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Approaches to citizenship and social education training: For inexperienced teachers and “*conseillers principaux d’éducation*”¹

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Abstract

Students aiming for careers in teaching and education in France sit a competitive examination to exercise their profession. Until 2010, when successfully passing this competitive examination, the teaching of professionals was supervised by a one-year training institute (University Teacher Training Institute, IUFM) where they divided their time between practice in upper secondary education and training centres. On the one hand, this paper investigates the part of citizenship education found in the training program. On the other hand, it compares these devices to the expectations of student teachers through their own accounts given and the approach of two training materials that are: the analysis of practitioners’ work and the cross-disciplinary themes which discuss educational issues to support students in upper secondary school. To do this, our data of the analysis training content of teachers and supervisors will be taken as a basis but also the observed sessions of training conducted in this institute between 2003 and 2010. The findings reveal difficulties both in learning to articulate the theory and in professional practice where other challenges and emergencies are called into play. They also mark the stumbling blocks in the way of thinking, designing and implementing teaching and the educational act in citizenship-related issues.

Keywords: *values, professional positioning, socialization, authoritative-class management*

Over the last years, activation or modernization of citizenship and social education training at school has given prominence to the school central role. Indeed school is now the actual place to integrate pupils faced with the rise of individualism, incivility and current social challenges. Nowadays the academic institution, with numerous devices, attempt to make the pupil someone who can become committed and take responsibility in a social environment thanks to knowledge, competences and behaviours acquired through his or her scholar itinerary. Citizenship training does have current difficulties integrating into French schools and into a “knowledge society”, where adults who are in charge of passing on culture and value monopolize the stage.

Faced with this main trend, how does the teacher training centre deal with the citizenship training that is recommended by ministerial directives and mentioned in official teacher and CPE (head education counsellor) missions? To what extent is it thought out and integrated in professional acts of novices in teacher training?

¹ They are a specific personnel in France, the supervisors or head education counsellors, who are in charge of students when they are not attending lessons.

To support our research, we will use:

- The analysis of the teacher training content (structure and content of teacher training and pedagogical projects developed by teachers)
- A survey conducted with twelve instructors who have in charge education training for novices.
- The analysis of two specific devices : professional practice analysis and general training (transversal)

Thanks to a thematic analysis (Bardin, 2007 ; Mucchielli, 1991) and an activity analysis (Leplat, 1983 ; Clot, 1999), we aim to explore the heart of these training devices in order to answer the central questions asked above . First, this paper will focus on the French university teacher training structure and content. Secondly, we will try to understand how instructors, new teachers and CPE incorporate the concept. Then, we will focus on the effects and on the exploitation of the concept in the training process.

1. Teacher training in France

The IUFMs (university institute for teacher training) that are today departments within French universities are in charge of the teacher and CPE training. Novices have to attend this training before they are definitely hired as teachers or CPE by the French government.

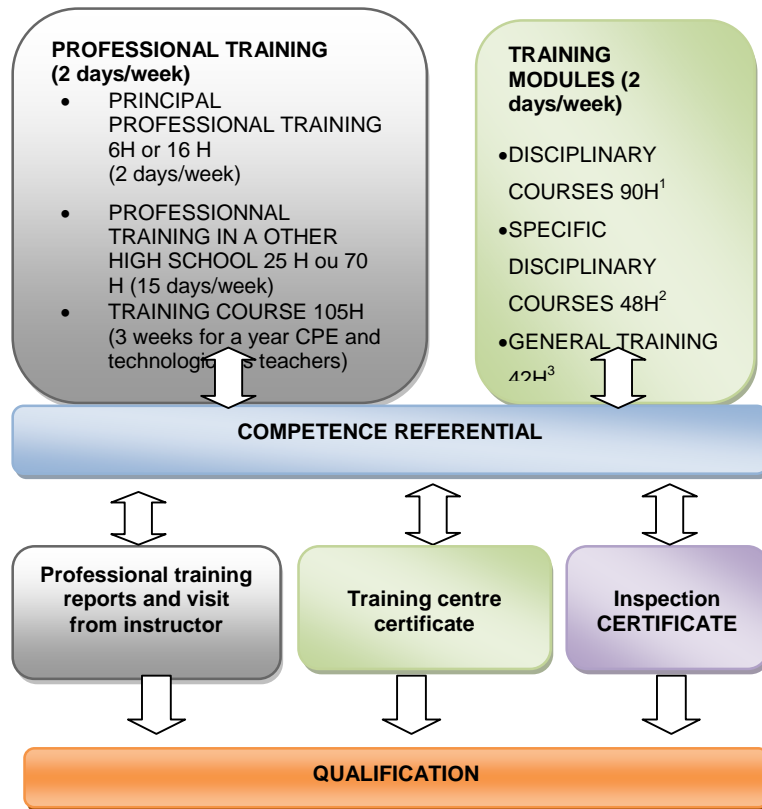
1.1 Training system before 2010

Before the IUFMs were integrated into universities in 2010, novices who had passed the national selection were to share their time between practice in schools and a training center. The two tasks were equally split and focused on learning to become a teacher (Danvers, 2009). It paid a particular attention to the structure between on the one hand the field of practical experience in schools and on the other hand, the IUFM where professional knowledge was acquired (Perez-Roux, 2007). In this context the training suggested three sorts of knowledge: the knowledge itself, the competences, the capacities. According to Claude Lessard and Raymond Bourdoncle, it was organized as (2002, p. 134):

- *Competence development for the professional act*
- *Knowledge at the basis of the professional act*
- *Socialization, i.e. values and specific behaviours to the professional group*

Indeed, teacher learning was based on theory, practice and reflection on practice (Figure 1)

Figure 1 : Framework of training system for inexperienced teacher and CPE before 2010.



1. disciplinary and pedagogic training / practices training
2. pedagogic improvements
3. general training (transversal)
4. computer science certificate

The training remained deeply based on action, action knowledge and teaching and educating theory (Lessard *et al.*, 2004). Novices were able to use the theory for their daily work. The training was essentially geared towards professionalization. It was composed with disciplinary/transversal/general courses based on a specific professional competence referential for teachers² : *'initial professional training at the IUFM must give a sufficient mastering of each of the ten competences'*. Novices had to:

² Arrêté du 19 décembre 2006 paru au *Journal officiel* du 28 décembre 2006 et paru au *Bulletin officiel* n°1 du 4 janvier 2007 relatif au cahier des charges de la formation des maîtres en IUFM.

1. Act as ethical and responsible civil servant
2. Master the French language
3. Master their own discipline
4. Conceive and achieve their teaching
5. Organize class work
6. Evaluate pupils
7. Develop tools for follow through with pupils
8. Master computer science
9. Work within a team and with parents and school partners
10. Innovate and educate themselves.

Even though the pedagogical role of the CPE was recognized when they were integrated in the IUFMs, even though they shared their training with teachers, they did not have a specific competence referential. Indeed the latter would have been essential. On the one hand to build a medium to harmonize knowledge during the training, and moreover it allowed the building of «*a common language to talk about professional activity*» (Lessard, 2009, p. 130). Even if they agreed on pedagogical improvement and training tools, it should be remembered that instructors come from different horizons (junior high schools, high schools, university,), cultures (disciplinary/non disciplinary) and status (teachers, scholars, PhD, CPE, psychologists,...). Then, depending on their background, their identity, their experience, they have singular approaches concerning the training content, professional practice analysis, and knowledge.

On the other hand, the competence referential is a common evaluation for teaching and educating jobs in order to graduate and become a civil servant of the French government. As a consequence the IUFMs 'instructors had to fix a competence referential for CPE based on the teachers'³.

The masterization of teacher training in 2010 erased the initial training where action was at the centre of the system (Fabre, 2009).

1.2 Training during the master's degree

³ 1. Act as ethical and responsible civil servant; 2. Master the French language; 3. Master their own discipline; 4. Conceive and achieve their own educate responsibilities; 5. Conceive and achieve educative action and good relationship with school partners; 6. Evaluate pupils; 7. Develop tools for following through pupils; 8. Master computer science; 9. Work within a team and with parents and school partners; 10. Innovate and educate themselves.

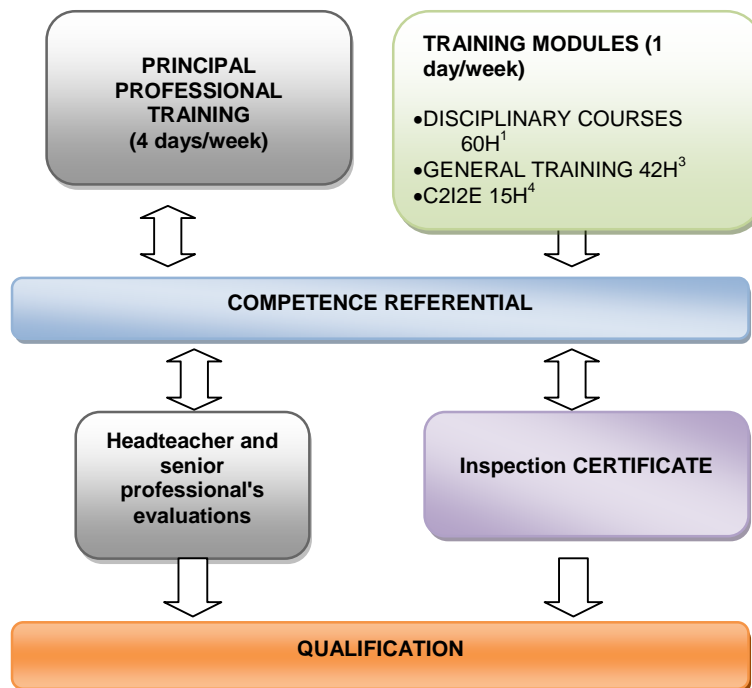
Since the training was integrated into the university, the master's degree has now three different functions:

- A preparation for the examination or national selection
- The master's degree itself
- The professional training (last opportunity to finish the post graduate degree and the thesis which is still required). It was a real cultural change: from a professional IUFM culture to a post graduate university culture (Jean, Étienne, 2011).

Indeed, even though the competence referential brought harmony, now novices are more-likely evaluated for themselves rather than on their professional development (values, logical thinking, professional behaviour building). This implies a return to evaluative and normative logic. Little consideration is given to professional knowledge (Watrelet, 2010). Instructors/Instructors have noticed a tension between transmitted knowledge for practice and the actual training for eventual practice in context. Over the last year, the new training at the university and the previous pedagogical and professional training at the IUFM have appeared as unequal. But today can we still talk about a professional and pedagogical training?

Indeed the units that previously dealt with professional practice analysis, logic, bases for teaching and educating have been largely reduced. « *Producing good teachers* » (Bourdoncle, Lessard, 2003) is now the motto through a competence referential with no previous experience with schools (Figure 2).

Figure 2 : Framework of training system for inexperienced teacher and cpe after 2010.



1. disciplinary and pedagogic training / practices training
3. general training (transversal)
4. computer science certificate

In this context, the professional and identity construction of teachers and CPE is divided among university knowledge, professional knowledge and practical knowledge. Dealing with that reduced organization, how does education in citizenship take place? What are the devices and approaches that guide novices ? How are they linked to their job?

2. Citizenship education in teaching and education jobs

In France, ministry instructions confirm that citizenship education is at the heart of teacher and CPE's missions (1997, 1982).

For teachers, it underlines:

"Teacher working in secondary, upper secondary school and technology school or professional involved in public education service which aims to transmit the values of the Republic , including the secular ideal that excludes any discrimination of sex, culture or religion. The teacher, civil servant, falls within the general statute of civil service and the special status of its membership body that define their rights and obligations. The teacher plies his trade in secondary schools with variable characteristics depending on the public allowed, the location, size and training provided. Its mission is both to educate young people entrusted to contribute to their education and train them for their social and professional integration. It makes them acquire the knowledge and capacities, according to levels set by the curriculum and diplomas repositories and contributes to the development of their skills and abilities, help them develop their critical thinking skills, build their independence and develop a personal project. He is also concerned with students to understand the meaning and values that underlie our institutions, and prepare them for the full exercise of citizenship"⁴.

For the supervisors or head education counsellors:

"[...] He took part, as far as it relates to the implementation of measures to ensure safety, including students [...] collaboration in the implementation of projects [...] relationship and contacts with students on a collective level (classes or groups) and on a individual level (behaviours, work, personal problems); organization of extra curriculum activities (clubs, cultural and recreational activities),

⁴ Extrait de la circulaire n°97-123 mai 1997 relative aux missions du professeur exerçant en collège, en lycée d'enseignement général et technologique ou en lycée professionnel.

organizing the consultation and participation (training, meetings and election of delegates student participation in school councils)"⁵.

In addition, the law confirms the citizenship education development. ‘[...] *The government insists [...] it increases the "education" and organizes all kinds of weeks of the press at School or promoting sustainable development. It changes the business and profession is changing, but the Tests remain [...]*’ (Étienne, 2010, p. 25). But if the missions and the teaching instructions have dealt over the last twenty years with citizenship education, what about the professional practice? Yet nothing is said, neither in the ministry instructions nor in teaching programs and so this aspect remains confused. So how are the inexperienced teachers prepared to teach this topic? In order to answer the question, we conducted a survey with twelve instructors. It focused on pedagogical choices and organization made by instructors. It focused on the link with citizenship during their courses. Concerning the courses, six lessons were observed in order to figure out, which form, through which media and how education to citizenship was introduced to novices.

On the one hand, the analysis of lesson (Bardin, 2007) and the activity analysis (Clot, 1999) content allowed to figure out instructor approaches and conceptions. On the other hand, the process allowed us to observe beginner reactions faced with this topic.

To begin with, citizenship education is not easily integrated into teaching and educating jobs. Its conception, its approach, and its application are not identified as a full part of the training program. In high schools, the citizenship mission is new and linked with our education system. The latter is some device as a place of knowledge transfer, with few possible interactions (Étienne, 1997 ; Chauvigné, 2010). The noble mission of learning is provided by teachers whereas discipline is maintained by CPEs. Education as a global system is not something obvious. Teaching and education have been separated. School is still largely perceived as a place for knowledge transfer. In this context, teachers in training are used to focusing their approaches on this stereotype. In dealing with citizenship education - given that it was missing during schools years of novices- they built it according to clichés, beliefs, values and value system they had known before. It comes today mostly from *a cultural legacy* from their social classes and from socialization (Jodelet, 1993).

In addition, a strong link between the individual experience as a pupil and the perception of their jobs is observed. So, which are the different approaches to education to citizenship? How is it welcomed by novices?

Of twelve surveys conducted on instructors, education to citizenship is a school mission for four of them even though it is not clearly defined. To them, it is directly linked to the fact of learning and does not need a specific teaching method. For five of them, it is based on culture, values, codes and critical mind. Only three of them associated it with a special responsibility of teachers and a need for pupils to be taught.

⁵ Extrait de la circulaire n°82-482 du 28 octobre 1982 relative aux missions des conseillers principaux d'éducation.

Education in citizenship is perceived by instructors as an end in itself whereas it is barely defined on a pedagogical scale. Indeed no instructors proposed a clear definition that would have gathered previously cited ideas.

As observed during the training, they essentially deal with it in its social and behavioural aspect. It remains a means for teachers in training to do their job, to give sufficient knowledge for pupils to pass the tests and to graduate.

As the reform placed teacher in training at full time in their schools, the civic aspect of citizenship education became more essential. CPE are very quickly busy dealing with mediation and the school management. Little time remains for citizenship actions involving pupils, unless it concerns the necessary election of class representatives.

Consequently, a gap appeared between instructors methods and novices expectations of teacher-in-training. On the one hand, instructors focus their lessons on educating and teaching missions, especially on what they are supposed to do. On the other hand, teachers in training say that it is very difficult in reality as if they were just surviving in their different schools due to the amount of work they have to accomplish. So how does citizenship education actually take place in teacher training?

3. Citizenship education in teacher training

As we have already pointed out, since 2010, training time has been reduced and replaced by increased professional practice. Such a long time spent working in schools was something unknown before the selection. It is now a key part of the whole training process directed under the responsibility of a senior professional⁶. The training has almost been transferred entirely to the schools where the teachers are interning. Novices are now considered as fully operational whereas they were considered as inexperienced before.

The novice is now in a position not as a novice but as a teacher or CPE and operating full-time; this time has been increased by the training to be followed during his or her internship year in addition to its obligations⁷.

3.1 Role of the senior professional

The senior has a central place in the new training (Chaliès, Durand, 2000). He or she really influences the novice through their style, the way he or she sees their job, and the priorities they link to it. The senior is meant to be a reliable person in a place where

⁶ The senior professional also works full time and must identify common time slots with the novice to be able to guide him in his new job. It is a teacher or supervisor experienced. It may be in the same upper secondary school as the student or be in an other institution with far different class levels.

⁷ Cases of "burning out" are identified by observers, but hidden by the ministry including monitoring only for the master (Etienne, 2011).

novices have no reference point. He or she is the one who knows all. He or she is perceived as integrated in the academic community and as someone who masters professional gestures and knowledge. Moreover it is to be considered that the pressure caused by parents has been increasing: they want their children to be brilliant, to finish the programs on time, and they require a climate of social peace. As a consequence, most novices must learn their trade "on the job" while they are teaching.

Faced with urgent situations and inexperience, teachers in training rely on their seniors' acts and personality concerning citizenship education. But most seniors have a lecturing view of teaching, which is absolutely not based on cooptation. The personality of the senior CPE is also a key element for novices. Two different cases can be observed:

- The senior professional already works about citizenship education and political education making it easier to form a "*commitment and interest in Rights*" (Condette, 2009).
- Being alone in the school, the senior lets the teacher in training deal with this topic.

Thus the establishment and context where teachers in training are placed has a huge consequence on the way novices develop their skill to educate in citizenship. What are the consequences for the novices and for the training?

3.2 Novices expectations

Novices have essentially pragmatic expectations. They want tools and advice for their daily work. They want to increase their authority and self reliance through a distant thought based on what they do in their schools. It does not appear as civility (social behaviour), civism (socialization) and citizenship (taking over responsibilities) said by Gisberg *and al.* (1997). Faced with these new expectations, what do instructors do?

3.3 Instructors and training content for citizenship education

Instructors have only seventeen training days within the year. So they need to make it profitable. Some of them speak about a « survival kit » for novices in order to start working. They give tools novices will be able to use immediately thereafter. The training is made to arm the novices with pedagogical choices. It answers doubts novices have accumulated during the first months.

Nine instructors out of twelve confessed they never or rarely talk about this topic during the training period. It is mainly mentioned during the professional practice analysis concerning class management or conflicts in daily work. Instructors are asked to base citizenship education on social relations whereas they should construct together a professional behaviour beyond particular cases.

Citizenship education is manipulated. Indeed it is a part of the analysis when co-building within the professional gestures beyond singular situations mentioned. Problematicized

and reworked though theoretical knowledge, these situations allow the acquisition of teacher gestures, a gain of autonomy and responsibility.

The training sessions we observed were focused on the French education system and adolescent psychology. These moments were conceived as the building of a common teacher culture through debate and reflection on professional practice. Instructors only made the teachers in training aware that education to citizenship exists.

Only language teachers and CPEs dealt with this topic seriously. Indeed after the European common reference for language (CEFR) was adopted, language approaches were totally rebuilt in their goals and methods. Language is not separated from action. It creates receptive and interactive competences. Pupils have to be taught how to be a social actor in order to achieve their task. To do this, project development and communication with each other is essential: we must learn to put students in positions of social actors to do the job. In this spirit, the work of CPE novices is beyond the student's socialization on supporting public school in the exercise of their rights (class representative's election, representative's management) in schools. These objectives and the overall approach of the individual student in the specialties mentioned lead instructors to develop citizenship education in order to achieve its technical goals set by learning programs and official instructions. It is about giving tools to the exercise of the profession in a scattered and time-short formation .

To conclude, citizenship education is not something natural in learning. Nor is it natural for its protagonists. It really depends on the senior professional. It has failed to be integrated fully into the new university training program, weakened by the 'masterization' (in other words the incorporation of the former training program into the university program). It remains a random concept, both at schools and during the training. Ministry programs, achieving degree programs and authority remain more important.

Instructors focus on the social aspect as a medium rather than a goal. Citizenship is reduced to a simple « live together, follow the rules without committing » which is not compatible with French and European history.

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