THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN POST-WAR EDUCATIONAL REFORM

IN FRANCE, 1947-1975.

VOLUME II.

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CHAPTER VI

THE ORIGINS OF THE RENOVATION PEDAGOGIQUE
The Lebettre circular of 19th October, 1960, which represented the climax of the official policy of retrenchment in elementary school curriculum, reflected two related factors in the development of the educational system. The first was the extension of secondary provision which if still some way from being universal settled the question of the place of the elementary school in the reformed system. The second was directly related to the first in that increased entry to secondary education, even of only about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the elementary school population, served to indicate the disparity between the expectations of the secondary schools and the attainments of the elementary. This influenced official thinking seemingly in isolation from the alternative perception of the problem, based on the disparity between the aspirations of the official programmes and the possibilities of the pupils and led in the direction of narrowing the curriculum to concentration on the basics rather than embarking on a re-appraisal of the assumptions on which the pedagogy of the elementary school had been based. On the other hand, the 1960 circular was an addition to the official texts governing the work of the elementary school. It did not replace the Official Instructions of 1923, as amended in 1945 and 1956; the former texts still remained valid, in effect giving legislative status to the ambivalence of the Ministry over the question of elementary school pedagogy, as M. Lebettre had himself deprecated the dropping of subjects like history as a mis-interpretation of his circular.

The development of the question of elementary school pedagogy
during the 1960's was essentially a continuation of the debates of the late-1950's but with a steadily changing balance due to a variety of factors which served to turn the Ministry away from its initial concern for lightening and simplification of programmes towards a more fundamental examination of the curriculum. This trend, already anticipated by M. Lebettre's approbation of the Vanves experiment in tandem with his famous circular, was reinforced as the 1960's progressed by the cumulative evidence of the malfunction of the school under its existing regime. The attempt to turn the elementary schools more firmly in the direction of preparing the basics as preparation for secondary school had only limited success and the first steps to reinforce the assessment pattern in cours moyen were rapidly outstripped in importance by the pressure for re-appraisal of the curriculum as a whole. In 1962, a system of cahiers mensuels was introduced in conjunction with the dossier scolaire sought by such as Roger Gal since the 1940's. The dossier followed each child through his elementary school career and incorporated not only a continuous record of performance but also family information, notes on the child's health and annual reports by teachers and psychologists on the behaviour and aptitudes of the pupil. 1 The introduction of the monthly exercises in dictation and arithmetic in cours moyen, in some cases common to all classes in a department, supplemented this information with a fuller record of performance during the critical years of cours moyen to provide the final profile on which decisions would be made about the child's
future at 11+. The Commission established by the Ministry to study the transfer problem, however, argued that this problem lay not so much on the weaknesses of the contemporary age cohorts of children or the failings of teachers as on the unrealistic demands of the school in terms of attainments and the unsuitability of the methods in use; more systematic procedures of the type outlined above served only to confirm the problems. This latter view was increasingly supported by changes in the curriculum of the secondary school, for example, in the introduction of new mathematics in the upper secondary, which in turn served to change the nature of the demand for preparation for secondary school, but even more by the effects of the elementary school problem on the overall attainment of the main policy goals of the Ministry.

With the development of the first cycle secondary during the 1960's, confirmed by the establishment of the Collège D'Enseignement Secondaire in 1963 as the key institution in the democratisation of the system, one long-standing characteristic of the elementary school, its reliance on grade repeating, could be seen as calling into question not only the pedagogy of the school but also the whole concept of democratisation. An orientation cycle for children of 11-15 was effectively vitiated if about half the age group had fallen behind by the end of the elementary stage. In the light of the practice of streaming in the early CES, which itself tended to pre-judge decisions to be taken in theory at 15, grade-repeating in the elementary school
compounded the problem of pre-orientation in that it largely determined the stream in which the pupil would find himself in the sixième and beyond. Thus access to the "classical" or "modern I" streams, themselves associated with "long" upper secondary studies, rested on a normal progress through elementary school, while retardation tended to mean transfer to a "modern 2" stream, leading in almost all cases to a "short" upper secondary course, while the pupil who had lost more than one year was effectively destined for the classe de transition. (See Figure 5.)

The incidence of redoublements, a matter which received sporadic attention in the 1940's and 1950's, became in the 1960's a matter of more or less continuous concern, although the steady ammassing of evidence on the phenomenon and the increasingly general agreement on its undesireability did not prevent its survival to the end of the period under study. In addition, research demonstrated the socio-economic influences on the incidence of repeats, an aspect given focus by the work of Baudelot and Establet, whose chapter on the elementary school in their work L'Ecole Capitaliste en France was later published separately under the title L'Ecole Primaire Divise. 4 (Baudelot and Establet, however, based their arguments on work carried out by various researchers in the 1960's). 5 The cumulative nature of repeating throughout the elementary school, its slow decline in numbers and the socio-economic influences are outlined in Tables
* This system was officially replaced by a streaming system of I, II and III (c. 42%, 42%, 16%) in the 1972 Fontanet reforms, but survived into the 1973 session in some schools visited by the author.

+ Common Course I and II in original scheme: division into Classique, Moderne I and II in practice from 6e.
TABLE 8. REDOUBLEMENTS, SCHOOL YEAR 1963/4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age at 1/1/64</th>
<th>CP</th>
<th>CEI</th>
<th>CE2</th>
<th>CM 1</th>
<th>CM 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>64.6*</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>58.3*</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>51.2*</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>43.8*</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>40.7*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* Indicates pupils in appropriate class for age.
### TABLE 9. TRENDS IN INCIDENCE OF REDOUBLEMENTS, 1965-1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>1965/66</th>
<th>1970/71</th>
<th>1974/75</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CP by % age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils in advance</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; normal age</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>79.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 1 year behind</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 2+ years behind</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CE2 by % age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils in advance</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; of normal age</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td>65.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 1 year behind</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 2+ years behind</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM2 by % age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils in advance</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; of normal age</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>55.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 1 year behind</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 2+ years behind</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 10. REDOULEMENTS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parental occupational category</th>
<th>% age of children making normal or accelerated progress</th>
<th>% age suffering retardation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farm workers</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>77.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban workers</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>59.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>59.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadres supérieures</td>
<td>71.2</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The immediate influence of the evidence of the gravity of the problem of redoublements was to contribute to the broadening of the perception of the problems of the elementary school. The initial concern over the performance of the elementary schools had been generated by the difficulties experienced over transfer to secondary. The growing awareness of the effects of grade-repeating served to direct attention to the first class of the elementary, the cours préparatoire, in which class a large proportion of the school population faced the prospect of failure at the outset of their school careers, a failure which for many became the start of a cumulative process which might lead to 2, 3 or even 4 years of grade repeating by the end of the elementary school, in turn entailing for some a school career which would not proceed beyond cours moyen. The importance of grade repeating in CP was underlined by the findings of Colette Chiland, who showed that leaving the child to face again the difficulties which had already rebuffed him, in the additionally demotivating circumstances of repeating a class, tended only to reinforce the original failure. On the other hand, Chiland also found that transfer to cours élémentaire without remedial support was equally unsuccessful. 6

The problem of the cours préparatoire was a problem both of principle and of practice. The first rested on the abrupt transition from the part of the educational system regarded by the French as the most progressive part of the system, the école maternelle, to the stage which in the 1960's was increasingly
seen as the least developed, the elementary school. In addition to the marked change in educational practice, there was also the formidable requirement that the child should master the basic skills of reading during the course of this class. Failure in reading thus became of global failure in that if the pupil fell behind on one aspect of the curriculum, he must necessarily fall behind in all. The practical aspect was that the first class tended to be entrusted to the newest teachers while in single class rural schools, there was the problem of reliance on untrained beginners. In larger schools, it seems that the question of pupil age played as large a part in determining status as it did between elementary and secondary. The Ministry attempted to tackle this problem by specifying that the *cours préparatoire* should be entrusted only to experienced teachers, but contemporary comment suggested that this provision remained essentially a dead letter. Throughout the 1960's, the question of staffing of the *cours préparatoire* cropped up fairly regularly. There were advocates of the inception of a special qualification leading to the defined status of *instituteur/cours préparatoire*, but this suggestion seems to have elicited little response.

The question of the re-appraisal of the curriculum of the elementary school was approached by different agencies from a variety of related standpoints, all linked by the increasingly common belief that the progress of educational reform as a whole was largely vitiated by the absence of attention to modernising the pedagogy of the elementary school. The aim of this chapter
is to show how these various pressures led the Ministry away from the initial reaction of lightening and simplifying programmes to one of seeking positive alternatives. Originating variously in developmental, subject specialist and "democratic" concerns, these pressures served also to develop an increasing consensus during the 1960's, but a consensus which was still subject to major tensions arising from the coexistence of widely differing perspectives both on the means and the ends of pedagogic reform.

The main official concern was with the increasingly evident inefficacy of the elementary school, a question which lost little of its intensity after 1960. Christian Fouchet, the creator of the CES, informed the National Assembly during the 1963 budget debate that a survey had shown that of the previous year's intake to the armed forces, only 60% were of sufficient educational level to undertake the CM 2 course. 9 Jean Vial, in a study of Parisian firemen, found that little or nothing was retained from the programmes of the elementary school, save perhaps the basic skills of computation. Grammar and orthography showed little return for the time and effort expended on them, a finding which agreed with the conclusions of the I.P.N. Commission on transfer, that only a few of the notions in the programme could be said to have been properly absorbed and then only by a minority of pupils, while the abandonment of the teaching of orthography in the secondary school was followed by a progressive decline in attainment. Of programmes for history and geography, Vial found only a few tangled remains. 10
This kind of evidence only served to confirm the failings which had prompted the Lebettre circular, but perceived solutions changed as the 1960's progressed. The ministerial response was different in the first instance; M. Fouchet set up a commission under the chairmanship of the Inspecteur Général, M. Rouchette, to consider first modifications to the grammar programmes, although the work of the Commission was to expand its horizons considerably over the following seven years. In addition to the ministerial recognition of the need to reconsider elementary school pedagogy, the nature of the demands of the secondary school began to change, exerting a further pressure for programme reform. This was related to one of the main thrusts of reform policy in the Fifth Republic, the need to develop a larger pool of highly educated manpower; the result was considerable downwards pressure from secondary and higher education for the renovation of elementary school programmes to meet the changing demands posed by the development of subject knowledge.

The first specific example of this was in the case of mathematics, in which changes had spread only slowly from higher into secondary education. New mathematics was introduced into the preparatory classes for the grandes écoles in 1955, but into the second cycle of the secondary school only in 1963 and then against considerable opposition. This partial development led to pressure from the upper stages of the educational system for the lower stages to be brought into line in order to prepare pupils for these changing demands. The association of mathematics
teachers, APMEP, coined the slogan "from the 'maternelle' to the university" to describe their strategy for reform, although in practice the process took place in the reverse order, prompting one cynical comment that for the first time in history children had been required by ministerial fiat to rejuvenate themselves in order to follow a logically sequenced course in new mathematics. This aspect of the pressure for reform was given more general focus by the Colloquium of Caen in 1966. Primarily composed of specialists from higher education and organised by the Association Française pour la Recherche Scientifique, the Colloquium deprecated the threat to French society posed by the progressive diminution in the numbers of pupils opting for the sciences and advocated as a solution the total reform of all programmes for elementary and secondary schools. This was to be carried out on a basis similar to that of the post-Sputnik reforms in American education, one of teams of specialists, including representatives from higher education, drawing up new programmes for their respective subjects. The motions of the Colloquium may be seen as the first full statement of the curricular implications of the reform of the structures of the system, in the desire to create, in place of the old independent degrés, whose influence still hung over the curriculum, a planned and coherent sequence of instruction defined as a whole. Thus the elementary school was to be defined as the school where the pupil learned in order to continue his training at subsequent stages rather than accumulating the "baggage" of knowledge of
the old system. This was much more than a reversion to the secondary viewpoint of the late 1950's in that the secondary school would be radically changed as well. In particular, although this was not made explicit at Caen, the main emphasis of the argument about pupil choices in upper secondary and higher education was incompatible with the continuation of Latin as the prime mode of selection, which tended to mean that poorer pupils were assigned to modern sections. The removal of the pressure to prepare for the study of Latin, which exerted a heavy influence on the grammar programmes of the elementary school, would in itself change the nature of the demands on the latter. The Colloquium also called for the development of research facilities in the sciences of education as well as the extension of teacher training to two years, with the écoles normales up-graded and concentrating exclusively on post-baccalaureate work.

In later years, the Colloquium of Caen has tended to be bracketed with the one held at Amiens two years later, as the source of much of the visionary in the early stages of the rénovation pédagogique. There is little in the proceedings of the Colloquium to justify this view. These wider perspectives were absent from the specialist concerns which dominated the discussions and the conclusions were broadly in harmony with the main trends in official policy. They did, however, represent a major movement of opinion on the question of curriculum reform which took place in the context of major shifts of opinion in other quarters which added other elements to the debate.
The fundamental criticisms of the school regime advanced by such as Roger Gal, Marc-André Bloch and Louis Legrand have already been outlined in Chapter III, as have the criticisms from the medical profession so sweepingly dismissed by Jean Château. Events of the 1960's provided an increasing vindication of their views by the accumulating evidence that the malfunction of the school had deeper roots than the material and staffing crises of the 1950's. The criticisms of the medical profession attained their summation in 1962, with the publication of the major report by the doctors Debré and Douady, "La Fatigue des Ecoliers dans le Système Scolaire Actuel". This report was influential in putting the debate on the elementary school on a new footing for the rest of the 1960's. The doctors rejected the simple explanation of surmenage scolaire, a view of overloading which was quite compatible with the secondary pressure merely to lighten the school programmes, postulating instead the alternative perception of malmenage scolaire, deriving from diverse factors and leading not to recuperable fatigue but a much deeper, cumulative and pathological fatigue. This indictment encompassed not only the school regime but many wider social influences, such as inadequate or ill-balanced diet, excessive time on school journeys and lack of adequate sleep for many children.

To compound these problems, the school regime added others. Overpopulated classes created stresses for the pupils as did the pressure of school and parental demands for attainment, leading
to a regime in which competition, in the form of marks and class ranking, verged on the toxic. Little attempt was made to alternate mental and physical activity and afternoon classes in particular were seen as too long and too weighty in which the brevity of intervals was compounded by lack of space. To add to the daily imbalance in the school regime, there was also the longer term imbalance caused by the school year, with its excessively long terms and its excessively long summer vacation – the influence of which on attainments had already been noted in Chapter III.

The criticisms of Debré and Douady were given practical and continuing expression by Défense de la Jeunesse Scolaire, DJS, which by the mid-1960's had a membership of about 3,000. DJS mounted a vigorous campaign against the surreptitious revival of written homework under other titles, such as "optional" exercises which cleared the way for parental pressure, especially in CM 2. The association's efforts in this matter took two directions, one being pressure on the administration, the other being a campaign to educate parents out of their general approval of devoirs du soir.

DJS attention also focussed on the place of physical education in the school curriculum as indicative of the problem of the disparity between official texts and the reality of school practice. Although the Official Instructions still specified 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) hours per week of physical education, this was widely ignored in schools, for reasons ranging from lack of interest to lack of training or facilities; some teachers wanted physical
education to be given by specialists, others had to cross a route nationale to reach playing fields. This neglect continued throughout the 1960's despite the establishment of a "minimum programme" by the Ministry and a growing awareness of the issue. In 1966, it was estimated that 65% of schools did not offer the physical education specified in the timetable, an estimate largely borne out by findings in 1969, at the time of the rénovation pédagogique. Thus despite the pressures of DJS, reminders from administration and some major initiatives at the upper levels of the system, as well as some dismay at the performance of French athletes in Olympic Games, (although British athletes having had the advantage of P.E. in schools did not fare much better during the 1960's), the practice of the elementary school remained little changed during the decade.

Thus during the 1960's, there was a progressive development of a desire for a total re-appraisal of the elementary school curriculum, both from the standpoint of the system as a whole, in that the elementary school tended to vitiate the course of the reform of the system as a whole - and from the standpoint that the school regime itself was harmful to children. If originating from different sources, these various pressures increasingly led to the development of a common interest in educational reform. The ministerial desire to improve the rendement of the elementary school was largely paralleled by the specialist concerns demonstrated at the Colloquium of Caen and increasingly turned attention to the kind of reform sought by
critics like Legrand who argued for a major re-appraisal of pedagogical assumptions. In turn, this led to an increasing participation by members of movements for l'éducation nouvelle, either directly, as in the official adoption of techniques developed by such as Freinet, or indirectly, through the involvement of members of such groups in associations devoted to reform of subject content. The effects of these changes may be seen in the steady shift in official thinking from about 1963 onwards. This unity of purpose which was to develop did not entirely conceal the tensions arising from the different expectations of the different participants in the process, tensions which were clearly stated even at the point at which the emergent consensus reached its highest expression. Before examining this aspect further, however, it is worth outlining the process of re-appraisal which actually developed over the years leading up to the major changes of 1969.

Reference has already been made to the first response of the Ministry to the increasing evidence that the pedagogy of the elementary school was ill-adapted to the age and aptitudes of the pupils. The establishment of the Rouchette Commission of 1963 led to the publication of the circular of 20th July, 1964, in which the demands not only of the grammar programmes but also those of the arithmetic programmes were moderated. This circular, (frequently referred to as the Capelle circular), not only made some aspects of the grammar programme for cours moyen optional, but also redefined the assumptions on which the
teaching of grammar was based. Instead of being seen as a separate discipline, grammar was henceforth to be regarded as a contribution to the richness of oral and written expression of the pupil, a change in emphasis which entailed limiting grammatical knowledge to the essential and relating it to the possibilities of the pupil. This stress was echoed in the arguments advanced by Louis Legrand, a member of the Commission, in his book written in 1966 on the subject of the teaching of French. Teachers were enjoined to make sure of the acquisition of the essentials, where necessary by patient and systematic revision of the CM1 course during CM2.

The establishment of the Rouchette Commission, however, had much wider significance over a much longer period. Originating in response to a set of specific problems, the Commission carried on its work, first of working towards new projected instructions, then of testing its first project in a major research exercise, until it arrived at a definitive statement in 1970, the year following the launching of the official rénovation pédagogique. During its existence, therefore, the Rouchette Commission exemplified several aspects of the movement towards reform, first the response to evident inadequacies in existing practice, followed by the widening of perspectives to encompass not only a change of methods but also a fundamental shift in the values on which the curriculum was based and finally, in the ministerial reservations about the final product, the limitations to the consensus on which the reform was based. The first of these has
already been noted, while the last belongs to the chapter following; it is the second which illustrates the flowering of the reform movement during the 1960's.

The Commission produced its projected instructions in 1966, but instead of seeking immediate implementation, opted for a three year period of research, in order to provide a "test-bench" for the new approaches. This work was organised around the écoles normales, under the general control of I.P.N., (later INRDP). This exercise involved in all 55 training establishments and teams of teachers totalling about 900 personnel. In the process, the hypotheses of the 1966 project were developed into the more advanced hypotheses of the final 1970 Plan Rouchette, in conjunction with a research effort leading from the initial process of "controlled innovation" to a research programme concerned with validation.

In addition to the expansion of the research effort, the development of the work of the Commission led to an expansion of the scope of their recommendations, which were placed in a framework of values radically changed from the dominant emphases of the traditional French educational system; thus the new pedagogy was not designed merely to provide the greater efficacy sought by the Ministry but more to serve a new set of aims arising from the reform of the system. In place of the old selective system, in which language was essentially a tool of selection, the Rouchette Commission presented an approach to the teaching of the mother tongue based on the desire to assure the
maximum development of all children within a developing system of universal secondary education, in which attention had to be focused on the influence of social handicaps on retardation in schools. The Commission also took into account the contributions of various specialisms, not only linguistics but also psychology and the sciences of education. The end product was also to mark a break in the traditional values of the system in the rejection of the habit of fixed and imperative programmes. The cumulative effect of these new demands also entailed recommendations for a major expansion of teacher education.

The Commission was much influenced in its deliberations by members of GFEN and the Freinet movement, the latter being particularly influential in the methods recommended, although these stopped short of the printing press which had been the original symbol of the Freinet approach. (This is an ambiguous point, however, in that the printing press sometimes served a token function in this respect). The Plan defined the language to be taught in schools primarily in terms of its function of communication, taking as its starting point the oral expression of the child; although it did advance the aim of leading the child towards the more developed form of language as exemplified by literary works, this was not juxtaposed with the deprecation of the child's own language which was central to the thinking embodied in the Official Instructions of 1923. The sum total of the Plan was thus less a change in the definition of the content than a thorough plan for the renovation of aims, methods and
content as well as the role of the teacher. This last in turn
demanded major reforms in the training of teachers, as well as
major changes in the pattern of relationships within the system.26

In contrast to the previous instructions formulated in isolation
at "the summit" of the system, the Rouchette Plan had been the
product of three years of concerted effort followed by a further
three years in experimentation designed to provide a test bench
for the proposals. This research in turn embodied new principles,
being based similarly on a collaborative effort under the animation
of staff from the écoles normales around which the experimental
schools were organised.

The Rouchette Commission had thus by the end of its functioning,
progressed considerably beyond the limited perspectives of its
establishment, into new dimensions of pedagogical change
accompanied by changing assumptions about the political and
administrative framework in which the school functioned. In so
doing, it also moved beyond the limits of the consensus on which
the rénovation pédagogique was based; the latter aspect, however,
more properly belongs to the consideration of the implementation
of the rénovation pédagogique and will be discussed in the next
chapter.

The other main thrust of the reform of subject content was
in the teaching of mathematics, where reform, as already mentioned,
followed upon changes in the curriculum of the upper levels of
the system. Experiments were conducted in elementary schools
from 1964 onwards, on a similar basis to that on which the
experiments in the teaching of French were conducted, with the staff of the écoles normales working in conjunction with I.P.N. These researches, however, were largely voluntary in character, without ministerial directives or inspection; it was only in the last stages that the inspectorate became involved in the process, by which time a commission under M. Lichnerowicz had been established by the Ministry for the preparation of the new programmes. On the basis of experience from this experimental work, APMEP advocated the introduction of new programmes at two levels, the 6e and the cours préparatoire, but with a transitional stage to allow teachers to adapt and to retrain, through the agency of new institutions, Instituts de Recherche sur L'enseignement Mathématique; the first of these were established in 1969.

The general lines of these proposals were taken up by the Lichnerowicz Commission, which advocated the introduction of transitional programmes in 1970, leading to fully modernised programmes from 1973. While the Lichnerowicz Commission was set up by the Ministry, it is worth noting that it also served to mark a break with existing practice in the development of new programmes, in that it infringed the traditional monopoly of the Inspecteurs Généraux, from which group the Commission attracted some opposition.

The pressure for reform of mathematics also represented more than the accommodation of the content of the elementary school curriculum to that of the upper stages. APMEP was highly critical of the existing pattern of the teaching of arithmetic in the
elementary school in that it was based on false suppositions about the nature of the concrete in the teaching of arithmetic; problems arising from everyday life also served essentially as the pegs on which to hang the acquisition of skills and formulae to be applied to generally routine and stereotyped questions, leaving pupils little opportunity to think mathematically.

Marking of pupil answers tended to reinforce this characteristic in that the main emphasis was placed on the correctness of the solution rather than the process by which it was achieved; if the problem stated that five houses had a total of fifteen windows and asked the pupil to say how many windows each had, it was not expected that the pupil should query whether all the houses had the same numbers of windows. This led to the criticism from secondary teachers that pupils tended to look for the formula to apply rather than to think about the nature of the question set; in the words of one critic, mathematics was essentially taught as a dead language. Attempts to adhere more closely to the spirit of the official texts by such organisations as ICEM were recognised as making the teaching of the subject more attractive to pupils, but, (in contrast to the influence of ICEM on the reform of the teaching of French), were judged as still falling short of the concept acquisition sought by advocates of new programmes.

These two aspects of reform, of the main subject areas of the elementary curriculum, were related to the work of the movements of l'éducation nouvelle both in personnel and pedagogic
values, while the work of the Rouchette Commission reflected wider perspectives on the general aims of the reform process as a whole. These initiatives were complemented by research and development directed at the re-appraisal of the whole school regime along the general lines, although in a slightly altered form, of the original Vanves experiment.

The problem of the scale of grade-repeating, especially in poor urban areas, prompted "action research" developed in the 20th arrondissement of Paris by the inspector Robert Gloton, (himself a prominent member of GFEN), under the joint aegis of I.P.N. and the Department of the Seine, from 1962 onwards. Gloton's work was based on the obvious social disadvantages experienced by children in areas such as Belleville and Menilmontant, disadvantages which created a higher incidence of grade-repeating than in Paris as a whole, with a correspondingly lower rate of transfer to a sixième after CM 2, for example 50% in Belleville as against 64% in the Department of the Seine generally. (Insofar as these figures do not differentiate between types of sixième prior to the establishment of the CES, they may conceal greater disparities than these global figures suggest). Gloton also criticised the ill-adapted nature of the education offered, which he regarded as a caricature of the Official Instructions as well as dealing with subject content which was outdated, a feature which made the official response, (prior to 1963), of merely lightening and simplifying content an inadequate answer to deep-rooted problems. These effects were
compounded by the isolation and the lack of training of the instituteurs and institutrices.

The general principles on which the experiments were based anticipated many of the later emphases of the rénovation pédagogique, both in terms of the educational principles on which attempted reform was based and in terms of the changing patterns of relationships within the educational system which new strategies demanded. First of all Gloton aimed to establish a cooperative and unified pedagogic action, based on a team effort involving the staff, the school director and the inspector, facilitated by the allowance of $\frac{1}{2}$ hours per week within the teachers' service, (with a corresponding reduction of class hours for pupils). Teachers followed their classes for the first three years before teacher specialism was introduced for the cours moyen, while effort was devoted to establishing effective contact with families. The pedagogy adopted in the school was based on that of Decroly and Wallon, while attempts were made to develop a flexible class organisation which allowed individualisation of learning, homogeneous grouping and class activity according to the demands of the moment.

Over the first two years, Gloton reported highly encouraging results for all concerned. The teachers gained the advantage of the possibility of professional development, while the children benefited from the reduction in the incidence of grade repeating and the proportion of entrants to a sixième increased by about one third. The responses of secondary teachers were
encouraging; if the pupils from the experimental schools were no better or worse in terms of their mastery of the basic skills, they showed a greater adaptation to other aspects of secondary work, in particular through better developed capacities for expression. Gloton acknowledged some limitations to this achievement, however, limitations which in some cases posed questions going beyond considerations of techniques, again anticipating major questions of the rénovation pédagogique. The possibility of further improvements in educational performance was doubtful in the absence of action to tackle the social problems surrounding schools in such areas while achievement of the equilibrium represented by the mi-temps formula was virtually impossible in the absence of a stadium or a gymnasium. The problem of obtaining a balance between organised establishment of acquired knowledge and the values of free expression and activity on the part of the pupils was also a major area of difficulty. Unstated in Gloton’s original account of the experiment, but clearly implied by the stress on teamwork as the basis of the whole exercise was the additional need to establish a new set of relationships between the different participants in the process, notably between the inspector and teaching staff. Gloton’s experiment anticipated the later development of the concept of animation pédagogique and the inspector himself was later to pursue the logic of his own strategy by experimenting further with a new style of inspection in the 20th arrondissement. 33
The direction taken by these initiatives may be traced back to Lebettre's approbation of the Vanves experiment, but in practice, the pattern was subject to one important modification in detail, the transformation of the original mi-temps into the tripartite division of the tiers temps pédagogique. The first appearance of this formula came in 1963, with the launching of experiments in the Department of Pas-de-Calais. The system was further developed throughout the 1960's being extended into the Department of Nord and ultimately encompassing over 200 classes. This tripartite division inherited from the Vanves experiment eventually passed into official legislation in 1969 as the ruling timetable of the elementary school, so that by 1963, the various elements of the rénovation pédagogique had all begun to develop, both serving to underpin and being sustained by the growing consensus on the desirability of a global reform, as the process was increasingly given official support and influenced the main trends of official thinking, which had moved by the mid-1960's back to a concern for some of the minority subjects such as drawing and physical education as well as towards approval of the various initiatives to reform rather than lighten and simplify the programmes of the basic subjects.

There was also some union pressure for reform, although this tended to be overshadowed still by the characteristic corporatist concerns of such as SNI. The latter union altered its policy on elementary school pedagogy slowly during the 1960's. In 1963, the union was still concerned for the perfect acquisition of the
basics as the means of liberating the expression of the child, a
view exactly the reverse of that developed by the Rouchette
Commission very early in its existence; 35 if by 1965, the union
had turned its attention to the importance of developing the
"awakening" subjects, this was still based on the priority of
attainment in French and mathematics. 36

The desire expressed by SNI to "save and ennable the primary
school" and the preservation of this nomenclature served to
indicate the main focus of the union's concerns, in retaining
a place beyond the elementary stage. Thus the union in 1965
interpreted the problem of elementary school programmes as being
less a question of the letter than the spirit and rejected the
charge of overloading on the grounds that the content of the
programmes for CE and CM could be defined in a few pages. 37
This line of argument did beg a few questions, however, in that
it raised the problem of whether from this viewpoint the question
was one of the programmes at all, in that these tended to be
translated into practice through the medium of the much-criticised
textbooks; in fact, in the face of the criticisms that the
latter were responsible at least in part for the inflation of
the formal demands of the elementary school curriculum, it may
be argued that precisely defined programmes might equally serve
as a barrier against excesses as much as they had served to
generate excessive demands. SNI's argument, however, was couched
largely in terms of the need for the improvement of teachers'
conditions of service, notably through the reduction of class sizes.
A similar concern for syndical aims was evident on the question of transfer; much of SNI's attention was focussed on the fear of the exclusion of primary teachers from the new secondary schools and this was countered by the union's proposed solution for the problems surrounding transfer to secondary school. The best way to overcome these problems was to continue into the secondary schools the tried and trusted methods of the primary which in turn rested on the staffing of the first cycle of secondary school with instituteurs and institutrices. 38

The Communist party shared at least some of SNI's concerns during this period in that it attributed many of the problems of education to the material circumstances of the system. The party argued for the improvement of pupil's educational circumstances by the limitation of school sizes, while it also opposed closure of rural schools on the grounds that this reinforced the grip of the church on rural society. 39 The party had gone further, however, in that it had developed by 1966 its own reform project for the establishment of a basic school, l'école fondamentale. This project was developed further leading to the publication of a revised edition in 1970. 40 PCF pedagogical priorities were directly opposed to prevailing official values in the mid-1960's and the party rejected the concern for the basics above all else, "mediaevalist conceptions alongside modernist pretensions", demanding instead that the school retain its history and geography programmes as representing the initial stage of rational and scientific study. The party generally reiterated the principles
of the Langevin/Wallon Plan, (as did SNI), presenting its own reform project as an updated version of the 1947 document. The party was generally favourable to the reform of the teaching of French and mathematics, but less so to some other aspects of the developing reforms - although its opposition tended to be obscured by reference to "Gaullist official policy" in most of its criticism. The PCF was also in favour of the up-grading of teacher training and status, demanding the doubling of the capacity of the écoles normales, (although their commitment to the defence of these establishments was to diminish greatly by the 1970's,) and the extension of teacher training to two years. In addition, the party offered implicit comment on the basis of SNI's corporatist concerns, seeking that the instituteur should become a figure defined in positive terms so that teaching in the elementary school would no longer become a kind of purgatory from which escape was sought at the earliest possible time. 41

The later 1960's brought the summation of these various currents within the reform process, leading to the development of a concerted front for the renovation of the elementary school. The Ministry drew on the contributions of the movements of l'éducation nouvelle to an almost unprecedented extent, a process evident from the membership of reform commissions functioning under official auspices and from such moves as the integration of the Freinet school at Vence into the network of officially approved experimental establishments. This process was also evident within the field of l'éducation nouvelle in the form of
the establishment of the Comité de Liaison pour L'Education Nouvelle which brought together over 20 such organisations.

The process of events which set the seal on this consensus began with the Colloquium of Amiens in April, 1968, a gathering organised by the sponsors of the Caen colloquium two years previously, but which embraced a much wider range of interests and took its analysis of the necessary reform to much greater depths. Caen produced a set of demands from a specific group within the system; Amiens produced a comprehensive blueprint for a system reformed not only in its subject content but in its whole range of pedagogic and managerial assumptions. At about the same time, M. Peyrefitte, M. Fouchet's successor at the Ministry, set up a commission to study the reform of pedagogy. Peyrefitte also attended the Colloquium and his closing address served the important function of asserting ministerial support for the renovation - as well as defining the limits within which this support was offered. There was one other reservation inherent in the composition of the Colloquium in that there was only minimal representation of elementary school teachers.

The Colloquium was ostensibly concerned with the questions of educational research and the training of teachers, but its final recommendations, published under the title of Pour Une Ecole Nouvelle, offered a wide ranging critique of the failings of the traditional system, its formality, its bookishness, its predominant intellectualism and its hierarchical structures. It
demanded instead an education based on a wider conception of the individual, based on the needs and interests of the child and the recognition of individual differences, leading in turn to a variety of classifications according to these differences requiring a revaluation of the non-academic activities of the school alongside the traditionally dominant disciplines. In this respect, the Colloquium provided an echo of the ethos of the Langevin/Wallon Plan in desiring "not the elevation of the ablest but the opening of new channels" in order to raise the educational levels of all. These ideas were couched in a series of inspirational slogans, such as "apprendre à devenir" and "apprendre à être".

The curricular vehicle of these changed values was the *tiers temps pédagogique*. This was interpreted by the Colloquium as a tripartite division of three blocks of ten hours apiece within the unchanged 30 hours of the school week. This was later modified to 3 blocks of 9 hours, in order to free teachers for the necessary concerted planning which the renovation of pedagogy demanded. The three main elements of the elementary curriculum were defined as follows;

1) **Expression corporelle**: physical education and sport, dance, games.

2) **Intellectual disciplines**: the mother tongue, possibly a foreign language, reading and mathematics.

3) "**Awakening**" disciplines; (disciplines d'êveil), including artistic activities.
The sub-committee on the nursery and elementary schools also advocated a continuity of approach between these institutions, along the lines of the work undertaken by Jean Vial and others in this area. (This kind of recommendation, however, led to some objections in that Caen and Amiens also reflected the pressures on the elementary school to adapt in the light of succeeding stages, so that the elementary school increasingly ran the risk of being seen as a transfer mechanism between nursery and secondary schools).

The key to these developments rested in the reform of teacher training, a topic which by the late 1960's had lost some of its ideological significance, so that SNI's desire for the continued retention of the institutions no longer entailed insistence on early recruitment. Reform of the institutions still posed certain dilemmas, however, due to the compounded fears of premature vocation at 14-15 and the status of training as a pis aller for post-baccalaureate candidates. The report of the Amiens sub-committee on teacher-training, produced under the joint chairmanship of Girod de L'Ain and Louis Legrand offered the most searching analysis of reform priorities in the whole proceedings of the Colloquium. 44 The sub-committee was vigorously critical of the existing arrangements, no longer in terms of the failure of the system to meet quantitative demands, but in terms of the fact that instituteurs were about to be faced with major reforms in the teaching of both French and mathematics, which outstripped the slender level of their subject knowledge based on the
baccalaureate as well as their brief introduction to pedagogy in the year of professional training — in the case of the teachers who had benefited from the latter. The sub-committee argued for the raising of the level of the training of teachers, incorporating both a higher level of personal education and an initiation into psychology and sociology of education, (the latter recommendation being in itself comment on the traditional component of faits sociaux in the professional training period), as well as to new techniques in education, such as group work and team teaching.

The solution to these problems, however, was less easy to identify and the sub-committee expressed reservations about taking the step of admitting teachers to higher education as had been done in other countries, and was sought by the PCF. In this case, the examinations required were essentially ill-adapted to the demands of teaching in the elementary school, while the successes would tend to go on to second cycle studies and the "failures" might well fail for the wrong reasons. Up-grading the écoles normales to the status of instituts universitaires de pédagogie was only possible in university towns. This line of development was sought by SGEN and had already been explored by the Langevin/Wallon Commission; it raised the problem too, of serving to perpetuate the marked divisions of status within the teaching profession, although this was matter of concern largely in relation to the CES, which with its wide mixture of qualifications was seen as a veritable Tower of Babel.
The final recommendations of the sub-committee were for a system of formation permanente in which initial and continuing training would be developed as parts of a coherent whole. Initial training for the elementary teacher would take place in the first cycle of a faculty, although the sub-committee was unable to agree on a suitable curriculum. This would be followed by professional training either in a university centre for pedagogic research or in a departmental network of the same type based on the existing network of écoles normales. Practical training would be served by the introduction of the new concept of the stage en responsabilité, during which the new teacher would in effect take over a class, allowing release of the class teacher for in-service training. The sub-committee expressed a desire, however, that this arrangement should exclude the first two classes of the elementary school, a wish which also excluded small rural schools from this provision. The latter was only reasonable in that the trainee in such circumstances would be bereft of professional support, a situation which would only repeat the worst problems of the staffing crisis, but it did pose a further problem for the release of rural teachers for in-service training.

As important as the structural proposals was the desire expressed by the sub-committee that these steps be accompanied by a profound change in the values and attitudes of the educational system, to allow teachers to develop their capacity for initiative and experiment in a context of greater decentralisation. It was also argued that in-service training should be seen as a
right and not an obligation. Both these suggestions, however, raised the problem of legislating for attitudes. Of more immediate importance was their recommendation that the period of training for all elementary school teachers should be extended from one year to two years of higher studies after the acquisition of the baccalaureate, followed by two years of professional training, including the stages en responsabilité, that university centres of research and training be established and that in-service training for all become part of the terms of teacher service. To underline the new context within which all these proposed changes would take place, the sub-committee drew attention to the fact that for the first time in over two decades, it would be necessary in 1970 to introduce selection of candidates for teacher training.

Provision of a new form of teacher training was only part of the reform advocated by the Colloquium. The gathering also demanded new initiatives in research and innovation, particularly aimed at differentiating between the two in order to provide a basis for the evaluation of the former in the light of the latter. In turn this required that teachers be brought into contact with educational research in order to challenge the dominant empiricism of pedagogy in French schools and to inculcate in the teaching body that "pedagogic anxiety" which was at the basis of all pedagogic development. This was further related to the demand for a break with established habits of centralised and administrative styles of management leading to
a decentralised and coordinated effort based on concerted action. 45

In the short term, the Colloquium reflected many of the views of the new Minister and in his closing speech, Alain Peyrefitte asserted that the themes of the Colloquium were very close to those of his teams working on reform within the Ministry. 46 He described the aims of the Ministry in terms of working towards a rénovation pédagogique, through the multiplication of écoles-témoins which would provide for the spread of the new approaches, culminating in generalised application of new methods evolved in order to provide a truly cultural education based on confidence and encouragement; this in turn envisaged the awakening of the whole personality, training of the character and not only countering the lacunae in the provision of physical education but also the introduction of civic education and art as central elements of culture and social education. Peyrefitte also announced the creation of a permanent council for the research in education necessary for these purposes. In general, the Minister expressed a wholehearted endorsement of the themes of the Colloquium, making the comment that he left it to the body of the Colloquium to decide whether this was the product of prior agreement or a kind of osmosis.

Peyrefitte also endorsed specifically the priority and the perspectives of the Colloquium on the training of teachers, a training which he asserted must define not only skills and
knowledge but also a whole new framework of relationships, between
teachers and their pupils, teachers and their colleagues, teachers
and their society. To characterise this new spirit, Peyrefitte
adopted the term which had emerged as a key concept during the
various reforms of the 1960's and was to become one of the key
concepts of the rénovation pédagogique, that of animateur. The
term is difficult to translate effectively into English; for
purposes of the present usage, the essential meaning of the
term rests on the function of the teacher, (vis-a-vis pupils),
or the inspector, (vis-a-vis teachers), stimulating rather than
directing educational action. (Perhaps the best translation,
in terms of comparable values in curriculum in Britain, would
be in terms of "leadership").

If the Colloquium had represented the most formidable
coalition to date of the varied interests seeking educational
reform, several of its aspirations were not borne out in the
subsequent official rénovation pédagogique, even though the
framework of the official reform, the tiers temps pédagogique,
followed closely the formula proposed in the spring of 1968,
including the freeing of time for teachers to engage in the
collective planning and the in-service training demanded by
the scale of the reforms, while the official reform also
stressed in general terms the kind of changing values inherent
in the desire for animation pédagogique rather than the
traditional styles of bureaucratic management of the system.
Some other aspects of the Colloquium's recommendations, however,
were to appear at the centre of later dissensions during the course of the rénovation pédagogique and if M. Peyrefitte agreed with most of the general emphases of the meeting, he still sounded a cautionary note on certain topics. For example, he rejected the formulation of slogans such as "apprendre à apprendre" on the grounds that it was first necessary for the child to learn, to avoid dissipating the essential content of the curriculum in reaction against the tradition of encyclopaedism. Peyrefitte also insisted that the Ministry would not yield to the "fetishism" of the schools of pedagogy, but would judge the process by results. Lastly, while he acknowledged that structures should evolve from needs rather than be defined administratively, he sounded the warning note that the Ministry was not concerned with research for its own sake and saw the essential task as making use of what the research process had revealed.

These were specific areas of disagreement which were openly expressed in the meeting. In addition later experience was to suggest that there were other areas of disagreement which were concealed by a shared terminology and as the rénovation pédagogique proceeded into practice, there were some suggestions that the apparent agreement between Colloquium and Ministry on such things as animation pédagogique concealed important differences in the values and assumptions which different participants brought to the process. In the interval between
the Colloquium and the appearance of the texts establishing the reform these points of detail were submerged in the events and the aftermath of May 1968. In a final piece of irony, both Colloquium and Minister had agreed on the impending crisis of both school and society, which duly appeared within a week or two of the proceedings, terminating the minister's career in the process.

The events of May 1968, which originated in the University of Nanterre, spread into the Sorbonne and the lycées and then acted as the catalyst of a strike involving 9 million workers, which brought forth an unprecedented unity of opposition to the existing government and to the formal, bureaucratic modes of administration and management of almost every form of working life. The strikes affected the elementary schools and their training institutions; both the schools and the écoles normales were closed throughout May and teachers and students respectively launched into protest and discussion about their conditions of work and study. I.P.N. celebrated the events by producing a symbolically appropriate edition of the Langevin/Wallon Plan while the establishment was closed by the strike. The whole process served to crown the growing impetus towards reform which had developed during the 1960's, creating an apparent unanimity between teachers and the reform lobby for sweeping changes in the curriculum and the organisation of elementary education. In some respects, the general demands of the May strikes, for such things as co-gestion, and the ministerial
response from the new incumbent, Edgar Faure, in terms of encouraging greater participation as a means of combating the alienation which had been so forcefully demonstrated, could be seen as the logical extension of the discussions of the Amiens Colloquium.

The exact outcomes of the events of May 1968, for the elementary school are, however, a little difficult to determine. There was certainly a fear in some circles that the elementary school might lose out in terms of attention, compared to the faculties and the universities, where the hard fact of student unrest had demanded urgent political action. The editorial team of L'Education showed this concern in one of the cyclostyled editions produced during the month and argued that if the children of the elementary school were unable to get out on the streets in pursuit of reform, the first school nonetheless had to change more profoundly than any other. On the other hand, the issues of the teachers' union journals after the strikes tended to be concerned above all with political and administrative rather than pedagogic matters.

The main focus of teacher attention appears to have been the system of inspection, which represented a long-standing grievance among the profession. The Colloquium of Amiens had proposed important modifications to the system of inspection, notably in the direction of extension of the number of brief and informal visits without marks or written reports. Traditional
inspections should take place only on the demand of parents or the director of the school and then with the latter's views taken into account. (In the light of SNI's opposition to the decree of 1965 which definitively established the post of director as a distinct entity, it is debatable whether teachers would have welcomed this suggestion of another hierarchical superior). This reform of inspection was intended to put the question of animation pédagogique on a new footing, as the establishment of a partnership based on dialogue rather than the traditional hierarchy of the inspection system. This also elicited some response from the Ministry, which from 1968 sought to transform the conférence pédagogique from its status as "a solemn ceremony of the rentrée scolaire" during which the inspector propounded on a topic laid down by the Ministry, to the beginning of a process of year-long exploration of a topic worked out at departmental level and involving teachers as participants rather than audience.

The demands of the teachers' unions in the wake of the strikes of 1968 echoed these recommendations to a certain extent, but this was not entirely a new development. Teachers had long complained of the administrative load of the inspectors which tended to confine the inspector to rare and rapid visits for assessment purposes. The demands of the teaching unions were less concerned with the principles of establishing new relationships than with establishing a new basis for the teaching marks used for appointment purposes, without recourse
to inspector's marks. There were variations between SNI and SGEN thinking in this respect, but reliance on marks for length of service, (with which teaching marks were closely correlated in any case), fidelity to present post, with a point for each few years of service in the same job, and allowance in some cases for the number of children in the teacher's family were common factors. In general, the teachers' union proposals were as formal and bureaucratic as the system they sought to replace, and if they did represent a diminution of the hierarchical aspect of inspection and a desire for more contact on an advisory basis, they still left the problem which affected experimental schools, before and after the rénovation pédagogique, of appointing teachers in sympathy with the aims of such schools.

On the other hand, the pages of the union journals in the months following the strikes provided little evidence of a whole new climate of thinking about pedagogy or a mass consensus in favour of reform. The attention of SGEN, for example, was dominated by the reform of teacher training which echoed some of the themes of Amiens but largely represented a continuance of the union's policy throughout the 1960's. If anything, there were signs that the events of May had almost served to put the elementary school, on which the pressure for pedagogic reform had increasingly focussed throughout the 1960's, back down the agenda by comparison with the major changes in secondary and higher education which were the most immediate outcome of pupil
and student unrest. Prior to the events of May, Peyrefitte had identified the elementary school as the first priority for educational reform, a view which expressed a logical continuation of the increasing concern for the elementary school in the later stages of the previous Ministry of Christian Fouchet. On the other hand, the new Minister, Edgar Faure, in outlining the time scale on which he envisaged the implementation of reform, confirmed the fears of the editors of *L'Education*; according to the Minister, the first priority was the reform of higher education, followed by the second cycle of secondary over a period of two or three years. The reform of the first cycle was envisaged as a medium term task over the following seven years, while the reform of the elementary school was envisaged as the long term aspect of policy, over the following twelve years.

The change in these priorities came the following year with the advent of a new Minister, Olivier Guichard, but despite his view of the time scale, Faure did establish the bases of the reform of 1969, when he revived the Commission pour la Rénovation Pédagogique, originally established by Peyrefitte early in 1968. The original Commission had been chaired by the Minister himself and had included several of the major figures of the reform movement during its development through the 1960's. M. Gauthier, Director of Pedagogy at the Ministry, over whose signature the circular transforming the conférence pédagogique had been issued
and the Inspecteur Général, Lucien Géminard, were the major figures from the Ministry, while various dimensions of the reform movement were represented in the persons of Mme Boës, Directrice of the school in Vanves from which the mi-temps had developed, R. Gloton, the inspector from the 20th arrondissement of Paris and Louis Legrand now of I.P.N. Faure widened the scope and the membership of the Commission, which incorporated representatives from the teachers' unions and created subcommittees to deal with specific aspects of the problem. The elementary school body was chaired by Jean Vial.

The revival of the Commission took place in a situation in which the whole question of reform was given buoyancy by the spirit released in the aftermath of the events of May. It followed on from Amiens in the spirit, if not always the letter of its recommendations, as an officially sponsored reform impetus which now seemed unstoppable. In this respect, the Commission may be seen as the final endorsement of the reform lobby and the final attainment of consensus on the need for and direction of reform of the pedagogy of the elementary school. This aspect may, however, be misleading. Reference has already been made to the tensions which became apparent during the Colloquium of Amiens. The events of May seem to have served at once to obscure and to clarify these tensions in that they were followed by a period in which reformers and Ministry spoke largely the same language, but within which differences in values had been intensified by the rising aspirations of reformers:
in some respects the Commission may be seen as the vehicle of these contradictions.

The role of the Commission in many respects recalls that of the Langevin/Wallon Commission, in that it was called upon to provide a new definition of the elementary and nursery schools as a long term task, to meet the demands of a changing society and an evolving school system. Its recommendations were to take no account of immediate applicability or of the constraints of immediate circumstances. It may be argued that the Commission was given by ministerial fiat the opportunity which was given to the Langevin/Wallon Commission by the administrative vacuum within which it functioned. In each case, the work of the Commissions was sustained by a profound desire for fundamental reform although the 1968 Commission worked on the basis of a decade of experiment and planning as opposed to the disparate proposals which preceded the Langevin/Wallon Commission. In another somewhat fortuitous parallel, both final plans emanating from the Commissions are most readily available in unofficial editions. The report of the Commission of 1968/69 appeared not in an official edition, but in a variety of other publications, including the FEN monthly bulletin, *L'Enseignement Public*. There was almost a further link with the Langevin/Wallon Commission; René Capitant who had established the latter was recalled to government office, but to the Ministry of Justice, not the Ministry of National Education.
In its substance, the report of the Commission pour la Rénovation Pédagogique, while markedly different in detail from the Langevin/Wallon Plan, enunciated principles already familiar from the former, in part a product of the influence of members of GFEN on the work of the Commission. The report stressed the principle of the equal dignity of all human labour, of the creation of free and responsible men and citizens, able to find a place in society as productive workers and conscientious citizens, prepared as much for contestation as for discipline in combating injustice. To serve these ends, the school must give the pupils an environment designed to facilitate the growth of aptitudes, the development of the means of expression and communication, an indispensable knowledge to allow them "to situate themselves in time and space". This direct evocation of the words of Paul Langevin was followed by the definitive statement of the source of future conflict - the belief that education should at all times value the human life of the community rather than economic returns or political efficacy. In its overall framework of aims, therefore, the Commission posed a direct challenge to the prevailing values of the reform of the system as it had been developed by successive Ministers and asserted the different values brought to the rénovation pédagogique in terms which placed the reform firmly in the perspectives of political rather than technical or managerial change. This general tenor was confirmed by the final version of the
Rouchette Plan in 1970, which also placed its recommendations within a framework of radically altered values and encountered immediate signs of official reticence.\(^5\)

The Commission defined their proposed rénovation pédagogique at three levels. At the first, the biological needs of the child would be served by the adoption of the tiers temps pédagogique, permitting a block of 6 hours to be devoted to physical education and sport. At the instructional level, the Commission argued that life itself should replace the existing bookish curriculum, to furnish the child with the means of expression and communication. Lastly, at the educational level, the Commission advocated a transformation of relationships within the class through the transfer of responsibility to the child for his own learning and the development of a democratic dialogue between teacher and taught — if indeed this distinction was still logically compatible with the preceding recommendation.

To put these principles into practice, the Commission advocated co-educational schooling, (which had already been accepted in principle by the Ministry), based on the tiers temps pédagogique, accepting the Amiens timetable of 27 hours, half of which to be devoted to the basic skills, the rest to be divided between disciplines d'êveil and physical education and sport, with three hours left for breaks.\(^5\) This division was intended as a guide rather than a rigid timetable as it was designed to provide a framework permitting greater inter-
penetration between the different subjects in the curriculum. In common with the Colloquium of Amiens again, the Commission argued that pedagogic change rested on the reform of the training of teachers, not only in the generally demanded extension of the professional training period but also in the acceptance of a system of in-service training. For pupils, the Commission sought the abolition of grade repeating as well as the standard demand for a maximum class size of 25, to permit the degree of individualisation which would permit the attainment of the latter while still being compatible with collective teaching. Related to these aims was the desired abolition of composite programmes, designed for the whole age group, these to be replaced by a system based on flexible grouping according to subject, a pattern which would in turn permit varying completion rates for the nominal five years of the course. This last point had to be seen in the context of existing practice, in which half the pupil population availed themselves of an extra year or more in any case.

The nodal points of the reform in the eyes of the Commission were the disciplines d'éveil and the enlarged component of physical education. The former especially embodied a wider change than the reform of a programme in that the recommendations called for the avoidance of all fixed programmes, thus providing the basis of autonomy on which the principles of the new pedagogy were to be based. In turn, this entailed a child-centred
conception of a component of the curriculum with no internal divisions, e.g. between history and geography or between these two and the practical and aesthetic activities of the school.

The Commission also re-affirmed the value of the unified pedagogic action provided by the retention of the single class teacher responsible for the broad range of the curriculum in the face of the incipient specialist demands of the reformed programmes already in preparation for French and mathematics - as well as the frequent teacher demand that specialists should be available for physical education, drawing and music. This rejection of the development of sub-specialisms in the elementary school was a central principle of the rénovation pédagogique, a clear assertion that the reform added up to more than the sum of reformed programmes. The demands posed on teachers had to be met instead by reforms in teacher training and by the development of a practice based on collective rather than individual effort. Thus the Commission argued along the lines established at Amiens, for a reduction of three hours in the weekly timetable, to allow time for the necessary concертation between teachers. (This, however, encountered immediate opposition from SNI; the union wanted the three hours included in the reduced total of 27 hours). 59

The recommendation for teacher training outlined a double process, of a first cycle diploma oriented particularly towards linguistics and mathematics, which might offer the opportunity of leading towards further studies in higher education leading
to secondary teaching, to be followed by special academic and initial pedagogic training, a task for which responsibility would be shared by the professorate of the centres de formation and the inspectorate. The exact structure of this four year course was not specified in detail, there being some disagreement on these details, but the general principle was a constant inter-penetration of academic and professional studies, without precise indications of how this was to be achieved. There was general agreement on the "polyvalence" of the elementary school teachers; the SNI representative on the Commission saw this as being applicable also to the first cycle of secondary; the secondary teachers' union, SNES, habitually the opponents of SNI on this matter, agreed in principle to this extension, subject to teachers having accumulated sufficient maîtrise units to qualify them.

The contents of initial training were specified in the appendix to the report. All intending teachers were required to study basic disciplines - linguistics, mathematics, notions of epistemology and methodology - in addition to the psychology of the child and the adolescent. This would be complemented by establishing the links between teaching and research demanded by the Amiens Colloquium. The other aspects of the curriculum would also be represented - aesthetic, physical and manual education and the study of a foreign language. To sum up the process, the final element would be the study of educational aims through the medium of the philosophy of education.
The general lines of the Commission's thinking were supported by Edgar Faure, although during his tenure at the Ministry, while the tenor of his speeches and interviews were widely acknowledged to offer beguiling perspectives of reform, the precise application of these changes remained unspecified. There was also much less apparent urgency for the elementary school reform question than there was in the case of major reforms in higher and secondary education, a point already noted in Faure's identification of priorities in the general reform of the system. Despite these imprecisions, however, Faure did tend to echo the slogans of Amiens which Peyrefitte had rejected, such as "apprendre à apprendre" or "apprendre à être"; in the absence of measures to implement proposed reforms, Minister and innovators were speaking the same language.

It was only with the arrival of Olivier Guichard as Minister in mid-1969 that the first measures to implement the rénovation pédagogique appeared, to pose in the practical circumstances of implementation the questions still surrounding the precise aims and nature of the renovation as viewed by different participants in its formulation. This is the topic of the final chapters of this thesis, but in conclusion to the present chapter, it is worth summarising the varied facets of the proposed reforms as they appeared in the successive stages of elaboration during the 1960's.

The recommendations of the Commission pour la Rénovation
Pédagogique, taken in conjunction with the subject reforms in preparation and the various earlier initiatives, presents a picture of a multi-faceted reform, within which it is a delicate task to identify the essence, especially when this might be interpreted in different ways by different participants. On one level, the reform was one of subject matter, a modernisation of content to bring the school into line both with the evolution of knowledge and the developments in other parts of the system. Even within this limited range, there were differences in perspective; such reform might be seen as serving the manpower needs of an advanced industrial society or as the vehicle for the reform of pedagogical practice. In this respect, the reform of content in the elementary school had a somewhat anomalous form in that for the teaching of mathematics, elementary school reform followed developments further up the system, while for French, the reform of the elementary school curriculum was the first stage in a process which was to be continued into the secondary schools.

At another level, the rénovation pédagogique might be seen as the transformation of the pedagogical assumptions of the school, as a major shift away from the traditional teacher-dominated and content-dominated perception of school curriculum. This was present also in the preceding category of reform, underlying the proposed reform of the teaching of French in particular, but this perception of change was perhaps most closely related to the perception of the aspect of éveil as
central to the renovation. Even this view may be divided into two
distinct interpretations, one related to the group of subjects
making up the specific timetable area of \textit{éveil}, the other based
on the view that \textit{éveil} was less a grouping of subjects than a
general principle which ran through all subjects.

Taking the specific recommendations of the Commission in
respect of the disciplines d'\textit{éveil}, the recommendation that these
disciplines should not have a defined programme as such introduces
a further dimension, that of the nature of curriculum control.

Given that it was generally assumed that the two subject
Commissions were involved in the preparation of new programmes,
what appears to have been sought here was a change of attitudes
above all else, both on the part of the administration and of
the teachers. This change of attitudes to the prescription of
curriculum was accompanied by the demand for a change of attitudes
in the general pattern of relationships within the system,
particularly in the area of inspection. This change towards a
system of \textit{animation pédagogique} in turn rested on different
assumptions held by different participants in the reform process,
a factor already implied in the preparation of the reform, and
to be made increasingly explicit in its implementation. On the
question of curriculum prescription, while the wish of the
Commission that no programmes should be produced for the area of
\textit{éveil} was eventually granted in practice, it was by no means clear
that this arose from shared views in the Ministry, or was regarded
by teachers in the same light.
At yet another level, the rénovation pédagogique might be seen as the modification of an ill-balanced and unhealthy school regime, in which case the provision of 6 hours of physical education and sport lay at the core of the reform. This view in fact might be narrowed even further in response to specific concerns - a number of drowning incidents during 1969 led to increasing pressure on the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Youth and Sport to make provision for swimming instruction in schools. At this level, however, such conception of reform stopped far short of any major re-appraisal of the organisation, administration and the curriculum of the elementary school and there was a small but significant minority of teachers who saw the process in this light.

Thus the development of the rénovation pédagogique bequeathed to its implementation major and sometimes irreconcilable differences of aims, against which background the desire for some form of rénovation pédagogique may be seen as the only common ground. Despite these differences, however, the separate driving forces behind the reform were still in some ways complementary. The Ministry, in its desire for greater efficacy in the elementary school and in its desire to combat aspects of its functioning which conflicted with the aim of democratising the system inevitably depended on the kind of re-appraisal which had developed in reforming circles over the previous twenty years. In turn, the latter had to take into account that implementation of reform was a very real problem in the face of anticipated teacher resistance.
As Porcher and Ferran pointed out, if such resistance were not to be anticipated, then the *rénovation pédagogique* would not have required official texts for its universal application, but would have spread spontaneously through the system. 60 Thus if those in innovative circles pursued aims radically different from those of the Ministry, but still depended on the Ministry for the achievement of the reform serving those aims. The fact of implementation of the *rénovation pédagogique* between 1969 and 1975 served to clarify in several important aspects the nature of the relationships between the different participants in the process of reform. These developments form the subject of the final chapters.
CHAPTER VII

THE RENOVATION PEDAGOGIQUE IN OFFICIAL POLICY
After the long development of the various initiatives which contributed to the definition of the rénovation pédagogique, its passage into official policy took place in somewhat ambiguous circumstances. By the summer of 1969, the reforming impetus of 1968 seems to have largely evaporated, a process given political expression by the departure of Edgar Faure from the Ministry after the arrival of M. Pompidou at the Elysée Palace. On the other hand, the elementary school derived some benefit from this change of atmosphere in that Faure's successor, Olivier Guichard, changed the former's scheme of priorities by focussing attention on the reform of the curriculum of the elementary school, changing the dominant terms of educational debate from agrégation and Latin to tiers temps pédagogique, rythmes scolaires and animation pédagogique. This reversed the general pattern of educational reform during the Fifth Republic, which had previously tended to concentrate on secondary and higher education, although the Fouchet Ministry in its later stages and that of Alain Peyrefitte had laid much of the groundwork for the eventual reform of the elementary school. The rénovation pédagogique was formulated as a policy which took account of the need for reform of curriculum in the upper stages and Guichard defined the task of the elementary school as one of preparing pupils for the secondary school, not as it was but as it ought to be.1 In practice, however, the reform was devoted almost entirely to the elementary school, a factor which added a new set of tensions to those which had affected the two stages of the system since the opening of access to the secondary school in the 1950's.
The form of the pedagogy adopted for the elementary school in its new form followed in its main lines the general lines of the developments of the late 1960's and the texts which embodied official policy adopted the main lines of progress set out in the Colloquium of Amiens and the 1968 Commission. There were a few differences in detail but more importantly, there were major differences in the expressed aims of the exercise which served to anticipate some of the later tensions which arose in the course of implementation. Above all, Guichard did not endorse wholly the aims advanced by the 1968 Commission. If the statement of aims offered by the Ministry was somewhat laconic in terms of the wider social issues surrounding the reform, what emerged was sufficient to indicate a different perspective on the question of aims. Guichard, while acknowledging the value of collective promotion through the raising of the general level of educational attainment, still took the view that the educational system must serve the purpose of identifying elites. The main justification offered for the reform of the curriculum was that of preparing pupils for life in a rapidly changing society; if Guichard disclaimed any intention to implement a reform conceived in terms of purely economic returns, his statement of aims stopped short of the questioning and challenging of existing society and its injustices sought by the Commission.

On the pedagogic level, however, there was initially a great deal of common ground between the policies adopted by Guichard and the policy sought by the reform groups. The rénovation
pédagogique as officially expressed encompassed a number of aspects similar to those which had been expounded in 1968. The reform of the curriculum was seen as much more than the modernisation of subject content, entailing in addition a radical change in outlook whereby the school should adapt to the pupil by respecting the rhythm of development of the latter, a new approach to the work of the schools in relation to curriculum prescription and a new set of relationships running through the entire system, not only between teachers and pupils but also between teachers and inspectors and between teachers as members of a pedagogic team within each school. The reform was viewed as a long term process, the key to which rested in a collective effort engaging the participation of all those involved in the educational process in a continuous effort of research and reflection. Subsequent experience was to show that these general principles also concealed major differences in the assumptions brought to the reform by different parties.

The vehicle for these changed values was the establishment of the tiers temps pédagogique as the official timetable of the school system, a radical change in the school regime which would be followed by a long and patient development of new subject content and teaching approaches. The latter was to achieve through the process of animation pédagogique, which was thus formulated as the driving force behind the reform rather than merely a consequence of the AD HOC demands of new programmes. The terms tiers temps pédagogique and rénovation pédagogique were viewed as synonymous by the Ministry; there was no question of retaining a traditional
curriculum within the new timetable divisions or of developing new content within the traditional subject framework. Along with the new timetable, the official texts granted a wide freedom to teachers in the adaptation of methods to new approaches and to allow them the scope for initiative that the new aims of the curriculum required. The reform of the structure was in practice total and immediate, to the extent of creating some surprise and alarm among teachers confronted with new texts appearing just at the end of the long summer vacation and only two months after the arrival of a new Minister. The terms of the arrêté of 7th August, 1969, replaced the old timetables as established in the Official Instructions of 1923, revised and amended in 1945 and 1956.

The outline of the new timetable followed the recommendations of 1968 except for one or two changes of detail. The first of these was an increase of three hours per week in the basic subjects of French and mathematics, time gained by the exclusion of breaks from the definition of the school week. The second and more significant was the change in the definition of the component of disciplines d'éveil, which became activités d'éveil in the official texts, to reinforce the priority of concern for the pupil rather than concern for the subjects within this grouping. The exact provision was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>Two fundamental languages; French Mathematics</th>
<th>10 hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Activités d'éveil (&quot;Awakening activities&quot;)</td>
<td>6 hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Physical Education and Sport</td>
<td>6 hours</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL 27 hours
The reduction in the duration of the school week was obtained by the suppression of classes on Saturday afternoons, this time to be used instead for the process of staff development or in-service training, again reflecting previous proposals, despite the objections of SNI.

The text specifying the new timetables were reinforced by a circular which detailed the intentions underlying the change. 4 It was stressed that the new timetable was not designed to produce a new division between subjects on a rigid basis but rather a framework within which the curriculum of the elementary school should be approached as a coherent whole. The text recommended that the basics be tackled in the mornings, (a recommendation which dated back to 1887), but warned against the creation of large blocks of time devoted exclusively to French or Mathematics, while it also stressed the importance of avoiding any compartmentalisation between the various subjects now subsumed under the general heading of \textit{éveil}. In similar vein, the circular specified that the three main elements of the new curriculum were not to be juxtaposed as discrete areas of activity but as complementary facets of the same global reform of pedagogy, leading to a degree of "inter-penetration" between areas.

The texts on the timetables and general pedagogy of the reformed elementary school were followed three months later by a text outlining the principles of animation pédagogique and formation permanente. 5 Precise consideration of the proposed structures is left until later in the present chapter, but it is worth stressing at this point the fact that these developments were
seen as integral parts of the whole process in the preamble to the
document. Guichard acknowledged that the **tiers temps pédagogique**
could not be implemented immediately in its entirety, but three
central principles could be observed. The first of these was the
establishment of a rhythm of daily work which was appropriate to
the pupil, the second to give to the teacher pedagogical initiative
within a broad and flexible regime. The third was to affirm the
essential priorities of the elementary school - that it should
provide pupils with possession of the two fundamental languages
of French and Mathematics, that it should subordinate other
disciplines to the aim of *éveil* and provide a physical education
integrated with the totality of the pedagogic activity of the
school.

Guichard had already provided a fuller statement of the aims
of the **réovation pédagogique** in October, 1969, at a national
conference at Sévres. In a speech outlining "*le début d'une
véritable renaissance de l'enseignement primaire*", he described the
school as the foundation of the whole educational edifice,
providing the foundations of instruction, the foundations of the
personality and the foundations of democracy. Guichard stressed
that the reform did not begin from scratch but drew on the
experience of innovative teachers and the anticipation of others
who awaited only official encouragement to join the process. The
Minister displayed a certain ambivalence on this question of
implementation, however, by going on to point out that the reform
was to be a collective exercise which would involve all teachers
rather than one which centred on écoles-pilotes or écoles-témoins, (demonstration schools). Being thus based on a collective effort by the whole profession, the reform would be based essentially on a spontaniety deriving from a questioning of habits and a creative enthusiasm which were both incompatible with institutional rigidity and imposed norms.

Taken together, these various aspects illustrate the multi-faceted nature of the rénovation pédagogique. It was not merely a reform of subjects in the curriculum but the launching of a thorough-going and continuing re-appraisal of the whole functioning of the school. It was to be a reform which called on the initiative of the teaching profession, but required this initiative from all members of the profession - by ministerial fiat, as it were. It may be argued that the different elements of the rénovation pédagogique mirrored these tensions and the inherent contradictions in the proposed implementation and it is worth examining in detail the different kinds of demands posed by the progress of the reform.

The reform of subject content in the basic subjects was already under way and reference has already been made to the establishment of the Rouchette and Lichnerowicz Commissions on the teaching of French and Mathematics respectively. Both these reforms posed one kind of problem in the first instance, the need to bring teachers up to date with their subject knowledge in order to tackle the new programmes which were anticipated. In turn, this influenced teachers' expectations of the process of in-service
training and animation pédagogique. The Lichnerowicz Commission submitted its report at about the time that M. Guichard took office and the new Instructions for the teaching of Mathematics were the first of the new texts to appear to give precise expression to the major changes in school curriculum in the rénovation pédagogique. The Lichnerowicz Commission recommended that the first step should be the introduction of transitional programmes, leading in turn to the introduction of genuinely "modern" Mathematics in 1973. The new official text of January, 1970. was presented in this way, being described in the preamble as a lightened and rationalised version of the 1945 programmes, designed above all to stimulate a change in attitudes to the teaching of the subject. This approach acknowledged the problems presented by the lack of preparation of the teaching body in general and fitted in with policy in the first cycle of the secondary school, in which comparable "transitional" programmes had also been introduced. There were additional constraints to observe in the fact that the elementary school teachers had to prepare for reform across the full range of the curriculum.

The contents of the new programmes were considerably lightened by reference to their predecessors, focussing attention on a progressive acquisition of key concepts and resulting soundly based techniques in place of the heavy demands on skills alone in the prior texts. The essential concepts covered the main areas of number, operations on number, elements of geometry, measurement of length, duration, etc., recognition of proportion
and in general terms an initiation into mathematical relationships and some of their implications, providing also a degree of implicit logical training. The formulation of the programme also exemplified new trends in the rénovation pédagogique, in the refusal to lay down a fixed monthly progression in the official texts, this refusal being intended to give teachers an element of autonomy in the planning and organisation of their teaching. This last aspect, however, was the subject of some interesting illustration of the nature of the relationships between the official texts and the other support available to the teacher; despite the refusal of the texts to provide such guidelines, various schemes of work appeared in the pedagogical journals, with subject matter divided up between the months of the school year.

At the level of subject knowledge alone, there was much evidence in official texts of the scale of the problems attending the reform process; as the Ministry was obliged to acknowledge the unease generated in the teaching profession by the appearance of the new texts. In response to these anxieties the Ministry felt obliged to issue a further circular in September, 1970,9 to assure the profession that the reform in process was not one of a change to "modern" Mathematics, this being a fundamental change which would require a long period of preparation. Instead the new programmes were designed to provide a more effective way of achieving the aims of the 1945 programmes and consequently demanded nothing more in the way of mathematical knowledge than that already possessed by serving teachers, but asked teachers to
reconsider their teaching on this basis.

The circular does not appear to have convinced the profession in its entirety and over the next year or two official announcements tended to show a continuing combination of conciliation and dirigisme, exemplified by the address given by an Inspecteur D'Académie to a conference in Nancy in 1970. The speaker reiterated the original acceptance by the Ministry of the fact that not all teachers could be expected to implement the reform at the same time and acknowledged the possibility that teachers might take one or two years to bring themselves up to date. On the other hand, it was stressed that the reform was part of the official prescription for the elementary school curriculum and had to be implemented. The demand for the up-dating of teachers' knowledge, whatever the official texts said, also created an immediate pressure on the provision of in-service training, a need met by the expansion of courses of recyclage in the écoles normales and also through the auspices of the Centre National de Télè-enseignement which prepared a correspondence course available to all teachers for a fee of 65F, (1973 prices). This development, however necessary, still stopped far short of the official expectations of in-service training as a part of the process of animation pédagogique as this first response was to an AD HOC demand which created a pressure for development within what has been called the "deficit" model of staff development. As such, it represented a very different process from, and perhaps one difficult to reconcile with, the official desire to promote
a process of continuous re-appraisal of the teaching function through a collective and cooperative effort.

The second of the subject programmes, that for the teaching of French, was much later in appearing and by the time it did, the questions surrounding the rénovation pédagogique had already begun to change considerably in their nature. Consequently, for more than merely chronological reasons, consideration of this development is left to a later part of the chapter. For the moment, the initial demands of the rénovation pédagogique are studied further through the proposals for the other main blocks within the curriculum, the activités d'éveil and the enhanced component of physical education and sport.

The activités d'éveil in many ways exemplified the question of the nature of the changing values which underlay the new pedagogy of the elementary school but also contributed to some of the contradictions in official policy which served to vitiate the attainment of the reform. As already noted, the texts of 1969 had chosen the term "activités" so as to reinforce the stress on the primacy of the child rather than the subject content of its component parts. This point became rather diffuse in official policy, however, in that the term "éveil" was advanced as a central principle which extended throughout the curriculum so that French and mathematics both served this end. This process gave the term two distinct meanings during the reform, first in terms of a principle extending across the whole educational process, secondly in terms of a specific curriculum element incorporating
a range of subjects. In the case of the former, this usage tended
to make the concept dangerously diffuse while in the case of the
latter, the desire to transcend the perspectives of the components
subjects occasioned some hesitations which call to mind the
criticisms aimed at the "integrationist" Plowden Report for its
listing of discrete subjects in the discussion of the curriculum.
Porcher and Ferran, for example, in discussing the activités d'éveil,
referred to history, geography, observation and so on, but felt
constrained to point out in a footnote that they used these terms
only in deference to traditional usage. 12

The area of éveil in the curriculum was grouped under a
variety of headings dealing with different types of activity as
follows:-

1. Predominantly intellectual
   activities;
   history, geography
   science
   moral and civic education

2. Predominantly aesthetic
   activities;
   initiation to poetry and
   drama
   singing and music
   drawing and painting

3. Predominantly manual/
   practical activities;
   modelling
   manual work

Such activities might be pursued in a variety of class, group and
individual settings, also involving excursions out of school.
These activities would also generate work in the basic subjects
of French and Mathematics, reinforcing the view of the tiers temps
pédagogique as a coherent whole and avoiding the growth of a
"two-category" view of elementary school curriculum. 13
The aims of **activités d'Éveil** were discussed at a conference at Sèvres in October, 1969, but this served mainly to illustrate the problems experienced by the Ministry in identifying the aims of this area as a preparation for the development of official texts to govern its operation. The conference presented two views of the nature of **activités d'Éveil**, proceeding either from the central principle of Éveil to the identification of the possible contributions of the different component disciplines, or from the separate disciplines, to identify the common elements which might serve in the process of Éveil. Discussion was also heavily dependent on rather vague terminology; M. Dulau, *Inspecteur Général*, in arguing for the former approach to Éveil, spoke of the "spontaneous dynamism of the child" when faced with "the motivating manifestations of life itself", while the verb "s'épanouir" cropped up several times in the proceedings. The most significant comment was perhaps that made by M. Chilotti, also an *Inspecteur Général*, who, when outlining the research initiatives of INRDP, admitted that little attention had been paid to **activités d'Éveil** up to that point.

The subsequent development of official policy tended to confirm this view as in 1971 the task of preparing the ground work for new instructions was given to the agencies responsible for animation pédagogique, teams in each académie being required to provide a synthesis of experiments and innovation within their jurisdiction in order to provide a basis for the preparation of official texts. This was in line with the wishes of M. Chilotti,
who was also opposed to a downward communication from the centre, and also with the values on which the system of animation pédagogique was to be based. In his circular of December, 1969, the Minister had warned that the absence of new programmes was not an excuse for teachers who did not change their methods of teaching, since it was precisely this habit of expecting firm guidelines from above which the Ministry wished to break. Thus the new machinery was to become the vehicle for the development of the reform as a collective process.

The work of the teams in the academies, however, served only to underline the hesitations and uncertainties expressed at the Sevres conference. M. Gauthier's concluding note at Sèvres left the topic of éveil still open to two interpretations. The Director reiterated the double meaning of éveil in asserting that all study in the elementary school should have this as an objective and that attentions should be first of all devoted to the child. In the matter of the contributing subjects, attention should be focussed on those aspects which unified their contributions to the learning process rather than the distinctive characteristics which separated them. The recommendations of the teams fitted neatly around these themes, but with each group opting for a different aspect. The Dijon teams were in favour of the definition of a minimum content as a preparation for the secondary school, this to be worked out by teams of teachers from the two stages along with educational psychologists. Meanwhile, the Dijon teams opposed abolition of the programmes but wished to have their their indicative character stressed, so as to avoid the tendencies to encyclopaedism which had bedevilled the application of the Official
Instructions of 1923. The teams assembled at Nantes, on the other hand, took a quite different view, that the essential aims of the component rested on the development of pupil attitudes. 19

The result of these hesitations and uncertainties was that no official text appeared for activités d'éveil during the period studied in this thesis. The work undertaken by INRDP towards the elaboration of a working document as the basis for research leading to new Instructions was well advanced by 1975 - Guy Georges of SNI claimed that Instructions had been ready since 1974 20 - but this work was suspended indefinitely by the Ministry in the later part of 1975. Consequently, the development of official policy for the area of éveil was marked by doubts and confusions which were echoed in the doubts and confusions of both teachers and inspectors. One of the latter, writing in 1971, expressed the fairly common view that the problem had not been studied in sufficient depth before the body of the reform had passed into legislation and argued that if the existing programmes were as ill-adapted as their critics claimed, there could only be advantage in the Ministry revising them rather than pursuing the possibly illusory issue of whether éveil was multi- or a-disciplinary. 21

The resultant delay in the appearance of the new Official Instructions for the activités d'éveil may have reflected major problems in arriving at a satisfactory definition of the nature of this component, but it did serve to exemplify the other aspect of the rénovation pédagogique. Guichard had stated at the outset that teachers should no longer look for precisely specified guidelines
on the past model. In practice, however, the reform came into operation against a background of traditional attitudes which led to the assumption that if the Ministry did not produce programmes for the activités d'éveil but did so for the basic subjects, then it reflected the greater importance attached to the latter. The alternative view was that the absence of a programme for éveil exemplified the new values of elementary school curriculum by allowing a much greater degree of initiative to the teacher. It is not entirely clear that the Ministry was sure of its position between these two extremes; while at the outset, the principle of allowing teachers greater autonomy was central to the thinking behind the reform, this was always qualified by the desire to avoid any damaging changes of methods between classes in the same school. 22 Similar concerns appeared at the end of the period; one professeur d'école normale summed up the existing position by pointing out that there were no longer imperative programmes for the activités d'éveil but reminded teachers of the two constraints to observe, first that a progression be established between successive classes in the school, secondly that a body of content be defined in the light of the fact that a pupil would study the same thing in the classe de sixième whether he were in Lille or Perpignan. 23 The Inspecteur Général, J. Leif, who had expressed some reservations in the closing address to the Sèvres conference of 1969, was still hoping in 1976 that the announced and awaited Official Instructions would appear in the near future. 24

The remaining block in the timetable, that for physical
education and sport, in some ways presented the greatest difficulties of the reform, in other respects the least. The former derived from the lack of material facilities to implement this ambitious extension of the place of physical education, due to the lack of gymnasia and the distance of many urban schools from sports stadia, while such schools often lacked even playground space. In this respect, the official view appears to have been that posing the new demand would serve to generate the response in terms of the provision of new facilities whereas waiting for the available facilities would in effect have postponed the reform indefinitely. To set against the pressing practical difficulties, there was at least a rapid definition of the requirements of this augmented component. The circular of 8th December, 1969, reiterated the principle of the polyvalence of the single class teacher as the basis of the preservation of the unity of educational activity in the class; thus instituteurs and institutrices were to be required to teach physical education on the same footing as French or Mathematics. On the other hand, the Ministry did acknowledge the possibility of an element of semi-specialisation to take account of the different tastes and aptitudes among teachers so that in schools with several classes, teachers could exchange tasks to some extent, one taking P.E. while another took activités d'éveil, subject to this being part of a collective pedagogic effort.

The objectives of the physical education to be offered were expressed in terms of the objectives of the rénovation pédagogique as a whole, so that this element was to be seen as an integral part
of the curriculum, permitting adaptation to the conditions of modern life, personal development, social, moral and civic development. Priority was accorded to the development of physical aptitudes and qualités foncières, participation in sanitary and moral education at both the individual and social level and to preparation for leisure in the future. The text insisted on the importance of play responding to the motivations of children as the means of developing their taste for physical education. The timetable provision was defined in terms of alternating long and short sessions of activity, although in existing circumstances where transport to a stadium was difficult, a pattern of two half-day sessions was permitted on a temporary basis. For fuller instructions, teachers were directed to the "reduced programme" for physical education which had been introduced in 1959 and also to material produced by USEP, L'Union Sportive de L'Enseignement Primaire. In addition, some form of tackling lack of training was seen as urgently necessary and the circular supplemented the existing network of departmental conseillers pédagogiques by creating new posts for district personnel specialising in physical education. The figure of such posts was originally set at 300 for the 1969/70 school year, but the Ministry envisaged growth of this cadre to provide one conseiller for every 100 teachers.

The other main area of subject reform, that of the teaching of French, introduced still further problems into the rénovation pédagogique, by virtue of the process by which this reform had been prepared and because the new Instructions for the teaching
of French represented the first part of the reform which was influenced by reactions to the process itself. The first of the subject reforms, that of Mathematics, had raised immediate problems of implementation in the light of teacher fears about their lack of preparation, but these had been essentially technical problems of implementation, on which the Ministry and the main promoters of the reform had been largely agreed. The reform of the teaching of French, however, threw once again into relief the tensions which had already been present in the period during which the reform had been in process of gestation. The whole process of this side of the reform exemplified the progressive dissolution of the consensus on which the rénovation péda
gogique in its early years had been based.

Unlike the Lichnerowicz Commission, which had worked towards the establishment of a transitional programme, the Rouchette Commission had elaborated their final conclusions following their three years of research, on the basis of a programme for full implementation. The Minister originally asked at the end of 1969 that Official Instructions should be drawn up, but the Rouchette teams took a slightly different view, that their Plan should replace the existing Instructions without being definitive. The final version of the Rouchette Plan was drawn up over the three months leading up to February, 1970. Its main lines have already been summarised in Chapter VI. 26

From this point, however, the reform ran into major difficulties, which were intensified by the fact that Guichard
intended to treat the Plan as the basis for a total reform of the teaching of French at all levels of the educational system. To pursue this intention, the Minister set up a reform commission under the chairmanship of Pierre Emmanuel, mathematician, poet, Academician and member of the Communist Party. This commission immediately confirmed the Rouchette Plan as the basis for the reform of French teaching in the elementary school. The commission, however, was met, however, with a storm of polemics from conservative circles, both in education and politics, outraged by what was seen as a threat to the traditional values of French language and culture. This was accompanied by opposition from instituteurs to the part played by linguistics in the development of the proposed new Official Instructions.

The polemics surrounding the work of the Emmanuel Commission occupied a great deal of space in the national and pedagogical press during the second half of 1970, when Le Monde opened its columns to the various bodies in favour of and opposed to reform, having previously praised Guichard's courage in continuing the work of the Emmanuel Commission in the face of a hostile and vituperative campaign directed partly against the Minister himself. (This campaign was given added force by the widespread rumour that the occupant of the Elysée Palace was himself opposed to the reform). Thus Minute labelled Guichard the "Minister of National Mediocrity" who was prepared to preside over the process whereby France was to be reduced to a nation of illiterates. In addition, much abuse was directed at the Rouchette Commission,
INRDP, L'Institut National de Recherche et Documentation, as the
former IPN had become, and Pierre Emmanuel himself. The majority
of papers were hostile to the reform, notably Le Figaro, while the
most consistent support came from L'Humanité. The latter may have
been something of a mixed blessing, however, in that it encouraged
opponents to see the hand of the PCF behind the whole reform; it
is perhaps worth noting in passing that ICEM, although influential
in the formulation of the reform despite the movement's fidelity to
its founder's view that the 1923 Instructions were excellent and
scarcely required reform, refrained from lending support to the
Rouchette Commission during the debate on the grounds that it would
only have served to make the Rouchette Plan even more revolutionary
in the eyes of its opponents. 29

The organisations in favour of the reform included the
teachers' unions concerned with the elementary school, SNI and
SGEN, as well as FEN. Both the Cornec and Armand federations of
parents' associations also supported the reform. Specialist
support came mainly from AFPF, although both CRAP and GFEN were
active in the reform teams in any case. Ranged against the reform
were the French Academy, the Association pour L'Enseignement du
Français, embodying the teacher opposition to AFPF, the Syndicat
Autonome des Facultés des Lettres, along with the various secondary
teachers' unions, of which the most hostile was the Société des
Agrégés. 30

The build up of the controversy, however, took place against
a background of changing emphases in the preparation of the reform
which may have been more than just a retreat in the face of this political hostility. There were also indications that the Ministry had other concerns during this period of the elaboration of the rénovation pédagogique notably in the direction of retaining, or regaining, control of the innovation process. The Rouchette Plan, like that of the 1968 Commission, was never published officially in its entirety, appearing instead in a modified form in the INRDP series Recherches Pédagogiques. The full text was only available in L'Enseignement Public, the monthly organ of FEN, and in the Bulletin de la Société Française de Pédagogie, while the systematic analysis of the Plan de Rénovation, compared to the Official Instructions of 1923 was only available in the INRDP internal document, Répères. The reasons for this change of direction do not necessarily lie in the force of the opposition to the proposals, but may also be a product of the very real differences in the principles underlying the Plan and in those underlying the official text, themselves reflecting the central differences over aims inherent in the rénovation pédagogique.

The differences in perspectives clearly underlined in Peyrefitte's speech at Amiens had remained relatively muted against the background of common interest in curriculum change, but it is reasonable to infer that the kind of social change envisaged by both the Rouchette Plan and by AFPF had little in common with the aims of the Ministry. In addition, there was clear evidence of a ministerial desire to resume full control of the processes of research and innovation. This was clearly
spelled out by the circular of 28th January, 1971, which forbade experiments by teachers and the unauthorised introduction of new methods of teaching French and reminded teachers that the sole official texts in force were those of 1923. In addition, the Ministry applied a brake to the process of unauthorised research generally, while disclaiming intentions to introduce a central dirigisme, on the grounds that coordination of efforts was necessary. While such moves may have reflected in part the opposition to reform in French teaching from conservative circles, they were paralleled by developments in Mathematics, in which subject the working groups which had prepared the reform since 1964 were suppressed.

The opposition to the reform of the teaching of French continued after these developments, reaching a climax in a series of articles in the Revue des Deux Mondes for September, 1971, which serve adequately to convey the general tenor of the criticism of the reform proposals. First of all, the contributors to the periodical were not impressed by the modifications to the text of the Plan de Rénovation as published. Raymond Picard described this as essentially hypocritical in intent, designed to allay the fears of opinion already alerted by substituting for the full Plan an edition which hid its revolutionary intent more subtly by omitting the overt expression of its desire for major social change. In the reform proposals themselves, Picard saw confirmation of the "disastrous" drop in attainments in the elementary school by aligning pupil progress in French with that
of the retarded, through the application of a false philosophy based on pupil spontaneity and inadmissible assumptions of equality. According to Picard, a zero in "Rouchette" dictée required positive virtuosity for its attainment. 35

Other contributors interpreted the reform in terms of an attempt to overturn French culture and society, under the aegis of professors of linguistics, psycho-pedagogy and sociology, with the aid of the publishing houses which placed their advertisements for new textbooks alongside articles in favour of the reform in Le Monde. The political background was identified as Marcusan in inspiration, under the aegis of I.P.N., (contributors seem to have been unwilling to acknowledge the new designation of INRDP), with its propaganda network of écoles normales. AFPF was identified as the coordinating body created by the PCF specially for this purpose, a view supported by reference to the last article of the association's Manifeste de Charbonnières which referred to language as the instrument of social and political change. 36 Finally, it was asserted that the reform served other political ends, its stress on spoken language being intended as a stimulus to separatism. 37

As the preparation of the reform proceeded, the controversy was somewhat mitigated by more specific evidence about the precise nature of the proposals, so that the issue lost much of its heat during 1972, but the opposition had served to bring about a further reduction in ministerial ambitions while the actual mode of preparation of the Official Instructions set the tone for the
rising tensions which were to develop between the Ministry and those responsible for reform proposals during the remainder of the rénovation pédagogique. The Official Instructions were not, in themselves, as great a disappointment to the reform lobby as the above outline of events would suggest, partly because the latter recognised the constraints under which the Ministry had worked and partly because the Instructions were not presented as definitive, but instead as a step in the reform process. The reactions of AFPF and others are considered in the next section of this chapter). It was generally recognised that the Instructions were compiled as an attempt at compromise between traditional and progressive viewpoints, although this led to some contradictions in the texts. What perhaps matters more for the present topic was that the Instructions were drawn up in secrecy without consultation with either the Rouchette or Emmanuel Commissions.

The Instructions of 4th December, 1972, took up some of the ideas of the Plan de Rénovation, but in a somewhat diluted form. The official text omitted both the social and linguistic bases on which the Rouchette Plan had been formulated, as well as the priority accorded to spontaneous expression prior to the structuring of the child's language. Where the text acknowledged this "spontaneity", it did so in inverted commas; while it acknowledged the value of the texte libre, it did so without reference to Feinet or other aspects of Freinet pedagogy. (The first point is, in any case, in line with the standard practice of French official texts). The Instructions did take up the idea
of basing the teaching of French on the oral language of the child, which was recognised as a possible source of difficulty in reading aloud, which might then have repercussions on silent reading, but they did so in terms more similar to those of the 1923 Instructions than those of the Rouchette Plan. The official texts rested their arguments on a deficit model of the child's language, no longer in regional terms as in 1923, but in terms of social inequalities which a too-ready acceptance of the child's spoken language would tend to confirm. Instead of battling against the "argot of the quarter", the task of the instituteur was re-defined in terms of leading the child towards a level of oral and written expression conducive to the reinforcement and refinement of rational thinking, based on providing the child with the means of expression which were the common heritage of all those who spoke French. 40

In other respects, the Instructions echoed the general trends of the rénovation pédagogique and aspects of the Rouchette Plan. The text demanded an approach to the teaching of French which was conceived as a whole rather than the fragmented collection of separate elements which had been characteristic of the 1923 approach. In terms of adaptation to the child, the Instructions sought a pedagogy which would be based on encouragement, motivation and activity, encompassing both individual and group work. Where previous demands for formal attainments, for example in grammar, were acknowledged, these were greatly reduced. Again, if the language of the child and the norm of refined adult language were juxtaposed, as with spontaneity and elaboration, the text laid
emphasis on proceeding by identifying the common aspects of the
two, rather than on a negative dismissal of the child's language.

The desire to reconcile traditional and progressive approaches
left some ambiguities in the Instructions, perhaps the most
significant of these relating to the teaching of reading. Jean
Vial had long campaigned for a more flexible organisation of the
early years of the elementary school, to reduce the pressure on
pupils in the *cours préparatoire* by treating CP and the *cours
délémentaire* as more of a unit; the question of the teaching of
reading, which was expected to be accomplished by the end of CP,
was crucial to this adjustment. The Instruction made some vague
reference to the desireability of breaking down the rigid divisions
between CP and CE, this being interpreted by some teachers and
inspectors as permission to extend the teaching of reading over
the first three years, but this had not been intended by the
Ministry. There was also a vague reference to the responsibility
of the secondary schools for the continuing reinforcement of the
basic skills, an idea which was not new and which was to take
firmer shape in the Haby reform. This served to give ammunition
to the perennial critics of elementary school attainments or of
the trend of official policy and such critics tended to inflate
the original reference into the assertion that "apprendre à lire"
was henceforth to become the task of the CES.

The importance of the reform of the teaching of French in
the context of the *renovation pédagogique* rests on a number of
factors. It was the first part of the reform which was influenced
by reactions to the process rather than the product of the reform. The previous elements had been put in place against a background of some teacher resistance and apprehension, but their essential character had reflected original intentions and if problems were present, they were largely the expected problems of resources or teacher training; even the ill-defined area of activités d'éveil had produced a major change in the direction of curriculum development which in itself seemed to exemplify the changing values inherent in the reform.

The affair of the reform of French teaching, however, served to bring to the surface the ideological differences which were present within the rénovation pédagogique itself and to revive the fears of conservative opinion which had been relatively muted since 1968. The latter question also raised important questions about the relationship between reform in the elementary school and subsequent stages in the system, as yet relatively untouched by the process. Equally important was the effect on the relationships between the different participants in the process in that the issue had stimulated, or at least accelerated, the re-assertion of ministerial control over research and innovation, a development exemplified by the suppression of the "recherche sauvage" on which the gestation of the rénovation pédagogique had rested and the return to the traditional pattern of anonymous and confidential formulation of Instructions at the "summit" of the system. (There was one break with tradition in that the Instructions, published in a separate booklet, were sent to all teachers free of charge,
a new departure which took, for example SNI by surprise). The involvement of the original research teams declined still further after the publication of the Instructions, a process which served also meant the end of the involvement of the écoles normales in the process, and although research continued under the auspices of INRDP until 1975, it was on a much smaller scale. The process of re-affirmation of official control was brought to a conclusion in that year by the transferring of research to the direct control of the Minister. This process was marked elsewhere; the examples of the mathematics research teams and the controls on research have already been noted, as has the suppression of the INRDP research leading to the development of Official Instructions for the activités d'éveil.

These developments marked the beginning of the dissolution of the consensus on which the rénovation pédagogique had been based, largely bearing out in their general direction the reservations expressed by Alain Peyrefitte in 1968. The further development of this process at the time of the Haby reform is the subject of the concluding part of the thesis; for the moment, it is necessary to look at the other elements of the rénovation pédagogique which were designed to serve the implementation of the pedagogic reforms.

The reform of the elementary school also entailed a major change in the way in which the personnel of the system functioned in relation to each other. These changes were central to the rénovation pédagogique, in that the new values represented in the
curriculum required a different administrative framework for the teaching process, which could no longer be based on centralised prescription if the objectives of the reform, dependent on teacher initiative and collective planning, were to be realised. This meant that teaching in the elementary school was to become a collective effort, travail d'équipe replacing the traditional individualism - or isolation - of the teacher. This was part of the reason for the freeing of Saturday afternoons from the pupils' timetable so that teachers could engage in the necessary planning. This aspect in turn underpinned the desire to retain the unity of the teacher's function within the classroom, but with provision of support to meet the new demands of programmes and methods. The key concept which emerged to describe these changed values was the animation pédagogique coined by the gatherings of 1968 and acknowledged as an integral part of the process by Guichard. Thus the school director became the "animateur" of the pedagogic team of the school.

The individual school was also to be part of the wider cooperative effort of continuing reflection and planning, under the aegis of the inspector, (who now bore the title, created in 1969, of Inspecteur Départemental de L'Education Nationale, commonly IDEN). The functions of the inspector were re-defined in terms of these new values whereby he became the animateur of pedagogic development in his district, guiding, advising, stimulating reflection and research within the new climate of collective effort. (Unlike in England and Scotland, however, the inspector
still retained responsibility for individual inspection of teachers, with the continuance also of the practice of giving a teaching mark; this juxtaposition of traditional and modern values was to be a continuing source of tension in teacher-inspector relationships. The vehicle of this new team effort was the conférence pédagogique which had already been transformed in its function since 1968.

The official statement of the principle of animation pédagogique stressed the need to extend the transformation of attitudes in the teaching process to the process of managing the reformed curriculum; if the reform amounted to a rigidly imposed norm, its essence would be lost. The expectation of many teachers that new and precise texts would appear was one of the attitudes that the system set out to modify and the official framework originally provided for free experiment by teachers, subject to the avoidance of inconsistencies in methods in different classes in the school. It was also important that the experience of reform should be neither lax nor haphazard. To avoid this possibility, the Ministry advanced the idea of groupes de concertation, to meet on a regular basis, "animated" by a director or innovative teacher, bringing together teachers in the same school or from different schools but with the same subject interests or needs, supported by radio or TV broadcasts. No school was to be left out of this framework and the inspector was to be responsible for assuring the general application of this provision. The structure of animation also provided a means of feedback to the Ministry, on the basis of annual reports from the Inspecteur D'Académie of each department,
covering such things as the record of meetings of the above type, the degree of implementation of new official texts and the structures which had been evolved to allow a synthesis of the various initiatives and to pursue solutions to the difficulties encountered. 44

This in turn was only part of a cooperative effort on a larger scale, designed to provide a two-way system of communication in contrast to the bureaucratic patterns of the past. In addition, there were established conferences in each académie and on a national basis, organising the académies of the system into two groups, of which the Nantes and Dijon conferences on activités d'éveil have already provided an example. At académie level, the conferences brought together an established team, composed as follows:-

- the directeurs and directrices of the écoles normales.
- 3 I.D.E.N.
- 5 professeurs d'école normale.
- 2 teachers, i.e. 1 class teacher and 1 teacher from a school annexed to an école normale or a conseiller pédagogique.

The personnel of the académie teams provided the source of the personnel for the national conferences. 45

Related to the strategy of animation pédagogique was the development of a system of in-service training. If originating from different pressures and with slightly different aims, the latter representing response to AD HOC demands in the shape of new programmes, the former an attempt to build into the system a continuing capacity for development, the two were intended to
work in harness and the in-service training was intended to provide a stimulus to animation rather than a simple recyclage in new methods. The question of in-service training had been the source of early tensions in the reform in that SNI had been opposed to the use of Saturday afternoons for this purpose, while the rhetoric of Edgar Faure, who laid great stress on the responsibility of teachers to prepare themselves for the reform, suggested that the Ministry was prepared to will the end but not the means, arousing fears among teachers that they were being placed in a position in which any failure of the reform effort would be imputed to them. 46 In the early stages of the reform, efforts were made to provide teachers with some support in facing the new mathematics programme, for example in the form of radio and television broadcasts. Associations such as CRAP and CEMEA were active also in this respect, while the network of establishment for continuing training in Mathematics, the IREM demanded by APMEP, 47 increased in numbers during the first two years of the reform.

The opportunity for the development of a national system of in-service training was available by 1972, largely as the product of the reform of pre-service training during the summer of 1969. The écoles normales had, by the second half of the 1960's, lost most of their ideological and corporatist significance, at least in the matter of early recruitment, while some of their erstwhile protectors had changed their views, notably the PCF, which, after being among the most vehement supporters of the institutions in their post-war form, decided from the mid-1960's that it had...
always been opposed to such segregations of the bourgeois system and began to advocate higher education for all teachers. Under the terms of the circular of 6th June, 1969, baccalaureate preparation was to be phased out in the écoles normales, which led to the disappearance of such students by 1972, while the length of professional training was extended to two years - thus fulfilling the intentions of the Decree of 6th June, 1946. The new programmes for professional training are outlined in Table 10.

The major innovation was the introduction of the stage en situation, in a form similar to that recommended by the 1968 assemblies, whereby the trainee took over responsibility for a class during a teaching practice. This step led to enhanced possibilities for in-service training by releasing teachers from the classroom, while the removal of baccalaureate preparation created places in the écoles normales. There were, however, some limitations to this process in that official policy excluded the cours préparatoire and the cours moyen from the arrangement for stages en situation, which also effectively ruled out small rural schools. The result of these developments was that teachers were given the opportunity of courses in an école normale, of either 6 weeks or 3 months duration. This process was consummated in 1972 by the incorporation in teachers' terms of service of a right to 36 weeks of continuing training during a teacher's career. This step was the product of negotiations between the Ministry and SNI, and was something which the union regarded as a considerable triumph.
TABLE 10  THE ECOLE NORMALE CURRICULUM: 1969 REFORM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISCIPLINES</th>
<th>YEAR I</th>
<th>YEAR II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy of education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child and adolescent psychology</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialist pedagogy, (of which at least half devoted to French and mathematics)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social anthropology</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems of contemporary world</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aesthetic education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern foreign language</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Options - two, each occupying</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| STAGE D'OBSERVATION          | 2 weeks |
| STAGE EN SITUATION          | 3 months |

The Instructions also provided for some classes to be taken in a faculty, if circumstances allowed, and for shorter periods of teaching observation in the school annexed to the école normale.

This development in effect created a system of formation permanente for instituteurs and institutrices, in which initial and continuing training would henceforth form part of a coherent whole. For teachers in service, the matter was somewhat different in practice, since many of the existing teaching body had not received initial training, so that in-service training under the new arrangements might be the first training received. The training process was also intended to reflect the full aims of the rénovation pédagogique. The courses for serving teachers were intended to serve not only to up-date teacher knowledge in response to new programme demands but also to develop the attitudes on which the reform was based and the capacity and willingness to participate in the collective effort which the reform demanded. These aims also appeared in official thinking about initial training. Thus the pattern of teacher training itself became closely related to the process of animation pédagogique, as an integral part of the system's capacity for continuing development.

The expansion of in-service training after the 1972 agreement was fairly rapid and surpassed the possibilities afforded by the availability of trainees undertaking a stage en situation. Between 1969 and 1972, 21,000 teachers took one of the 6 week or three month courses while in the four years after the 1972 agreement, a further 109,400 teachers passed through the institutions. Provision on this scale required measures to provide replacements for teachers undertaking these courses and in 1973 a new body of
titulaires mobiles was created to cover teacher absences. By 1975/6, there were 4,500 of these peripatetic teachers, who together with the 7,000 trainees from the écoles normales permitted a further 34,000 teachers to attend in-service training courses. The new category of staff also represented a solution to the long-standing problem of replacement teachers in the elementary school and signalled the end of reliance on untrained bacheliers; from 1977 onwards, all teachers would be recruited solely through the école normale and it was planned that by 1980, all remaining replacement teachers would have been established following training.

One last element of the rénovation pédagogique remains to be considered. The stress on the reform as a collective process was also extended to include some recognition of the role of parents as co-educators, but on this aspect the Ministry showed important reservations over the extension of the principle of parental participation, introduced in secondary schools by Edgar Faure, into the elementary schools. The provision governing the distribution of the communications issued by parental organisations was applied to the elementary schools, but the implementation of school councils was circumscribed by conditions which served to make the provision a dead letter. The circular of 27th May, 1969, empowered the Inspecteur D'Académie to establish school councils, with up to six representatives from parents, only on request by the director of an elementary school, this request to be supported by the conseil des maîtres. To judge by the continuing demands of
parental organisations, especially the Armand/Lagarde, this scarcely happened in practice and if the assessment of Le Monde was correct, that ministerial reticence stemmed from fears of teacher opposition, the text effectively gave teachers control of any initiative. Consequently, the elementary school was to retain its traditional freedom from outside involvement until the Haby reform of 1975 onwards.

In sum, therefore, the renovation pédagogique represented a massive attempt to regenerate the elementary school curriculum and the entire mode of functioning of the school system. As curriculum reform went far beyond the matter of new content, so too new approaches to administration and management in the system demanded the development of a new set of relationships as did teacher attitudes to colleagues, to other agents of the educational system and their pupils. The renovation pédagogique, on the other hand, did not encompass the kind of major political change which had been envisaged by the Amiens Colloquium, the 1968 Commission or the Rouchette Plan. If it developed on the basis of the long background of reform initiatives since 1960, it did so through absorbing innovatory pressures into the framework of the system, in a process which brought signs of official ambivalence towards some of the changes which the reform sought to promote. If one of the central aims was to allow teachers a greater degree of freedom and initiative consonant with the aims of the new curriculum, this was balanced by the traditional concern that the school system should provide broadly similar offerings across
the whole range of the country. The re-assertion of control over research and innovation, as well as the formulation of curriculum provision after 1971 may have been part of the same ambivalence, although it was a logical outcome of the line taken by Alain Peyrefitte as Amiens. There were also immediate political reasons for this; the parents consulted in the major surveys conducted on behalf of the Fontanet Ministry were not hostile to the idea of innovation as such but expressed a degree of alarm about any prospect of damage to the interests of their children. 55

In similar vein, while the Ministry may have wished to establish a new pattern of relationships between teachers and inspectors, but equally wished to retain existing mechanisms of control which the assemblies of the late 1960's had wished to change. The reform also aimed at the adaptation of the learning process to the rhythms of the child's development, but left largely untouched the long-standing problem of grade-repeating, although there were some research initiatives designed to evolve a more flexible pedagogy based on groupes de niveaux as a possible solution. Lastly, while Guichard had talked of the secondary school as it ought to be, the changes in the elementary school were not matched by corresponding changes in the secondary, creating a disparity of approaches which, in leaving traditional secondary expectations of the elementary school largely unchanged, created a further source of pressure on elementary school teachers. The Fontanet reform of 1972/3 did nothing to resolve this last problem; being confined to the CES and leaving the grade-repeating
system of the elementary school untouched, it reflected the concentration on first cycle reforms of the 1960's rather than the global reform envisaged by Guichard in 1969.

The reform process thus entered something of a hiatus during the Fontanet Ministry, during which the rénovation pédagogique appears to have lost much of its impetus, its reform commissions moribund, the mathematics commission lacking even a chairman after the resignation of Lichnerowicz. A final definition of the reform process, however, was not long delayed and the next Minister, René Haby, immediately began working towards a comprehensive reform of the system. By the time of the Haby reform, however, the spirit both of the Ministry and of the reform lobby had changed profoundly since 1969. Before going on to consider the Haby reform, however, it is necessary to examine the extent to which the experience of reform had fulfilled the expectations of those who had promoted it, a process which underlay the later strife around the Haby proposals.
CHAPTER VIII

THE RENOVATION PEDAGOGIQUE ; IMPLEMENTATION AND RESPONSE
Olivier Guichard’s optimistic forecast about the mass of teachers waiting only for a sign of official encouragement before joining the reform movement was not entirely borne out either by the first reactions of the profession to the new texts or by the progress of development in the longer term. René Brandicourt, writing shortly after the release of the new texts, referred to the anxiety which had been expressed to him by many teachers over the appearance of such radical changes in the school regime at the end of the long summer vacation. This reaction perhaps served best to indicate the extent to which the ferments of 1968 had subsided; after ten years of research and experiments culminating in the recommendations of the Commission pour la Rénovation Pédagogique, the reform still seemed to teachers to have arrived from the blue. Brandicourt, however, echoed the optimistic note of the Minister, in asserting his confidence in the ability of the mass of the profession, excepting the "programme-slaves", to adapt to the new school regime.

In the first place, the strategy adopted by the Ministry, that of defining a radical change of structure to be followed by a patient process of development, was not fully understood by teachers or their unions and was misconstrued in a variety of ways, all underlining the scale of the task of changing teacher attitudes. This was not an entirely one-sided problem, however, and the question of changing attitudes promoted teacher expectations of reciprocal changes in official attitudes,
expectations which might be seen as the obverse of those of the Ministry and implied by the new values on which the rénovation pédagogique was based.

Initial union response leaned heavily on questions of staffing training and resources but also served clearly to underline the nature of the task of changing teacher attitudes. SNI had already indicated their opposition to the exclusion from the statutory school week of the time allowance for in-service training and course planning and this was confirmed in the union's first response. In addition, the union complained of the absence of clear programmes and guidance for teachers and asserted that a reform of the timetable which reduced class hours without being accompanied by a clear reform of programmes was inadequate. In effect this reaction immediately controverted the basic assumptions of the Ministry about the wide degree of freedom to be allowed to teachers in the planning of their courses. A year later, the union's spokesmen had recovered their equilibrium; Guy Georges claimed that there was nothing in the tiers temps pédagogique to disturb the calm of the members of SNI, who had prepared for such reform since 1968. This response might be seen in another perspective, as the antithesis of the principle of inquiétude pédagogique enunciated by the assemblies of 1968. Andre Ouliac took the argument a stage further in arguing that the new texts, far from being a revolutionary break with the past, were only a logical extension of the principles of the Official Instructions of 1887.
In common with many other interests, SNI laid great stress on the material circumstances in which reform was to take place and the union was dismayed by the demand for 6 hours of physical education when facilities were so patently lacking. The crux of SNI's position, however, was the insistence on a system of in-service training to enable teachers to meet new demands and remedy past deficiencies in initial training. SNI advocated a system based on a partnership between the universities and the écoles normales, with provision of flexible staff allowances for the schools, to facilitate in-service training. This latter measure was related in turn to the long-standing demand for a maximum class size of 25.

The responses of SGEN were similar to those of SNI in general tenor, especially on questions of resources, staffing and training. There were some important differences of detail, for example in the rejection by SGEN of the demand for the teacher to tackle all the subjects of the curriculum; the union had demanded for several years that specialists be appointed to teach subjects like music, physical education and art in the elementary school. SGEN saw the insistence on the polyvalence of the instituteurs as a confusion of two notions, the unity of educational action and the solitude of its agent. The answer to the latter aspect, however, was broadly the same as that of the Ministry, the creation of a system of animation pédagogique as the driving force in reform. In addition, the Ministry went some way towards SGEN's position in December, 1969, in
acknowledging the possibilities of some semi-specialisation through exchanges of service between teachers.

In general, the reaction to the original texts appears to have been one of reserved judgment in most cases, although such reservations applied as much to the prospects of real implementation as to the principles on which the reform was based. The parents' federations generally expressed themselves in favour of these principles, but echoed the complaints of the teachers' unions about the lack of material resources, while they were critical of the Ministry's failure to implement school councils in the elementary schools and Armand accused the teachers of failing to 'observe the regulations on parents' federation literature by favouring Cornec, (linked to SNI), at the expense of Armand material. DJS also reserved its position, recognising the liberal spirit of the reduction of class hours and commending the stress on collective effort which would ensure the avoidance of damaging improvisations, but remaining critical of the corporatist pre-occupations of the unions as militating against the training needs of the rénovation pédagogique. DJS, like the Armand federation, was also at odds with the unions over the question of Saturday afternoons for training.

The reaction of the PCF was one of rather ambiguous approval, the party identifying the reform in terms of concessions, by no means negligible, wrung from capitalist powers in the wake of the new social rapports established since 1968. The measures were seen, however, as taken hastily and as ill-prepared, thus failing
to tackle the essential problems. The party did not oppose the principle, but saw the first stage as one to be developed by further demands, while it objected to the authoritarian way in which the decisions had been taken, during the holidays and without consultation. In other respects, the PCF view echoed that of SNI, in the stress on the need for in-service training and the need to tackle the problems of resources, but above all criticised the lack of attention to curriculum content. In the last of these matters, the PCF adopted a totally different set of priorities from those of the Ministry. Instead of the latter's strategy of defining the regime and working slowly to evolve the new pedagogy, the party regarded the latter as the first task, without which it was irrational to introduce the tiers temps pédagogique. Given the party's objection to "authoritarian" texts from above, however, it would have been interesting to have had the party's intentions on how this should have been done; the avoidance of such dirigisme would presumably have rested on some kind of system of animation pédagogique for the preparation of new subject content but it is not clear how this approach would have worked, in advance of the general reform strategy of which it was an integral part. Nonetheless, the PCF view was shared by many teachers, whether in the party or not, and the strategy of the Ministry was misinterpreted as a lack of preparation; that this view rests on the kind of attitudes that the Ministry sought to modify only serves to underline the scale of that task.
PCF and SNI reactions also have to be considered in the light of the development of their own respective policies, which were both embodied in separate proposals with the same title - L'Ecole Fondamentale. The PCF envisaged the creation of a school for children aged 6 to 16, SNI one for children aged 3-15. There was little in common between the two projects except their nomenclature and the two bodies conducted a vigorous and often bitter debate over the proposals, the PCF accusing the union of betraying the Common Programme of the political left.

The pedagogical outlook of the PCF project was markedly different in emphasis from ministerial policy in that the party argued for the augmentation of programme content and the maintenance of high culture for all as the basis of a reform described as truly democratic in contrast to the limited reform in the interests of capitalist society which they saw in the official renovation. Consequently, the approach to the basics was much more traditional and didactic than those of the reform commissions or of the Ministry, while the party objected to the loss of subjects like history, which were seen as the basis for the development of the scientific method. Although the party echoed official policy in matters such as the need for pedagogic teamwork, it objected strongly to the "reduction" of the teacher's role to that of "animateur".

The SNI proposal, aimed at the provision of a coherent and homogeneous pattern of education in contrast to the existing divisions between nursery, elementary and first cycle secondary
schools and reminiscent of the union's long-standing concern for access to upper levels, also confirmed some of the views of the Ministry, notably in the need for continuing training and the establishment of a team approach. Within this, however, the union sought a degree of semi-specialisation similar to that demanded by SGEN. As a solution to the problem of grade-repeating, the SNI project advocated the establishment of programmes by level rather than age, allowing a passage of 4, 5, or 6 years through the elementary school. The project was much less clear on pedagogy, however, these matters being discussed in rather broad terms reminiscent of the 1923 Instructions and reflecting a rather defensive concern in the face of criticism of the school and the isolation of the teacher; there was little to suggest the ambitions of the wider reform movement.  

The most openly critical view of the reform came from the Freinet movement, ICEM. If Elise Freinet had been optimistic, about the Peyrefitte initiatives in 1968 and even more so after the events of May, 1968, which she described as "une stage gigantesque de l'école moderne", (i.e. the Freinet school), this optimism had disappeared by 1969 and she greeted the official texts with an element of derision that the system had produced a school regime which was supported neither by programmes nor methods. In any case, the basis of reform had long been available in the 1923 Official Instructions. Michel Barré was prepared to admit that some reforms were in prospect, even if they bore little resemblance to Freinet methods, but he was
critical of the way in which reform had descended from above and animation had been defined by official texts. The subsequent ministerial hesitations over some aspects of the reform merely served to confirm ICEM's original suspicions and to convince Barré that the Ministry was unable to provide even the illusion of a reform.

In considering the responses to the further development of the reform, it is worth summarising again the kind of demands to which teachers were expected to answer. First of all, the reform demanded a new perception of educational aims, coupled with a new set of relationships within the classroom. Secondly it demanded mastery of a new set of content in a number of subjects, but with differing levels of support and definition, and also the acceptance of a new degree of freedom in planning the curriculum. This in turn brought the further demand that teachers give up their traditional independence - or isolation - to participate in a collective exercise of planning and reflection as well as in a continuous process of self-development through recurring training. Lastly, the reform sought to establish a new pattern of relationships within the system, notably between teachers and the inspectorate.

In addition to these multiple demands, it is also necessary to take into account that different parties approached the reform from very different standpoints on almost all of these questions. As Edgar Faure once put it, every reform must attract the
The opposition of traditionalists and "futurists". The subsequent progress of the reform provided ample illustration of this in that the movements in favour of the reform found that these demands were interpreted in rather different fashion by the teaching body and that while the reform had been planned as an integrated whole, it proved quite possible for teachers to adopt particular aspects of it without subscribing to the overall aims or within a context in which their professional activity reflected traditional aims. The interplay of these differences was important for the progress of the rénovation pédagogique and internal tensions between different groups within the educational system provide a fuller picture of the conclusion of the reform experience than that offered by the mass political opposition which the Haby reform encountered in 1975-7.

In the introductory summary above, the question of aims has been identified as the first of the demands posed by the rénovation pédagogique. While this reflects the logic of the exercise, it does not reflect the actual chronology, in which the first immediate demands were those of new programme content, with the appearance of a new mathematics programme in January, 1970. The effects of teacher reticence on ministerial policy have already been outlined in the previous part of this chapter. The official assurance that the new Instructions did not represent new mathematics seems to have done little to diminish teacher perceptions of the difficulty of the exercise and the demands of
mathematics tended to dominate demands on in-service training during the early years of the reform. In addition, the appearance of other forms of teacher support raised long-standing questions of the nature of curriculum definition in the French system.

In the first place, the training effort appears to have suffered from some uncertainty over the actual aims of the exercise. To teachers, the demand for *recyclage* was something to meet the tasks set by the transitional instructions, while to APMEP, it seems to have been a preparatory step towards the further development towards a "modern" mathematics reform.

Textbooks, however, presented greater problems. At the outset, the new Instructions appear to have caught the publishers by surprise so that there was a lack of suitable material adapted to official policy, a situation which led teachers to make a rapid and often uncritical choice of a "modern" maths textbook. The fillip to sales of new mathematics material prompted some cynical comment from ICEM that between two circulars, official policy had served, if nothing else, to ensure the sale of a great deal of structured material, this commercial influence of course being anathema to the Freinet movement.

The textbook question introduced a more serious problem, however, in that it produced effects which were seen as quite contrary to the spirit of the reform. Gilbert Walusinski of APMEP criticised the *manuelisation* of the reform on the grounds that it had effectively reduced the reform to a matter of a new
programme and a new content to cover. Where the official text had left a new degree of freedom to teachers in the planning of their work, the textbook restored the programme in the administrative rigidity foresworn by the Ministry. There was some evidence that this responded directly to the teacher concerns which emerged from the reform, as APMEP members reported on the anxieties of teachers faced with a reduction of content and seemingly too much time in which to cover it. This development, according to Walusinski, vitiated the aims of the reform and in this view he was supported by others who regretted the appearance of an approach which despite new content, remained essentially magisterial, but without the benefit in all cases of total understanding of the new material on the part of the teacher.

The inspector Louis Lefèbrve pointed to a related aspect of the question in describing the early implementation of the reform in his own district, in that he found that while teachers had generally implemented the reform fairly rapidly, they did so within a context of traditional aims, that the new Instructions offered a more effective way of reaching traditional aims in a basic subject. In the years following, however, this was by no means a general view of the effects of the reform of mathematics teaching and complaints about the neglect of basic skills of computation multiplied during the 1970's. The reform commission had sought to avoid creating the impression that the new approaches were intended to diminish the importance of these skills and M. Lichnerowicz himself, in an interview for *L'Ecole et la Nation*
had reiterated the desire of the commission to give such skills a firmer basis of understanding than that afforded by the routine problems on which traditional practice had been based. This desire, however, did not prevent an increase in complaints that children could no longer perform calculations, a complaint which came from parents and secondary schools alike and which was reflected in demands such as that children should continue to learn by heart such things as multiplication tables.

The reform was thus increasingly caught between contrary pressures, of teacher and parental resistance on the one hand and a sense of some frustration among reformers on the other. The survey conducted by INRDP in 1972/3 offered some complementary evidence on how teachers saw their implementation of reform. Only 10% of the sample characterised their teaching as reflecting the principles of true "modern" mathematics, while about half the sample claimed to have worked towards something approaching modern maths. Roughly 30% echoed the official presentation of the reform as an "adaptation of the traditional". These responses may have told as much about how teachers saw the actual reform as anything else, but did bear the important evidence that the vast majority had changed their approach to the teaching of mathematics. An almost equal percentage, 83% against 85%, felt themselves insufficiently equipped for the new tasks and requiring further recycling. If these responses tended to support the belief in major change which had threatened traditional skills, they have to be set against the teachers'
own fears of the loss of operational techniques, which were virtually unanimous among the traditional group and still strong among those who felt that their teaching was an approach to new mathematics, which suggested that teachers were reluctant to sacrifice these skills in the way that their critics claimed.

These contrary pressures on the reform were interpreted by one group of mathematicians in the PCF as a deliberate conspiracy between some on both the right and the left to block the implementation of modern mathematics. While this is open to question, there were certainly deep divisions over the reform. SNI was identified by APMEP as one of the major obstacles to the implementation of modern mathematics, while the view of mathematics in the PCF's own reform project, which reiterated the importance of computational skills, including mental arithmetic, in terms very similar to those of the 1945 Instructions, was quite different in outlook from that held by some of its own members. Elsewhere it was argued that the reform was unsuccessful, thus prompting some retrenchment during the Haby reforms, not because of teacher resistance but because of the activities of those who had wished to go beyond the intentions of the Lichnerowicz Commission in a situation in which many teachers still lacked training, leading to what were in effect badly adapted traditional approaches, serving only to conceal the subject in jargon and arouse the alarm of parents.

The other specific subject reform, that of the teaching of French, had presented major problems even before the issuing of
the new Official Instructions. After the strife surrounding the
development of the reform, however, reactions to the new text
were surprisingly moderate and most of those concerned showed an
understanding of the constraints within which the Ministry had
worked. As one member of DJS, directrice of an elementary school,
put it, it was surprising that after all the polemics something so
good had emerged as official policy. 26 AFPF showed similar under-
standing and while regretting the ambiguities and contradictions
created by the attempt to reconcile traditional and progressive
viewpoints, contributors to the AFPF journal acknowledged that the
Official Instructions of 1972 presented a step forward and cleared
up the anomalies arising from the continuing application of the
old texts in the cadre of the new timetable of the elementary
school. 27 The association, however, unwittingly signalled the
source of later tensions in drawing encouragement from the official
admission that the text was not to be regarded as definitive. ICEM,
which had been influential in the development of the reform,
retained its traditional position that new Instructions were
unnecessary anyway, when all that was required was the full
implementation of the 1923 text. 28

Response elsewhere was somewhat ambiguous, notably among
past supporters of the Rouchette Plan in the face of attacks from
conservative opinion. SNI had been one of these but seemed little
disturbed by the diminution of ambition in the official text.
Guy Georges put it in a matter-of-fact way; the Rouchette Plan
was for research and reflection, the new Instructions were the
binding statement of the new curriculum, to be implemented henceforth by teachers. In addition, the union seemed rather surprised that the Ministry had sent the Instructions to all teachers free of charge, although no more than surprised. There may have been significant reasons for SNI's equable acceptance of the limited reform offered by the new texts. The latter diminished the weight placed on linguistics by the Rouchette Plan, which had been a source of some concern among teachers and had sustained a long and lively debate in the columns of L'Education. Even in the context of the new Instructions, Georges found a source of concern in the stress on the importance of the oral language of the child, which prompted the comment that teachers could hardly be expected to take on the task of speech therapy in addition to all the other demands of the reform.

PCF reactions were also somewhat ambivalent, although this was less a matter of mixed feelings than internal logic. The party had been a major source of support for the Rouchette Commission and was certainly critical of some aspects of the Official Instructions. On the other hand, the pedagogical priorities of the PCF's own reform proposal, L'Ecole Fondamentale, expressed values quite at variance with those of the Rouchette Commission. This was most marked in the question of the place to be accorded to the child's own language, illustrated most forcefully and somewhat ironically by the party's views on the use of German in Alsace-Lorraine. From the 1950's onwards, the party had come to the view that national unity rested more on laicité than on
language and was prepared to trade one for the other in the eastern provinces. This acknowledgment of language rights, however, applied to the prospective teaching of German the principles applied by the 1923 Instructions to the teaching of French; the PCF would only allow High German in schools and set its face against any tolerance of German dialects. The party's views on French were similar and thus directly opposed to the views of the Rouchette Plan which had rejected such a normative view of language.

In the immediate aftermath of the new Instructions, the general reaction might best be characterised as one of recognition that something had been achieved as a step towards further change, a possibility admitted by the fact that the 1972 Instructions were not presented as definitive. The years following, however, produced a disillusion not unlike that which affected those concerned with mathematics. Part of this rested on the problems experienced with the implementation of the limited official reform. Prior to the appearance of the Official Instructions, the INRDP study had found that the sample of teachers consulted either saw the reform of French as much less urgent or feared that reform of both French and mathematics at the same time would be virtually impossible; only 17% of respondents expressed an unqualified view that the reform of French teaching was an urgent necessity. Familiarity with the Rouchette Plan, (it was not specified whether this referred to the full document or the official version), varied widely by district, ranging from 10% to 94%, the median being 50%.32
Colette Hug identified the influence of training here as the determinant factor, which is entirely consistent with the role of the écoles normales in the research, but the variation by district might also have suggested differences in inspectorial influence). Louis Lefèbrve found that teachers in his district had mostly tried to implement some of the ideas of the Plan by 1971, (i.e. prior to the circular turning teachers back to the observance of the existing official texts), but judged these generally to be rather timid in approach and oriented essentially towards traditional aims. 33

Teacher implementation of the new Instructions was studied by Mme Isambert-Jamati, herself a member of the research team which had prepared the Plan de Rénovation. 34 Mme Isambert-Jamati was critical of the Official Instructions, which she regarded as a compromise document forced by a political opposition determined to preserve French culture and its existing elites, but found after three years that even the limited changes sought by the Instructions had been only very partially implemented. This was due largely to lack of material support, in the forms of training and information for teachers, so that she found staff more embarrassed than convinced by the reform, 35 a reaction borne out by teacher comment to the author three years later still.

The problems of implementation were only one aspect of the eventual discouragement experienced by AFPF. The association had regarded the status of the Instructions as an acknowledgment of future possibilities, but the publication of the new text was
followed by the dissolution of the research teams which had prepared the original reform and should have remained the driving force behind further development. This phenomenon also had an influence on implementation of the official reform and the effectiveness of in-service training in the dissemination of new ideas because of the exclusion of the écoles normales from such research as continued, at a time when the system of formation permanente was being fully established. 36 Thereafter research was confined to INRDP until finally transferred to the Ministry in 1975. Thus the gulf between researcher and practitioner deplored by the assemblies of the 1960's was once again opened.

From 1973 onwards, AFPF moved steadily towards direct opposition to the Ministry, this opposition being made quite specific against the Haby reform. Other facts contributing to this development included the association's dissatisfaction with the two-year period established for professional training, a criticism which was shared by counterparts in the field of mathematics. 37 AFPF was equally disenchanted with the effects of textbooks on the reform, finding these divided between the extremes of obsolete traditional and contestable "new-look" works. 38 The association laid the blame for lack of progress squarely on the Ministry, in its failure to provide teachers with adequate support to tackle the demands made of them.

If the results of reform in mathematics and French were less than their respective sponsors had hoped for, there were problems of different type but equal weight in the diffuse area
of activités d'éveil. The ill-defined nature of this component had been identified by Brandicourt as one of the main sources of teacher anxiety in the early stages of the reform and these fears appear to have been borne out by subsequent experience. This was perhaps especially critical in the area of éveil in that the development of official policy and implementation were related in an entirely different manner from that pertaining to French and Mathematics. In effect, the approach adopted by the Ministry, in launching a process of "grassroots" innovation, the synthesis of which would serve as the basis for the elaboration of an official texts, carried the type of innovation of the 1960s into a wider conception, this time involving the mass of the profession rather than teams of committed innovators. In this respect, the strategy adopted for the activités d'éveil came closest to exemplifying the ideal of a collective research and reflection involving everyone in the system.

The actual effects, however, were largely anticipated by the differences in aims immediately identified by the two national conferences in 1971. Experience in school tended to bear out this initial confusion over aims and also tended to bring out the different perceptions of the exercise held by different participants in the process. The INRDP study found that teachers were almost equally divided between those who identified the aims of the component in terms of a body of knowledge to be acquired and those who stressed the importance of developing pupils' attitudes. This also reflected age differences within the INRDP sample, older
teachers opting for the former aims, younger teachers for the latter. Thus, on the basis of the initial vague and inspirational official statements, practice found itself caught firmly between opposed aims, in which the north-south differences in the animation teams came into curious correspondence with those between youth and experience in the schools.

The practical result of these problems was a threefold division in teacher behaviour. Some reverted to the teaching of history and geography, a response reinforced by the availability of textbooks and which may be seen as a gain in itself in that these subjects had often been dropped altogether in the wake of the Lebettre circular of the 1960's. Other pressures played a part here in that the secondary school remained largely as it was at the onset of the reform, rather than what Guichard had hoped it might become, so that teachers in CM1 and CM2 felt the need to prepare their pupils for secondary school. The second reaction was to reduce the time for the component and concentrate more on the basic subjects, a long-standing tendency in any case. Where teachers endeavoured to implement the spirit of the reform, there was a third tendency, towards what François Mariet called "ill-defined activities of dubious content", on the basis of providing some relaxation after the serious work of the basics. This last Mariet regarded as the product of a lack of training for such approaches, a criticism which echoes that of the études de milieu of the immediate post-war period.
There were other problems for teachers who wished to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by the 1969 texts in that even after the official approbation of school excursions as an extension of the curriculum, teachers still complained that such excursions were difficult to arrange because of lack of cooperation from administration. In addition, the unions sometimes complained that the administration failed to accept the logic of its own legislation in refusing compensation to teachers injured on school excursions on the grounds that such excursions did not constitute school work as such.

Thus over the first six years of the reform, the component of activités d'éveil, which had been seen as embodying so much of the rénovation pédagogique albeit at the cost of a double meaning of the term in official literature, was the source of confusion, misunderstanding and disappointment. There were numerous initiatives in developing the component in the various areas of activity, human sciences, physical sciences and the aesthetic field, but these tended to be isolated from the practice of the mass of teachers. It may be argued that in this matter the problems of implementation were merely the extensions of the doubts and contradictions in official policy. In the responses to the INRDP study, only a small minority of teachers identified activités d'éveil as embodying the essence of the reform. It may be argued that the Ministry implicitly agreed with this general perceptions of the priorities in reform in the light of
slowness with which the question of Instructions was tackled, which served to betray a "two-category" view of the curriculum at odds with the expressed concern for the curriculum as a coherent whole. The desire to integrate the components of this area of the curriculum also presented problems in that the activités d'éveil were further sub-divided into three categories which were to be linked by a diffuse and ill-understood principle rather than by any logical grouping of topics or subjects. It may perhaps be significant to note that both INRDP and J. Leif defined the activités d'éveil in negative terms; activités d'éveil were all activities which were not French, mathematics and physical education. 44

Writing in L'Ecole et la Vie early in 1976, 45 the Inspecteur Général J. Leif, who had expressed his misgivings about the ill-defined area of the activités d'éveil at the close of the Sévres conference of 1969, attempted to provide some synthesis of the competing views surrounding this curriculum component, views which Leif implicitly suggested rested on a series of false oppositions. In particular, Leif regarded the knowledge/aptitudes dispute as an artificial one, arguing instead that there were no skills or aptitudes which did not require some form of prior knowledge. The inspector also noted the demands of the secondary school and the apprehension these created for teachers and argued that there should be some movement towards separate treatment of disciplines in the two years of the cours moyen in order to prepare pupils for the sixième. This was not to mean a reversion to the
purely abstract and intellectual, however, and Leif, if seeking to correct the reaction against the traditional by restoring a balance, wished that this balance should continue to be observed, not only in CM but also in the first two years of secondary education. Leif was also doubtful of the wisdom of including moral, social and civic education in the area of éveil, both on the grounds that they were not subjects in the sense that other elements were and that such inclusion risked losing sight of moral education, a fear which had been expressed widely since 1969 and the disappearance of a distinct moral education "lesson". The solution proposed was effectively the 1923 approach to moral education, as an element running through the whole life of the school, although Leif was fully aware of the dangers of diffuseness under this formula.

While there was little development towards a firm official policy during the phase of the rénovation pédagogique prior to the Haby reform, the trend of these arguments was followed to a certain extent by development during and after the Haby reform. For the time being, however, Leif could only hope that the Official Instructions were imminent.

The last element of the rénovation pédagogique under the rubric of curriculum was physical education and sport. Here the problems were greatest in material terms and this was one component of the curriculum in which rapid achievement of the aims of the reform was not expected in any case, the Ministry in effect having set a long-term target. The difficulties of implementing the actual timetable provision meant too that the question of how this
component related to the global strategy was scarcely raised during these years. The creation of facilities also rested on factors outwith the control of the Ministry, in that while Guichard had been able to preserve the education budget to meet the demands of the reform, the Ministry of Youth and Sport had suffered budget cuts in 1969/70, so that the fortunes of another Ministry had an immediate effect on the development on which an aspect of the \textit{rénovation pédagogique} depended. This slow progress towards the increased timetable allowance, however, may not have been entirely detrimental to the reform in that it allowed teachers a margin of flexibility in dealing with new demands in other curriculum areas, this possibility being suggested by some early teacher reaction on the difficulty of fitting everything into the reduced timetables.

During the years leading up to the Haby reform, the debate over physical education was largely dominated by material and staffing questions and the latter by the development of the network of conseilleurs pédagogiques. The initial creation of 300 such posts to serve the training needs of 250,000 instituteurs and institutrices was supplemented at a rate from which the Ministry took some satisfaction and which the unions and parents' federations criticised for its slowness, but by 1972, 86\% of departments had conseilleurs in post, but only 772 district conseilleurs had been appointed. As the spread of the training personnel was slow, so too was the spread of the various types of training available to teachers. By 1971, about 16,000 teachers had attended courses, while a further 72,000 had attended \textit{journées d'information} and
40,000 had been visited in schools by conseilleurs, or CPC as they were commonly labelled. Support at these varying levels had therefore reached about 40% of the teaching body.

Growth in facilities was slower. In 1971, the Franchi Report found that only half the schools had a playing field, one third had some kind of covered accommodation for physical education, 5% had a shower installation and even fewer had a swimming pool. The availability of facilities varied widely, with large gaps between urban and rural provision, with facilities lacking, most understandably in one teacher schools. At the other extreme, many large city schools, such as those in the centre of Paris, lacked both space within the school and ready access to a stadium, a point illustrated graphically to the author by one director who had a large scale city map on his office wall to provide a ready indication of the distance to the nearest sports facilities. The matter of facilities featured largely in the responses of teachers to Colette Hug's study for INRDP. Only 9% of respondents regarded the new provision as feasible while about half the sample thought the six hours reasonable if the facilities were available. Nearly 40%, however, thought that the timetable provision was excessive.

Despite these problems, there was a modest growth in provision during the period up to 1976. Even by 1971, the Franchi Report recorded a marked improvement compared to the position as it had existed on the eve of the reform, when only about 10% of schools had implemented the 2% hours weekly required by the 1923 Instructions. The Report also showed that over the two years, the average in the
schools studied had risen to about $3\frac{3}{4}$ hours in good weather, although there was little physical education in poor weather, due to the lack of indoor facilities. Rural schools could and did compensate for lack of facilities by providing a range of outdoor activities. This growth continued, reinforced by a growth of official determination marked in 1974 by a new official demand that physical education should be taken into account in arriving at the overall teaching mark. Thus René Haby in 1976 could point to real progress in the fact that over 70% of schools were providing at least three hours of physical education per week.

The question of teacher perceptions of aims and the essential character of the rénovation pédagogique has been left until this part of the chapter for a variety of reasons. The most important is that these aims were only given practical expression by teacher response to the specific demands of the new official texts defining the elements of the reform. In addition, the nature of this response served to shape teacher expectations of the other major elements of the reform, notably the system of animation pédagogique and in-service training. Finally, teacher perception of aims was not directly derived from the original statements of the principles of the rénovation pédagogique in 1968; for most of the profession, the question of the aims of the rénovation pédagogique reflected the intermediate process of its translation into official policy and the explicit and implicit differences official policy had brought to the principles enunciated in 1968.
Surveys of teacher opinion showed that teachers had a rather varied set of perceptions of the reform process, different in many respects from those of Ministry and innovators alike. To some extent, these reflected early confusions, for example in the complaints of respondents to an early survey by OCCE, the school cooperatives movement, about the difficulty of fitting everything into the emploi de temps. Louis Lefèbvre, while commenting favourably on the extent to which teachers had endeavoured to implement the reform in his district, lamented also the tendency of teachers to assimilate new methods to traditional ends. Where teachers were favourable to new approaches, it was because they permitted a better acquisition of basic skills, not because they encouraged a new pattern of relationships within the classroom.

There were other differences in values within the profession which emerged from Colette Hug's study, analogous to the differences already noted in relation to activité d'éveil, which if not embodying the essence of the reform in the eyes of teachers, at least encapsulated the differences in attitude brought to the process. Older teachers in the INRDP study tended to characterise the rénovation pédagogique as a general reform of programmes, while younger teachers tended to specify the aspect of questioning of aims. Relatively few were concerned with new methods, while only about 5% saw the reform as changing the relationships within the classroom. The overwhelming majority attributed first priority to the basics, with the figure of 80% divided almost equally between French and mathematics. This may not reflect a priori views on
curriculum, however, in that the timing of the study, between the mathematics and French reforms, invited the possibility of influence of immediate and controversial demands. Only about 11% attributed priority to activités d'éveil and 5% to physical education. 55 This last view presented particular hazards; for teachers who held this view, lack of facilities which ruled out the possibility of the full reform in this area might be regarded as ruling out the reform as a whole.

The aims of the reform also demanded a change of attitude on the question of curriculum control, a point emphasised by Olivier Guichard in the first statements of the reform and controverted to some extent by SNI's first response. The reform thus entailed breaking with the habit of depending on precise instructions from above and the prior specification of a defined content. The Ministry, however, had contrived to make this question rather ambiguous after the prohibitions of new methods in French in 1971, a point which was not lost on some of Colette Hug's respondents who complained that they were unceasingly told what not to do without being told what should be done. 56 Colette Hug pessimistically concluded that whether from spontaneous need or from conditioning, teachers still seemed to need detailed instructions, although she recalled that such freedom as offered by the reform had been written into the Official Instructions of 1923. The logic of this point, however, was not pursued in the light of the teacher responses to the survey. These responses suggested that the system was in the process of largely replicating
the problems of fifty years previously. Teachers complained, for example, that the lack of precise texts increased the influence of the inspectorate, not all of whom were in favour of the reform. It might be added that the lack of training contributed to reinforce the dominance of the textbook, on which teachers, to judge by APMEP and AFPF complaints, might become even more dependent.

The problem, however, was further confused by the ambivalence with which teachers - and sometimes their inspectors - received or awaited new texts. The editors of the 1973 edition of Leterrier's *Programmes et Instructions*, both inspectors, looked forward with some trepidation to the appearance of the programmes for *éveil* on the grounds that, after the specialist demands of the French and mathematics programmes, these would bring into official policy the contributions of specialists in a whole range of disciplines. The question of programmes and instructions was thus a double-edged one; on the one hand, teachers expected firm and clear guidance while on the other, the nature of the texts which did appear served to reinforce the point that for the majority of the teaching profession, the reform appeared as something imposed from without, which might be seen not only as making new demands on teachers but also on inspectors, themselves often facing the demands of *recyclage*.

All of these factors bore in turn on the operation of the system of in-service training and of *animation pédagogique*, while the latter was affected by other factors of longer standing, deriving from the nature of the educational hierarchy. The
principle of animation pédagogique was central both to the original statements of the reform in 1968 and to the subsequent Ministerial policy. These two statements of the principle, however, were marked by major differences in values and the official policy of animation pédagogique stopped some way short of the transformation of the hierarchy sought by reformers. If the process of implementation was to show that many teachers shared the latter view, it also showed that they brought a different set of perceptions to the question of curriculum development from those either of the Ministry or of the innovators.

In matters of curriculum, teacher expectations of in-service training and of the process of animation tended to reflect their desire for clear and specific guidance and support in tackling the demands of the reform. First reactions among teachers, therefore tended towards a demand for recyclage, directed mainly to the up-dating of subject knowledge and methods. This was something which may simply have reflected the early stages of reform in that teachers were required within the first two or three years to cope with major changes in the teaching of the basic subjects. These demands might be expected to change as the reform progressed and to a certain extent did so, but not entirely as originally envisaged. In addition, there was more to the question that one of teacher expectations; it was also necessary for the écoles normales to evolve an appropriate strategy for in-service training, which posed demands which conflicted with some existing aspects of the institution, for example the problem
of reconciling group discussions and workshop sessions with the defined service of a teaching body who still functioned under secondary school conditions of service. The training process, like the system of animation pédagogique generally also required training for the trainers, in some cases in the form of recyclage to up-date subject knowledge, but for the most part aimed at evolving a cooperative effort between the professeur d'école normale and the inspector.

In the early months of the reform, SGEN posed a list of essential conditions for a successful system of in-service training as the basis of animation pédagogique and from a standpoint which rejected the call for specific guidance of the type sought by SNI. SGEN wished for a system which was open-ended and flexible but above all genuinely continuous rather than periodic, that is followed up by group activity and working parties after the course was over. For the course itself, the union demanded institutional support, through the adaptation of the école normale to the new regime and the involvement of the inspector in the training team. SGEN also confirmed the official stress on the importance of the directeur as animateur of the school but argued that this too rested on training and release from administrative responsibilities. The union wished to avoid excessive haste in rigid structures and isolated efforts. 58 Most of these emphases were echoed by subsequent national conferences, which confirmed the general impression that early demands from teachers were above all for subject content and methods but sought also to work from this basis towards a long-term
process of animation; the Dijon conference of 1971, for example, proposed the involvement of classroom teachers as *animateurs*, those who had been on courses having a responsibility to disseminate within their schools the knowledge or skills which they had gained from their in-service training. 59

These ambitions, however, were not realised during the first five years of the reform in that the training process continued to serve as a means of remedying immediately pressing gaps in the teachers' knowledge and skills. Between the 1972 survey by INRDP and surveys conducted in 1974 by SNI study teams, 60 teacher responses changed somewhat in balance, but within narrowly definable limits; in 1972, teachers' identification of their training needs was roughly evenly divided between content and methods, by 1974 the latter had come to dominate. In addition, by the later date, the range of courses which teachers had actually attended had widened considerably, even taking a major place in main course elements.

The SNI teams concluded, however, that there remained central differences in the importance attached to training by teacher-trainers and teachers. In the case of the former, the demands of the process entailed working on the basis of teachers' expressed needs while working at the same time to change teachers' perceptions of the process towards an understanding of the importance of changing attitudes and behaviour. Changing attitudes towards the teaching function, however, was an aim directly controverted by the expectations of teachers on
in-service courses, which staff tended to regard as a source of security, in terms of allowing them to master new demands, than as a source of the *inquiétude pédagogique* envisaged by the Amiens Colloquium or the more prosaic aim of continuous reflection and research proposed by official texts on *animation pédagogique*.

It might be argued, however, that the gap between theory and practice was not the exclusive creation of teachers. If their desire for what one critic called "pedagogic comfort" was contrary to the spirit of the reform as defined at Amiens and in the official texts of 1969, the desire of the Ministry to retain traditional hierarchical forms of control through the retention of individual inspection and the annual teaching mark was quite at odds with the attitude shared by teachers and the reform lobby in the aftermath of 1968. Thus while the role of the inspector was re-defined in official texts as that of guide, adviser and *animateur* of the pedagogic team of the district, it was dominated in the eyes of teachers by the traditional aspects of the inspector's function. There was virtual unanimity between teachers' unions and movements for *l'éducation nouvelle* on this matter. SGEN argued for the transformation of the inspector's role, replacing the traditional status of "adjutant" with something more in keeping with the values of the reform, while SNI referred to the need to "de-mythologise" the inspector as a prime condition of *animation pédagogique*. CRAP also considered that the desire to establish *travail d'équipe* entailed a movement towards recognition of the equal status of the partners in the
process, while ICEM had dismissed the concept of animation pédagogique in the first place by quoting the words of the founder on inspection.

That these views represented general teacher reaction was confirmed by the results of the surveys conducted by the Ministry during Fontanet's tenure. 66 60% of the teachers consulted were opposed to the continuance of the teaching mark and this figure rose to 70% for teachers under 34, so that the age group which other surveys suggested was most in favour of the aims proposed by the reform was also most opposed to one of the central features of its implementation. There was little comfort for the Ministry in the further finding that 34% of teachers thought that marking was the function which the inspector fulfilled best. If the sample was truly representative, it seemed that almost all teachers either objected to the traditional functions of the inspector or had limited faith in his new ones. This is not to say, however, that there was no way out of the dilemma; the majority of teachers did think that the inspector had a valuable role to play in training and in animation, which was evidence that the teacher ambivalence over inspectors outlined in Chapter I was still a major characteristic of the profession.

The role of the inspector in the rénovation pédagogique was consequently a source of lively debate during the early 1970's and demonstrated the range of attitudes within both the teaching body and the inspectorate. Teachers referred to intimidation by the inspector until the eve of retiral, while some complained
of the inconsistency of the Ministry in requiring teachers to change their practice in the matter of marking and classifying pupils without reconsidering its own practice of relying on teaching marks; one teacher offered the cynical comment that Napoleon and Lattre de Tassigny had both received poor marks in the early stages of their careers, although this would seem to be a double-edged remark. The inspector Jean Deygout was dismissive of such reactions, asserting that teachers who suffered such trauma in the face of the man who knew them best lacked strength of personality and should reconsider whether they were suited to education. Deygout did concede, however, that there was little place in the reform for the traditional summary form of inspection and regretted that there might be a few inspectors who, because of the pressure of work, had not adjusted to new values. The Inspecteur Général Armand Blanchéri underlined the change in function of the inspector to that of the co-responsable rather than judge, but argued that since the reform was one laid down by the authorities, there was still a need for a definitive way of distinguishing between those who implemented it and those who did not. (This last point was exemplified in official policy from 1974, when it was specified that physical education had to be taken into account in arriving at the teaching mark).

There was evidence of changing attitudes among inspectors, of the kind envisaged by Deygout, although these pre-dated the rénovation pédagogique; Josette Voluzan, in her study of
inspector's reports over a period of twenty years up to 1969, had noted the first signs of a change away from the bureaucratic, impersonal presentation of inspector's judgment towards something couched in more personal and advisory terms. If the reform had served to give priority to such changes, it was not so clear that it called the teaching mark into question among inspectors and even those who claimed satisfactory relationships with their teachers as guides, advisers and supporters, still largely held to the assessment function as essential to their task. One or two explicitly stated that they usually raised the mark on each inspection, which kept everyone happy. This in itself, however, might be adduced as a reason for the abolition of the practice, since it led, in the eyes of Robert Mandra, to the demotivating situation whereby teachers usually all ended up at the same point on the scale. This view was shared by the inspector, M. Pierre, who regarded the barème used for appointments as administratively obsolescent, requiring distinctions between teachers on quite infinitesimal differences in mark and seniority. In addition, M. Pierre echoed the common view among teachers that the mark rested on a given moment, taking no account of what preceded or followed the lesson inspected, while there might be a gap of some years between inspection of the first and the last teacher in the district, which made comparisons between teachers' marks invidious. Above all, it soured relationships by creating the wrong image of the inspector.
If objections to the teaching mark were fairly limited among inspectors, attempts to dispense with it were confined to the isolated instance of Robert Gloton’s district in Paris, in which some of the early initiatives of the reform had been developed in the early 1960’s. As a product of the initial reform, which demanded in Gloton’s view a radically different role for the inspector, a system of collective or school inspection had been developed in place of the normal system of individual inspection. This move elicited a positive response from the teachers but found little echo in official circles and remained an isolated initiative subject itself to the bureaucratic mechanisms of the system; had Gloton been moved from his district, there would have been no guarantee that his successor would have sustained his approach. 73

These tensions surrounding the role of the inspector were to be a continuing element of the rénovation pédagogique as it developed, but in many respects, this aspect of the reform presented a pattern of continuity with long-standing attitudes in the system. For example, another occasional source of teacher complaint about the inspectorate was the secondary provenance of many of the latter, a factor which some in the elementary schools feared would be exacerbated by the new recruitment regulations which accompanied the change of designation of the officials. The main lines of the system allowed for recruitment of at least 70% of new personnel from secondary teachers, 15% from the intermediate corps of professeurs/CEG, (former
instituteurs now in secondary schools and still bearing nomenclature of the Berthoin era), and only 15% of instituteurs, who required a first cycle diploma and were thus drawn from a minority within the category. In addition the secondary staff required only 3 years service, the instituteurs and as titularisés. 74 (It seems that despite these advantages, the post was not even particularly popular with secondary teachers, for the IDEN corps was 80 short in 1971). 75

On the other hand, the reform gave some teachers some things which they had long demanded, notably a system which rested on the kind of continuous support and advice previously excluded by the weight of the inspector's administrative tasks. The responses of teachers to the INRDP survey, however, suggested that these intentions were slow to come to fruition and teachers reported a preference for visits from the conseiller pédagogique because the latter usually had more time. If the number of inspector's visits for animation and without teaching mark has increased pressure of time seems to be a continuing obstacle. The one inspector's visit witnessed by the author suggested a kind of summary animation under the same pressures of time as had previously applied to the summary assessment process. When the author was invited to an empty room along with two class teachers, (the remplaçants having taken over their classes), for a rapid and animated exposition of mathematics methods, the process was carried out with a haste which if deriving from
pressure of commitments, was sufficient to prevent the official becoming aware of the stray visitor among his teachers.

In conjunction with the conflicting pressures arising from the establishment of the new programmes, the tensions surrounding the process of animation pédagogique contributed further to the growing opposition to Ministerial policy. If in the question of curriculum, the reactions of teachers had been contrary to the aspirations of reformers and Ministry, the effects of the retention of the traditional mechanisms of control by the latter was opposed to the expectations of the reform among both teachers and innovators. The last two groups may have differed over other aspects of official control, such as the re-assertion of official control over innovation and over the development of new programmes, in which teacher attitudes suggest the possibility that they would view this with at least equanimity, but on the question of the hierarchical habits of the past, there was almost total unanimity. This opposition crystallised as the official policy moved towards its definitive phase and the final definition of the first phase of reform, in the Haby proposals of 1974 leading to the full reform of 1975-77, served to provoke an outburst of political opposition in which such initial consensus as had existed at the outset of the rénovation pédagogique finally dissolved. The nature of this opposition, however, did tend to conceal the multiple tensions which had developed during the rénovation pédagogique and the final
chapter attempts to analyse the importance of the Haby reform in the light of these different perspectives, obscured as much by conflict at the end of the process as they had been by consensus at the outset.
CONCLUSION

DEFINITION AND DISSENSION: THE HABY REFORM
The purpose of this concluding chapter is not to provide a comprehensive review of the Haby reform for its own sake. As a global reform of the French system, the process went far beyond the boundaries of the elementary school, while it represented the beginning of another period of French education as much as it did the end of the period under study in this thesis. The aim of this chapter is to provide a conclusion to the study of the rénovation pédagogique and also to the study of the transformation of the elementary school in the structures of the system. The reforms of 1975-7 in effect provided something of a conclusion to both. It made explicit the tensions which were inherent in the rénovation pédagogique from the outset on the one hand, while on the other it permitted a definition of the forces of change and continuity which had operated on the development of the elementary school during the full period under study.

The context within which the Haby reforms took place was influenced by a degree of conflict in expectations, deriving on the one hand from the distinctive place of the Minister among post-war Ministers, on the other from the political context in which he came to office. In contrast to others who occasionally made it specific that they had hoped for some portfolio other than National Education, Haby was himself a product of the system. He had risen through the ranks from instituteur to professeur agrégé and had directed several schools before entering administration on the staff of Jean Capelle during the latter's tenure as Director of School Organisation and Programmes. In the latter capacity
Haby had been involved in the establishment of the Rouchette Commission. Subsequently he served under the Minister for Youth and Sport before becoming Recteur of the académie of Clermont-Ferrand.

This progress through the system and his continuing deep interest in questions of pedagogy gave the new Minister the advantage of the initial confidence of the teaching profession and the presence of an educationist in office and one who had been intimately involved with a number of major reforms suggested the establishment of the most propitious circumstances for the further development of the reform. The Minister, however, arrived in office in a government whose main emphases tended to contradict these expectations. The Chirac government of May, 1974, under the presidency of Giscard D'Estaing, came into office at a time of economic difficulties in the wake of the oil crisis and against a background of a certain degree of drift in government affairs during the last year of Pompidou's life.

There were two major elements of government policy related to this background which had bearing for the subsequent progress of educational reform. In the first place, the inclusion of four non-parliamentarians - including Haby himself - in the government was generally interpreted as a sign that the President intended to assert control over governmental affairs and thereby over the processes of change which had been so marked in the previous presidency. The degree of control actually exercised by the president in matters affecting education was to become a subject of some debate, as will
be noted in the later part of this chapter. The second major aspect was a renewed concern with economic returns in the education system. The creation of a new post of Secretary of State for Universities presaged major moves to orient students into courses which were vocationally relevant, reflecting a concern for economic returns which ran counter to the principles of 1968. While this attracted the immediate opposition of the left, it is perhaps also worth noting that there notable divisions within the latter in the wake of the 1974 election. In general the context was one in which the educational promise was already subject to sources of major political tension.

The Haby reform was evolved over a period of two and a half years, from the avant-projet, which went through successive stages of development before publication early in 1975 and ending with the final stages of reform in May, 1977. The main lines of the reform were laid down in the Law of 11th July, 1975, although this offered only the barest framework for the measures proposed.

The reform proposals for the elementary school encompassed both curriculum and organisation. The former were mainly concerned with the problem of redoublements, still a major obstacle to democratisation, especially given the Minister's intention to abolish streaming in the CES, or college as it was renamed in the reforms, a process which began with the 6e in 1974/5. The first aspect of the proposed solution was the inception of a variable rate of progress through the elementary school, but within precisely defined limits. The proposal would have had the effect of lengthening the
normal progress to 6 years, with some facility for skipping a class to allow abler pupils to complete the course in 5 years. Early entry at the age of 5 was also to be permitted, extending existing provisions dating from 1968 and 1970. 3

The proposed extension of the elementary school entailed the creation of an extra class in the form of a second year in cours préparatoire for the majority of pupils. This class, labelled either CP 2 or CP d'attente, would provide reinforcement in the skills of reading prior to entry to the cours élémentaire, thus removing the main source of the grade-repeating problem. If this in effect solved the problem of repeating by institutionalising the process, it did seek to confine the process within defined limits, offering a support which neither repeating CP in its present form or proceeding to CE 1 without remedial support currently offered. The project also specified that a close liaison should exist between the elementary and the nursery school, both to ensure a smooth transition and to allow identification of children at risk. Further up the school, the avoidance of repeats called for the adoption of the strategy of pédagogie de soutien within a framework of groupes de niveaux, a system of partial homogeneous grouping within and sometimes across mixed ability classes. Support for remedial purposes was proposed through the extension of groupes d'action psycho-pédagogique, providing specialist remedial and psychologist support to the classroom teachers. These approaches had been the subject of extensive research under the auspices of INRDP since the inception of the rénovation pédagogique.
In the field of curriculum, the project brought a new direction to the definition of the curriculum in the elementary school, which would henceforth be specified in terms not of content but of objectives. The final test of the attainments of the objectives of the elementary school would come with the formulation of objectives for the cours moyen, while those for other courses would be specified by arrêté. The essential content on which these objectives would be based was specified by Haby as the current practice of spoken and written French, that of calculation and the elementary concepts of mathematics, éveil, manual, physical and sporting activity. The reform also restored moral education to the separate place in the curriculum which it had lost in 1969. Speaking to the Inspecteurs Généraux in October, 1974, Haby defined these proposals as a continuation of the rénovation pédagogique, but also as a defiance of certain "intellectual fashions" in keeping firmly in mind standards in the basics, notably in arithmetic and orthography.

The latter aspect presaged a series of steps back towards a stress on the traditional skills which critics of the rénovation pédagogique argued had been neglected with the introduction of the new programmes. During the Haby Ministry, this process was to lead in 1977 to the beginning of the progressive suppression of the mathematics reform of 1970 and a return to traditional arithmetic, including mental arithmetic. (While further developments lie outwith the intended scope of this thesis, it is worth noting that this change of direction continued under M. Beullac, Haby's successor, who reintroduced history for cours moyen in 1980,
announcing in the process the imminent appearance of a circular specifying the dates which all French children should know by the age of 11). This change of direction represented a restoration of balance for the Ministry; to those engaged in the research teams, (which were largely dissolved during the Beullac Ministry anyway), it was the end of the reform process. One last point provided an intriguing Ministerial footnote to the whole reform process; in the arrêté suppressing the 1970 mathematics Instructions, the latter were labelled as "modern mathematics", an ironic admission of what Ministry and reformers alike had denied in 1970, or else a revealing indication of how far official thinking had changed in the interval.

The reform also extended the participation of parents into the elementary school, along lines similar to those in secondary schools, but with the exclusion of pupil representation. Parents' representatives would be consulted on such things as the internal organisation of the school, modes of exchange of information and a wide range of activities related to the life of the school. In addition to parents and teachers, such councils would also include specialist personnel such as psychologists and doctors. Each meeting was to be fully minuted, with a copy sent to the district inspector. Haby also floated the idea of another change in the organisation of the elementary school by giving a greater degree of status to the director.

The project and the terms of the Minister's speeches and interviews were greeted with widespread teacher opposition, which
manifested itself in successive waves of strikes and in the withdrawal of FEN and SGEN from participation in working parties concerned with the implementation of the reform. There were major differences within the mass opposition of teachers, however, and if Haby's proposals for the elementary school offended the left generally and progressive circles in pedagogical thinking, his proposals for the abolition of streaming and the introduction of the long sought after *trouc commun* in the lower secondary *collège* was opposed by university and secondary teachers. Thus the Société des Agrégés pronounced that the death sentence had been passed on *culture générale*, a response similar in some respects to that of the PCF. 9 (Secondary school opinion was outraged further in the later stages of the reform when Haby announced that orthography would henceforth remain in the curriculum until the end of the *classe de 3e*). 10

There were some supporters of the reform. The Recteur of the Académie of Grenoble commented favourably on the main lines of the reform and cast doubt on the sincerity of the opposition because of their global refusal of the reform and their denial of democratic debate. Jean Guéhenno found the proposals "full of humanity", although he judged the proposal to abolish *redoublements* by allowing for a 5 or 6 year progress through the elementary school somewhat verbal. 11 *Le Figaro* praised the educational and social realism of the reform and also hinted at political motives among its opponents, especially those teachers' unions "close to the Communist Party." 12 Among educational bodies, the Lagarde, (formerly Armand), Federation was a notable exception to the general
opposition, although this support was subject to important reservations on matters such as class sizes and above all limitations to the scope of parental participation which failed to give full recognition to parents as intermediaries in the educational process. 13

The severity of the initial reaction was also in part a product of the way in which the reform had been drawn up. After a period of six years of intense collective activity, during which reform groups had been brought into the decision-making process and teachers consulted and involved in planning to an unprecedented extent; (the fact of having been consulted was commented upon favourably by some teachers in Hug's sample), the Haby reform appeared, in Jacques Minot's words, "in minute and precise detail, springing from the mind of the Minister like Athena, believing herself to be Jupiter". 14 This denial of participation was a source of great offence to teachers' unions and other interested parties, leaving them little to do except react - which they did, vehemently. This pattern continued, however, so that the modifications which were eventually made in the Minister's proposals were concessions made against a background of strife, not the results of a process of consultation and participation. In this respect, the project represented the obverse of the consensus educational politics of the previous five years. In 1976 Le Monde was drawn to comment on the complaints of the SNI leadership that it could only obtain information about Haby's intentions by reading the newspapers. 15 Jacques Minot also
referred to Haby's self-imposed isolation in the task of drawing up
the reform, during which he had not consulted his political
colleagues either, a view which was not shared on the left;
the PCF was most explicit in its references to the "reforme Giscard-
Haby", but this perception was by no means confined to the party. There were various sources of opposition to the specific
provisions of the reform. In part, these stemmed from their
imprecise nature, particularly in the skeletal terms of the Law
of 26th June, 1975, which was viewed by DJS, Cornec and others as
giving the Ministry a blank cheque to be filled up subsequently
by decree and which would serve to shape the educational system
for the next twenty five years. Haby's strategies for coping
with individual differences in such a way as to cut down
redoublements were also interpreted as selective and elitist - not
to mention anti-lay, by Cornec - since they rested heavily on the
proposal to allow an accelerated progress for the most able and
institutionalised a selection between the remainder at the end of
CP; there was a general fear that this merely gave legislative
expression to the effects of socio-economic influences on pupil
attainments. Lagarde dissented from this view, on the grounds
that children were different and that it was realistic to take
this into account.

Consequently, much of the specific criticism revolved around
the proposal to introduce a CP d'attente. On the other hand, SNI
saw some promise in the idea initially, in that it offered a
"maturation" class which was in line with the union's own proposal,
which had admitted the possibility of a variable rate of progress. This required, however, an adequate level of support, both in terms of class sizes and in terms of specialist support in tackling learning difficulties. Others were less favourable from the outset. SGEN condemned the proposed extension of "premature" entry to the elementary school, on the grounds that the problems rested on the fact that French children were expected to learn too much, too early. DJS also opposed the idea and proposed the alternative, long advanced by Jean Vial, of breaking down the barriers between the first three classes, to allow pupils a much more flexible introduction to the basic skills, especially in reading. This view was echoed by the Nouvel Observateur, which argued that it would have been relatively simple to extent Gloton's practice, which did just this, across the whole of the country. There was also a general agreement that the attainment of the wider aim, the suppression of grade-repeating, demanded much more by way of resources and provision for remedial help than was proposed by the official texts. The PCF went so far as to identify the desire to abolish redoublements as a desire to cut costs by reducing total pupil numbers.

Louis Legrand provided a more reasoned criticism of the proposals and although he acknowledged the positive aspect of the Minister's desire to tackle this perennial problem, his criticisms served to underline the different values which the INRDP research teams had brought to the consideration of the problem. Legrand echoed the comments of Jean Guéhenno on the somewhat verbal nature
of the change; by a piece of Ministerial sleight of hand, a "retarded" progress through the elementary school became a "normal" progress, a "normal" progress under the existing regime becoming an "accelerated" progress.

In addition, Legrand pointed to the absence of preparatory research, which meant that the effects of the proposed change could only be a matter for conjecture and argued that the proposal rested on an over-simplified view of child development and ran counter to the initial aims of the *renovation pédagogique* by concentrating on exclusively cognitive criteria for promotion or retardation and these in terms of a classical view of performance measured against a priori "national" rhythms of development defined in programme content. The work of the research teams active in this area had led to diametrically opposite conclusions which rested on the adoption of a system based on heterogeneous groups by age with greater flexibility according to the nature of the learning experience, as well as greater attention to non-cognitive objectives and a greater freedom for teams of teachers to adapt the programmes to their own circumstances, all proposals in harmony with the attitudes of 1968.

The proposal in any case came to nought, being one of the victims of the widespread opposition to the reform, and was dropped in 1976. 26

The teachers' unions also objected to the continuing segregation between different categories of teachers within the system and the failure of the Ministry to devote itself to the extension of initial
teacher training. SGEN also reiterated its opposition to the continuance of the teaching mark. On the question of the role of the school director, both unions opposed any suggestion that the former should become another hierarchical superior of the teacher; in SNI's view this would cut down the freedom and authority of the director, although the stated intention of the Minister was to give schools a greater degree of autonomy. 27

The other main area of objections, and one central to this topic, was that of the curriculum, in particular the specification of precise objectives and the expressed desire of the Minister to re-direct attention to the basic skills. Secondary opinion was largely in favour of both of these emphases, in inverse fashion to the elementary unions and progressive movements, which were in favour of the tronc commun in secondary school. SNI found a source of some concern in the suppression of streams in the collège and sought a barrage of measures to ensure that the elementary school was given the full opportunity to meet the targets specified for it, reinforced by a campaign of information directed at secondary teachers so that they became aware of the exact level of attainments which the elementary school was expected to meet. 28 Others were much more hostile on principle, however. The PCF dismissed the formulation of objectives and the Minister's concern for the basics as a reactionary policy which took the elementary school curriculum back to 1887, and which denied the development of culture in favour of competencies and a desire for efficacy in the basic skills which reduced the curriculum of the school to mechanisms,
a re-assertion of authority and conformity. 29 Commentators within
the party contrasted the minimum levels of competency sought by
Haby with the maximum development of the child's aptitudes
proposed by the party's own project, L'Ecole Fondamentale, a
contrast which underlined the class bias in the Minister's policy
through his apparent willingness to allow the socio-economic
circumstances of children to determine their chances of access to
culture. This line of criticism was not confined to the party;
SGEN also rejected the notion of savoir minimum. 30 Haby's
intentions were thus interpreted in exclusively negative terms;
if progressives had extended the benefit of reasonable doubt to
Alain, in arguing that he had provided a reminder of the basic
minimum but had not sought to deny all culture to the elementary
school pupil, no such benefit was extended to Haby.

The actual proposals of the reform were accompanied by other
developments which served to mark the end of a distinctive period
in French educational reform, in the re-establishment of Ministerial
control over the major areas of research and curriculum planning,
through the transfer of control of research on the teaching of
French to the Ministry and the suppression of the INRDP work on the
elaboration of research towards Instructions for the activités
d'éveil. These moves may be said to have brought the rénovation
pédagogique, as understood by the various participants in the
process who had worked to evolve the main lines of the reform,
effectively to an end. This applied both to the medium and the
message; the Ministry had resumed its traditional control over
the planning and decision-making process and had returned to a pattern of curriculum definition which had much more in common with the period before 1968 than with the long process of research and experiment between 1968 and 1975.

The Haby reform may serve to provide a means of arriving at a clear view of what the different participants in the reform process had sought from the process. In part this rested simply on the fact of such a definitive reform issuing from the Ministry, which itself recalled the different views which had been expressed in the Amiens Colloquium. Pierre Bourdieu, in a communication to the Colloquium, had likened the process of innovation to the launching of a chain reaction, the eventual results of which could not be foreseen. 31 This was a view in direct conflict with that expressed by Alain Peyrefitte at the same assembly, that the Ministry was not interested in research for its own sake but sought to utilise the results of research for the further development of the system. 32 The reactions of the Ministry in 1971, in prohibiting unauthorised innovation in the teaching of French and in re-introducing central control over research, may be seen as having borne out this original declaration of intent, as well as having reflected a degree of official anxiety, in the face of the political strife surrounding the reform of the teaching of French, over the "chain reaction" such as it had developed.

The Haby reform may be seen as the culmination of this process and one which was thus encompassed in the official view of the reform from the outset, the arrival at a new definition of the
pedagogy of the elementary school, the utilisation of the products of the years of research and innovation towards a defined end, in contrast to the desired change in values underpinning the work of many of the research teams. The comments of Louis Legrand illustrated this contrast, which may be defined as essentially one of means as opposed to ends. The research teams had produced proposals which marked a distinct break with the traditional values of the system, notably in the direction of a degree of decentralisation and of institutional autonomy and also in, pedagogical terms, towards a greater stress on the non-cognitive. Haby, by contrast, used the results of the years of innovation as means to the attainment of aims which derived from the previous 15 years of official policy, the concern to ensure a greater efficacy in the teaching of the basic skills. This official concern for rendement scolaire had itself been an element in the launching of the first official initiatives in the direction of reform, even in the case of the Rouchette Commission, which far surpassed the limited concerns of its establishment and came to embody many of the aspirations and many of the succeeding disappointments of the renovation pédagogique. In doing so, the Commission had progressed somewhat beyond the bounds of the Ministry's desire for change. It was perhaps a fitting irony that the reforms of 1975-7 which brought home this point were the product of Haby, himself involved in the establishment of the Rouchette Commission during his period in Capelle's directorate.

It may be argued that over these 15 years, official policy had retained this element of continuity, of a desire to retain
effective teaching of the basic skills within the context of a search for balance in relation to the wider aspects of the elementary school curriculum. One may argue further than this was a continuing feature of official policy towards the elementary and primary schools since 1887. The Instructions of that year had referred to "a rudimentary education not confined to the rudiments", those of 1923 had balanced the continuing concern for precision in basic skills with criticism of the neglect of aesthetic, practical and physical education. 33 Lebettre's circular of 1960 and his accompanying statements on policy had demonstrated some ambivalence over this question. 34 In the course of the rénovation pédagogique, the order of expression of the concerns changed but the essential outline was the same. Peyrefitte was in favour of the development of a wider culture, but defined the cultivated man as he who could read, write, express himself and calculate, 35 a view which anticipated that taken by Haby. Thus the Minister's policy reflected something of longer standing than a source of dispute within the rénovation pédagogique, although the reform had succeeded in adding oral expression to the list of the basic skills.

The arrival at this stage of the reform process, however, was exemplified as much by the style as by the content of the reform, in its rejection of the consensus policies of the early stages. If Haby announced the continuation of the rénovation pédagogique subject to attention to certain pressing considerations of basic skills, this was to apply the title to only one facet of the process, the reform of the content of the elementary school
curriculum, omitting the change of values towards a collective process, involving all those within the educational system, which had been one of the central tenets of the whole reform as elaborated in the late 1960's. As a consequence of this, the advocates of the original reform saw the Haby proposals more as the end of the *rénovation pédagogique* as they had understood the term.

The fact that the different views of the *rénovation pédagogique* had been made explicit at the outset in 1968 was a source of tensions which ran through the whole later experience. As early as 1971, Louis Legrand pointed to the inherent contradiction of the *rénovation pédagogique*, that it had fallen to a body quite unrelated, unless perhaps dialectically, to the springs of the great outburst of 1968, to implement the reform which had arisen from the currents of popular feeling, thus embodying in the whole reform process the contradiction arising from the officialisation of any movement born of contestation and which in its essence challenged the existing society and existing patterns of power and authority. A similar view was presented in 1975 by Daniel Renard of the PCF, who asserted that over the previous ten years the Ministry had been constrained to publish new programmes in response to teacher initiatives in the direction of the *rénovation pédagogique*, these programmes responding to the essential aspirations of teachers to base their pedagogy on all the acquisitions of the educational sciences. Renard further argued that it would have been reasonable to expect the Haby reform to offer a synthesis of these years of development.
These views themselves, however, may rest on a further contradiction which may have become blurred at the end of the process by political strife in much the same way as the political tensions of the outset had become blurred by the consensus on pedagogical change. Louis Legrand had argued that it was a contradiction in terms to attempt to generalise any method deriving from contestation, which if consistent with the terms of his earlier arguments, was a view which could be applied equally to the dependence of the innovatory lobby on official support for the implementation of the reform in the face of teacher resistance. 38 Legrand was himself acutely and perceptively aware of the obstacles to implementation presented by teacher attitudes, but this was not true of all on the left, including Renard. The latter's line of argument, not uncommon at the time of the Haby reform, rests on a view which was very much open to question and reflects a perception of the reform process in which shared political opposition comes close to creating its own mythology of the "spontaneous" rénovation pédagogique.

This view of the process was fairly true of the committed, the creators of new methods, teachers engaged in research, and their disillusion was increasingly evident during the five years after 1969. The launching of "the continuing process of research and reflection" by Guichard in 1969 appeared to support the assumption among reformers that the reform implied something akin to the Swedish idea of "the institutionalisation of change", 39 an assumption reflected to some extent by APMEP and AFPF attitudes and most
succinctly expressed by Colette Hug - "rien ne sera jamais plus figé". The Haby reform, in seeking to give a definitive shape to the rénovation pédagogique, was a distinct rebuff to such aspirations. The same effects may be seen among the research teams engaged in developing new approaches to subject and organisational problems; the manner in which the Ministry drew on the research without endorsing the values which had animated it prompted the occasional cynical comment in research reports; as one researcher put it, research was tolerated by the Ministry provided it did not clash with official policy.

It was by no means clear, however, that the matter was seen in the same light by the teaching profession as a whole. For the teachers, the reform remained, in many of its central aspects, something imposed from without and teacher reactions were ambiguous from the outset of the process. Louis Lefèbrve regretted that many of his teachers regarded the reform as something which would pass like all the others. A survey by CRAP in 1974 showed a similar disdain among other teachers who considered the reform as an outbreak of "pedagogic dadaism". Above all, teachers were confronted with extensive new demands which called both their existing subject knowledge and their existing teaching methods into account. These factors also seem to have crystallised around the time of the Haby reform, and if the innovators sought something akin to the Swedish "institutionalisation of change", there were signs that the reform had at least succeeded in creating the other phenomenon of the Swedish experience, "innovation exhaustion"
among teachers. In an article written in 1975, Guy Georges expressed considerable misgivings about Ministerial intentions and the possibility that after a period of ten years of major change, which was not yet universally implemented or mastered by teachers, there might be further changes which would only diminish the efficiency of the school. 45

These and other indications suggested that teachers did not view the pedagogical consequences of the reform with quite the degree of disillusion experienced by the main proponents of the reform. Where the latter had looked for questioning of aims, attitudes and assumptions, the former looked above all for a degree of security in the face of new demands, a phenomenon already noted in the context of in-service training. Where teachers had their own proposals for change, however, these did tend to match the priorities of the reform lobby, for example in the teacher demand for increased training and in their desire for the creation of a different network of relationships. Despite the differences in perception between the two groups, these factors in turn tended to blur the issue by creating a major area of common ground, in that both could agree that institutional factors served to block the implementation of the reform.

On the question of initial training, for example, the views of the teachers' unions were broadly similar to those of the main reform groups and the PCF. This is not to say that the different parties did not disagree considerably on details, SNI for example demanding the retention and development of the école normale in
its new role as centre départemental de formation, while the PCF and SGEN argued for differing degrees of access to higher education in place of a separate institution. There was, however, consensus on the inadequacy of the existing regime of two years which had merely reached the original 1946 target. Whatever reform was to be undertaken, all were agreed that there must be more, and better, teacher preparation. Louis Legrand, on the other hand, was sceptical of the validity of this argument in that extended training would mean an increase in the cognitive content of the courses rather than the change of attitudes on which the reform depended. 46

Similar considerations applied to the other institutional factors which attracted the united opposition of teachers and innovators, the inspector and the teaching mark, the programmes and instructions, all of which inhibited teacher willingness to participate in true team effort. The process of school staffing was also inculpated in that apart from a few experimental schools which had received some modification to their staffing conditions during the reform, all posts in all schools in France were interchangeable, as were all teachers in effect. The teacher making a choice of school or applying for a post would respond to a standard advertisement which made no reference to school aims or innovations, approaches to parental participation or any other indicators of the ethos of the school or the outlook of the team which the teacher was about to join. Insofar as the official reform did little or nothing to modify or remove these features of school life, the official view may be seen to be in the contradictory position
claimed by Legrand. On the other hand, it was equally possible to argue that these factors all provided excuses rather than reasons, a view advanced by Guy Avanzini, who regards institutional factors as fallacious explanations for the immobilisme of teachers. There is certainly some support for this view in that the programmes produced during the reform were criticised by teachers as much for their lack of specific guidance as for the constraint they offered, while the teachers' complaints about the isolated nature of traditional inspections, (and also the Ministry's concern for a more efficient means of control than the occasional inspector's visit), conflicts to a certain extent with the picture of the inspector as a major constraint on the teaching function. Avanzini echoes Louis Legrand's identification of the problem as one of attitudes; if teachers had the will to change, in Avanzini's view, they would also show the will to surmount the obstacles placed in their way by the system or at least exploit more fully the freedom given explicitly by the Instructions - as Freinet did - or the sporadic nature of control. The fact that the reform movements generally supported teachers' training demands and their demands for the modification of the administrative system may have served, if for different ends, to reinforce the obstacles to innovation by lending support to the view of their impregnability.

These considerations also affected the process of animation pédagogique; as the driving force in the preparation of the reform, animation perhaps made more immediately evident the contradictions arising from the widely differing perspectives brought to the reform.
The principle embodied the whole question of changing values in the control and administration of the system sought by the assemblies of 1968, a break with the hierarchical and centralised patterns of the traditional system, towards a greater degree of decentralisation and institutional autonomy. Even between teachers and innovators, there were important differences within common opposition to the traditional modes of control of the system in that the teachers sought the removal of the more irksome expressions of this control such as the teaching mark, they still felt the need for the supportive aspects, in terms of clear programmes and the guidance to which they had become accustomed, thereby transforming animation pédagogique from its role as the driving force of reform into another form of central control, but expressed in terms of guidance and support rather than assessment.

These central differences in outlook may be related to factors which commonly arise in major curriculum innovation, suggesting another definition of inquiétude pédagogique from the one offered by the assemblies of 1968. The latter had seen this change in attitudes as a prior condition of the complete re-appraisal and reform of the teaching function, that is as the basis for the rénovation pédagogique. On the other hand, this phenomenon may be seen as a result of the reform; as B. McDonald puts it, "Genuine innovation begets incompetence. It deskills teachers and pupils alike, suppressing acquired competences and demanding the development of new ones. In the end the discomfort will be resolved one way or the other, by reversion to previous practice or by achieving
new skills and new frameworks". 48 This tendency was very evident during the French reforms, in which new mathematics Instructions, for example, created a pressure for a recyclage which was not always compatible with the wider view of animation, while the lack of such ready support in activités d'éveil was reflected in the common reversion to traditional subject teaching. Either way, the end product was something quite opposed to the intentions of the Amiens Colloquium or the Commission pour la Rénovation Pédagogique. This product of the reform, the loss of the savoir and savoir-faire on which the remaining prestige of the instituteur rested, is frequently invoked to explain the low morale of the profession as a social group, but much less often as an explanation of those responses within the teaching profession which contributed to the progressive disillusion of the various reform groups.

This aspect, however, is given full importance in Guy Avanzini's analysis of the immobilisme with which the teaching profession are often charged; Avanzini attributes this characteristic to the anxiety engendered by the prospect of change, which tends to drive teachers back towards the security afforded by traditional models of teacher behaviour, in turn an important buttress against parental criticism. 49 (McDonald's analysis may be amplified in the latter respect in that the mathematics reform also "deskilled" parents, creating an anxiety among them which in turn acted as a source of pressure on the Ministry; Haby made his concern over this matter quite specific). 50 This point may in turn be seen as related to Avanzini's dismissal of the institutional constraints of the school
system as fallacious explanations for the limited effect of reform. Such factors as programmes and instructions were very much seen as a source of the security sought by teachers in the face of new and sometimes rather unspecific demands.

The Ministry added yet another perception of the process of animation pédagogique from those above, one which may be seen in relation to other trends in the control and administration of the system. The Ministry certainly envisaged animation as involving all teachers in a collective and concerted enterprise, in terms which were broadly similar to those of the Colloquium and the Commission. On the other hand, this was related to other concerns in the administrative system, notably the desire for a more effective control of the educational process than that offered by the sporadic and relatively ineffectual system of individual inspection. (Some measure of past effectiveness in relation to policy decisions concerning for example physical education in the teaching mark may be gleaned from the fact that the Ministry had prescribed this already in 1959, with little noticeable effect). The idea of the teacher as "captain of his own ship", which might be interpreted as isolation by the rural beginner, might also be interpreted by the administrator as an independence which could militate against the implementation of official policy aimed at ensuring a more coherent pedagogy in the schools; this was a point stressed by Ministers and inspectors alike. The official approach thus took on something of a managerial character, reflecting a new approach based on corporate management techniques
at least as much as the change in political values envisaged by the reform groups. These differences in outlook were personified by two officials, the teachers seeing in the non-hierarchical director, the Ministry in the hierarchical figure of the inspector, the essence of animation pédagogique. Thus the Ministry, unlike the teachers, found little incompatibility in combining the new approach with the continuing elements of the old; as Haby put it bluntly in an interview, the inspector would quickly remove any traditionally oriented teacher from his magisterial chair! 52

The involvement of teachers in the planning and implementation of the new pedagogy, however, stopped short of participation in the decision-making process after 1971. This phenomenon was not confined to the rénovation pédagogique and should be seen in relation to the major trends in official policy under the Fifth Republic. Over the whole period since 1959, there had been moves towards greater efficiency through an increasing specialisation of function, a process which had led to the reduction of the Ministry's area of responsibility, for example through the removal of some of its functions to Ministries such as that of Youth and Sport and even at the time of Haby's appointment to a new Secretary of State for Universities. Its internal organisation was also affected by reforms directed towards an increasing specialisation of function between the directorates. Over the same period, teacher representation on consultative bodies such as the Conseil Supérieur was considerably reduced, in the case of the latter body from 50 to 25 members out of 80 in 1961. Finally, there has been an increasing trend towards
inter-ministerial decisions.

This line of development added another element to the process of animation pédagogique, as part of a framework of increasingly technocratic administration of the system, within which the concept of animation took on something of the character of a system of corporate management. Jacques Fournier attributed this trend of policy to the desire for a greater degree of political control over a system of which the Fifth Republic feared the ideological opposition. The tendency to exclude the profession from participation in decision-making was certainly controverted by the stress on co-gestion and participation in the Faure Ministry in the wake of the events of 1968 but had re-asserted itself by the end of the reform process as studied in this thesis. Jacques Minot's final judgment of the Haby Ministry tends to reinforce this point by resting heavily on the disadvantages of having someone like Haby from the world of education as Minister, trying to run the vast administration of French education under the pressure of the expectations and criticisms of former colleagues, inviting confrontations which the politician unencumbered by this background might better avoid by being more open to compromise. Minot welcomed the appointment of M. Beullac, Haby's successor, on this basis.

The role of the Ministry in the reform was one which did not conform either to the expectations of innovators or those of the teachers; where the former sought autonomy, the Ministry sought control; where the teachers looked for a supportive
approach from administration, the Ministry insisted on the retention of its traditional functions. These relationships themselves created conflicting pressures on the Ministry. Implementation of the reform sought by the innovators who had prepared the rénovation pédagogique effectively required the kind of management offered by the Ministry. Provision of the security of defined programmes and instructions as desired by the teachers effectively meant diminishing the aspirations of the reform groups. In these respects, the Ministry may be seen as holding the ring against the different and competing interests inherent in the reform process.

Comparison with Swedish experience may be illuminating in this context. The experience of comprehensive reform and the accompanying reforms in curriculum in Sweden took place against a background of a wide political consensus. On the other hand, this did not prevent the development of conflict between the different perspectives of the different participants in the process, the planning of curriculum reform and its attendant research focussing on long- and medium-term strategies, the teachers, faced with the immediate problem of coping with the changes demanded of them, being more concerned with short-term questions of training and adaptation to new demands. These differences of outlook were reflected in the different functions fulfilled by national and regional curriculum machinery.

In contrast to the Royal Board of Education, however, the Ministry in France was only indirectly involved in the formulation of the original reform, thus being placed in an intermediate position
in the question of implementation, a position complicated by the political opposition which underlay many aspects of the reform impetus and which emerged even from officially sponsored bodies like the Rouchette Commission. In addition, the Ministry brought its own aims and expectations to the reform process. Jacques Fournier has identified three main strands of educational thinking in modern French education, the "traditional", emphasising selection and the transmission of knowledge by the teacher, the "technocratic" emphasising modernisation of curriculum in response to economic demand, reducing the teacher in the process to a technician of an advanced industrial society and the "libérateur" or "utopian", basically aimed at the opening of pathways to a new society, with its appeal to pupil initiative, human relationships and the maximum development of all. It is possible to see the various participants in the rénovation pédagogique in terms of these three models; if one accepts Fournier's view that none exists in its pure form, this is equally applicable to the relationships of these participants to the three models, which serve to underline tendencies rather than define absolutes. The outlook which most teachers brought to the reform tended towards the "traditional", that of the reform groups towards the "utopian" and the concerns of the Ministry increasingly towards the "technocratic".

The end product of these tensions, in contrast to the Swedish experience in which critics have pointed to the bureaucratisation of conflicts, has been in France the inherent politicisation of conflicts which have served to confuse rather than to clarify the
nature of the pedagogical positions. It may be argued that the three tendencies interacted in different ways at different times in the reform process and then usually implicitly against the back¬
ground of the overt political oppositions which charted the progress of alienation in the reform process. Within this pattern, one may identify degrees of complicity, of different character at different times, between the various participants. At the outset, the reform groups, whatever their political reservations, parti-
cipated fully in the implementation of the reform and for a time worked to extend the process further. At the close of the period, the teachers, despite their political opposition to Haby and his successor, complied to some extent in bringing the rénovation pédagogique to the end of the optimistic and idealistic phase, the reform groups finding equal discouragement in the changed direction of official policy and the resistance to implementation from teachers. These factors in turn served to give definition to the achievement of the whole reform process since 1968. On one level, the rénovation pédagogique as a modernisation of the content and methods of the school in response to the demands of a changing society may be said to have been a lasting process. On the other, in terms of the mobilising of the creative forces of the educational system in a fundamental re-appraisal of not only the school curriculum but also the aims and functioning of the whole system, it was effectively a passing phenomenon.

The end of the period of the rénovation pédagogique treated in this thesis also marked a definitive stage in the development
of the place of the elementary school within the reformed structures of the system. By 1975, the school had finally been transformed into the first stage of compulsory education in a horizontally structured system, from which the last vestiges of the old upper stages of the primary school, the cours fin d'études, had disappeared somewhat belatedly in 1974. The elementary school also became co-educational during this period and when the abolition of grade-repeating was announced in the course of the Haby reform, the school may be said to have lost its final link with the educational traditions of the Third Republic. The reformed system is outlined in Figure 6.

In the course of this process, there have been contrasting elements of change and continuity in the development of the elementary schools. Within the first of these categories, the school and its attendant training institutions have been largely "de-mythologised", a process which has had ambiguous results. The école normale has largely been the beneficiary of this aspect in that it has ceased to be a totem of republican educational values, although SNI retains its traditional commitment to the preservation of the institution as the basic unit for professional training as the attention of other groups turns to the possibility of university study for intending elementary school teachers. While several aspects of their functioning have remained a source of vigorous debate, notably brevity of the training period and the continuance of the decennial agreement as the basis of recruitment, such debate is firmly focussed on the intended function of the écoles normales rather than, as in the past, subordinating this function
FIGURE 6  THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN THE REFORMED SYSTEM

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"Long" 2nd cycle secondary  "Short" 2nd cycle secondary

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ECOLE MATERNELLE

Cours moyen  Cours élémentaire  Cours préparatoire
to other considerations. The institutions have retained some marks of the past in the kind of anomalies which have figured largely in the history of primary/elementary teacher training, for example in the fact that the écoles normales have had to face the new demands of professional training, both initial and in-service, with a staff whose recruitment and qualifications reflect the previous dominant preoccupation with preparation for the baccalaureate.

The teaching body of the elementary school, on the other hand, seems to have suffered adversely, at least in self-image, from the loss of the distinctive position once held by the instituteur, although this would appear to be much less a cause than a symptom of the problems of morale widely invoked within the profession. As one teacher, C. Hameau, saw it, the clear and simple values of the instituteur of the 1880's who saw his task as one of promoting social advance, combating aristocratic and clerical influence, 'glorifying La Patrie and preparing la révanche, had given way to a system of values based on individual promotion but one which had lost direction in the face of social change, with diplomates increasingly facing unemployment and with the role of the teacher increasingly challenged from without. 57

By the time of the Haby reform, articles on the crisis of morale in the profession had become commonplace in the educational journals. This crisis of morale was fuelled by a variety of factors, the disillusion of the later stages of the rénovation pédagogique, the impact of the real changes which had taken place which had deprived the teacher of his remaining "post-sacerdotal" status as
the provider of knowledge and the effects of the creation of a reformed system, in which the instituteur was no longer positively defined but risked being regarded as someone who was unable to proceed to teaching in the CES or college. Material conditions also featured strongly in the complaints of André Ouliac of SNI and Alfred Sorel of the PCF, such conditions including not only salary but also the failure of government to attain the long-stated ideal of a class maximum of 25 pupils, although the Ministry was able to point to considerable improvements, as outlined in Table 12. These complaints, however, invite comparison with Guy Avanzini's remarks on the role of class sizes as something of an alibi for pedagogical immobilism, since no noticeable changes occurred over the years when class sizes reduced steadily towards this ideal; as with new methods, so too with teacher morale.

Feminisation has also been frequently advanced as one of the causes for the decline in status and morale. The predominance of women in the profession has been seen as an obstacle to travail d'équipe within the framework of the rénovation pédagogique due to women having to rush home to their families and also as a source of increasing difficulty in mobilising the profession for political and syndical action over grievances. It is certainly true that feminisation has changed the nature and outlook of the profession and books like Huguette Bastide's Institutrice de Village and Marie-Madeleine Leloup's Institutrice strike a very different note from the memoirs on SNI's proposed reading list for trainees. This process, however, was closely related to other changes,
TABLE 12. ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CLASS SIZES, 1965-1972

Percentage distribution by size; although schools are sub-divided by type, all percentages are in relation to total number of classes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1965/66</th>
<th>1969/70</th>
<th>1971/2</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Single class schools</strong> (n=16,261)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-35</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36+</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Schools or 2 or more classes</strong> (n=36,278)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-35</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36+</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1960/1</th>
<th>1965/6</th>
<th>1969/70</th>
<th>1971/2</th>
<th>1972/3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average class size</strong></td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

notably in the social composition of the teaching body during the early years of recruitment and the very different motivations brought to the job by newer entrants for whom it represented a pis aller after unsuccessful studies in higher education. The process of feminisation also reflected the long-standing tendency for men to gravitate to the upper levels of the primary system. The main union reflected this tendency in its corporatist concern for entry to the first cycle of secondary school and the disillusion of those remaining in the elementary may be seen as the inevitable product of this outlook. This aspect continued to be reflected in other ways within the union; if Guy Georges articulated the misgivings of teachers vigorously and persuasively as Secretary-General of SNI, he himself had taught in a cours complémentaire.

The malaise thus appears to have developed from a combination of social and educational changes which have irrevocably changed the physiognomy of the elementary school teaching force. As well as being expressed in terms of dissatisfaction with material conditions, it has also led to unfavourable comparisons of the present state of the profession with that of a somewhat mythical past, perhaps reflected in the tendency of the urban teacher to envy the conditions enjoyed by rural colleagues. On the other hand, such problems were not new to the profession. Urbanisation appears to have had important effects on teacher morale long before the 1970's, while Roger Thabault described how the teachers in Mazières-en-Gâtine retreated from their original ambitious social
role during the 1930's towards an increasing concentration on exclusively educational matters. Jean Vial once wrote that there was nothing serious in education, only pessimistic teachers; the second part at least of this comment appears to be accurate. 62

The school itself has changed radically in function since 1947, all its pupils now passing on to secondary education in a manner largely similar to that envisaged by the Langevin/Wallon Commission. On the other hand, there have been strong elements of continuity within this change in that while the debate over the curriculum and functioning of the elementary school has changed in its expression, it has retained major similarities in its essentials. The continuing tensions in the official view of the curriculum have already been discussed in the context of the rénovation pédagogique. These tensions have been reinforced by the continuing criticisms of secondary school teachers.

If, during the 1950's, secondary criticism was instrumental in first a degree of retrenchment in elementary curriculum followed by the process of re-appraisal which prepared the ground for the rénovation pédagogique, the decade or more of subsequent reform has done relatively little to resolve the differences between elementary school attainments and secondary school expectations, a state of affairs variously interpreted, by secondary teachers as signifying a neglect of essential basic skills during the rénovation pédagogique, by elementary school teachers as reflecting a failure to reform the pedagogy of the secondary schools in line with that of the elementary. The result of the latter problem was
to create a source of continuing concern for elementary teachers, a point reinforced by the complaints of innovators about the continuing dominance of traditional aims among teachers. The tensions between the elementary and secondary schools were summed up in 1974 by an issue of Cahiers Pédagogiques entitled "C'Est la Faute au Primaire", an echo of the controversies of the period before the Lebètretre circular of 1960, which was matched by the general tenor of the contributions.

The problem of the relationship of the elementary school to the secondary represented only half of the question of the integration of the elementary school into a coherent scheme of pedagogy. The school was also seen as marking too much of a break with the maternelle, particularly in the continuing demands of the cours préparatoire. Thus in the course of the development of the reformed system, the elementary school still seemed to be caught between the conflicting pressures of preceding and succeeding stages alike, the pressure to extend upwards the methods of the nursery school on one hand, the pressure to adapt more fully to secondary expectations at the other. These conflicting pressures were not entirely unrelated to the tensions in elementary school reform, between a global approach on one hand and the influence of new programmes emanating from subject specialist sources on the other.

Jean Vial has stressed the need to avoid both of the above tendencies, arguing that the solution lies neither in reform which "secondarises" elementary education nor one which turns into an extension of the maternelle. In addition, one of Vial's long-
standing concerns within the reform may be seen as exemplifying the source of continuing problems. Vial has been an advocate, as has Gloton, of developing a greater continuity within the elementary school, especially over the first three years, a view which may be extended into a more general one of the continuing lack of continuity between stages in French education. While there were moves during the rénovation pédagogique to develop greater liaison between CP and the maternelle and CM2 and the sixième, the contributions to the special edition of Cahiers Pédagogiques suggested that the latter at least had not bridged the gulf between the views of the two sections of the teaching profession. The Haby reform also sought to pursue the logic of such moves, by introducing the idea of a continuing secondary school responsibility for reinforcement of basic skills such as orthography, but this was met with considerable hostility.

These problems were in turn the product of the nature of the reform strategies adopted during the Fourth and Fifth Republics. For the first twenty years after the war, these were directed almost exclusively devoted to the reform of the secondary system, especially the first cycle, identified at the outset as the nodal point of all reform. This was not exclusively a product of official policy but represented a view of the priorities in reform held by the teachers' unions. The result was a deflection of attention away from the problems of the elementary school, problems which effectively nullified the intended effects of secondary school reforms. In the first stages of the rénovation
priority in reform turned overwhelmingly towards the elementary school, with only limited echoes in the secondary schools; when attention once again turned to first cycle secondary in 1973, in the shape of the Fontanet reform, this was again in isolation from such factors as redoublements.

Thus during the evolution of the system during the thirty years after the Langevin/Wallon Plan, the elementary school was transformed from an institution separated by important social barriers from the secondary school to one still separated by important educational barriers, on the different sides of which the two schools had developed in an isolation recalling that of the Third Republic in effects if not in origins. By the time of the Haby reform, the elementary school had become the first stage of compulsory schooling in a coherent sequence of structures but had not yet become the first stage in a coherent sequence of education planned as a continuous process.
APPENDIX I

ABBREVIATIONS AND INITIALISMS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFPF/AFEF</td>
<td>Association Française des Professeurs de Français. At the end of the period studied in this thesis, the word &quot;Professeurs&quot; in the title was replaced by the word &quot;Enseignants&quot; as an indication of the broader base of membership sought by the association.</td>
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<tr>
<td>APMEP</td>
<td>Association des Professeurs de Mathématique de L'Enseignement Publique.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BOEN</td>
<td>Bulletin Officiel de L'Education Nationale.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CE</td>
<td>cours élémentaire.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEG</td>
<td>collège d'enseignement général, post-1959 nomenclature of the cours complémentaire.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEMEA</td>
<td>Centres D'Entraînement aux Méthodes D'Éducation Active.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CES</td>
<td>collège d'enseignement secondaire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFEN</td>
<td>certificat fin d'études normales.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td>cours moyen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>cours préparatoire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRAP</td>
<td>(Fédération de) Cercles de Recherche et D'Action Pédagogique.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DJS</td>
<td>Défense de la Jeunesse Scolaire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEN</td>
<td>Fédération de L'Education Nationale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GFEN</td>
<td>Groupe Française D'Éducation Nouvelle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICEM</td>
<td>Institut Coopératif de L'Ecole Moderne.</td>
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</table>

IREM  institut de recherche sur l'enseignement de mathématique.

IPN  Institut Pédagogique National. (to 1970).


INRP  Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique.

PCF  Parti Communiste Français.

SGEN  Syndicat Général de L'Éducation Nationale.

SNES  Syndicat National de L'Enseignement Secondaire.

SNI  Syndicat National des Instituteurs.
APPENDIX II

NOTES AND REFERENCES
NOTES TO INTRODUCTION THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN THE DEVELOPING
STRUCTURES OF THE SYSTEM.


21. Rustin, G. (1962) La Formation des Instituteurs sous L'Occupation. L'Education Nationale, 11th January, 1962. p. 12. Mme Rees-Pascal of the French Institute, London also told the author that normaliennes had been deliberately kept apart from other pupils in the lycée in Rouen in which she had taught during the occupation.

22. Commission; procès-verbal, 20th meeting, 18th June, 1945. p. 2. The figures were provided by M. Barrée, the Director of Primary Education immediately after the Liberation.

23. Commission; documents.


25. L'Education Nationale, 10th June, 1948, p. 20.


NOTES TO CHAPTER I - THE TRADITIONAL ELEMENTARY SCHOOL.

A. The control and administration of elementary education


8. Instructions Officielles, 1923. For the purposes of the present discussion, page references are given for Guillot, A. Textes Organiques de L'Enseignement Primaire 5th edition, SUDEL, Paris, in which both the 1923 and 1945 Instructions are reprinted in full. Being lengthy documents, these instructions demand more patient analysis than allowed by the author's brief study visits to Paris. See Guillot p.91, on inspectors.


B. The curriculum of the elementary school


10. In this matter the 1923 Instructions quote the 1887 Instructions verbatim; Guillot. p.94.


17. Guillot. p. 221.


23. Instructions Officielles, 1887. IPN collection, p.10.
25. Instructions Officielles, 1887. IPN collection, p.11.
31. Encyclopédie Française, Tome XV Education et Instruction p.15'40-16.
34. L'Education Nationale, 1st March, 1951. p.2.


45. Commission; procès-verbal, 29th meeting, 13th December, 1945.

46. Commission; procès-verbal, 29th meeting, 13th December, 1945. p.5.


49. See above, notes 26 & 27.

50. For example, see Manuel Général de L'Instruction Publique, 29th September, 1952. p.3. The author was also struck by the contrast between "front page" and "back page" work in pupil jotters, during a visit to a classe de transition in a CES in 1973.

51. See below, Chapter VI. p. 311

52. Instructions Officielles, 1945. Guillot. pp.118-119. The 1923 Instructions had likened geography to a form of leçons de choses.

53. Ibid. It should be noted, however, that such technical terms as were to be learned were to be learned by heart from CE onwards.


60. Commission; Sous-commission IV. Procès-verbal, 5th meeting, 19th April, 1945.
61. L'Education Nationale, 8th April, 1948. p.1A.
62. Commission; Sous-commission IV. Procès-verbal, 1st meeting, 22nd April, 1945.
63. Commission; Sous-commission IV. Procès-verbal, 3rd meeting, 8th February, 1945.
68. L'Ecole Libératrice, 16th October, 1947. p.29.

C. The influence of early progressive movements.
2. Commission; Documents.
3. Letter of 9th February, 1946, from Célestin Freinet to Paul Langevin, enclosing a copy of Freinet's departmental bulletin. While the letter invited Langevin to become Honorary President of ICEM, the accompanying material wrote off Langevin's existing affiliations with some vehemence. Freinet had previously written both to Langevin and the Minister on 4th December, 1945, asking that his school be recognised as a centre for professional training, but this seems to have elicited no response.
NOTES TO CHAPTER II - THE LANGEVIN/WALLON PLAN


3. Speech at the University of Algiers, 18th December, 1943. B.O.E.N. Special Issue of 16th November, 1944, p.6.


5. L'Université Libre, 20th November, 1946.


8. Commission; documents.


13. Commission; procés - verbal schématique; 3rd plenary meeting, 14th December, 1944. p.1.

14. I.P.N. (1968) Le Plan Langevin/Wallon. Paris. There appear to be no copies of the original version available in the major Paris libraries, while even the 1964 edition published by GFEN/SFP has become something of a rarity. The relevant passages of the Plan for the following outline are:

- teacher education - pp.21-22.
- transitional arrangements - pp.41-42.
- pedagogy - p.10.
- programmes and timetables - pp.27-29.
- moral education - p.35.
15. Europe, October, 1946, pp.4/5.
18. Cogniot, G. Esquisse d'une Politique Française. The Esquisse was originally submitted to the National Council of the Resistance on 15th March, 1944, but the extant edition, (undated) appears to be later.
21. Durry, B.O.E.N. p.34., again refers to Cogniot, pp.29-30 for this distinction with the comment "c'est bien étroit", but it appears on p.42 of the extant Esquisse.
23. Commission; documents.
26. Ibid. p.16.
27. According to the Durry Report, B.O.E.N. p.35., this was on p.12 of the Esquisse; in the extant edition, it is on p.50.
28. Commission; documents.
29. Commission; procès verbal, 2nd plenary meeting, 7th December, 1944. p.2.
30. Ibid. p.3.
31. Ibid. p.4.
32. Ibid. p.3.


34. "Troyes Communiques". Commission; documents.

35. Commission; procès-verbal, 1st plenary meeting, 29th November, 1944. p.2.


40. Commission; procès-verbal, 57th plenary meeting, 6th March, 1947. The Ministry's acceptance was communicated by M. Beslais, (by then Director of Primary Education, but seemingly also retaining his role as the Minister's observer), at the meeting of 13th March; procès verbal, 58th plenary meeting.

41. Commission; documents.

42. Commission; procès-verbal, 42nd plenary meeting, 28th March, 1946.

43. L'Education Nationale, 5th December, 1949. p.16.

44. Le Monde, 22nd April, 1948.

45. In La Pensee, No.144, April, 1969. p.95.


49. Commission; procès-verbal, 61st plenary meeting, 12th April, 1947.
52. Commission; procès-verbal, 62nd plenary meeting, 19th April, 1947.
56. Le Monde, 22nd April, 1948.
63. L'Ecole Libératrice, 10th October, 1945. p.11.
67. " " 10th July. p.258.
73. Ibid. p.5.
77. " " 12th December, 1949. p.16.
NOTES TO CHAPTER III - THE DISSOLUTION OF THE PRIMARY SYSTEM.

A. The background; material and political obstacles to reform.


3. L'Education Nationale, 10th June, 1948, p. 20.

4. Informations Statistiques, 1960, p. 221.

5. Of the 2,667 cours complémentaires, 1,718 were attached to boys' schools and 949 to girls' schools. Informations Statistiques, 1960. p. 221.


8. Circular of 16th May, 1958. Documents Administratives, 5th June, 1958. p. 82. It should also be noted that not all the "deficit" departments were urban and the list included such as Vendée, Yonne and Vosges.


B. Reform projects and the evolution of official policy.


34. Ibid.


40. Bulletin GFEN, August-September, 1959. p.3.


42. Ecole Publique, 11th September, 1953.


52. Informations Statistiques, 1960. p. 239.


54. Informations Statistiques, 1960. p.239.

55. La Voix des Parents, April-May, 1958. p.11.

64. Syndicalisme Universitaire, No.227. p.155.
67. Techniques de Vie, October, 1961. p.27.
73. See Note 66. above.
NOTES TO CHAPTER IV. THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION.


7. Ibid " " " " " "

8. Commission; Sous-commission III, (Formation des Maîtres) 3rd meeting, 8th March, 1945.


31. Ibid. p.5.


35. La Pensée, July-August, 1955. p.27.

36. Ibid.


39. Ibid. p.18.


44. Law of 8th May, 1951. B.O.E.N. No.18.

45. L'Education Nationale, 18th October, 1951. p.16.


51. B.O.E.N. No.34.


53. Ibid.


Circular of 8th February, 1961. B.O.E.N. No.8, for details of implementation.


70. Ibid. p.76.


75. See for example, L'Eduction, throughout May, 1975.


77. La Vie Enseignante, No.130, 9th September, 1959. p.11.


79. La Vie Enseignante, No.130, 9th September, 1959. p.11.


NOTES TO CHAPTER V - THEORY AND PRACTICE IN FRENCH ELEMENTARY EDUCATION;


3. Pseudonym of Emile Chartier, 1868-1961, whose Propos sur L'Education, Ridier, Paris, were published in collected edition in 1932, the year before he retired from teaching in the Collège de Sévigny. By 1961, the Propos had run through ten editions, although not all were equally comprehensive.


7. Ibid. p.77.


28. *Le Monde*, 10th January, 1973. Under the terms of the arrêté of 1st August, 1957, B.O.E.N., No.36, staff were appointed to such schools under the same procedures as applied to the system as a whole, thus giving the schools no means of ensuring that staff appointed are in sympathy with the aims of the school.


33. Born 1896, died 1966. Author of several major works on education over a period of 37 years, during which time he also wrote regular articles for the various journals produced by his movement, notably L'Éducateur and Techniques de Vie. For details of his early career, see Chapter I, pp.


36. See Chapter 1, p. 99 Also Enfance, March-April, 1952. p.36.


41. This title succeeded L'Ecole Moderne Française as the official title of the movement, but the term L'école moderne continued to crop up frequently in the writings of Freinet and his wife Elise as a synonym for the Freinet school.

42. Techniques de Vie, February, 1961. p.36, provides an example of this. Freinet's description of himself as a "simple practitioner" was accepted by Jean Vial in Amis de Sèvres, June, 1975. p.13, although this was in a commemorative rather than a critical context.

44. E.S.F. (1976) p.172n gives an indication of the rancour surrounding the split.


47. L'Educateur, Dossier No. 34-5, undated. p.3.


52. See for example Le Français Aujourd'hui, May, 1973. p.43.

53. See above, note 43.

54. L'Educateur, Supplement to No.12, 15th February, 1965. p.3.


56. Teacher comment to the author suggests that the Official Instructions of 1972 are firmly identified as embodying "Freinet" methods. The difficulty of such methods is acknowledged by M. René Guillemeoteau, Inspecteur Départemental de L'Educateur.


58. See Chapter VII p.383 et seq.


64. Amis de Sèvres, June, 1975. p.5.

65. Ibid. pp.6-7.


69. L'Éducateur, July, 1970. pp.9-13. R.F. Mackenzie, TESS, 25/1/80, was also informed that Freinet methods were most practicable in rural schools.


72. Ibid. p.225.

73. Ibid. p.194-196.


76. Ibid. p.243.


78. Their best known works are Les Héritiers, Minuit, Paris, 1964, and La Reproduction, Minuit, Paris, 1970. Passeron has also argued that the pupil freedom allowed by the non-directives is most likely to benefit children from cultivated environments; quoted by Snyders, G. (1973). p. 243


81. It may also be worth noting in passing that SED, (1965), Primary Education in Scotland, HMSO, p.14, also offers children "real life" experiences within inverted commas.

82. See Chapter II, p.116.


84. See for example Snyders, G. (1971) p.112; Wallon, H. quoted in Chapter II. p.129.


93. Ibid. p.242.


95. L'Ecole et la Nation, September, 1957. p.3.


99. See above, note 68.


102. Ibid. p.41.


106. See Chapter II. p.129.


NOTES TO CHAPTER VI - THE ORIGINS OF THE RENOVATION PÉDAGOGIQUE.


15. Ibid p.154.


26. Ibid p.75.


33. See Chapter VII, pp. 377-382


44. Ibid p.250.

45. Ibid pp.250-318.


47. Ibid p.379.

48. This was in part prompted by the scarcity of the ESF edition of 1964.


Circular of 1st April, 1968. B;O.E;N, No. 15.


L'Enseignement Public, No.5. bis, June, 1969.

Ibid pp.7-8.

See Chapter VII p. 436

Ibid p.9.


NOTES TO CHAPTER VII - THE RENOVATION PEDAGOGIQUE IN OFFICIAL POLICY.

A. The development of official policy


11. See Schiffler, J. in Teachers' College Record, No.4. 1979/80 pp.4 et seq. for discussion of the implications of this approach. Although the article is concerned with American experience, the general principles appear to be equally applicable to French experience.


20. L'Ecole Libératrice, 10th October, 1975. p.123


30. Le Monde, 23rd December, 1970, carries a full resume of the various contributions to the debate.


The main elements of the Plan were also published in the form of an analytical presentation, in relation both to the Official Instructions of 1923 and to the original Projet D'Instructions of 1966, in


37. L'Education, 14th December, 1972. p.IX.


40. Ibid. pp.10-11.

41. Ibid. p.15.

42. Ibid. p.16. refers to the need to perfect reading skills in CE2, CM "and beyond". DJJS, Lettre D'Information, January, 1973. p.1. comments on resulting misinterpretations.


45. Ibid.

47. See Chapter VI p. 323.


50. Circular of 20th June, 1972. B.O.E.N. No. 26. The negotiations with SNI were specifically mentioned in the text.


NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII. THE RENOVATION PEDAGOGIQUE; IMPLEMENTATION AND RESPONSE.


30. Ibid. p. 815.


35. Ibid. p. 83.

36. Ibid. p. 11 et seq. Official discouragement did not entirely halt the research effort, however, and Louis Legrand stressed that such research as continued was largely through the agency of the ecoles normales. See the latter's preface to *INRP (1978) Plan de Renovation de L'Enseignement du Francais a L'Ecole Elémentaire.* Nathan, Paris. No. 2: *Vers la Liberte de Parole.*


38. Ibid. p. 11.


42. The problem of dissemination was acknowledged by M. Le Gall of INRP in discussions with the author in 1979, although by this time INRP had also suffered considerable cutbacks in resources and personnel.


53. OCCE (1971) p. 3.
56. Ibid. p. 101.
61. Ibid. p. 936.
72. Ibid. p. 13.

74. L'Education, 18th June, 1970. p. 3.

75. L'Education, 14th May, 1970. p. 11.
NOTES TO CONCLUSION


3. The circular of 10th October, 1968 B.O.E.N. No.38, made the first provision for this possibility. Excessive demand from parents led to a further circular of 19th June, 1970 B.O.E.N. No.26, in which the exceptional nature of early entry was stressed and the necessary conditions tightened up.


5. Ibid.


30. Syndicalisme Universitaire, 6th April, 1975. p.3.
32. See Chapter VI, p. 340
33. See Chapter I., pp. 69 et seq.
34. See Chapter III b pp.184,188.


45. L'Ecole Libératrice, 10th October, 1975. pp.190 et seq.


   See also Boucher, L. (1974) IN Cook, T.G; ed. History of Education in Europe, Methuen, London. p. 79 on the survival of the consensus on the official aims of the Swedish common school despite widespread teacher unrest over e.g. conditions of service.


   Leloup, M-M (1979) Institutrice. This is somewhat ironically published as one of a series entitled Un Homme et son Métier.

61. See Chapter IV. p. 211.


APPENDIX III

BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. The Langevin/Wallon Commission

Commission D'Etudes Pour la Réforme; Procès-verbal Schématique.
Commission D'Etudes Pour la Réforme; Documents.

At the beginning of the research, the author was informed by a number of people in Paris that the proceedings of the commission had been destroyed in a fire at the Ministry. It transpired, however, that the copy lodged at Paul Langevin's request in the Musée Pédagogique was still there until 1979. In December of that year, the collections of the Musée were removed prior to transfer to a new establishment in Rouen, but the records of the Langevin/Wallon Commission were claimed by the Archives Nationales. The material is not available for consultation at present.

There appears to be virtually no surviving original editions of the Plan itself and even the later edition of 1964 has become a rarity, which in part prompted the production of the mimeographed edition by IPN during the strike of May 1968.

2. Official sources

a) Laws, Decrees, Arrêtés, Ordinances and Circulars.

The main sources are:
Bulletin Officiel de L'Education Nationale.
Journal Officiel.
For the period up to 1960, official texts may also be found in L'Education Nationale, under the rubrics Textes Officielles and Documents Administratives.

b) Official Statistics


c) Other Official Texts


Le Figaro has been studied at key points.
Other newspaper items have come from the dossiers compiled by the Centre International D'Etudes Pédagogiques at Sèvres and from cross-references in educational periodicals.

b) Periodicals; general

Where no specific indication is given, the periodical cited has been studied throughout the period covered.


Cahiers Pédagogiques; October, 1966; November, 1968; October, 1972; April, 1974. (See also special issues).

Courrier de la Recherche Pédagogique.

Défense de la Jeunesse Scolaire; Lettre D'Information; 1969-1976.

Ecole et Education, to 1950; thereafter Syndicalisme Universitaire. (SGEN)

L'Ecole et la Nation. (PCF)

L'Ecole et la Vie.

L'Ecole Libératrice. (SNI)


L'Éducateur, including from 1963 Les Dossiers Pédagogiques de L'Éducateur. (ICEM)


L'Éducation Nationale to 1968, thereafter L'Éducation.

Enseignement Public (FEN)


Le Français Aujourd'hui. 1970-1977. (AFPF, AFEF)

Journal des Instituteurs et Institutrices. (Commonly Journal des Instituteurs).

Manuel Général de L'Instruction Publique, later Manuel Général de L'Enseignement Primaire.

La Pensee.

Pour L'Enfant .......... Vers L'Homme. (Cornec Federation)

Techniques de Vie. 1960-1968. (ICEM)


3. Research and Development within Official Organisms


CRDP Dijon (1973) Rénovation Pédagogique et Techniques D'Animation.


IPN (1964) La Réforme de L'Enseignement Obligatoire.


4. Press and periodicals

a) Press

Le Monde has been studied throughout the period covered by the thesis.
c) Special or single issues

Bulletin OCCE, (Office Central de Coopération a L'Ecole).

5. Major periodical articles


Bloch, M.A. L'Education Nouvelle a-t-il veilli? L'Education Nationale. 4th June, 1959. p.3.


Freinet, C. Liberté! Que de Bêtises on dit en ton Nom! L'Éducation Nationale.


6. Books

a) French works


b) English works


7. Discussions and Interviews

M.P. Alexandre CIEP, Sèvres and Institut Francaise D'Ecosse, Edinburgh.

Mme Armier Inspectrice Départementale de L'Education; Secretary of the Groupe Francaise de L'Education Nouvelle.

M.J. Auba Director of the Centre International D'Etudes Pédagogiques. Sèvres.

M.R. Guillemoteau

M.A. Janicot CIEP. Sèvres.

M. Le Gall INRP.

Mme Geste Centre National de Documentation Pédagogique.
Mme Rees-Pascal, French Institute. London.
M. G. Walusinski APMEP.
The Directors, Directrices and staffs of the following schools.
Officials of the Syndicat National des Instituteurs and the Syndicat Général de L'Education Nationale.