5° L'exclusion définitive, prononcée par le Ministre, sur la proposition du Recteur.

Art. 85. Tout élève qui s'est rendu coupable d'une faute grave peut être remis immédiatement à sa famille par le Directeur. Celui-ci doit alors sans délai en référer à l'Inspecteur d'académie qui saisit de l'affaire le conseil d'administration.

SECTION VI

Du Conseil d'administration

Art. 86. Il est institué auprès de chaque école normale un conseil d'administration nommé pour trois ans. Il est composé de l'Inspecteur d'académie, président, et de six membres désignés par le Recteur, dont deux conseillers généraux. Quand le Recteur assiste aux séances, il prend la présidence et a voix prépondérante. Le directeur assiste aux réunions du conseil avec voix délibérative, sauf quand il est délibéré sur le compte administratif. En l'absence du Recteur et de l'Inspecteur d'académie, le doyen d'âge préside la séance.

Art. 87. Le conseil d'administration est chargé, sous l'autorité du Recteur:

1^o De s'assurer, par des visites mensuelles, de la bonne tenue de l'établissement;

2^o De donner son avis sur le règlement intérieur de l'école, préparé par les professeurs réunis en conseil sous la présidence du directeur; ce règlement doit être soumis à l'approbation du Recteur;

3^o De désigner à la nomination du Recteur le médecin de l'école;

4^o De régler, sur la proposition du directeur et sous réserve de l'approbation du Ministre, toutes les questions relatives à la nourriture, au logement, au chauffage, à l'éclairage et à l'entretien des élèves-maîtres;

5^o De préparer le budget de l'école;

6^o De donner son avis sur les demandes de crédits supplémentaires à adresser au Ministre;

7^o D'examiner le compte administratif qui lui est soumis par le directeur;

Et en général de veiller sur les intérêts matériels de l'école.

Art. 88. Chaque année, au mois de juillet, le conseil d'administration entend la lecture du rapport du directeur sur la situation morale et matérielle de l'établissement. Il en délibère et adresse au Recteur ses observations et ses propositions.

Art. 89. Toutes les délibérations du conseil d'administration concernant la situation matérielle de l'école et les améliorations à réaliser sont transmises par le Recteur au préfet.

. . . .

THE DECREE OF 6 JUNE 1946Ecoles Normales Primaires - Réorganisation

Article premier: Le décret du 18 janvier 1887 est modifié ainsi qu'il suit:

SECTION I^{re}De l'organisation des écoles normales

Art. 56 (nouveau). Les écoles normales primaires sont des établissements publics destinés à former des instituteurs ou des institutrices pour les écoles publiques relevant de la direction de l'enseignement du premier degré.

Art. 57 (nouveau). Les écoles normales relèvent du recteur sous l'autorité du ministre de l'éducation nationale.

Art. 58 (nouveau). Le régime des écoles normales est l'internat. A titre exceptionnel, elles peuvent admettre des élèves demi-pensionnaires

ou externes. L'internat est gratuit. Il est alloué par l'Etat pour chaque élève-maître une bourse d'entretien inscrite au budget de l'école normale. Le montant de cette bourse est reversé aux élèves externes et aux demi-pensionnaires, sous déduction, d'après les taux prévus au budget, des avantages qu'ils sont admis à recevoir.

Art. 59 (nouveau). La durée des études est de quatre ans: deux années d'études générales pour la préparation des deux parties du baccalauréat à l'école normale et deux années de préparation professionnelle. Elle est réduite aux deux années de préparation professionnelle pour les élèves titulaires du baccalauréat recrutés par un concours spécial dont les conditions sont précisées à l'article 70 du présent décret. A titre transitoire, la préparation au baccalauréat pourra être faite en trois ans, le temps réservé à la formation professionnelle étant alors réduit à un an. En cas de maladie prolongée, un élève-maître peut, sur la proposition du directeur et après avis de l'inspecteur d'académie, être autorisé par le recteur à redoubler une année. Le recteur informe le ministre des autorisations qu'il a accordées. Un élève-maître qui, pour raison de santé, ne peut entrer à l'école normale immédiatement après le concours est autorisé à entrer le 1er octobre de l'année suivante, sous réserve d'un nouvel examen médical.

Art. 60 (nouveau). A partir du 1er janvier 1951, les instituteurs et institutrices suppléants ou intérimaires, pourvus du baccalauréat ou du brevet supérieur, ne pourront être titularisés qu'après avoir reçu, dans une école normale, la préparation professionnelle prévue à l'article 59 ci-dessus. Ces instituteurs et ces institutrices doivent avoir exercé pendant deux ans au moins et remplir en outre les conditions prévues aux paragraphes 1er, 3, 4 et 5 de l'article 70 du présent décret. De plus, ils ne peuvent être admis à l'école normale s'ils ont plus de vingt-cinq ans au 1er janvier de l'année de leur admission. Les propositions d'admission sont établies par une commission comprenant, sous la présidence de l'inspecteur d'académie, le directeur et la directrice des écoles normales, les inspecteurs et inspectrices de l'enseignement primaire et des écoles maternelles, un représentant des instituteurs au conseil départemental (un instituteur pour les garçons, une institutrice pour les filles). L'admission est prononcée par le recteur. L'article 78 du présent décret est applicable à ces maîtres. Le temps pendant lequel ils ont exercé dans les écoles publiques avant d'entrer à l'école normale leur est compté pour l'accomplissement de l'engagement décennal.

Art. 61 (nouveau). Les élèves-maîtres et les élèves-maîtresses s'exercent à la pratique de l'enseignement:

1° Dans les écoles annexes instituées obligatoirement auprès des écoles normales et qui constituent des centres permanents d'expériences pédagogiques;

2° Dans les classes d'application choisies par l'inspecteur d'académie dans les écoles du département et où seront organisés les différents stages de formation professionnelle.

Le statut des écoles annexes et des classes d'application sera fixé par arrêté.

SECTION II

Du personnel administratif et du personnel enseignant

Art. 62 (nouveau). Les directeurs d'école normale sont délégués et nommés par le ministre de l'éducation nationale. Nul ne peut être nommé directeur ou directrice d'école normale s'il n'a le certificat d'aptitude à l'inspection primaire et à la direction des écoles

normales et le certificat d'aptitude au professorat (écoles normales, collèges ou une licence d'enseignement) et s'il n'a été délégué pendant deux ans dans cette fonction. A la fin de ce stage, sont titularisés les directeurs et directrices délégués qui sont l'objet d'une proposition du recteur de l'académie et d'un avis favorable de la section permanente du comité consultatif de l'enseignement primaire. Ceux qui ne sont pas titularisés à la fin de ce stage sont réintégrés dans leur cadre d'origine. Les candidates aux fonctions de directeur délégué doivent:

- 1^o Etre âgés de trente-cinq ans au moins;
- 2^o Avoir exercé pendant deux ans au moins les fonctions d'inspecteur primaire et pendant trois ans au moins celles de professeur d'école normale (enseignement pédagogique).

A titre exceptionnel et jusqu'au 1er octobre 1951, les conditions énumérées au présent paragraphe ne seront pas exigées. Les directeurs et directrices délégués sont classés parmi les titulaires et concourent avec eux pour l'avancement.

Art. 63 (nouveau). Les économes sont délégués et nommés par le ministre. Nul ne peut être nommé économe d'école normale s'il n'a été délégué pendant une année au moins dans ces fonctions. La délégation peut être renouvelée pendant une seconde année. Au terme de la délégation, les délégués sont, sur la proposition du recteur et après avis de l'inspecteur général des services administratifs, soit titularisés dans leur fonction, soit réintégrés dans leur cadre d'origine. Les candidats aux fonctions d'économe délégué doivent:

- 1^o Etre âgés de trente ans au moins;
- 2^o Avoir été admis au concours pour l'emploi d'économe d'école normale;

- 3^o Fournir un cautionnement dont le montant est fixé par le ministre de l'éducation nationale, conformément aux prescriptions du décret sur l'administration financière des écoles normales.

Tout candidat au concours pour l'emploi d'économe d'école normale doit avoir effectué deux années de stage auprès de l'économe d'une école normale et avoir été l'objet, à l'expiration de ce stage, d'un rapport favorable du chef de l'établissement. [...] Les stagiaires d'économat peuvent être logés et admis à la table commune dans les conditions fixées par le conseil d'administration.

Art. 64. Les professeurs chargés de l'enseignement dans les années préparatoires au baccalauréat sont nommés par le ministre. Ils doivent être pourvus du certificat d'aptitude au professorat des écoles normales ou des collèges ou d'une licence d'enseignement. Ils peuvent être appelés à participer à l'enseignement de formation professionnelle. Mais les cours de pédagogie sont confiés à des professeurs choisis par le ministre parmi les inspecteurs de l'enseignement primaire ayant au moins deux ans d'exercice et titulaires de l'ancien certificat d'aptitude au professorat dans les écoles normales et les écoles primaires supérieures ou d'une licence équivalente ou du certificat d'aptitude au professorat des écoles normales ou des collèges. Les inspecteurs primaires enseignant dans les écoles normales continuent à figurer dans leur cadre d'origine et à recevoir le traitement qu'ils avaient dans ce cadre. Ils sont contrôlés par les inspecteurs généraux de l'instruction publique dépendant de la direction du premier degré. A titre transitoire et jusqu'au 1er octobre 1951, le certificat d'aptitude à l'inspection primaire n'est pas exigé des professeurs de cette catégorie. Pour l'enseignement des langues vivantes, du dessin, de la musique et des travaux manuels, il peut être fait appel à des titulaires du certificat d'aptitude ou de la licence correspondant à leur spécialité. Les enseignements agricole

et ménager dans les écoles normales sont donnés par des professeurs spécialisés en liaison avec la direction départementale des services agricoles.

Art. 65 (nouveau). Les enseignements spéciaux, de courte durée, donnés sous forme de conférence, de travaux pratiques, d'excursions, peuvent être confiés à des personnes qualifiées, désignées chaque année par le recteur. Elles sont rétribuées à l'heure effective.

Art. 66 (nouveau). Un médecin et un dentiste inspecteur sont affectés à chaque école normale. Ils sont nommés par le recteur sur la proposition du conseil d'administration, après avis du médecin inspecteur régional de l'hygiène scolaire et universitaire.

Art. 67 (nouveau). Des maîtres auxiliaires ou des monitrices peuvent, avec l'approbation du ministre, être employés dans les écoles normales d'instituteurs ou d'institutrices pour l'enseignement des travaux manuels ou ménagers. Ils sont rétribués comme les maîtres auxiliaires des collèges modernes.

Art. 68 (nouveau). Des maîtres adjoints d'école normale, choisis par le recteur parmi les instituteurs titulaires, sont détachés dans les conditions de l'article 33 de la loi du 30 décembre 1913, ou placés "hors cadres" et mis à la disposition des chefs d'établissement pour assurer le service intérieur de l'école, à raison d'un maître adjoint par groupe de 50 ou 60 élèves. Les maîtres adjoints ont droit au logement et à la table commune dans les conditions fixées par le conseil d'administration.

SECTION III

Des élèves maîtres

Art. 69 (nouveau). Pour l'entrée en première année (formation générale), puis formation professionnelle, les élèves maîtres sont recrutés par concours. Pour l'entrée en troisième année, ils sont recrutés par concours ou choisis par les recteurs parmi les suppléants et les intérimaires, comme il est dit à l'article 60. Chaque année, le nombre des élèves de chaque catégorie, qui peuvent entrer dans les écoles normales, est fixé dans la loi de finances, sur la proposition du ministre de l'éducation nationale, d'après le nombre probable de vacances à combler. La prévision est faite dans chaque académie par le recteur après avis des conseils départementaux du ressort.

Art. 70 (nouveau). Tout candidat doit:

- 1° Etre de nationalité française;
- 2° Pour le concours d'entrée en première année, avoir plus de quinze ans et moins de dix-sept ans au 1er janvier de l'année où il est candidat; pour le concours d'entrée en troisième année, avoir plus de dix-sept ans et moins de dix-neuf ans au 1er janvier de l'année où il est candidat. Aucune dispense d'âge n'est accordée;
- 3° Posséder le brevet élémentaire pour l'entrée en première année, le baccalauréat pour l'entrée en troisième année;
- 4° Justifier, par un certificat délivré par une commission spéciale de trois médecins et examen radiologique pulmonaire, qu'il n'est atteint d'aucune infirmité ou maladie le rendant impropre au service de l'enseignement;
- 5° S'être engagé à servir dans l'enseignement public pendant dix ans après sa sortie de l'école normale; les conditions actuelles de cet engagement seront complétées par une réglementation ultérieure;
- 6° Ne pas être déjà élève d'une école normale, ni pourvu de la première partie du baccalauréat à son entrée en première année à l'école.

Les aspirants devront s'engager, en outre, à demander à l'autorité militaire, en temps opportun, les sursis qui leur seraient nécessaires pour le cas où ils atteindraient l'âge d'incorporation dans l'armée active avant d'avoir achevé leur scolarité. Tout élève maître qui ne demandera pas ce sursis ou qui, l'ayant obtenu, renoncera à en bénéficier, sera considéré comme démissionnaire. Aucun élève ne peut être admis ou maintenu dans une école normale s'il est marié. A titre tout à fait exceptionnel, des dérogations pourront être accordées par le ministre.

Art. 71 (nouveau). Après enquête portant essentiellement sur leur moralité, l'inspecteur d'académie arrête la liste des candidats admis à concourir.

Art. 72 (nouveau). Les candidates à l'un ou l'autre concours en subissent les épreuves devant une commission nommée par le recteur, présidée par l'inspecteur d'académie ou son délégué et comprenant obligatoirement:

Le directeur (ou la directrice) et les professeurs de l'école normale;

Deux inspecteurs (ou inspectrices) de l'enseignement primaire ou des écoles maternelles,

Il peut être fait appel, en outre, à des professeurs de lycée ou de collège (classique ou moderne) et à des professeurs de cours complémentaire.

Les autres membres sont choisis parmi les fonctionnaires ou les anciens fonctionnaires de l'enseignement public, supérieur, secondaire ou primaire. Les anciens membres de l'enseignement public ne peuvent faire partie de la commission s'ils ont cessé d'exercer depuis plus de deux ans. Aucun professeur enseignant dans une classe, qui présente des élèves au concours, ne peut faire partie de la commission chargée d'examiner ses propres élèves.

Les allocations à accorder aux membres de la commission sont celles prévues pour l'examen du brevet élémentaire. La commission ne peut délibérer régulièrement qu'autant que les deux tiers des membres sont présent.

Chacune des épreuves est obligatoirement corrigée par deux examinateurs au moins. L'examen oral a lieu pour chaque matière devant deux membres au moins. Les délibérations peuvent faire, s'il y a lieu, l'objet d'un vote qui est acquis à la majorité des suffrages. En cas de partage, la voix du président est prépondérante.

Art. 73 (nouveau). Dans l'un et l'autre concours, les candidats admis sont classés par ordre de mérite, sur une liste qui est transmise au recteur avec les procès-verbaux du concours. Une liste supplémentaire peut, s'il y a lieu, être dressée par ordre de mérite. Le recteur prononce suivant l'ordre de cette liste supplémentaire le remplacement des élèves maîtres de la même promotion dont la place est devenue vacante, au plus tard le 31 décembre de l'année du concours, par suite de démission, décès ou exclusion. En cas de besoin, les jeunes gens inscrits sur une liste supplémentaire peuvent être appelés à une école normale d'une autre académie.

Art. 74 (nouveau). Chaque année, au mois d'août, sur le vu soit des résultats du baccalauréat, soit des notes obtenues pendant le cours de troisième année et sur proposition du directeur, le conseil des professeurs entendu, le recteur, après avis de l'inspecteur d'académie, arrête la liste des élèves admis à passer de première en deuxième année et de troisième en quatrième année. Les élèves maîtres et les élèves maîtresses des première et deuxième année non reçus au baccalauréat (première ou deuxième partie) ou les élèves maîtres et élèves maîtresses de troisième année dont les notes ont été jugées

insuffisantes sont, soit autorisés à redoubler leur classe, soit exclus de l'établissement. La décision est prise par le recteur, après avis de l'inspecteur d'académie, et sur la proposition du chef d'établissement, le conseil des professeurs entendu. Le recteur peut, en outre, dans les mêmes formes, prononcer en cours d'année l'exclusion de tout élève reconnu incapable de suivre avec profit les cours de l'établissement, après un avertissement donné trois mois à l'avance à l'élève et à sa famille. Le recteur avise le ministre des exclusions qu'il prononce.

Art. 75 (nouveau). En régime normal, les élèves-maîtres et les élèves-maîtresses sont tenus de se présenter à la fin de leur première année d'études à la première partie du baccalauréat et à la fin de leur deuxième année d'études au baccalauréat deuxième partie obligatoirement: philosophie-sciences. Des dispositions ultérieures fixeront les modalités de l'examen qui sanctionnera les deux dernières années d'études (formation professionnelle).

Art. 76 (nouveau). Les emplois d'instituteur public qui se trouvent vacants dans le département sont attribués par priorité aux élèves-maîtres et dans l'ordre de leur rang de sortie.

Art. 77 - Abrogé.

Art. 78 (nouveau). Tout élève-maître qui quitte l'école de sa seule initiative ou qui en est exclu est tenu de restituer le prix de la pension ou de la bourse dont il a joui. Il en est de même pour tout ancien élève-maître qui rompt l'engagement prescrit par l'article 70 ci-dessus ou qui est hors d'état de l'accomplir par suite d'incapacité professionnelle constatée par l'inspecteur d'académie avant sa titularisation ou par suite d'une mesure disciplinaire, s'il est instituteur titulaire. La somme à restituer par les élèves ou anciens élèves internes comprend exclusivement:

- 1° Les frais de nourriture;
- 2° Les frais de blanchissage;
- 3° Le prix des fournitures classiques;
- 4° Si l'élève a bénéficié d'une bourse de trousseau d'une somme égale au montant de cette bourse;
- 5° Eventuellement le coût du logement en ville.

Toutefois, sur la proposition du recteur, après avis du conseil des professeurs et de l'inspecteur d'académie, le ministre peut accorder des sursis pour le paiement des sommes dues, ainsi qu'une remise partielle ou totale de ces mêmes sommes.

Art. 79 - Abrogé.

Art. 80. L'engagement de servir pendant dix ans dans l'enseignement public peut être accompli dans tout département, toute possession française ou tout pays soumis au protectorat de la France. Tout élève-maître qui quitte le département où se trouve l'école normale dans laquelle il a fait ses études doit être muni d'un exeat délivré par l'inspecteur d'académie.

Art. 81 - Abrogé par le décret du 18 août 1927.

SECTION IV

De l'enseignement

Art. 82 (nouveau). Un arrêté ministériel fixera les programmes et les horaires de l'enseignement professionnel dans les écoles normales.

SECTION V

Du régime intérieur et de la discipline

Art. 83. Les élèves-maîtres et les élèves-maîtresses ont toute

facilité pour suivre la pratique de leur culte, conformément aux dispositions des instructions générales du 9 avril 1903 (VI).

Art. 84. Les seules punitions que les élèves peuvent encourir sont:

- 1° La privation de sortie prononcée par le directeur;
- 2° L'avertissement donné par le directeur;
- 3° La réprimande devant le conseil des professeurs infligée suivant la gravité de la faute, par le directeur ou par l'inspecteur d'académie;
- 4° L'exclusion temporaire, pour un temps qui ne peut excéder quinze jours, prononcée par l'inspecteur d'académie, sur le rapport du directeur, après avis du conseil des professeurs;
- 5° Le transfert dans une autre école normale du ressort, prononcée par le recteur, sur le rapport de l'inspecteur d'académie, après avis du conseil des professeurs;
- 6° L'exclusion définitive prononcée par le ministre, sur le rapport du recteur et de l'inspecteur d'académie, après avis du conseil des professeurs.

Art. 85. Tout élève qui s'est rendu coupable d'une faute grave peut être remis immédiatement à sa famille par le directeur. Celui-ci doit alors, sans délai, en référer à l'inspecteur d'académie qui saisira de l'affaire le conseil des professeurs.

Art. 2 - Toutes dispositions contraires au présent décret sont abrogées.

Art. 3 - Le ministre de l'éducation nationale et le ministre des finances sont chargés, chacun en ce qui le concerne, de l'exécution du présent décret qui sera publié au Journal Officiel de la République française.

. . .

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adénis, André (with the collaboration of Arnoux, R., Caffin, J.-C., Couturier, A., Goumilhou, R. and Villatte, L.): Le Concours d'entrée en 3e année d'école normale (Collection "Les Etudes par l'exemple", Roudil, Paris, 1974)
- Anderson, R.D.: Education in France, 1848-1870 (O.U.P. [Clarendon], Oxford, 1975)
- Ardagh, John: The New France - A Society in Transition, 1945-1973 (first published as The New French Revolution) (Penguin, London, 2nd ed., 1973)
- Aron, Robert and Elgey, Georgette: Histoire de Vichy (Fayard, Paris, 1954; rev. ed., Les Productions de Paris, Paris, 1960)
- Asselain, Jean-Charles: Le Budget de l'Education Nationale, 1952-67 (P.U.F., Paris, 1969)
- Bachy, Jean-Paul and Bachy, Claudine: Les Etudiants et la politique (Colin, Paris, 1973)
- Bastide, Huguette: Institutrice de village (Mercure de France, Paris, 1969)
- Bataillon, Marcel, Berge, André and Walter, François: Rebâtir l'école (Payot, Paris, 1967)
- Baudelot, Christian and Estabiet, Roger: L'Ecole capitaliste en France (Collection "Les Cahiers Libres", Maspero, Paris, 1971)
- Berger, Ida (ed.): Lettres d'institutrices rurales d'autrefois (Association des Amis du Musée Pédagogique, Paris, n.d.)
- Berger, Ida and Benjamin, Roger: L'Univers des instituteurs (Editions de Minuit, Paris, 1964)
- Bertrand, A.-J.-C.: Le Guide des instituteurs (Imprimerie Commerciale, Puy-en-Velay, 1975)
- Blondel, Michèle: La Vie politique en France (Hachette, Paris, 1974)
- Brûlé, Hélène, Richardson, C.A. and Snyder, H.E.: The Training of Teachers in England, France and U.S.A. (U.N.E.S.C.O., Paris, 1953)
- Canivez, André: L'Ecole normale d'instituteurs de Douai (Editions Sannier, Douai, 1962)
- Capelle, Jean: L'Ecole de demain reste à faire (P.U.F., Paris, 1965); tr. by W.D. Halls: Tomorrow's Education - the French Experience (Pergamon, Oxford, 1967)
- Chanel, Emile: Textes clés de la pédagogie moderne (Collection "Paidoguides", Le Centurion, Paris, 1973)
- Chevallier, P., Groperrin, B. and Mailliet, J.: L'Enseignement français de la Révolution à nos jours (Mouton, Paris, 2 vol., 1968, 1971)

Clavel, Julien: Histoire de l'Ecole Normale d'Institutrices de Grenoble (Allier, Grenoble, 1969)

Cobban, Alfred: A History of Modern France (Penguin, London, 2 vol., 1957, 1961)

Code Soleil - Le Livre des Instituteurs (S.U.D.E.L., Paris, published annually; 45th ed., 1975)

Commissariat Général au Plan: Rapports des Commissions du 6e Plan, 1971-75 - Education (Documentation Française, Paris, 1971)

Commissariat Général au Plan: Rapport de la Commission Education et Formation - Préparation du 7e Plan (Documentation Française, Paris, 1976)

Crémieux-Brilhac, Jean-Louis (ed.): L'Education Nationale (Collection "L'Administration Française", P.U.F., Paris, 1965)

Crinier, R.: Caractérologie des instituteurs (P.U.F., Paris, 1963)

Decaunes, L. and Cavalier, M.-L.: Réformes et projets de réforme de l'enseignement français de la Révolution à nos jours (S.E.V.P.E.N., Paris, 1962)

De Landsheere, Gilbert: La Formation des enseignants demain (Casterman-Orientations, Tournai, 1976)

Delion, André: L'Education en France - problèmes et perspectives (Documentation Française, Paris, 1973)

De l'Université aux universités (Collection "Cahiers des Universités Françaises", Colin, Paris, 1971)

Données Sociales, 1974 (I.N.S.E.E., Paris, 1974)

Duby, Georges and Mandrou, Robert: Histoire de la civilisation française (Colin, Paris, new ed., 1968, 2 vol.)

Durkheim, Emile: L'Evolution pédagogique en France (P.U.F., Paris, 1969)

Duveau, G.: Les Instituteurs (Seuil, Paris, 1957)

L'Ecole normale a 150 ans (Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Académie de Strasbourg, Strasbourg, 1960)

L'Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs de Paris - 1872-1972 (Coopérative de l'Ecole, Paris, 1972)

Encyclopédie pratique de l'éducation en France (I.P.N., Paris, 1960)

L'Education Nationale en chiffres (I.P.N., Paris, 1969)

Evans, Howard: L'Administration locale (Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 1973)

Faure, Edgar (with the collaboration of Herrera, F., Kaddoura, A.R., Lopes, H., Petrovski, A.V., Rahnema, M. and Ward, C.): Apprendre à être (U.N.E.S.C.O.-Éayard, Paris, 1974)

Ferré, André: Morale professionnelle de l'instituteur (S.U.D.E.L., Paris, 1949)

Ferré, Max: Histoire du mouvement syndicaliste révolutionnaire chez les instituteurs (S.U.D.E.L., Paris, 1955)

La Fonction enseignante dans le second degré: Rapport de la Commission d'Etudes (Documentation Française, Paris, 1972)

Former des maîtres pour notre temps - travaux du Colloque National organisé par le S.N.E.S., le S.N.E.Sup., le S.N.E.P., le S.N.P.E.N.,

(Supplément au Bulletin du S.N.E.Sup., Paris, July-August 1973)

Fourrier, Charles: Extrait du recueil méthodique de textes et arrêts du droit administratif (C.R.P.E.G.C., Ecole Normale d'Instituteurs, Strasbourg, n.d.)

Fourrier, Charles: Les Institutions universitaires (Collection "Que sais-je?" P.U.F., Paris, 1971)

France, Norway, Spain (Collection "Classification of Educational Systems in O.E.C.D. Member Countries", O.E.C.D., Paris, 1972)

France (Collection "Reviews of National Policies for Education", O.E.C.D., Paris, 1971)

France, Ireland (Collection "Direction of Scientific Affairs: Studies of Teachers", O.E.C.D., Paris, 1969)

Fraser, W.R.: Education and Society in Modern France (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1963)

Fraser, W.R.: Reforms and Restraints in Modern French Education (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1971)

Gasquet, A.: La Réforme des écoles normales (unpublished document, I.P.N., Paris, 1912-13?)

Georges, Guy, Hannoun, Hubert, Léon, Antoine and Toraille, Raymond: La Formation des maîtres (Editions E.S.F., Paris, 1974)

Glossinde, André: Je suis instituteur (Ed. du Conquistador, Paris, 1954)

Gontard, Maurice: L'Enseignement primaire en France de la Révolution à la loi Guizot (Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1959)

Gontard, Maurice: Les Ecoles primaires de la France bourgeoise, 1833-1875 (C.R.D.P., Toulouse/I.P.N., Paris, n.d.)

Gontard, Maurice: L'Oeuvre scolaire de la Troisième République, l'enseignement primaire en France de 1876 à 1914 (I.P.N., Paris, n.d.)

Gontard, Maurice: La Question des écoles normales primaires de la Révolution de 1789 à la Loi de 1879 (C.R.D.P., Toulouse/I.P.N., Paris, 1962)

Gontard, Maurice: La Question des écoles normales primaires de la Révolution de 1789 à nos jours (C.R.D.P., Toulouse, n.d.)

Granet, Danièle: Journal d'une institutrice (J.-C. Lattès/Edition Spéciale, Paris, 1973)

Gréard, Octave: La Législation de l'instruction primaire en France depuis 1789 jusqu'à nos jours (Delalain, Paris, 7 vol., 1889-92; 2nd ed., 1900)

Guillemoteau, René, Mayeur, Pierre and Iorg, Marcel: Traité de législation scolaire et universitaire (Colin, Paris; vol. 1, 1972, vol. 2, 1970, vol. 3, 1970)

Haby, René: Propositions pour une modernisation du système éducatif (Documentation Française, Paris, 1975)

Hacquard, Georges: Vers une école idéale (Laffont, Paris, 1971)

Halls, W.D.: Society, Schools and Progress in France (Pergamon, London, 1965)

Holmes, Brian: Problems in Education (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1965)

Horaires et programmes de l'enseignement du second degré (Vuibert, Paris, annual)

Hu, Colette, et al.: La Rénovation pédagogique à l'école élémentaire (I.N.R.D.P., Paris, 1973)

L'Instituteur (O.N.I.S.E.P., Paris, 1973)

Jacoulet, M.E.: Notice historique sur les écoles normales d'instituteurs et d'institutrices, in Recueil des monographies pédagogiques publiées à l'occasion de l'Exposition Universelle de 1889 (Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1889, Vol. 2)

Journées d'Etudes, Caen, 6-8 septembre 1961 - Rapport (Groupe Français de l'Education Nouvelle, Paris, 1961)

Juif, Paul: La Réforme de la formation professionnelle des maîtres de l'enseignement élémentaire (C.R.D.P./I.P.N., Aix-Marseille, 1964)

Juif, Paul and Dovero, Fernand: Guide de l'étudiant en sciences pédagogiques (P.U.F., Paris, 1972)

Kandel, I.L.: The New Era in Education (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1955)

Kandel, I.L.: Comparative Education (Greenwood Press, Westport, 1933)

King, Edmund J.: The Education of Teachers (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, London, 1970)

King, Edmund J.: Other Schools and Ours (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York, 4th ed., 1973)

King, Edmund J., Moor, Christine H. and Mundy, Jennifer A.: Post-Compulsory Education - a new analysis in Western Europe (Sage, London, 2 vol., 1974, 1975)

Leif, Joseph: Inspirations et tendances nouvelles de l'éducation (Delagrave, Paris, 1967)

Leif, Joseph, et al.: Traité des sciences pédagogiques, Vol. 3 - Pédagogie comparée (P.U.F., Paris, 1972)

Leif, Joseph, Rustin, G. and Biancheri, A.: Philosophie de l'éducation (Delagrave, Paris, 4 vol., 1972-4)

Leloup, Marie-Madeleine: Institutrice (Laffont, Paris, 1976)

Léon, Antoine: Histoire de l'enseignement en France (Collection "Que sais-je?" P.U.F., Paris, 1967)

Leterrier, L.: Programmes, instructions (Hachette, Paris, annual)

Loi, Maurice: Le Désastre scolaire (Editions Sociales, Paris, 1962)

Lomax, Donald E.: European Perspectives in Teacher Education (Wiley, London, 1976)

Lynch, James and Plunkett, H. Dudley: Teacher Education and Cultural Change - England, France, West Germany (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1973)

Majault, Joseph: L'Enseignement en France (McGraw-Hill, London, 1973)

Majault, Joseph: La Révolution de l'enseignement (Laffont, Paris, 1967)

Mareuil, A., Legrand, J. and Cruchet, M.: Guide pédagogique des jeunes (Hachette, Paris, 1965)

- Marot, Jean and Dardenne, Maurice: Guide du candidat au Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique (Collection "Université", Magnard, Paris, 1973)
- Miguet, Marc: Les Institutions laïques et l'Eglise (Privat, Toulouse, 1968)
- Natanson, Jacques: L'Avenir de l'éducation (E.P.I.S.A., Paris, 1971)
- Natanson, Jacques and Prost, Antoine: La Révolution scolaire (Ed. Ouvrières, Paris, 1963)
- Ozouf, Jacques (ed.): Nous les maîtres d'école (Julliard, Paris, 1967; Gallimard, Paris, 1973)
- Palmèro, J.: Histoire des institutions et des doctrines pédagogiques par les textes (S.U.D.E.L., Paris, 1958)
- Payot, Jules: Aux instituteurs et aux institutrices - conseils et directions pratiques (Colin, Paris, 1910)
- Peyrefitte, Alain (ed.): Rue d'Ulm - chroniques de la vie normalienne (Plon, Paris, new ed., 1964)
- Peyrefitte, Alain: Le Mal français (Plon, Paris, 1976)
- Pierot, R.: Le Statut de l'instituteur public (Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, Paris, 1972)
- Pierret, R. and Bardon, H.: La Vie de l'instituteur (Hatier, Paris, 1963)
- Le Plan Langevin-Wallon de réforme de l'enseignement (Compte-rendu du Colloque organisé par le Groupe Français d'Education Nouvelle et la Société Française de Pédagogie) (P.U.F., Paris, 1964)
- Pointud, J.: Petit précis de pédagogie (Collection "Carnets de Pédagogie Pratique", Colin, Paris, 1973)
- Ponteil, Félix: Histoire de l'enseignement en France, 1789-1967 (Sirey, Paris, 1966)
- Pour une école nouvelle (Formation des maîtres et recherche en éducation) - Actes du Colloque National, Amiens, 1968 (Association d'Etude pour l'Expansion de la Recherche Scientifique, Dunod, Paris, 1969)
- Projet de réforme Langevin-Wallon (I.P.N., Paris, 1962)
- Prost, Antoine: L'Enseignement en France 1800-1967 (Colin, Paris, 1968)
- Rapport de la Commission d'Etudes sur la fonction enseignante dans le second degré (Documentation Française, Paris, 1972)
- Recueil des Lois et Règlements (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Paris, annual)
- Recrutement et formation des instituteurs (Collection "Programmes Vuibert", Vuibert, Paris, annual)
- Repusseau, Jean: Homo Docens - Réflexions sur l'action pédagogique et la formation des maîtres (Colin, Paris, 1972)
- Roussel, Jeannette: Etre institutrice (Collection "Hommes et Métiers", Ed. du Cerf, Paris, 1973)
- Sultan, Elie and Preiss, Clarence: Les Enseignants du second degré - étude psychosociologique (Collection "Travaux et Recherches", Documentation Française, Paris, 1973)
- Syndicat National des Instituteurs: L'Ecole Fondamentale (S.U.D.E.L., Paris, 1973)
- Talbott, John E.: Politics of Educational Reform in France, 1918-40

(Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1969)

Témoignages sur l'Ecole Normale de Strasbourg et les instituteurs alsaciens (Académie de Strasbourg, 1960)

Tint, Herbert: France since 1918 (Batsford, London, 1970)

Tronchère, J.: Le Certificat d'aptitude pédagogique (Collection "Carnets de Pédagogie Pratique", Colin, Paris, rev. ed., 1974)

Tronchère, J.: L'Ecole d'aujourd'hui et la mutation des méthodes (Colin, Paris, 1970)

Van Quang, Jean-Pierre: Sciences et technologie de l'éducation - bibliographie analytique (Casterman, Paris, 1974)

Vial, Jean: La Pédagogie au ras du sol (Editions E.S.F., Paris, 1973)

Wadier, Henri: L'Ecole coïncée (O.C.D.L., Paris, 1974)

Wadier, Henri: La Réforme de l'enseignement n'aura pas lieu (Laffont, Paris, 1970)

Wittwer, Jacques: Pour une révolution pédagogique (Editions Universitaires, Paris, 1968)

Wykes, Olive: Secondary Education in France during the Fourth Republic (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Melbourne, 1961)

Year Book of Education, 1963 - II-11: Thaboult, Roger: Professional Training of Teachers in France; III-8: Campan, F.: Means and Possibilities for Teacher Recruitment in France; IV-8: Campan, F.: The Centres Pédagogiques Régionaux in France (Evans, London, 1963)

. . .

The following subject bibliographies are included in footnotes in the body of the thesis:

The life of the *instituteur* (novels, biographies, autobiographies): Section 1, note 2

The *écoles maternelles* (pre-schools): Section 1, note 8

The *école laïque* (the secular tradition in French education): Section 1, note 15

Textbooks dealing with *la morale professionnelle* (professional ethics for primary school teachers): Section 4, note 88

Textbooks giving guidance for the examinations for the *Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle*: Section 4, note 268, and Section 6, note 94

The Langevin-Wallon Reform plan: Section 5, note 36

Educational reform plans during the Fourth Republic: Section 5, note 54

The Student Revolution of May 1968: Section 5, note 206

In-service education courses for *instituteurs*: Section 6, note 287

The Haby Reform proposals: Section 8, note 43

. . .

Journals

Action Laïque (*Ligue de l'Enseignement; Confédération des Oeuvres Laïques*)

Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Historiques, Géographiques et Scientifiques de la Région Parisienne

Bulletin de Liaison des Professeurs d'Ecole Normale (pour l'étude des faits sociaux)

Bulletin d'Information et de Documentation Scolaire et Professionnelle (*Ministère de l'Education Nationale*)

Bulletin du Syndicat National des Inspecteurs Départementaux de l'Education Nationale

Bulletin du Syndicat National des Professeurs des Ecoles Normales (later: Former des Maîtres)

Bulletin du Syndicat National de l'Enseignement du Second Degré

Bulletin: Education et Enseignement

Bulletin Officiel de l'Education Nationale (*Ministère de l'Education Nationale*)

Cahiers Pédagogiques (*Comité Universitaire d'Information Pédagogique*)

Le Certifié

Courrier de l'Education (*Ministère de l'Education Nationale*)

Courrier de l'Union Syndicale Nationale des Administrateurs de l'Education Nationale

Courrier des Examens (*Delagrave, Paris*)

Dialogues

Dossiers Documentaires - Séries Information (*Ministère de l'Education Nationale*)

Ecole de France dans le Monde

Ecole du Grand Paris (*Syndicat National des Instituteurs*)

L'Ecole Emancipée (*Coöpérative Ouvrière des Amis de l'Ecole Emancipée*)

Ecole et Education (*Syndicat Général de l'Education Nationale*) (later: Syndicalisme Universitaire)

Ecole et la Nation (*Parti Communiste*)

Ecole et la Vie (*Colin, Paris*)

Ecole Libératrice (*Syndicat National des Instituteurs*)

L'Educateur (*Institut Coöpératif de l'Ecole Moderne; Freinet*)

Education (*S.E.V.P.E.N.*) (formerly Education Nationale)

Education et Développement (*Ecole Nouvelle Française*)

Education Nationale (semi-official journal of *Ministère de l'Education Nationale*) (later: Education)

Education Physique et Sport (*Etablissements de Joinville, Paris*)

Le Figaro (daily)

Foi Education (*Fédération Protestante de l'Enseignement*)

Former des Maîtres (*Syndicat National des Professeurs des Ecoles Normales*) (formerly Bulletin du S.N.P.E.N.)

Le Français d'Aujourd'hui

Informations Statistiques (*Service Central des Statistiques et de la Conjoncture, Ministère de l'Education Nationale*)

Journal des Professeurs de l'Enseignement du Second Degré

Journal Officiel - Assemblée Nationale (parliamentary record; *Imprimerie Nationale*)

Journal Officiel - Sénat (parliamentary record; *Imprimerie Nationale*)

Liberté d'Enseignement (*Secrétariat d'Etudes pour la Liberté d'Enseignement et la Défense de la Culture*)

Média (*O.F.R.A.T.E.M.E., Ministère de l'Education Nationale*)

Le Monde (daily)

Le Monde de l'Education (*Le Monde, Paris*)

Le Normalien Dijonais

Nos Ecoles Publiques (*Syndicat National des Directeurs des Ecoles Publiques*)

Nouvelle Revue Pédagogique (*Nathan, Paris*)

Organe du Syndicat National de l'Education Physique de l'Enseignement Public

Population (*Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques*)

Pour l'Ere Nouvelle (*Ligue Internationale de Pédagogie; Association des Groupements d'Education Nouvelle de Langue Française*) (later: *Sciences de l'Education*)

Quinzaine Universitaire (*Syndicat National des Lycées et Collèges*)

Repères (*I.N.R.D.P., Ministère de l'Education Nationale*) (later: *Revue Française de Pédagogie*)

Revue de l'Econome

Revue de l'Enseignement Philosophique (*Association des Professeurs de Philosophie de l'Enseignement Public*)

Revue des Deux Mondes

Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine

Revue Française de Pédagogie (*I.N.R.D.P., Ministère de l'Education Nationale*) (formerly *Repères*)

Sciences de l'Education (*Association des Groupements d'Education Nouvelle de Langue Française*) (formerly *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle*)

Statistiques de l'Enseignement (*Service Central des Statistiques et de la Conjoncture, Ministère de l'Education Nationale*)

Syndicalisme Universitaire (*Syndicat Général de l'Education Nationale*) (formerly *Ecole et Education*)

Tableaux Statistiques (*Service Central des Statistiques et de la Conjoncture, Ministère de l'Education Nationale*)

Tendances (*Association pour la Diffusion de la Pensée Française*)

Université Moderne (*Association pour l'Université Moderne*)

Vie Enseignante (*Association des Instituteurs Catholiques*) (later: *Vivante Education*)

Vivante Education (formerly *Vie Enseignante*)

Voix des Enseignants (*Confédération Générale des Cadres; Fédération de l'Enseignement Public; Syndicat Général de l'Enseignement Public*)

. . .