



If you have discovered material in AURA which is unlawful e.g. breaches copyright, (either yours or that of a third party) or any other law, including but not limited to those relating to patent, trademark, confidentiality, data protection, obscenity, defamation, libel, then please read our [Takedown Policy](#) and [contact the service](#) immediately

DEVELOPMENTS IN ASSESSMENT AND TEACHING METHODOLOGIES IN
MODERN LANGUAGES IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN RESPONSE TO
EDUCATIONAL REFORM (1975-1985)

VICTORIA CAROLINE ORR

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF ASTON IN BIRMINGHAM

JUNE 1987

This copy of the thesis has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognise that its copyright rests with its author and that no quotation from the thesis and no information derived from it may be published without the author's prior written consent.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ASTON IN BIRMINGHAM

DEVELOPMENTS IN ASSESSMENT AND TEACHING METHODOLOGIES IN
MODERN LANGUAGES IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN RESPONSE TO
EDUCATIONAL REFORM (1975-1985)

SUMMARY

This comparative study considers the main causative factors for change in recent years in the teaching of modern languages in England and France and seeks to contribute, in a general sense, to the understanding of change in comparable institutions. In England by 1975 the teaching of modern languages in the comprehensive schools was seen to be inappropriate to the needs of children of the whole ability-range. A combination of the external factor of the Council of Europe initiative in devising a needs-based learning approach for adult learners, and the internal factor of teacher-based initiatives in developing a graded-objectives learning approach for the less-able, has reversed this situation to some extent. The study examines and evaluates this reversal, and, in addition, assesses teachers' attitudes towards, and understanding of, the changes involved. In France the imposition of 'la réforme Haby' in 1977 and the creation of 'le collège unique' were the main external factors for change. The subsequent failure of the reform and the socialist government's support of decentralisation policies returning the initiative for renewal to schools are examined and evaluated, as are the internal factors for changes in language-teaching - 'groupes de niveau' and the creation of 'équipes pédagogiques'. In both countries changes in the function of examinations at 15/16 plus are examined. The final chapter compares the changes in both education systems.

Victoria Caroline Orr
Ph.D.
1987

Keywords: Reform
Examinations
Syllabuses
Graded Objectives
'Groupes de Niveau'

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am extremely grateful to my supervisor, Professor Dennis Ager, who has unfailingly given of his time and expertise throughout the past two years. Without his encouragement, help and comments at the writing up stage, this Ph.D. would never have been completed.

I owe a great deal also to Dr Linda Hantrais for her perceptiveness and clear thinking at the early stages of research, to David Mann for permission to carry out a survey in Hereford and Worcestershire, and to the modern language teachers who completed the questionnaires in the county.

In particular, my thanks go to Edith de Berne without whose energy and diplomacy in contacting schools the survey in Bordeaux would have been poor indeed. Similarly, the staff of the Centre International d'Etudes Pédagogiques in Paris, Mlle J Samuel, her INRP research group and all the teachers in the schools I visited in Bordeaux and Paris.

I would also like to warmly thank Judith Hancock, who so gallantly typed this thesis under such difficult circumstances.

To all these people and to all those friends who have helped by showing interest and encouragement, my most sincere thanks.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	5
Part I (England)	12
Chapter 1: The main external factors for change: reorganisation and Council of Europe research	14
Chapter 2: The main internal factor for change: graded objectives	33
Chapter 3: Graded objectives in Hereford and Worcester	57
Chapter 4: Examinations in England	95
Part II (France)	119
Chapter 5: The main external factor for change: 'La réforme Haby'	121
Chapter 6: The main internal factor for change: 'groupes de niveau' and 'équipes pédagogiques'	171
Chapter 7: Internal factors in the Bordeaux region	225
Chapter 8: Examinations in France	278
Chapter 9: Conclusion	299
Appendices	325
Appendix 1: Tasks for the 'Projet Majeur' 1964	326
Appendix 2: Development of 16 plus examinations from the Threshold Level	327
Appendix 3: CSE, 'O' and 'A' French Passes: DES Statistics	330
Appendix 4: Hereford and Worcester questionnaire	331
Appendix 5: Numbers in ability groupings - survey	336
Appendix 6: Pattern of entry by Levels and ability - survey	337
Appendix 7: Use of FLAC in schools - survey	339
Appendix 8: Example of 'Projet d'Etablissement'	342
Appendix 9: Schools visited in Bordeaux and Paris	347
Appendix 10: Time spent by French children on learning languages - analysed according to age	349
References	355

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The Summer 1986 is a significant date in both the English and French education systems because it marks in both countries the end of a process of educational reform: in England the installation of new examination syllabuses to be assessed in 1988 and the publication of a DES policy statement on modern languages in June, and in France the installation of new examinations in 1986 at both 15 plus and 18 plus - 'le Brevet des Collèges' and the 'baccalauréat oral' (the 'baccalauréat écrit' was revised in 1983). This comparative study aims to show how these reforms have come about, what pressures have been exerted on the education system during the period 1975 to 1985, and within what frameworks of external and internal change examination reform has been used in both countries to raise standards. An additional aim of the study is to test the hypotheses that firstly, change is slow in a decentralised education system because of a lack of central control and of efficient channels for the dissemination of information, and secondly, that change is also slow in a centralised education system because of the unwieldy nature of large bureaucratic organisations.

Educational change or innovation may be defined as:

'a deliberate attempt to improve practice in relation to certain desired objectives.'

(OECD 1973, p. 11)

It is possible to classify the two main causative factors for change in education under two headings - external and internal. These two causative factors may be linked to the four categories

of innovation outlined by Bennis, Benne and Chin (1961): innovation in the functions and objectives of education, in organisation and administration, in rôles and rôle-relationships and in the curriculum. But for this thesis a simplified classification makes the delineation of change clearer in the subject-specific area of modern languages.

External and internal factors for change in England

In England both external and internal factors have played a major part in the developments in modern language teaching and learning processes during the past ten years. By 1975 the main stages of the comprehensivisation of schools had already been accomplished, and there had been experimentation in both organisational and curricular practice since the early 60s. Indeed, the decentralised education system had allowed significant developments at both teacher and school level, but there was also ample evidence to show that modern languages as a subject offered to all children in the new comprehensive schools was not meeting the needs of all children, and in particular of lower ability children (DES 1977, 1978). On the European front, however, developments initiated by the Council of Europe for the teaching of languages to adults were having repercussions at school level. This external factor for change (external in the sense that it came from outside the school) was a combination of an interest in linguistic research into needs-based language acquisition and communicative methods of language teaching. This external factor eventually influenced the main principles of syllabus design in schools. The most important internal factor

for change in England has been the development of Graded Objectives in Modern Languages (GOML) - initially a suggested alternative model for modern language examinations (Page 1974) but later developed by secondary school teachers as a limited syllabus for less-able children in Years 2 and 3 (Oxfordshire Modern Languages Advisory Committee 1978). These two factors for change, although stemming from different origins (external and internal), have developed almost simultaneously, and have both influenced significantly the new directions taken by the GCSE 16 plus examination. This study will examine all these areas of change.

External and internal factors for change in France

In France external factors for change since 1975 have been predominant, as 1977 marked the introduction of 'le collège unique' to replace the older tripartite system (external here in the sense that change was imposed on the school system and did not develop internally). The period 1975 to 1985 has therefore been one of great organisational change. Curricular change will be examined to see to what extent modern language 'programmes' in France have met the needs of the comprehensive target group in the new CES. Internal factors for change, such as 'groupes de niveau' within 'projets d'établissement' and modifications in methodology which have developed within the school system will be examined, as will the new directions research is taking in finally adopting some of the principles of the Council of Europe work.

The significance of change in examinations in both countries

Examinations can have three functions: certification, prediction and evaluation. England and France have traditionally used examinations for different purposes: England uses examinations at 16 plus to evaluate a loosely controlled curriculum. France on the other hand has tended latterly to dispense with examinations at this stage, considering that mass certification at the end of the 3e in the form of continuous assessment on 'bulletins trimestriels' is more appropriate. The reasons for a shift in these views of examinations will be investigated as will the recent move in both countries deliberately to use examinations as external factors for change, in order to bring about internal change in teaching practice in schools. (DES 1985(b) and Hamon & Rotman 1985)

The State of Research up to the Present

In both countries there has been recent important official evaluation of performance: in England the DES Assessment of Performance Unit has published a report 'NFER Foreign Language Performance in Schools' (1985), and in France the Ministry of Education has published 'Evaluation Pédagogique - Anglais (1983). Both these studies analysed foreign language attainment in Year 2 of the secondary school in three skill areas; the English study added an analysis of oral skills.

During the period 1975 to 1985 several important official reports on practice have been produced by the national inspectorates in both countries. In England the 1977 HMI Report

on Modern Languages in Comprehensive Schools followed by HMI Reports on Graded Objectives schemes in 1982 and 1984 have been of significance. In France the Rapport Binon (1980) supported the findings of Rapport Legrand (1982) and Rapport Prost (1983). All these reports commented on the consequences of teaching to the whole ability-group.

Much work has been done on adapting the communicative approach to class-room practice in England (Littlewood 1981 & 1984, Clark & Hamilton 1984, Carroll 1980, Phillips 1983 etc). In addition, the debate on national criteria for 16 plus examinations has tended generally to raise teachers' awareness of curricular and assessment problems. In France, by contrast, there has been a period of relative stagnation in developments in modern-language teaching, due, partly, to the demoralisation among teachers subsequent to the failure of 'La Réforme Haby' and, partly, to official decisions to retain existing programmes. At research level, however, both nationally (at INRP) and locally (CRDP) there has been some research into mixed ability teaching methods, examination assessment criteria and schemes of pupil-profiling (CNDP 1983(b) 1983(c), CRDP Lyon (1983), Amiens (1985), Clermont-Ferrand (1982) et Les Amis de Sèvres (1983, 1985). The extent of this work is small compared with that undertaken by the Schools Examination Council (SEC) and the five independent examination boards.

Apart from OECD comparative statistics, national DES and SPRESE statistics and Council of Europe studies (Bergentoft (1980), Tella (1985)) there has been little comparative

research on the quality of language provision in comprehensive schools, and no attempts at cross-national research specifically comparing 'le collège unique' with the English comprehensive school. Likewise there are no comparative studies on content, methodology and organisation of language provision in the two countries.

Both countries are, however, influenced to some extent by the regular contact between Ministers of Education at EEC meetings, and to a greater or lesser extent by discussion and debate on international projects in modern languages: CCC Projet Majeur 1964, Council of Europe Modern Languages Project 1971 to 1981, Project 12 on Modern Languages.

PART I
(ENGLAND)

Chapter I outlines the main external factor for change in modern languages in the education system in England, which has been the research into language teaching and syllabus design undertaken by the Council of Europe group of experts. Chapter 2 describes the position of modern languages in the school curriculum over the period 1975 to 1985, and outlines the main internal factor for change - Graded Objectives in Modern Languages. Chapter 3 evaluates this factor in detail, and Chapter 4 analyses changes in the function of examinations in England, and how the examination system has been used as an external factor to influence internal change.

CHAPTER 1

THE MAIN EXTERNAL FACTORS FOR CHANGE:

REORGANISATION AND COUNCIL OF EUROPE RESEARCH

On 24 May 1982 the European Parliament expressed concern about the apparent lack of progress in measures to improve the teaching of languages in the Community (European Cooperation on Education: Report 1982: p 71). In several respects, though, there had been considerable progress. For some time there had been an official policy for the learning of at least one foreign language by all school children in the Community, and the Council of Europe Project 1971-1981 on the teaching of foreign languages had just ended and been reported on (Modern Languages 1971-1981). Furthermore, a modern language had been recognised as an essential component of the secondary school curriculum as early as the second Conference of Education Ministers in Hamburg, 10 to 15 April 1961 in Resolution Number 6:

'Les ministres de l'Education expriment la conviction qu'il convient d'attribuer une importance plus grande que jamais à l'accroissement de la connaissance des langues vivantes.'

Council of Europe Education Ministers had expressed the same conviction a year later in Rome, 8 to 13 October 1962 in Resolution Number 2:

'(Ils) estiment notamment qu'il convient de mettre au point des méthodes permettant d'étendre, dans toute la mesure du possible, l'enseignement des langues vivantes.'

A 'Projet Majeur' on modern languages was subsequently set up by the Council for Cultural Cooperation in the following year.

Indeed, the main task in the Council's session of June 1964 was to identify the research possibilities for experimentation and dissemination of information within its own organisation (Appendix 1). This first 'Projet Majeur' did a great deal to influence the course of language-learning in various ways even though in both England and France the language provision was still mainly aimed at the top half of the ability-range in schools. The policy statement actively encouraged modern audio-visual and audio-lingual methods and member governments were persuaded to make at least one foreign language a part of compulsory education, training institutions were exhorted to develop improved methods of training and Primary School French was encouraged.

However, it was not until the mid-1970s, when interest in modern languages was simultaneously growing in adult and continuing education, that secondary schools responded positively to the need for change. Thus developments in one field (adult education) begun in 1972 have ultimately had repercussions in an associated field (the secondary school) some 13 years later with the publication of GCSE National Criteria for French in 1985. Significantly during this period the growth of the European Community has been complemented by a growth in the interest of adults in language-learning, by a change in language policies in schools and by a change in the nature of the schools themselves as mass secondary education has become established:

<u>Growth of EEC and changes in language policies</u>			
1961	1973	1985	1986
Community of 4	Community of 6	Community of 10	Community of 12
1 working language	4 official languages	7 official languages	9 official languages
<u>Language Policy</u> England = lang for most able France = lang for most able	England = lang for all France = lang for most able	England = lang for all France = lang for all	England = lang for all France = lang for all
<u>Schools</u> England: Grammar + Sec Mod France: Lycée CEG	England: Grammar Comprehensive France: Lycée CEG, CES	England: Comprehensive France: CES	England: Comprehensive France: CES

The development of the Council of Europe research

In the initial stages of the development of the Council of Europe approach to language-teaching that eventually became such an important external factor for change in schools, the target population was limited to adults. In 1971 following the recommendations of a symposium held at Rüschiikon, Switzerland, the Committee for Out-of-School Education set up a group of

experts to investigate the possibility of establishing a unit/credit system for modern languages in adult education:

'in order to allow an approach based on the individual motivation and capacities of the adult learner.'
(Modern Language Learning in Adult Education 1971, p 1)

The difficulties of the task were not underestimated by the leader of the group, J K M Trim of Cambridge, working with René Richterich of Neuchâtel and J A van Ek of Utrecht, but the following comment, combining realism with idealism, demonstrates one of the fundamental reasons for the success of this initiative:

'Of course we cannot realistically hope for any enormous increase in linguistic proficiency. The Council of Europe is endeavouring, however, to ensure that every European can at least acquire the minimum skills to throw off the shackles of his native linguistic limits.'

(A European unit/credit system, 1979, p 1)

Three important texts came out of the Council of Europe collaboration: R Richterich's Model for the definition of Adult Language Learning Needs (Richterich, 1973), D A Wilkin's investigation into 'The Linguistic and Situational Content of the Common Core' (Wilkins, 1973) which was developed later, into 'Notional Syllabuses' (Wilkins 1976), and J A van Ek's 'The Threshold Level' (van Ek, 1975). R Richterich clearly differentiated between 'language situations' and 'language operations', between the rehearsal of language and the communicative use of language. He was particularly concerned with the definition of the needs of the target learner as a basis for syllabus development, although critics were later to challenge this approach:

'A fundamental contradiction may be seen between the desire to define precise needs and aims, and the fact that on the other hand, the languages as a means of communication and action in controlling social situations requires a capacity to react appropriately to things which cannot be accurately foreseen or defined.'

(Page 1979, p 117)

D A Wilkins went even further than Richterich in stressing the desirability of a needs-based learning approach. He saw the varying types of language syllabuses as lying on a continuum from the 'synthetic' (or old grammar-based) syllabus to the 'analytic' (or notional) syllabus. His definition of a notional syllabus is one which:

'derives the content of learning from an initial analysis of the learner's need to express . . . meanings'

(Wilkins 1976, p 23)

and the aim of a notional approach is:

'to ensure that the learner knows how different types of meaning are expressed so that he can then adopt and combine the different components of communication'

(Wilkins 1976, p 2)

Although Wilkins concedes that an ideal syllabus contains elements of the communicative, grammatical and situational syllabus types, it is the above definition of a notional syllabus that has influenced so remarkably the developments in the Graded Objectives movement and the GCSE 16 plus examinations in England. For teachers used to the traditional grammatical approach, contemplating change in methodology, content and text-book, the predicament is clear:

'It almost appears that we have on the one hand a grammatical approach which enables those who persist with it to generate enormous numbers of sentences which may not be of any use to them, and on the other a communicative competence approach which enables them to operate only in specifically limited areas.'

(Harding 1980, p 13)

The third important text to come out of the Council of Europe's collaborative group was J A van Ek's 'Threshold Level' (1975). This work is primarily a statement of linguistic objectives and is more explicit in more dimensions of linguistic analysis than any previous statement, language course or examination syllabus. In keeping with the main aims of the Project, which were described as being, ultimately, for not only every European adult but also for every European child:

'to learn - and use - one of the major languages of international discourse during the period of compulsory education'

(van Ek, 1975, p IX)

he states clearly his intention of finding a linguistic level which an average adult-learner could achieve in one year (100 to 150 hours) i.e. 'an absolute minimum of general ability' (van Ek, 1975, p 16). Van Ek expressly says, however, that his work should be regarded more as a kind of standard reference level (van Ek, 1975, p 1) and that:

'It is NOT a recommended (still less a prescribed or quasi officially endorsed) minimal vocabulary or set of structures for a language with some useful hints on how to use them in situations.'

(van Ek, 1975, p X)

Van Ek latter revised this over-ambitious estimate of the number of hours of instruction, and raised it to 120 to 200 hours for the 1100 to 1500 items of the 'Threshold Level' (van Ek, 1977, p 1). At this point he considered the possibility of establishing a half-way point or 'Waystage' as a more immediately accessible goal to increase motivation in the learner. He considered various models in trying to define the categories of the language learning tasks and finally settled on 2 levels:

Level 1 containing items needed for physical survival and comfort in the foreign country;

Level 2 containing items needed for establishing and maintaining social relationships.

Level 1 became 'Waystage' and Level 2 became 'The Threshold Level'. Appendix 2 shows how closely the developments in England followed the topic areas favoured by 'Waystage'; indeed van Ek's cyclical progression, whereby the learner reinforces earlier learning tasks by returning to earlier topics at a more complex level, as opposed to the linear progression of grammatical syllabuses has been adopted almost universally by Graded Objectives schemes. Van Ek sees the 'Threshold Level' as an inverted cone with 'Threshold Level' being the lowest level of general foreign language ability with various possibilities for different groups of learners radiating from this central core - with pupils at school forming one of these groups of specialised learners. In this fluid approach further units would be developed, to meet the needs of particular groups wanting to develop particular skills. It is interesting to note that in contrast to later developments, Van Ek does not say that all 4 language skills are to be developed to the same extent:

'A general ability to read and write the foreign language is not part of the Threshold Level objective . . . It would be contrary to the principles of the unit/credit system to force these learners to master this further ability (writing) before their general ability could be recognised.'

(van Ek, 1975, p 116 & 25)

Indeed the decision of the Schools Examination Council (SEC) to insist on an equal division into 4 domains in the National

Criteria for French GCSE 16 plus (1985), is the single most important departure from van Ek's model.

The essential contribution of the Council of Europe international collaboration was the definition of an approach to language teaching that stressed:

- that the target-group be specifically identified
- that the needs of the target-group be closely analysed
- that the language-tasks reflect the needs of the target-group
- that foreign language ability be specified as skill rather than knowledge (objectives are to be considered as behavioural objectives).

So important has been the influence of this approach that the 'Threshold Level' has been translated and adapted to - 'Un niveau seuil' (1976), 'Un nivel umbral' (1979), CREDIF pre-threshold specification for adult migrants (1979), Kontaktschwelle (1980), Livello Soglia (1981), and versions in Danish, Catalan and Dutch (1984). In addition, the multi-media English course 'Follow Me' has been shown in 15 European, 18 Asian, 9 African countries and 6 countries on the American continent (Forum 1/85 p 14). This activity probably justifies van Ek's dream of a European 'mega-language' that he had indulged in some years earlier:

'in spite of their diversity, the socio-cultural background of these countries is sufficiently homogeneous to justify the assumption that large classes of foreign language learners will want to use the foreign language for approximately the same purposes.'

(van Ek, 1975)

The influence of "Un niveau seuil" on the teaching of French as a foreign language

The French version 'Un niveau seuil' (Coste et al, 1976) was to attract considerable attention and interest among linguists in this country, as they expected a great deal from the CREDIF analysis of the French language in order to compile syllabuses for both adult and school-age learners of French. In particular J Clarke of the Lothian Region Project on Graded Levels of Achievement in Foreign Language Learning (GLAFLL) (Clark 1984(b) p 1) has acknowledged his debt to 'Un niveau seuil'. He has also used 'Un niveau seuil' to provide new syllabuses for Australian schools and Royal Society of Arts examinations.

However, 'Un niveau seuil' differs from the Threshold-Level in three important aspects.

Firstly, the authors deliberately adopted a much wider brief than the one used for the Threshold Level. The French group saw the possibility of compiling a functional/notional analysis of French, which would serve the needs of many disparate groups of learners, and which at the same time would act as a guide to those compiling and teaching language courses and programmes. These target groups, as distinct from van Ek's adult learner abroad on business or for pleasure, could include other groups displaying different language needs: for example, migrant-workers and their families, specialist or professional people, children in lower and upper secondary school and young people in further and higher education. A comparison with the 'objets et notions' of 'Un niveau seuil' and the 'Threshold Level' shows clearly how these are extended when a wider target-group was envisaged.

Comparison of articles in Threshold Level (van Ek 1975) and Un Niveau Seuil (Coste, 1982, 310-316)

'Objets et notions' in 'Un niveau seuil' not appearing in the 'Threshold Level'

- 1.4.7 Documents de séjour, de résidence dans un pays étranger
- 2.7.8 Sécurité sociale
- 1.9.3 Opérations manuelles, physiques
- 1.10.3 Recherche d'un emploi, chômage
- 1.10.4 Revenus, aides sociales
- 1.10.5 Organisations professionnelles
- 1.10.7 Qualifiants à propos du métier
- 1.11.5 Lire et écrire - dire si on aime lire ou écrire, se renseigner sur l'existence d'une bibliothèque, d'une librairie, caractériser sommairement la présentation d'un journal
- 1.13 Actualité, vie politique, économique et sociale
 - 1.13.1 Généralités (comprendre qu'un événement est survenu; en identifier la nature, réperer certaines caractérisations problème, question etc
 - 1.13.2 Actualité politique (comprendre globalement la nature d'un événement politique d'actualité; saisir le déroulement des événements et la nature des caractérisations auxquelles ils donnent lieu
 - 1.13.3 Actualité économique et sociale (même type de comportement que pour l'actualité politique
 - 1.13.4 Qualifiants pour les événements d'actualité (porter une appréciation sur les événements d'actualité

The second important aspect in which 'Un niveau seuil' differs from the Threshold-Level is the vast compilation of 'actes de parole'. These 'actes de parole' are to be used in

conjunction with the chapter headed 'Objets et Notions' comprising a list of general and specific notions; a combination of these two chapters could be of practical use to compilers of language courses and programmes. Unfortunately, the sheer volume of the alternatives and scale of detail has the total effect of deterring many would-be users; indeed some of the functions are of course inappropriate to topic areas specifically developed for school examination and course syllabuses in England.

The third difference from van Ek's 'Threshold-Level' occurs in the chapter in which J Cortillon attempts to compile a grammar expressed in notional terms. Roulet considers that this chapter will be of most use to teachers who are currently using more authentic texts and documents; there are however no clear suggestions as to how teachers should be trained in using the new grammar.

'la difficulté réside avant tout dans l'utilisation d'un document aussi riche et aussi complexe par une personne peu initiée aux approches récentes du langage et disposant d'un temps limité à côté de son enseignement.'

(Roulet, 1977, p 7)

On the other hand 'Un niveau seuil' is similar to the 'Threshold Level' in the style of presentation by its authors. E Roulet in writing a 'Presentation et guide d'emploi' of 'Un niveau seuil' (Roulet, 1977) was anxious that 'Un niveau seuil' should not be considered prescriptive, but only indicative, of possibilities, and that it should not create 'tablets of stone'. This is in marked contrast to the rigidity of early CREDIF audio-visual schemes, the 'méthode globale-structurale' and similar audio-lingual schemes currently in use

in France at the time. Roulet however defines clearly the principles of the new approach:

'la capacité de choisir, dans l'éventail des réalisations linguistiques, la forme la mieux adaptée à l'intention du sujet parlant et à la situation constitue une prérogative essentielle, dont on ne saurait priver l'adulte en langue seconde, sous prétexte de lui simplifier l'apprentissage, sans courir le risque de le décourager de communiquer.

(Roulet, 1977, p 2)

Moreover he clearly states what 'Un niveau seuil' is not:

- it is not 'un tronc commun, un passage minimal obligé pour tous les adultes apprenant une langue secondaire'; (p 3)
- it is not 'une norme absolue . . . il ne détermine en aucun cas la liste des actes de parole, des notions, des énoncés ou des mots qui doivent figurer dans un cours de français ou dans une batterie de tests'; (p 4)
- it is not 'un programme d'apprentissage' but needs 'l'imagination, l'expérience, la connaissance d'une institution ou d'un public'; (p 7)
- it is not 'l'établissement d'une progression de la matière à apprendre'; (p 26)
- it is not 'le choix des activités pédagogiques'. (p 16)

But 'Un niveau seuil' has a particular identity:

'Le choix de vocabulaire et des structures n'a pas à déterminer le contenu d'une leçon, comme dans de nombreux cours audio-visuels; ce choix est commandé par les événements de communication intéressant le public visé.'

(van Ek, 1977, p 16)

The attitude of the French researchers towards identifying the language needs of children

In effect the specific needs of the secondary school target group were largely overlooked by Roulet in presenting 'Un niveau seuil'. It was not until 1980 that L Porcher produced 'Adaptation de 'Un niveau-seuil pour des contextes scolaires' (this book may be compared to the 'Threshold-Level for Modern Languages Learning in Schools' (van Ek, 1976). Roulet considered the language needs of children in secondary schools to be either too indeterminate (or too vast) and for this reason he felt that appropriate syllabuses would be extremely difficult to compile:

'Ce groupe - de taille - reste indéterminé quant à ses besoins fonctionnels en langue étrangère. Sauf exceptions, l'élève de l'enseignement secondaire . . . ignore à quelles fins il apprend une langue étrangère ou du moins n'a qu'une idée vague de ce à quoi elle lui servira.'

(Coste 1982, p 49)

Roulet's indifference to this group is demonstrated quite clearly in his analysis of the language needs of children in school - a view contested later by G Dalgalian, S Lieutaud and F Weiss (1981). The argument of this group of educationalists was that, if adolescents have no well-defined socio-professional needs, then teachers have to:

'créer des besoins d'action et de communication, même si cela oblige l'institution à s'adapter.'

(Dalgalian 1981, p 42)

They analysed 3 areas in which schoolchildren may have needs:

- 'a) l'implication dans des tâches associées à l'utilisation de la langue à court et à moyen terme.
- b) l'établissement de liens personnels avec des locuteurs de la langue étrangère permettant l'utilisation de la langue en situation d'échanges réels.

c) la confrontation avec des documents authentiques
et la fréquentation des média.

(Dalgalian 1981, p 41)

P U B L I C S						
		touristes, voyageurs	travailleurs migrants et familles	spécialistes, professionnels, dans leur pays	adolescents en système scolaire	grands adolescents, jeunes adultes
D O M A I N E S	relations familiales	-	~	-	-	-
	relations professionnelles	-	++	++	~	+
	relations grégalres	+	+	-	~	+
	relations commerçantes et civiles	++	++	-	-	~
	fréquentation des média	~	~	~	-	+

Roulet's Grill (Council of Europe 1977, p 10)

Roulet's analysis may certainly be adapted to the school situation by changing 'relations professionnelles' to 'relations scolaires' and thus involving interdisciplinary activities such as type a) and c) above. By encouraging school-exchanges a rationale for 'relations grégaires' including activities of type b) would become more evident. 'Fréquentation des média' which Roulet considers an inappropriate area for adolescents could easily be included through activities of type c) in the school curriculum. A new grill incorporating Roulet's 'domaines', Dalgalian's rôles and situations and referring to L Porcher 'Petit guide d'emploi pour l'adaptation de "Un niveau seuil" pour des contextes scolaires' would read as follows:

<u>New grill following Roulet and Dalgalian</u>			
	adolescents en système scolaire	rôles et status	situation
relations familiales	++		
relations (professionnelles) scolaires	++	élève - professeur élève - directeur élève - élève	collège cantine
relations commerçants et civiles			
relations grégaires	++ en visite à l'étranger	ami - ami correspondant- parents	domicile amis voisins camarades
frequentation des média	++	utilisateur de services publics utilisateur des média	domicile

It is evident that holiday visits and home-to-home exchanges provide a setting for some of the rôles the school-child may be expected to adopt, according to Dalgalian. The importance of this setting has been however exaggerated by English syllabus compilers to such an extent that an underlying assumption is made at the 16 plus examination stage, that the needs of a 16 year-old on a visit abroad are to be paramount in the syllabus. In effect, the swing towards such an assumption may have gone too far, as there is no guarantee that all English children will go to France; no account is taken of children whose physiological make-up is not predominantly oral/ aural, but who prefer a

written approach to the language (see Chapter 7 on de Sarcilly's experiments). Similarly 'l'utilisation de la langue à court et à moyen terme' for professional purposes later should include the development of reading skills, but this appears to be neglected by the GCSE 16 plus criteria. Success in the examination may indeed become socially divisive since only some parents may be in a position to pay for annual visits abroad and the narrowness of the 'situations' may preclude other areas of vocabulary of interest to adolescents and limit the experience of language learning of both pupils and teachers.

The influence of the Threshold Level on the teaching of English in France

It is evident that at present the French have hesitated to adopt wholesale the Council of Europe approach as outlined by van Ek and Richterich.

'Certaines solutions pédagogiques permettront de rendre 'eventuelle' l'utilisation de la langue étrangère dans les domaines des relations familiales et des relations commerciales et civiles.'

(Dalgalian 1981, p 42)

Dalgalian does not see an immediate move towards the Council of Europe approach, nor do text-books predominantly in use in schools contain such material. Indeed the newest text-book 'OK', which incorporates a 'situational' approach in the lay-out of the book uses such material in isolation from the general themes of individual units (OK, 1985). Observation of practice in the class-room (see Chapter 7) would support this view too.

The influence of the Council of Europe work on examination syllabuses in England

It is all the more remarkable how completely the innovations in language syllabus design by the Council of Europe group of experts have influenced syllabuses of courses and examinations in England. Appendix 2 shows clearly how adaptations were made by syllabus compilers for the specific target-group of pupils in school in England. The most obvious dissimilarities are the areas in the Threshold Level left out of school syllabuses: rent, conditions of work, income, political and social views, training and religion. The other 'gaps' represent either deliberate choices, as in the case of SEG, London and MEG syllabuses which omit the discussion of foreign language ability, or in the case of the MEG syllabus, telephoning, parts of body, hygiene, insurance and travel documents, which were all omitted in error in the draft version of the syllabus. Further adaptations have been based on extensive studies of the needs of the learner. J Clarke went so far as to send out a questionnaire to 2000 Lothian school-children to find out their particular needs and areas of interest in relation to modern-language learning (Clarke 1979).

In theory:

'It (the syllabus) would not be restricted to rehearsal for tourism, but would, for example, take in listening or viewing and reading for information and pleasure, classroom interaction in the foreign language, games, and the establishment and maintenance of social relationships whether face to face or at a distance.'
(Clarke 1984a, p 3)

In practice, his concern about actual practice in the class-room, interest in the learning process, 'regurgitative rehearsal' and 'inner-chuntering' (Clarke 1984a, p 7-9) modified the theory

towards a greater concentration on 'rehearsal for tourism' than was the original intention up to Stage 4. However, his mention of other examples of classroom practice serves as a reminder that a broader statement of objectives is required than has appeared in most GOML schemes. The dissimilarity between the topic areas of Threshold Level and the draft examination syllabuses suggests either over-eagerness to include all associated material to the extent of overloading the syllabus as in the case of SEG, or a desire to make the topic areas of particular relevance to adolescents on holiday ('accommodation' forms an important addition to all draft examination syllabuses). In general, however, the topic areas in all examination syllabuses retain an impressive similarity, derived as they all are from a common source.

The Council of Europe work has therefore been fundamental in effecting change:

- by influencing attitudes and the general climate of opinion;
- by providing specific, quantified and objective bases for identifying a practical aim for methodological change;
- and by providing detailed, linguistically sophisticated material for the practical identification of curricula and syllabuses.

C H A P T E R 2

THE MAIN INTERNAL FACTOR FOR CHANGE:

GRADED OBJECTIVES

This chapter assesses the importance of, firstly, the position of modern languages in the 70s in England some 15 years after the first comprehensive schools were introduced, and secondly, the development of Graded Objectives in Modern Languages (GOML) which was the single most important internal factor for change during the period 1975 to 1985.

The position of Modern Languages in the 70s

The growth in the number of pupils in comprehensive schools has been well documented and accounted for elsewhere. The following figures therefore only briefly indicate the extent of this major educational reform, but they do clearly demonstrate the relative slowness of its application in quantitative terms in comparison with 'La Réforme Haby' in 1977.

<u>Pupils in Comprehensive Education</u>				
	% of total school population	Schools	Pupils	Total
1965	8.5	262	239,619	2,819,054
1975	69.7	2596	2,459,648	3,826,646
1977	79.9	3083	2,982,441	4,038,763
[1985	84.5	3249	2,981,943	3,525,771]

Table 2, p 156 Comprehensive Education. Report of DES Conference 1977 (DES 1978)

The consequences, however, of introducing to the whole ability-range a subject which had previously been reserved for the more-able have been considerable. Even in the 60s concern had been expressed about the take-up of French at 'O' and 'A' level (Hayter Report 1961, Annan Report 1962) and this was at a time when French was offered predominantly in the grammar-schools to the top 20-25% of the ability-range. By 1977, however, when HMI compiled an important report on 83 comprehensive schools most children (79.9%) were in comprehensive schools and were being offered French for 2 to 3 years. Despite this, no really clear organisational structure for language provision had evolved:

'One of the most striking features of the survey was the haphazard and infinitely varied provision for language learning encountered as one moved from school to school.'
(DES 1977, p 48)

Hawkins gives the following table to show the number of pupils studying modern languages using the figures given in the HMI report of 1977 (p 31):

At 11+ - 89%
12+ - 85%
13+ - 80%
14+ - 35%
15+ - 33%

(Hawkins 1981, p 24)

The figures for 14+ and 15+ show a significant rise in the number of children continuing with French in Year 4 and Year 5 compared with the 25% of children in grammar schools under the tri-partite system.

A comparison of the numbers taking and passing examinations compared with the numbers of pupils in different types of maintained secondary schools up to 1985 gives the following picture:-

<u>Numbers passing examinations in French</u>				
	1961	1971	1981	1985
CSE	-	58,729	147,834	156,038
'O'	78,451	85,952	99,285	88,346
'A'	11,375	18,099	17,725	16,720

<u>Pupils in maintained secondary schools</u>				
	1961	1971	1981	1985
Compr.	141,899	1,016,802	3,168,337	2,981,943
Grammar	696,677	544,326	130,849	113,264
Total	2,915,509	2,898,096	3,839,858	3,525,771

(See Appendix 3 for a complete table of examination results and sources)

The table above shows that the greatest increases have been both in the numbers passing CSE French and in the numbers attending comprehensive schools. The CSE examination introduced in 1963, was originally designed for a further 40% of the school-population beyond the 20-25% taking GCE 'O' level examinations, thus providing an examination for 60 to 65% of the ability range. In modern languages, however, as opposed to mathematics and English, this combination of 'O' level and CSE examination provision has never been considered by teachers to be appropriate

for up to 65% of the ability-range and most critics of CSE have consistently considered it a 'watered-down' version of 'O' level suitable only for up to 40 to 45% of the ability-range. The academic nature of the subject in teachers' and pupils' perceptions and the difficulty of the examination in relation to other subjects, even at CSE level, have consistently kept figures for examination entry low:

'There was roughly one GCE O-level pass or CSE Grade I result for every 10 pupils in the fifth year age-group.'
(DES 1977, p 9)

The more detailed presentation of examination results between 1961 and 1981 given in Appendix 3 shows an actual drop in figures for 'A' level passes between 1968 and 1979. In addition:

		French	Sciences	Arts	All Subjects
1978-83	CSE	24.6%	23.3%	22.5%	21.0%
1978-83	'O'	0.9%	16.8%	4.8%	10.0%
1978-83	'A'	0.9%	24.0%	9.9%	18.5%

(Statistics of Schools Vol 2: Tables C 30, 31, 32, 1984)

These figures show that, apart from the numbers passing CSE, both 'O' and 'A' level French passes have risen by less than 1% against an average for all subjects of 10.0% for 'O' level and 18.5% for 'A' level. The rise in 23.3% for all science-based subjects may be explained by the increase in demand for scientific and technological qualifications, but there is little immediate explanation for the discrepancy between the rise at 'O' level of 4.8% for all arts-based subjects against 0.9% for

French, and of 9.9% against 0.9% at 'A' level. The only intimation that French is holding its place in the curriculum is in CSE where passes in French have risen by 24.6% against the average for all subjects of 21.0%. This may very well be explained by the fact that 'O' level French has not been modified for a wider school population to the same extent as other subjects, and that children of a higher ability than might be expected on average are opting for CSE French rather than 'O' level.

This unsatisfactory situation in the teaching of modern languages, reflected in the examination success tables is explained by a variety of factors identified by HMI (DES 1977) and Hawkins (1981):

- no satisfactory developments in the presentation of content had been made to motivate pupils of the whole ability range, who were now offered French in comprehensive schools;
- policy initiatives by Head Teachers sometimes militated against encouraging the most able to continue with French at the Year 3 option stage;
- transfer at 12 or 13 in 3-tier comprehensive schools was detrimental to progression in language learning (DES 1977, p 29);
- universities no longer considered French as an entry requirement;
- Primary School French was considered to have failed (Burstall 1974).

These factors demonstrated the failure of the subject of modern languages to assert its place in the curriculum of the comprehensive school. Actual practice in schools, commented on by HMI, and reflected in the examination success-rate (Appendix 3), did not meet the needs of the average and less able:

'The general picture . . . was characterised by . . . the setting of impossible or pointless tasks for average (and in particular less able) pupils, . . . excessive use of English . . . inefficient reading skills, and writing limited mainly to mechanical reproduction which was often extremely inaccurate . . . there was often an atmosphere of boredom, disenchantment and restlessness. (DES 1977, p 8)

Within the wider context of overall subject reform as the comprehensive school developed, different types of methodology had indeed developed from the traditional grammar/translation approach - direct methods, audio-visual and audio-lingual approaches, but the HMI Report made it clear that no really adequate solution had been found. In fact, as early as 1972, G E Perren at a conference for language specialists had expressed real concern about modern languages - it is only surprising that his unequivocally pragmatic criticism was not heeded earlier.

'The progressive democratisation of British education in recent years . . . often has led us to present subjects in a form not yet fully adjusted to the needs of the majority . . . It is not a question of studying under-achievement but of first deciding what appropriate achievements should be.

(Perren 1972, p 8/10)

Change has, however, been rapid as HMI M Salter who was present at this 1972 Conference, acknowledged later at a meeting for teachers at Wolverhampton Polytechnic in November 1985:

'I am convinced that if HMI did their survey now, the picture would be much better.'

One of the factors contributing to this feeling of improvement and change in attitude has been the development of Graded Objectives in Modern Languages (GOML).

The Graded Objectives Movement

The Graded Objectives (GOML), or Graded Tests in Modern Languages schemes which have been developed throughout the United Kingdom over the past ten years, are basically school-based, teacher-directed strategies designed to cope with the demands of teaching modern languages to the whole ability range. The GOML movement may therefore be seen to be a response to the organisational changes in schools brought about by the creation of comprehensive schools. Initially, however, general dissatisfaction with out-dated examination techniques and a wish to recognise spoken skills rather than written was the impetus behind B Page's seminal article (Page 1974), following the publication of the first specimen papers for the new 16 plus examination in the Schools Council Examination Bulletin 23 in 1973. Another early proponent of the GOML movement, J M C Davidson, had taken part in the 16 plus examination debate and suggested that a change had occurred in the needs of language learners since Britain's entry into the EEC (1965) and that teachers should now stress the potential instrumental value of language-learning, and even investigate graded examinations (Davidson 1973).

Page, in adopting the concept of graded levels of achievement, highlighted two main areas of concern: content and lack of differentiation between levels of ability and language

objectives. Most of the principles underlying Page's approach have been taken up, not only by the GOML movement in general, but also by the Schools Examination Council (SEC) as in the description of the National Criteria for French (DES 1985d). Comparison is unsatisfactory to a certain extent, as Page only outlined the first 3 levels of achievement, but it is assumed he envisaged an extension into further levels of the principles underlying Levels 1 to 3.

<u>Features of Page's approach reflected in various syllabuses</u>					
	Page 74	Wilkins 72	'O' level	FLAC 79	GCSE 85
closely defined syllabus	+	+		+	+
closely defined aims	+	+		+	+
all 4 skills tested			+	+	+
recognition of differentiation	+	+	+	+	+
authenticity of material					+
communicative approach		+		+	+
criterion-referenced assessment	+			+	+

The diagram above shows, firstly, that at this time, Page was concentrating on a purely practical approach to more 'efficient' language-learning; and, secondly, that the key-words of

'authenticity' and 'communicative approach' become prominent only later. The 1985 GCSE National Criteria incorporate all 7 elements. Page was, however, hesitant about the use of all 4 skills and does not stress oral production as being necessary:

'Many learners find oral production almost as difficult as written . . . oral production is not as necessary in a foreign-language situation as some would claim!' (Page 1974, p 238)

This statement, at odds with the Council of Europe approach, has been overtaken by the development of the 'communicative approach'.

Page may have been the first to outline a syllabus in clear terms for practising teachers with particular target-groups, but there had already been considerable debate in academic circles about the functional use of language in practical situations deriving from the pragmatic linguistic and functional approach characteristic of, for example, the Halliday school of linguistics (Berry 1975 and 1977). Nonetheless, when Page and Harding collaborated in producing the first three levels of the Oxfordshire Modern Language Achievement Certificate and the Yorkshire Graded Objectives scheme (OMLAC) in 1976 after an initial meeting in 1975, there was no close knowledge of either Wilkins's ideas on notional/functional syllabuses or van Ek's work on the Threshold Level. Page's original target-groups included the whole ability-range, but Level 1 specifically mentioned low achievers in secondary school. In devising a syllabus for this particular group of learners:

'There was no intention to deliberately oppose Brian Page's original intention of including the whole ability range.'

(Murphy 1984, p 42)

Nonetheless, the decision to limit the tests to the less able had profound implications not only for OMLAC, but for subsequent imitations and developments. It was only later as teachers began to think in terms of involving the whole ability range in GOML type syllabuses, that Page's original intentions were carried out. At this point old syllabuses had to be revised in many local areas (new OMLAC, Kent and Birmingham syllabuses, for example).

By summer 1977, when the first OMLAC tests were completed, the main principles on which the GOML movement is now based had been worked out for use in schools:

- levels - a concept of language learning by stages;
- defined syllabus - objectives to be behavioural;
- differentiation - target-group defined.

The GOML movement may, in fact, be seen as an example of curriculum change generated within the educational system as a response to perceived needs. The agents of change - teacher-trainers, advisers and teachers - worked together for a rapid dissemination of the innovation: from the publication of Page's article (1974) to full implementation only three years elapsed. This model of change may be considered a periphery-periphery model (Schon 1971) with information being disseminated mainly through the advisory network, Departments of Education, national GOML conferences, in-service training, and the CILT library and newsletter services. New schemes in other counties either developed according to the basic principles of the OMLAC scheme (E Midlands, Belfast 2 and ILEA schemes) or adopted the original

with slight local variations (Shropshire, Walsall and Hereford and Worcester schemes) or developed their own schemes (Lothian). An added stimulus for development, was the publication in 1977 of the HMI Discussion paper on modern languages in comprehensive schools. Becher and Maclure had identified the teachers'-centre as being the most efficient channel for the dissemination of information on innovation:

'teacher involvement must be a central component of the development process.'

(Becher and Maclure 1978, p 71)

By July 1986 there were 81 GOML schemes in existence in the United Kingdom (CILT 1986). There are thus a number of different channels for the flow of information.

The GOML movement has been subject to a number of investigations: Schools Council evaluation (1981), HMI Reports on schemes in Oxfordshire, N W England and Leeds (DES 1982(a), 1984a, 1984b). The Leeds Report was markedly less enthusiastic in tone than the report on N W England, demonstrating the reservations HMI continue to have concerning the match between ability-levels and goals, and the rehearsal of a restricted range of structures rather than real progression. The Leeds Report, however, provides direct evidence that the introduction of GOML schemes has increased the take-up level at Year 4 and 5.

'In some cases the increase is considerable and the headteachers are unanimous in attributing it directly to pupils' success in graded tests.' (DES 1984a, p 5)

As an example in the rise of the take-up level, in School 2, the numbers have risen to 59% of the year-group, in School 6 to 47% and in School 26 to 55%.

The GOML movement in Hereford and Worcester

By February 1978 (some four years after Page's article had been published and two years after OMLAC's first 2 stages had been produced) D Mann the Modern Languages Adviser in Hereford and Worcester who had first heard of this initiative at a meeting of advisers, set up a working party to look into the possibilities of developing graded tests along the lines suggested by the OMLAC group. It was obvious from the letter of invitation sent by D Mann to K Gordon, Secretary of the Oxfordshire Modern Languages Advisory Committee and Witney Teachers' Centre leader, that the teachers involved in the Hereford and Worcester working party were in some confusion as to the real nature and purpose of the OMLAC scheme. At this stage the adviser's role was no more than that of a transmitter of the broad principles of the scheme, and only contact between teacher and teacher at working party and Head of Department meetings brought about real development in the second group. At one such meeting held on 15 May 1978 at Oakfield Teachers' Centre, the working party was given a very clear outline of the Oxfordshire scheme - certification, testing, candidature and marking. It was also made clear that the Oxford group had decided to make their target group the lower ability children of the second year.

'They wanted a new objective for lower-ability groups and a school-based exam which would carry a worthwhile award. They were concerned by the poor motivation of both teachers and pupils and their disillusionment.'

(Mann: personal communication 1978)

The Hereford and Worcester party met regularly, mostly in the teachers' own time after school, which demonstrated the

teachers' sense of commitment to the new ideas. They produced the first tests for use in schools for June 1979. All Heads of Departments of modern languages in the county had been circulated with information in 1978 and 1979 through the adviser, but uptake of the scheme was purely voluntary. Interested teachers were asked to buy the Oxfordshire 'New Objectives in Modern Languages' which by then had been published in booklet form by Hodder and Stoughton (1978).

An evaluation of the Hereford and Worcester Graded Objectives scheme

In quantitative terms the introduction of Graded Objectives into Hereford and Worcester has been remarkably successful. The following table shows the growth in entries in Hereford and Worcester:

<u>Entries to FLAC tests 1979 to 1986</u>								
	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	(proposed) 1986
French Level 1		1779	2056	2200	2473	2516	3312	3098
2		457	778	1090	1794	2356	3652	3581
3					331	528	805	1376
German Level 1		115	90	211	356	472	830	692
2				27	121	293	517	640
3						26	132	268

	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	(proposed) 1986
Spanish Level 1			28	17	96	43	295	745
2				18		22	47	50
Italian Level 1								99
TOTAL		2351	2962	3563	5171	6256	9590	10549

(Hereford & Worcester LEA Statistics 1986)

It will be seen that as each successive level was introduced the number of entries was initially low, but that the numbers picked up gradually. The figures show the remarkable predominance of French as the first foreign language with the low figures for German Level 3 suggesting that it is difficult to find a rationale for a graded achievement test at this level (most schools have German as a second foreign language introduced either in the second or third year for the most able linguists, and commitment to a tight examination course largely precludes time spent on graded tests). These entry figures may be compared with the total number of children between 11 and 16 in secondary and middle schools in the county:

Numbers of children in School in Hereford and Worcester

Secondary Schools 11-16	35,141
Middle Schools 11-12	8,297
	<hr/>
TOTAL	43,438
Children aged 11	7,938
12	8,366
13	8,734
14	9,500
15	8,903
16	2,601

(Hereford and Worcester LEA Statistics 1985)

It is not, however, possible to establish exact figures for the percentage take-up by county children, as the tests are used in different year-groups, children may take more than one language, and some schools have German as a first foreign language.

In qualitative terms, however, FLAC has not been so successful. In contrast with other local syllabuses, the Hereford and Worcester scheme has not been significantly revised in the eight years since its inception. It thus suffers from a degree of 'fossilisation' both in lay-out and content. There has been no attempt to introduce a structural progression from lower to higher levels, and the lay-out of the syllabus encourages a 'phrase-book' learning of words. Similarly, a move to rewrite the syllabus in notional/ functional terms has been resisted. Testing relies on multiple-choice items with little variety, and

the compilation of tests has been amateurish and does not assess the whole syllabus. Since 1979 there has been no pre-testing. Target-groups have not been adequately identified and directives to teachers concerning ability levels have been unclear.

Becher and Maclure (1978) identified three main components of attempts to disseminate innovation: consumer communication, teacher education and classroom support. The analysis below further considers the Hereford and Worcester scheme under these three headings.

Consumer Communication In Hereford and Worcester the initiator was the adviser who then created a working party of teachers - the users. The development team, using the innovatory ideas of the Oxfordshire scheme as a basis, felt that in order to make the scheme work in their situation they must necessarily adapt it. The original two levels for French, for example, were made into three levels in 1982 as it was felt that the OMLAC Level 2 was too difficult for the less able children in the third year. Level 3 for German was devised by the working party in 1983. The working party and some Heads of Department were aware of the new initiatives either by direct contact with teachers from other counties, through professional publications or through DES Short Courses, but the main obstacle which prevented information getting through to all the teachers for whom it might have been relevant was the sheer numbers of teachers - 202 teachers of modern languages in Hereford and Worcester.

Teacher Education A programme of in-service training for teachers using the new schemes was initiated by the adviser.

Anne Harding the adviser for Oxfordshire was invited to speak and Jean-Anne Naylor ran a one-day workshop. As the scheme became more established the theme of these in-service courses became the 'communicative' teaching of languages. These latter courses were relevant to the teaching of all levels of ability and reflected the growing feeling that graded tests should be for all pupils. This intuitive feeling was not however carried through to a full revision of the syllabuses.

Classroom support Some GOML schemes in England and Wales have produced a vast range of support materials. In Hereford and Worcester the output of support material has been severely limited because of lack of finance. No teacher has been seconded for the specific purpose of producing such material, as has been the case in some counties - Cambridgeshire, Shropshire, Dudley. Other counties have had the back-up of university departments to devise and pre-test tests, and to initiate further developmental work - for example, development of functional/notional syllabuses by Leicester University for the East Midlands scheme; funding of materials by St Martin's College for the Lancashire and Cumbrian group; and participation of the Language Teaching Information Centre at Leeds University in the preparation and organisation of the tests for the Leeds group. This aspect of the innovation is however very weak in Hereford and Worcester, as the local adviser does not consider one of the intrinsic merits of the GOML movement to be the development of materials by teachers. Meetings are limited to an annual moderation of marks and compilation of new tests.

These present criticisms of the quality of Levels 1, 2 and 3

have not been perceived by the majority of the members of the working party in Hereford and Worcester, as the nature of the innovatory process has meant that the FLAC scheme has developed in comparative isolation, and most teachers have either lacked the opportunity to make direct comparisons with other GOML schemes or been unaware of improvements made elsewhere.

Nevertheless, in September 1985 a questionnaire was sent out to county schools to investigate more fully teachers' perceptions of the value and use of FLAC, and to investigate the potential interest in the development of a Level 4 in French. As answers to the questionnaires revealed a positive interest a small working party was set up in October 1985 to discuss and devise a Level 4.

Level 4 FLAC

The problem before the working party was how to incorporate the existing FLAC Levels 1 to 3, which had not originally been devised for the whole ability range, into the imminent GCSE 16 plus examination, so that any child could follow a progression of levels. In reality, a real match between ability level and FLAC level tests was possible for only some pupils. The figures below refer to the different FLAC levels, and the tables show 1) the year and ability group for which each FLAC level or external examination was devised, 2) the current position with a confused matching of syllabus level, year and ability group, and 3) the projected picture of progression towards GCSE Mode 1 (2 levels) or Mode 3 (1 level) or Level 4 as summative tests.

<u>Changes in Target-groups for FLAC and external examinations</u>					
<u>1. 1980</u>	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5
High	0	0	0	0	'O'
Average	0	0	0	0	CSE
Low	0	1	2	3	Mode 3
<u>2. 1985</u>	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5
High	0/1	0/2	0/3		'O'
Average	0/1	1/2	2/3		CSE
Low	0	1	2	3	Mode 3
<u>3. The projected picture</u>	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5
High	1	2	3	4	GCSE High
Average	1	2	3	4	GCSE Basic
Low	0	1	2	3	(GCSE Basic (Level 4 or (Mode 3
(0 = no entry)					

The following problems had to be solved by the working party:

1. How to make each level suitable for the whole ability range;
2. How to encourage High/Secondary schools to put average and higher-ability pupils in for levels at an earlier stage than was the current practice;
3. How to discover the details of GCSE syllabuses that were not due for final publication till May 1986;

4. How to determine the structure of Level 4 - in notional/functional, lexical or grammatical terms;
5. How to ask teachers to attend meetings at a time of industrial action.

In order to facilitate the solving of these problems:

1. A decision was taken not to undertake drastic revision of Levels 1 to 3 so as not to antagonise teachers at the same time as introducing Level 4. The delicate balance between imposition and acquiescence was not to be upset.
2. This problem was shelved until in-service training could start again when industrial action was over.
3. As the exam board (Midlands Examining Group) was unable to give details, the compiler of the MEG vocabulary list was contacted. A list of probable topics, and an uncorrected pre-publication vocabulary list were supplied.
4. A decision was taken to compile Level 4 as a testing-syllabus in terms of speaking-tasks and vocabulary-lists for reading and productive use. It was assumed that appropriate use would be made of the defined grammar requirements of the Basic level in the MEG syllabus.
5. Teachers attended working-party meetings out of school hours away from school premises.

The decisions taken by this working party were arrived at collectively, but not always unanimously. There was some disagreement over continuous assessment and the weighting of marks but the majority decision was adopted on these occasions. Teachers hoped that the time invested in this curriculum

development would be repaid in better motivation among pupils; they were anxious to obtain a balance between what they perceived were realistic goals, what the pupils were capable of, and what would interest them.

Confusion over 16 plus exams and in particular the target-group itself had been rife in early 1985 and was still evident in autumn 1985. By September 1985 teachers knew that up to 90% of the ability-range was to be included after early pronouncements that only 60% was to be involved. The picture was further confused by the Midland Examining Group's (MEG) decision to change from assessing pupils at 2 ability levels to 3. Such lack of information made curriculum development work extremely difficult.

The definition of the target-group for a Level 4 as opposed to a Mode 3 GCSE determined the weighting of the marks. It was assumed that Level 4 would be taken by the average and more able at the Fourth Year Level as a progression towards Mode 1 GCSE Basic and Higher Level examinations. For that reason writing would be included in the assessment procedures. It was realised of course that some average pupils would not do writing at Basic Level; therefore the marks awarded were to be kept below the 25% of the National Criteria recommendation:

<u>Level 4 FLAC.</u>	<u>Weighting of skills</u>	
Listening	30%	30 minutes
Speaking	30%	10 minutes
Reading	25%	45 minutes
Writing	15%	30 minutes

In view of the difficulties met by teachers in testing oral work it was decided to limit the speaking test to 10 minutes (compared with FLAC3 5 minutes and GCSE 15 minutes).

Finally, assessment tasks were distributed to teachers for compilation. These assessment tasks were finally discussed and approved in July 1986.

The advantages of such teacher-led curriculum development as an immediate response to a perceived need were that:

- teachers found mutual support in discussion;
- practising teachers were in touch with children and recognised the particular difficulties of different ability-levels;
- the syllabus devised would (predictably) have the approval of the teachers that would implement it;
- the pupils would taste 'success' leading to greater motivation as the syllabus had been devised for them and their needs.

There are however disadvantages to such an approach:

- the danger of amateurism in the construction of syllabuses and valid testing-schemes;
- the possibility of underestimation or overestimation of pupils' abilities;
- the danger of a mismatch between objectives and pupils' abilities;
- the lack of expertise in producing teaching materials;
- the danger of isolation of the working party from national trends - and the emergence of a 'personality-cult'.

Such curriculum development is indeed dependent on a number of factors for its successful implementation, including the

willingness of teachers to contribute time and effort over and above their school commitment, the support of advisory service for the dissemination of information to all teachers, via letters (news-letters) and in-service courses, and the validation of objectives. In this case the progression to the national exam system acted as validator and amateurism was therefore reduced to some extent.

Chapter 2 has thus described and evaluated the main internal factor affecting change in modern language teaching in England since the 1970s. This factor has been the development of the Graded Objectives movement as a teacher-led innovation and particular reference has been made to the process of the introduction of this innovation in Hereford and Worcester.

The review of this main internal factor for change is followed in the next chapter by an assessment of the innovation as it affects teachers and their teaching methods and considers also the degree of acceptance of change by the group. To this end, a questionnaire was devised and distributed to all schools using the Hereford and Worcester scheme.

CHAPTER 3

GRADED OBJECTIVES IN HEREFORD AND WORCESTER

The questionnaire (Appendix 4) distributed to all schools currently using the Hereford and Worcestershire Foreign Language Achievement Certificate (FLAC) was designed to assess teachers' views and perceptions of the process of innovation with particular reference to FLAC. The questionnaire was aimed at teachers using FLAC, as these were more likely to be teaching the less-able and had knowledge of and views on the difficulties encountered by such pupils learning foreign languages. The use of Graded Objectives in Modern Languages (GOML) has, however, spread from the initial involvement of less able children to, in some cases, children of the whole ability range; the questionnaire was thus also designed to look at the involvement of the average and higher-ability pupils in GOML-type courses. The questionnaire looked specifically at how FLAC syllabuses were used in schools: as the basis of a year's course, or as an additional item fully integrated with a course-book, or as a 2 to 3 week 'crash-course' before the test. The willingness of teachers to comment on, and answer, open questions, and the high rate of return were evidence of the degree of interest among schools involved in the scheme even at a time of considerable tension and continued industrial action. The questionnaire was not piloted for this reason, but discussion with county heads of department prior to the postal distribution of the questionnaire had ascertained the general areas of concern, interest and debate. For example, the three day FLAC working party meeting in July 1985 had on its agenda the standardisation of tests, the redefinition of target-groups and "all-year" testing procedures.

The questionnaires were sent out in October 1986 to the 46 secondary and 34 middle schools:

<u>Schools using FLAC</u>	
Sec & High Schools using FLAC I	28
Middle Schools using FLAC I	29
High Schools using FLAC 2	35
Middle Schools using FLAC 2	23
High Schools using FLAC 3	23
<u>Response Rate</u>	
High Schools using FLAC any level	43 High School Returns 26 = 60% return
Middle Schools using FLAC any level	30 Middle School Returns 15 = 50% return

These figures show that FLAC was in use at some level in 43 out of 46 High Schools (93%) and in 30 out of 34 Middle Schools (86%). The number of entries for FLAC French represented in the returns to the questionnaire was 4382. According to the numbers given in to the County Office, the projected total of entries for June 1986 for FLAC French was 8056. Thus 54% of all 1986 FLAC French entries were represented in the returns from schools answering the questionnaire. This percentage is, however, likely to be higher than 54%, as schools in general tend to overestimate entries for administrative purposes.

There were two other subordinate areas of inquiry in the questionnaire. Firstly, to find out whether there was a detectable movement of opinion towards accepting a more ordered (defined) syllabus, and thus perhaps a county-based, if not centralised, control of the syllabus. The influence of the debate concerning GCSE 16 plus examinations and the definition of criteria to assess the achievement of an average 16 year-old were considered possible influences on teachers' understanding of the syllabus below the 16 plus stage. Similarly the influence of GOML principles, the coincidence of GOML thinking and the move in the National Criteria away from norm-referenced assessment to criterion-referenced assessment were seen as possible factors influencing teachers' thinking about the modern-language curriculum.

The second area of inquiry was to find out if change in language-teaching methodology had come about in England as a result of teacher involvement with the less-able child who was learning languages in the comprehensive school for the first time. These changes in methodology were thought to result from:

- greater awareness of the value of clearly defined objectives;
- greater awareness of pupils' needs, limitations and possibilities;
- the rediscovery of the psychological value of reward for the attainment of short-term objectives in a subject whose real value is only perceived in the attainment of long-term objectives (fluency with a native speaker)
- the potential for enjoyment in language-learning through greater use of oral work

The questionnaire asked questions about teachers' skill in matching children's ability-levels and assessment objectives and whether the potential increase in motivation among pupils resulted from an emphasis on the development of particular skills.

The questionnaire was made up of 3 parts:

Part 1 (Questions 1-8) was designed to survey numerical factors in the use of FLAC and the consequences of the freedom of choice given to teachers in matching syllabuses to ability groups;

Part 2 (Questions 9-28) was designed as an attitudinal survey to evaluate teachers' understanding of the nature of FLAC syllabuses. Questions 21-25 were directed at teachers' concern about external examinations;

Part 3 (Questions 29-35) was designed as open questions to allow free comment on FLAC and GCSE work.

The raw statistics derived from Part 1 and Part 2 are given in Appendix 6 and the following section analyses the results and also includes comments on the answers given to questions in Part 3.

Analysis of the responses

Four main areas were identified as being particularly affected by change: the definition of objectives, examinations, pupil-groupings and teachers' attitudes.

Area 1: Definition of Objectives

FLAC syllabuses may be interpreted as 'programmes' for the less-able. Like the French 'programmes', they have validation

and credibility outside the class-room or school. Unlike the French 'programme' the FLAC syllabuses are differentiated in content compared with other French syllabuses used by pupils in the same year. The limited content of FLAC syllabuses is sanctioned officially, and teachers using the syllabuses do not need to justify their narrowness and thinness in contrast to the syllabuses offered to the more-able. Like the French 'programmes', the FLAC syllabuses were designed as testing syllabuses and not as teaching syllabuses. Misconceptions about the differences between a testing procedure (the original purpose of FLAC) and a teaching syllabus lead inevitably to errors in teaching practices in the class-room as can be seen in some questionnaire comments:

School 6 Tendency to teach narrowly to the syllabus. If FLAC is taught too rigidly it can distract from teaching syntax

School 24 FLAC Level 3 is time-consuming. Pupils bored.

School 41 Can degenerate into vocabulary lists, copying and learning. Repetitive in some situations. Rote-learning - does not involve intellect, judgement, analysis or creative language for fun.

School 36 Difficulties of teaching vast lists of vocabulary - it becomes tedious

School 44 Sometimes one is inclined to teach to the exam too much.

These comments demonstrate the close link between defined syllabuses and methodology, and also the fact that clearly

defined objectives do not necessarily guarantee a move away from teaching practices associated with grammar-based, rote-learning courses.

Advantages of FLAC syllabuses However, there is a strong measure of agreement among most teachers concerning the value of the closely-defined FLAC syllabuses. In 1980 HMI set out the arguments for and against Graded Objectives in Modern Languages, and schools in Hereford and Worcester demonstrate a consensus of opinion that coincides almost exactly with the arguments in favour of Graded Objective tests reported therein:

<u>Teachers opinions compared with HMI findings</u>	
<u>HMI</u>	<u>SURVEY</u>
1. Least able can genuinely taste success	Q34 31 schools specifically mention success and greater motivation
2. Goals to work for nearer than 16+	Q19 18 schools strongly agree, 25 agree, 1 undecided
3. Pupil motivation stronger, leading to greater teacher motivation	Q9 13 schools strongly agree, 27 agree, 4 undecided
4. Teachers' perceptions of objectives sharpened	Q16 17 schools strongly agree, 27 agree
5. Possibility of increased success leading to increased take-up at option stage	Q29 15 out of 27 schools reckoned numbers had gone up among less-able pupils
(ILEA Bulletin 1980)	

Besides these points there is a high measure of agreement that the FLAC syllabuses have:

Q10 modified the content of lessons
(32 agree, 4 undecided, 7 disagree - all HS)

Q11 improved pupils' communicative skills
(37 agree, 5 undecided, 1 disagrees - HS)

The subject of real change in teaching practice is much more complex, and the high rate of uncertainty in response to Q13 ('Using FLAC syllabuses has influenced the way I teach languages') supports the theory that a change in content does not necessarily guarantee a change in methodology:

Q13 Using FLAC syllabuses has influenced the way I teach languages
(5 schools strongly agree, 14 agree, 13 undecided, 11 disagree - 9 HS)

Nine schools left the open Q30 about 'ways in which teaching has been affected by FLAC syllabuses', unanswered. By way of explanation School 13 said 'Not applicable, since this is the only way I have taught French' and School 43 said 'Not affected - this is the way my teaching has been going for some years' (This teacher had been teaching the Scottish 'O' Grade Alternative examination which has for some time incorporated much GOML-type work). But in general the open Q30 was answered fully by schools and their comments concerning changes in methodology centred on 4 areas:

- There was a greater use of oral practice in the class-room.

Fifteen schools mentioned this specifically:

e.g. School 11 'FLAC gives many instances for practical rôle-play situations'

School 20 'Emphasis has shifted to oral and aural aspects of work'

School 37 'Content of syllabuses has led to pupils being less reluctant to speak'

School 39 'Altered basics from form to content, providing pupils with what they need to communicate'

School 45 'More oral work - pair work, rôle-play'

- A greater awareness of objectives affecting choice of learning-task was detected:

School 31 'Have moved from too strongly-based course for less-able and have given them French they can use'

School 21 'Awareness of what is on the syllabus has led to emphasis of certain points'

School 41 'Less vague - I know where I'm heading. Defined content very useful - I can focus in on learning tasks'

- Teachers felt that there was a greater degree of innovation in teaching.

School 5 'Through lack of text-book have had to devise own activities - recording plays etc'

School 2 'I now consider the practical applications of what I teach'

School 12 'More innovative in my approach as I had to build course round the syllabus. More aware of audio-visual materials and techniques'

School 38 'less text-book teaching, more practical'

School 40 'use own work-sheets only'

- Teachers experienced less tension in difficult classes of less-able children.

School 12 'More enthusiasm with less-able'

School 14 'FLAC facilitates immediate success which lower-ability pupils need so much'

School 26 'teaching more lively, relevant, adapted to pupils' interests, very hard work, very rewarding to teach'

School 35 'More enjoyable lessons with less-able
Reciprocal enthusiasm - they have sense of achievement - I can be enthusiastic'

These four areas demonstrate ways in which FLAC has affected teaching. But the areas were not necessarily considered by teachers to be advantageous to them. For example, only 5 schools specifically mentioned oral work as being a main advantage, even though there had been an overall agreement that FLAC improved pupils' communicative skills (Q 11), and 15 schools specifically mentioned greater use of oral work as being one of the main ways in which teaching had been affected. This lack of positive response to the increased amount of oral work directly reflects the difficulties of providing for it in the class-room (see disadvantages).

The main advantage of FLAC syllabuses as perceived by the schools is predictably that a clear definition of objectives has been made; this is mentioned specifically by 15 schools:

e.g. School 5 'Pupils are aiming for specific attainable goals'

School 35 'Short-term objectives, sense of achievement, interest and motivation'

School 15 'Children are given objectives they can attain and experience success'

School 36 'Definite goal, success attainable, realistic targets'

All these comments show that the strength of FLAC lies in the fact that the objectives are not only defined but are also attainable. Ten schools specifically mention "success" and a further 10 mention "attainable goals" in conjunction with "success". The implications of this equation are considerable, however, in the extension of graded objectives to a wider ability-range, where the differentiation of objectives is necessary not only on a vertical but also on a horizontal basis. It is precisely here that critics of GOML courses centre their criticism - the mismatch between pupils' ability and the defined objectives, particularly at the highest end of the ability-range (HMI Document, 1986, p 6). Among the schools questioned here, though, the triple factors of clear objectives which encourage learning leading to success, that in time leads to greater motivation, are by far the most often mentioned.

Differences between the ethos of Middle Schools and High/Secondary Schools are demonstrated by the comments on the practical use of FLAC on school-trips (mentioned by one third of Middle Schools). The more examination-orientated High/Secondary schools mention holidays only 3 times, but consider FLAC as a



'carrot' (3 times), as a 'good build up to GCSE' (5 times), as practice in 'authentic French' (twice), and as a motivator in Year 3 (once).

Disadvantages of FLAC Syllabuses

The disadvantages perceived by schools centre primarily on the difficulties of teaching and controlling oral-work in the day-to-day classroom and at testing time. Seven schools specifically mention this, including 5 High Secondary schools. School 26 said that pair-work was difficult with the less-able and suggested that 'continuous assessment would be difficult in large classes with behaviour problems'. In 3 cases (Schools 31, 43, 47) some pupils had been excluded from doing the FLAC course because of the difficulties of administering the oral test (5 minutes per pupil). School 43 is even more precise about the implications of a shift in methodology:

'LEA should back up its belief and confidence in FLAC by providing SUPPLY COVER to allow for the FLAC orals to be conducted efficiently. Rejections on the grounds of financial constraints should never be accepted as a reasonable excuse!'

These difficulties foreshadow the situation that may arise at the 16+ stage, and indeed throughout the secondary years, as practice in the class-room begins to reflect the 25% weighting given to oral work in external examinations. There is no doubt however that only the imposition of a defined syllabus that includes assessment in oral production will force teachers to overcome their reluctance to tackle the difficulties of oral work and oral testing. Even though most teachers nationally support a greater

emphasis on oral work (NCLE papers 1984) and agree that FLAC syllabuses do improve communicative skills, a quarter of teachers in the questionnaires specifically mention the difficulties of conducting oral work as being among the main disadvantages of FLAC. Only 2 High/secondary schools and 3 Middle Schools mention oral work as being among the advantages of FLAC.

<u>Greatest value of FLAC</u>			
Q8 Do you see the greatest value of FLAC in developing listening, speaking or reading skills?			
	Listening	Speaking	Reading
Middle	10	12	7
High/Sec	16	21	3
Total	26	33	10
(NB some schools have put more than 1 tick)			
1. Six teachers mention that the greatest value is in listening skills alone			
2. Fourteen teachers (9 High/Secondary) mention that the greatest value is in speaking skills alone			

The above table shows that teachers see the value of FLAC and also see the results (Q11), both of which questions produce very positive replies. However, the difficulty of organising and testing oral work does not necessarily permit teachers to consider this greater emphasis on oral work as being advantageous to them.

The second main disadvantage experienced by teachers was the lack of back-up materials, mentioned specifically by 9

schools. Material from the main course-book was adapted and used for FLAC in a number of cases. The books most often mentioned were:

<u>Textbooks used</u>		
Tricolore	22	Other books mentioned once:
Eclair	10	Signpost France
Action	10	French for You
Destination France	7	Tu parles Français
Entente Cordiale	6	Life in a French Town
This Way for French	5	Sign Language
Et Voilà	5	What do I say next?
Close up France	2	Mélange
TV Dès le Début	2	Chouette
Action Télé	1	Paname
(Question 31, Questionnaire)		

In 8 cases Tricolore was mentioned as the only book used for FLAC (5 High/Secondary Schools, 3 Middle Schools). In these cases schools were equally divided between schools which used FLAC as the basis of the course, and schools which used FLAC as part of the Tricolore course. Some teachers found the attempt to teach a topic-based course from a grammar-based course (Tricolore) difficult (Schools 25, 42,43). Other schools found the lack of a single course-book disadvantageous to both children and teachers (Schools 11,32). Schools have compensated by either producing their own materials (Schools 5, 9, 40) or by using a variety of books (e.g. School 1 Close Up France, Eclair, Mélange,

Tricolore; School 31 This Way for French, Destination France, Action). The wide variety of books in use may be seen as a strength since teachers exercise their own judgment in choosing material for a particular class. On the other hand, the lack of information and exchange of ideas and materials within the county is perceived by 9 schools as a real disadvantage. Some GOML schemes produce work-books to use alongside testing syllabuses; there is a felt need for such material in the county schools.

Other disadvantages mentioned variously by schools include comments that pupils do not have a realistic idea of their own abilities if they pass FLAC, that the tests are too easy, and that there is not enough content. By contrast the 1980 HMI Document lists the following disadvantages associated with GOML schemes as perceived by the national inspectorate:

- teachers do not differentiate enough in matching objectives with ability.
- GOML material has a tendency to limit able children.
- tests remain unchanged once working parties are disbanded.
- there are considerable difficulties in producing valid, reliable tests.
- there is often a lack of equivalence with other schemes.
- Graded tests might spread to other subjects, thus devaluing the certificates given. (ILEA Bulletin, 1980)

Later HMI documents (DES 1982, 1984, 1986) continue to mention the mismatch between objectives and pupil-ability. Significantly, however none of the schools in the survey mentioned any of the above disadvantages. For the practising teacher faced with a difficult class any improvement in

motivation is seen as an overall improvement, and panaceas, even though they may turn out to be misguided in the long run tend to be adopted for their short-term benefits. That the fourth disadvantage perceived by the Inspectorate - the difficulty of producing valid, reliable tests - was mentioned by no school, makes the fact of centralised control at some stage - at fifth Year level rather than the seventh Year level as in France - even more necessary. Certainly the Hereford and Worcester working party that devises tests and modifications to syllabuses does not have either the time or the expertise to implement sophisticated assessment procedures beyond a simplistic multiple-choice battery of tests. A degree of amateurism is therefore evident in working party discussions where the more enlightened minority which has gained information and expertise from outside sources (ie national GOML conferences at York, other GOML schemes, publications), experiences difficulty in shifting the opinions of the more traditionalist majority. Hence the high rate of uncertainty among schools, which is detectable in answer to questions 13, 18, 12, 19. These questions are precisely the ones that concern the most recent developments discussed at the 1985 summer working-party meeting.

Q15 - whether continuous assessment is better than a summative test

Q18 - whether tests should be used throughout the year

Q25 - whether schools would use a Mode 3 GCSE

Q29 - whether profiles of progress are of great value

Other GOML schemes have adopted all or some of these developments (eg OMLAC Q18, Shropshire Q25, Suffolk Q29), and found them worthwhile. FLAC schools have hesitated to consider any of these developments except profiles of progress (records of achievement) that were introduced in October 1985 on a restricted basis.

Differences between High/Secondary and Middle Schools

Differences between High/Secondary schools and Middle schools are the most apparent in answer to those questions that also caused the highest rate of disagreement over-all. More High/Secondary schools wanted continuous assessment (16 for, 6 against) than Middle schools (3 for, but 5 against). More High/Secondary schools wanted tests throughout the year (12 for, 2 against) than Middle schools (3 for, 2 against). As for Q12 'whether FLAC should only be for the average and less able' there was not a high degree of indecision (only 7 schools undecided) but opinions were equally divided overall (18 for, 18 against). But here again more High/Secondary schools tended to agree that FLAC should be for the whole ability-range (15 for, 11 against) than Middle schools (4 for, 7 against). In answer to question 27 'whether FLAC syllabuses are only incidental to normal teaching' High/Secondary schools displayed a much more positive response (18 disagreeing, 9 agreeing) than Middle schools (6 disagreeing, 7 agreeing). More High/Secondary schools wanted a greater variety of structures and vocabulary (Q28) (9 for, 17 against) than Middle schools (1 for, 11 against). All these answers showed a tendency for High/Secondary schools to be more

'progressive' in their attitudes and views, and more aware of the possibilities of improvement in change. There was an interesting exception to this tendency. In answer to Q21 'should all pupils continue with a modern language to age 16', the overall figures showed that 11 schools agreed, 8 were undecided, but 25 were against. However the High/Secondary schools showed a much higher proportion of schools against the proposal (5 for, 19 against) than the Middle schools (6 for, 6 against). The realities of teaching modern languages in Years 3, 4, and 5 may explain the High/Secondary schools' hesitation. In spite of this one exception, Middle school views tended to be more 'conservative' than the views of High/Secondary schools and desirous of preserving old patterns of testing, organisation and pupil-groupings.

This section has closely examined how teachers perceive the change to a closely defined syllabus with limited objectives, and what they see as its advantages and disadvantages, in particular concerning the specific emphasis given to it - the increased amount of oral work. The results show that, in contrast to the usual practice in English schools of loosely-constructed schemes of work that terminate with little reward or surrender value to the pupil after 2 or 3 years, schools were overall in favour of short-term well-defined limited objectives incorporated in FLAC syllabuses. Hereford and Worcester Schools showed some degree of resistance to change that put them out of line with up-to-date developments nationally in GOML schemes - this was especially true of Middle schools. But the greater degree of motivation and interest among pupils appeared to outweigh perceived

disadvantages and it was even possible to detect a certain degree of complacency. For example, fundamental problems concerning the correlation between objectives and pupil-ability, and the validity of assessment procedures were not raised by teachers in answers to open-ended questions.

Area 2: Examinations

The questionnaire contained some questions that were designed to explore teachers' feelings towards the imminent change in 16 plus examinations. All teachers were aware that changes in examination syllabuses were bound to affect their teaching at Fourth and Fifth Year level, and even earlier, particularly in cases where, for example, higher-ability children had been trained in academic prose translations from an early age. Most schools admitted freely that their 'teaching at Fourth and Fifth Year level was largely influenced by external exams'.

Q22 14 strongly agree, 11 agree, 1 undecided, 1 disagrees

For this reason it is not surprising that out of 27 schools only 3 schools (Schools 27, 40, 41) said that they were not 'concerned at this stage about what they knew, or did not know, about the 1988 GCSE' (Q33):

e.g. School 26 'very concerned about lack of information'

School 31 'have already complained about lack of details and training'

School 36 'Yes, lack of specimen material and marked specimen material most definitely'

School 43 'Yes, sample exam material needed if we are to select pupils for different levels'

School 45 'Yes - exam will not produce good specialists - transition to 'A' level'

This very strong sense of frustration supports the argument that teachers need a period of preparation before the implementation of any change, in order to form a clear definition of their own teaching goals.

Surprisingly though over half of the 27 schools had decided to enter pupils for the Joint 16 plus 'O'/CSE 1986 examinations (15 out of 27) rather than continue with traditional 'O' level or CSE examinations. In most cases (7 schools) the reason given was the content of the syllabuses, the assessment procedures shown in the specimen papers and the excellent cassette for the Listening test. Schools considered that the content of the 16 plus syllabus identified as Basic level followed on naturally from the type of work done in Years 1 to 3 especially by average and less-able children.

e.g. School 20 'some children had FLAC II in 3rd Year, and they will be going on to Basic Level at 16+'

School 43 'more realistic exam testing important skills - suitable for Tricolore course. Suitable for children unable to cope with CSE Paper 3 (essay paper)'

Other schools mentioned the use of 'authentic' French in real situations, and approved the fact that the assessment tasks reflected the learning tasks in the classroom:

- e.g. School 25 'Greater emphasis on comprehension of language - more 'alive', use of ads, TV etc. Written work is influenced by communication with another person - not a watered-down, bad grammatical essay'
- School 27 '50% of marks for oral and listening skills. Use of 'authentic' materials - fits in with our own philosophy'
- School 47 'Equal balance given to 4 skills. Exam closer to teaching in Years 1-4'
- School 42 'appropriate and realistic syllabus'

A third important reason for the choice of the Joint 16 plus/CSE examination was that teachers found it easier to teach mixed groups of 'O' level and CSE ability children towards this common exam, rather than having two separate teaching groups in one class-room.

- e.g. School 21 'very mixed-ability groups made O/CSE teaching divisions impossible'
- School 31 'to avoid making iniquitous divide between O/CSE pupils'
- School 44 'to avoid teaching sets in same room'
- School 47 'No 'O' level failure or CSE 1 for pupils whose standard has been misjudged'

2 schools only welcomed the experience the Joint 16 plus 'O'/CSE would give them in preparation for the GCSE:

- School 24 'want to get experience of exam as early as possible'
- School 44 'gives practice for GCSE'

There was evidence of overall approval of the new examination among these 15 schools who, after all, had made certain commitments to a particular teaching approach. However, Question 33 revealed the amount of frustration experienced by schools at the lack of information from the local examining board due presumably to lack of expertise and preparedness. Only one

school (School 39) said specifically that they had not opted for the Joint 16+ 'O'/CSE because of 'the possibility of a further change in that examination before the final format of the GCSE examination' - which indeed is what turned out to be the case. This school had indeed foreseen the lack of experience of the local examining board in 16 plus examinations incorporating the new approach to language-teaching.

There was general agreement among schools that Hereford and Worcester should develop a series of levels from beginners to 'O' level standard:

Q23 'I would like to see a series of levels leading up to GCSE.'

11 strongly agree, 19 agree, 10 undecided, 1 strongly disagrees

Not all Middle schools replied to this question, as they felt it was not applicable, but the one school that strongly disagreed was a Middle school. 17 High/Secondary schools out of 27 either strongly agreed or agreed. The response to a Mode 3 GCSE was much less positive:

Q25 'I would use a Mode 3 GCSE French if there are only 2 levels at GCSE'

2 strongly agree, 4 agree, 12 undecided, 7 disagree

The freedom allowed to teachers in England to decide which external examinations their pupils should enter, extends to decisions about internal examinations also. The following table

shows how FLAC tests replace school examinations for children of some ability-levels more than others.

<u>School Examinations replaced by FLAC</u>				
for children of	lower ability	average ability	higher ability	none
High/Secondary	15.5	4	0.5	9
Middle	10.5	3.5	1	4
Total	25.5	7.5	1.5	13
(0.5 means school examinations are only partly replaced by FLAC tests)				

For less-able children in both High/Secondary and Middle schools FLAC tests replaced school examinations in more than half the cases. There are, however, aberrations to the general pattern - for example, School 9 with mixed ability classes only uses FLAC tests even though FLAC tests are unlikely to stretch the most able, and School 4 uses FLAC tests with average and most-able children. The evidence is clear that teachers understand that the limited objectives of a FLAC course can validate and sanction the year's work of some children, particularly the less able. For example, School 25 has school exams as well as appropriate FLAC level tests for the average and more-able, with FLAC tests being used alone for the least able, and School 37 uses FLAC in all groups as part of the assessment.

In conclusion, then, the vacillations of the local examining board have caused intense concern to teachers, since their

teaching objectives are influenced by external examinations even before the Year 5 stage. Despite this concern, most teachers have perceived that their pupils' needs are more likely to be met by the new teaching approach incorporated in the new external examination syllabuses (Joint GCE/CSE and GCSE syllabuses). Internal examinations are sometimes replaced by FLAC tests but a wide variety of practices prevails. English teachers thus demonstrate considerable freedom of choice in choosing both curriculum and assessment objectives for their pupils. This differentiation of objectives across year-groups has become widely institutionalised in England, and parents appear less likely to comment on setting procedures that follow than is the case in France.

Area 3: Pupil groupings

This section deals with the questions 1 to 4 on the questionnaire: for which pupils, when, how and in what ability-groupings was the change in syllabus incorporated into schools. Because of the freedom of choice allowed teachers in England FLAC was introduced in a variety of different ways. The question is then raised - have the original intentions of the syllabus-designers been distorted or even superseded?

In contrast to the previous section on public examinations the schools have no external factors to consider to inhibit their choice when introducing FLAC. Indeed FLAC has the approval of national bodies (British Association of Language Teachers, Modern Languages Association), the local inspectorate and the headmasters of all schools except one:

e.g. Q14 Is the head teacher in favour of FLAC?

13 strongly agree, 27 agree and 1 undecided

The fear of bad test results is not likely to deter schools either, as these criterion-referenced tests have a pass-rate of 95.5% Level 1, 93.2% Level 2 and 82% Level 3.

The numbers in the questionnaire returns from 41 schools represent 4,382 pupil-entries for FLAC French 1986 at all levels with 3510 in High/Secondary schools and 872 in Middle schools. The total county figures for all pupils-entries sent in to the Education Offices divided into entries from High/Secondary and Middle schools are as follows:

<u>County Grand Total - 10,549 entries for FLAC 1986</u>				
	French	German	Spanish	Italian
Level 1 Middle	1340			
High	1758	692	745	99
Total	3098	692	745	99
Level 2 Middle	366			
High	3215	640	50	
Total	3581	640	50	
Level 3 Middle				
High	1376	268		
Total	8056	1600	795	99

Schools were asked in the questionnaire to specify numbers according to years and ability groupings - mixed-ability (ma), lower ability (la), average (a) and higher ability (ha). Appendix 5 shows these numbers in High/Secondary Schools, Middle schools and also the two systems taken together, when the two age-groups overlap (Year 1 & 2 Secondary, Year 3 & 4 Middle).

The following factors emerge:

1. In High/Secondary schools in Year 2 twice as many lower-ability pupils are doing FLAC than average-ability children. However, in Year 3 30% more average ability children are doing FLAC than lower-ability children. This may be because schools tend to enter large numbers of pupils for FLAC 2 to validate their 3 years' work if they are not continuing with French. In Year 4 40% of entries are lower-ability (nearly 3 times as many lower-ability than average ability). In Year 5 54% of entries are lower-ability.
2. In Middle Schools in Year 3 half the entries are for lower-ability children. In Year 4 58% of the entries are for lower ability children (1.5 times as many lower-ability children than average-ability).
3. The difference between entries at age 11 and 12 in High/Secondary and Middle schools is remarkable. In Middle schools Year 3 (Year 1 Secondary) six out of the 15 schools entered pupils; 107 of a total 245 entry were lower-ability and had FLAC as the basis of their course. In no High/Secondary School was this so; the single entry for Year 1 Secondary was for Level 1 with higher-ability children. On closer enquiry these pupils were identified as "Top-Band

pupils" i.e. including average-ability children, and FLAC was integrated fully with the Tricolore course-book. The decision to limit pupils in their first year of language-learning to a FLAC syllabus in Middle schools may have been taken because Middle schools feel they are aware of pupils' academic ability-level by their Year 3 stage. By contrast High/Secondary schools may not feel ready to 'set' children in this way in Year 1. Nonetheless, by far the greatest use for FLAC is in the second year of language-learning for less-able children in both systems - overall half the entries at this stage are for lower-ability children (705 out of 1471).

4. By the Year 3 Secondary, however, the use of FLAC has spread over the whole-ability range to include higher-ability children taking Level 3. The entry-rate has gone up 2.5 times in High Schools, and average ability pupils' entries outnumber less-able (1104 to 780). In different schools higher-ability pupils may take either Level 2 or Level 3; this raises questions as to whether the correct match between ability-level and objectives has been made.
5. In Year 4 51 out of 200 entries (25%) are higher-ability pupils. Again the above question may be raised. No higher ability level pupils are involved at Year 5 stage in FLAC work.

The conclusion may be drawn that there is an obvious dissimilarity between the use of FLAC in High/Secondary and Middle schools, reflecting differing institutional organisations and ethos. This dissimilarity may be detrimental to the pupils' experience of language-learning because of the early

limiting of objectives that it entails for some children in Year 1. The second conclusion is that teachers in High/Secondary schools have assumed that the FLAC levels are suitable for the whole ability range, though at different stages - schools are not, however, necessarily aware of the need for differentiating objectives vertically as well as horizontally. In other words a syllabus originally conceived for a less-able child in Year 2 may not be suitable for a more-able child in Year 1. There is a confused entry picture at Year 3 where lower-ability, average and higher-ability classes are, for example, all taking Level 2 (School 41), or where lower-ability classes are taking Level 1, average Level 2 and higher-ability Level 3 (School 43). FLAC is therefore used highly pragmatically according to the school's and department's understanding of the needs of their pupils. Appendix 6 shows the same varied pattern of entry according to the Levels taken. The following factors emerge:

1. Two Middle schools take FLAC 2 which might cause problems of liaison with High schools, as High schools tend to use FLAC 2 in their Year 1. However, one of these groups in the Middle school is of high-ability children, who will go into sets in the High school where either FLAC III is used or FLAC work is bypassed completely.
2. The most common pattern overall is for lower ability groups to do Level 1 in Year 2 and Level 2 in Year 3 High/Secondary, or in Middle Schools for lower-ability children who have not done Level 1 in Year 3 (Year 1 Secondary) to take Level 1 in Year 4 (Year 2 Secondary). Middle Schools therefore tend to take Level 1 earlier than High/Secondary schools.

3. FLAC 3 is used in a variety of ways - as a progression for more-able pupils in Year 3, or as a stepping-stone for average and less-able classes towards CSE Mode 1 or Mode 3 and in one aberrant case (School 41) for higher-ability children in the Fourth Year. In the Fifth Year FLAC 3 may be the validation of a 2 year course for low-ability and average pupils.

The tables in Appendix 7 show how schools have decided to use the FLAC syllabus - as a basis of the course, fully 'integrated' with a course-book, or as a 2 to 3-week crash course ('integrated' means here incorporated into the content of a unit on the basis of matching thematic material). The fact that the syllabus was intended as a testing syllabus rather than as a teaching syllabus would favour the second approach that allows for FLAC work to be integrated with the course-book. However the freedom of choice allowed to the teacher and the ability level of the pupils involved have again produced a varied picture. With no one course-book available the multiplicity of actual practice in the class-room is enormous.

e.g. - in Year 2 of 4 High/Secondary schools FLAC work is the basis of the course for the lower-ability, but in 7 schools it is fully integrated. In the Year 3 in 13 schools FLAC work is the basis, but in 10 schools it is fully integrated. In Years 4 and 5 FLAC tends to be integrated with the course-book for all ability levels, and only in 2 schools is it the basis of the course.

- in the Year 3 (Year 1 Secondary) of Middle schools FLAC is most likely to be fully integrated and only with 4 schools is it the basis for lower-ability children and with one school for mixed-ability pupils. In Year 4 (Year 2 Secondary), however, schools are equally divided overall between using FLAC as the basis for the course for the lower-ability and average-ability children and integrating it with a course book. For average ability children there are 4 schools where FLAC is the basis of the course and 10 where it is integrated.
- examples of using FLAC as a 'crash-course' are cited in 12 cases ranging from 3 schools in Year 3, and 1 in Year 4 of high-ability children to 2 schools in Year 2 with lower ability classes.
- where higher-ability children do FLAC, the FLAC work is always integrated with the course-book or used as a 'crash-course'. The introduction of FLAC has therefore been 'correctly' interpreted by teachers for children of this ability, although the 'crash-course' method raises the question as to what these higher-ability children might be capable of if subjected to 'crash-course' methods continually.
- in Middle Schools in Year 3 (Year 1 Secondary) FLAC is the basis of the course in 4 schools out of 5. In Year 4 (Year 2 Secondary) in 4 schools out of 9 FLAC is the basis of the course.
- in Year 3 over all abilities FLAC is used as the basis of the course for half the classes - otherwise it is

integrated or in one case used as a 'crash-course' for mixed-ability pupils. In Year 4 FLAC is more likely to be integrated with the use of a course book over all abilities (9 mentions against 6).

- there is only one school (School 12) where FLAC forms the basis of a course for those of average ability, and there are no schools where FLAC forms the basis of a course for higher-ability children.

Mixed ability groups

One of the aims of the questionnaire was to establish how many pupils in the sample were being taught in mixed-ability groups. The overwhelming majority were taught in sets with only 13% of children in mixed-ability classes:

mixed-ability		566	13%
lower-ability)	1726	39%
)		
average) sets	1585	36%
)		
higher-ability)	505	12%

The distribution of children in mixed-ability classes across the five years shows the following pattern:

<u>Distribution of mixed-ability classes</u>					
	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	5th Year
Middle	73	159			
High/Sec	56	110	168	36	20
Total	129	269	168	36	20
Overall					
Total	301	1471	2310	200	100
% of overall					
Total	43%	18%	7%	18%	20%

The tendency is for setting to become increasingly more common up to Year 3. Mixed-ability teaching is occurring in 43% of classes in Year 1, whereas in Years 2, 4 and 5 it occurs in 19% of classes on average. In Year 3 only 7% of classes are mixed-ability. The expected pattern of more mixed-ability teaching in Middle schools because of their egalitarian ethos has not been borne out by the evidence.

This section has shown how widespread the use of FLAC is throughout Hereford and Worcester. In considering the various pupil-groupings, a number of approaches using FLAC have been identified. These approaches are distributed pragmatically across age and ability groupings; this evidence raises the question as to whether teachers are fully aware of how FLAC is intended to be used. The picture is very varied across the County with the common theme that teachers have generally considered FLAC as a teaching syllabus as well as a testing procedure. In conclusion, as FLAC has been used in a variety of different ways with a lack of centralised control and directives it will probably continue to be used as individuals see fit in

their particular institutions. Schools, however, did not list lack of directives as to how to integrate FLAC in their schools as one of the disadvantages. Their concern only centred on lack of appropriate teaching material, and not on methodology and organisation. This is an area for in-service training by the advisory service - particularly as HMI see a possible mismatch between pupil-ability and FLAC assessment objectives as GOML's greatest failure.

Area 4: Attitudes

Most of the questions on the questionnaire were specifically directed towards the attitudes of teachers towards FLAC, and these have been considered under individual sections above. Nevertheless some attitudes remain to be examined. The fact that so many schools are involved in FLAC does however of itself show how positive in practical terms the general approval has been. Similarly, the length of time that FLAC has been used in schools in the sample, shows that schools retain a positive impression of its value.

Q15 How long has the school used FLAC?								
Years:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unsure
Middle		1	2	3	1	4	2	2
High	1		1	4	11	6	3	-
Total	1	1	3	7	12	10	5	2

Of the total 41 schools, 27 have been doing FLAC for 5 years or more, and only 5 have done FLAC less than 4 years. This reflects a remarkable stability. There are however no figures for schools which started doing FLAC and abandoned it.

Language teachers show a degree of ambivalence in answer to the question whether 'all pupils should continue with a language at 16' (Question 21) and whether they 'would like to see more pupils opting for French at option stage' (Q24).

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Q21	1	4	5	12	7
Q24	5	15	4	4	-

Obviously most teachers feel that the optimum number of pupils has not been reached, but do not consider that this optimum number should necessarily include all abilities.

As has been shown in previous sections most schools consider that FLAC has been an improvement in foreign language provision especially for the less-able. They have reservations about the lack of resources and back-up materials, but no doubts about their decisions to 1) adopt FLAC, 2) place children into sets in 87% of cases and 3) limit the objectives of some children.

Attitudes towards external examinations (GCSE) show an overall degree of concern and frustration demonstrating that such a situation is unacceptable to the practising teacher (answers to Question 33). Greater emphasis is being paid by examination

compilers to a clearer definition of objectives for pupils, but the schools have had inadequate time to prepare teaching syllabuses and tasks for the clearly defined goals of an examination syllabus. Even so, half the High/Secondary schools have embarked on the Intermediate Joint O/CSE 16 plus exam equipped with very little information, but with a high degree of optimism.

Conclusions to Chapter 3

The involvement of Hereford and Worcester teachers in GOML syllabuses has been an attempt to come to terms with the teaching of modern languages to less-able children through the development of a teacher-based innovation. The style of innovation in practice may be characterised as a loosely centralised structure in which decisions concerning target-groups, levels and integration with the existing subject curriculum are left entirely to individual schools. Schools appear to value this arrangement, but a wide variety of practice has emerged as a result of this policy. The strength of this freedom appears to lie in the greater degree of commitment experienced by teachers who have taken decisions. It is all the more important then that the object of this commitment should be valid. In the case of FLAC, the original intention of the innovators was to try to meet the needs of the less-able. As opinion among teachers has swung towards the idea of introducing Graded Objective schemes to all abilities, numbers using FLAC have risen to include average and higher-ability children. In some cases some of these children may be taking tests not commensurate with their ability. The

question is here raised as to whether, for example, the 900 average and higher-ability children should be doing FLAC Level 2 in Year 3?

Nonetheless, the advantages of FLAC appear to outweigh the disadvantages. Most schools perceive that the philosophy of the GOML movement has been incorporated in the new developments of the GCSE 16 plus examinations, and appear to welcome the change to greater oral content, authentic materials, more realistic assessment tasks and the swing away from prose/translation/essay. All these changes are contained in FLAC syllabuses and the newer text-books. Teachers therefore see a continuum in their teaching which did not necessarily exist before between the early stages of language-learning and examination classes. The fact of belonging to a county certification scheme has also considerable attraction for both pupils and teachers.

Not only have objectives been more closely defined but they have also been 'officially' limited for less-able children. The value of FLAC has been in giving validity to this limited range of objectives. Objectives have, moreover, included a speaking element that teachers have been compelled to implement in spite of institutional difficulties. National and local training have encouraged the use of pair-work, rôle-play etc. with average and lower-ability children and these practices have spread to other ability groups. Again, teachers' increased awareness of the objectives of 16 plus GCSE examination has raised the awareness of the need for more oral work. There are however unexpected results of this change in approach that warrant further

investigation. For example, one teacher remarked at Phase 2 Training Day for GCSE 16 plus Examinations (March 1986) 'My best pupils are now boys, not girls.' This is hinted at in the HMI Document on Boys in Modern Languages (DES 1985e) where it was stated that boys respond better to active and vigorous styles of teaching. The value of FLAC may seem to be particularly in the introduction of the testing of oral work, which implies more active oral work in class-room teaching below the level of Year 5.

Even if the GOML movement with its system of regular testing and certification is superseded, since the original intentions have become universally recognised by teachers and text-book compilers, it seems likely that the award of a certificate will remain. Schools have rediscovered the value of the psychological ploy of giving a reward for a skill gained - the teachers' investment also seems to be rewarded to a greater degree in terms of better motivation and enthusiasm if there is an external incentive. The concept of language as a 'skill' to be worked for thus seems to be more comprehensible to children than traditional explanations of the value of learning a language.

In spite of imperfections - unrevised syllabuses, lack of grammatical content, lack of statements in notional-functional terms and lack of resources, criticisms of the Hereford and Worcester scheme were few. Developments such as continuous assessment, and pupil profiling may be introduced gradually, but so far have met with a certain reluctance to change on the part of the teachers. A greater degree of compulsion may upset the delicate balance between freedom of choice and the loosely

centralised structure such as is in operation at present (Revision of the OMLAC syllabus in Oxfordshire which meant the imposition of a notional/functional approach met with considerable hostility from teachers in schools) There is even a degree of institutionalisation of the innovation evident in working-party meetings when standardised tests and 'off the shelf' tests to be carried out and marked in schools were suggested. One of the main advantages felt by most of those on the working-party - the opportunity to exchange information, and to discuss-would have been reduced if these changes had occurred.

There is, however, a need for a greater degree of direction to teachers, to avoid the obvious aberrations and misunderstandings of the use of FLAC with particular groups of pupils. This could take the form of the in-service training of teachers who could not identify in what ways their teaching had been affected by FLAC. Schools which relied on FLAC to test pupils of all abilities, as a replacement for school exams and which entered pupils at levels below their ability could be identified. Finally, resources and back-up materials could be developed across the county, so as to respond to the need expressed by half the schools in the questionnaire.

CHAPTER 4

EXAMINATIONS IN ENGLAND

This chapter analyses the process of change in the examination system in England - a process which has been deliberately introduced to raise standards and to change 'the ways in which subjects are taught, particularly in Years 4 and 5' (DES 1985(c) p 2/3). The first section provides a historical perspective to the changes and is followed by two sections analysing the new features of the GCSE 16 plus examinations and the procedures used to disseminate information on its development. The final section assesses the difficulties that have arisen in the implementation of such a reform.

Examination reform - an historical perspective

On 20 June 1984 Sir Keith Joseph, then Secretary of State for Education, announced in the House of Commons the creation of a new single system of examinations to replace the existing 'O' level and CSE examinations at 16 plus. The new system was to be based on a single grading scale and was to conform to national criteria for all syllabuses and assessment. This announcement came 4 years after the initial proposal in February 1980 for the development of a new examination system was made public. The following time-table shows the main dates of the process of major reform of an examination system, although debate on the new examinations had begun in the early seventies in educational circles:

		<u>Consultation</u>
1979	GCE and CSE Boards met and formed the Joint Council	
Jan 1980	Subject Working Party established	
Feb 1980	Announcement of the reform in House of Commons	
24 March 1981	Interim report made to the Joint Council	
April 1981	Joint Council considered the interim report and made observations to Subject Working Parties. 5 meetings held to formulate draft criteria.	
30 June 1980	Final Draft Criteria submitted to the Joint Council	
Autumn 1981	Wide consultation with interested parties on the basis of the Draft Criteria	Teachers invited to respond to Draft Criteria
Spring 1982	Consideration of representations made during the Autumn consultations - 5 meetings	
22 April 1982	Schools Council disbanded. Secondary Examinations Council and School Curriculum Development Committee set up	

		<u>Consultation</u>
23 Nov 1982	Sir William Cockcroft appointed Chairman and Chief Executive of Secondary Examinations Council (SEC)	
23 May 1983	First meeting of SEC London	
14 Oct 1983	First Joint working party set up to work with GCE Boards on 'A' level	
28 Nov 1983	Secretary of State issues draft policy statement on 'Records of Achievement for School-Leavers'	
10 Dec 1983	SEC advises Secretary of State to introduce 16 plus	
6 Jan 1984	Secretary of State's Sheffield Speech - 80-90 percent of the ability range to be brought up to the current average performance	
13 April 1984	SEC sets up working parties to develop Grade-related Criteria	
20 June 1984	Announcement by Secretary of State of a single system of examinations	
6 July 1984	SEC sets up GCSE committees to monitor work in 20 subjects for which criteria has been prepared	
January 1985	Teachers receive national and subject criteria for 1988 examinations	

<u>Proposed future timetable</u>		<u>Consultation</u>
July 1985	Grade-related criteria to be agreed	HMI, Advisers (not teachers) invited to respond to Grade-related Criteria
December 1985	Mode 3 GCSE syllabuses to be submitted	
Spring 1986	Syllabuses for subjects to be sent to teachers	
January 1986	In-service training to start	
September 1986	Teaching of new syllabuses to start with Fourth Year pupils for examinations in 1988	
June 1988	First GCSE examinations	

(SEC 1984, p 9-11)

The most significant date in this timetable is the disbandment of the Schools Council in April 1982. Before this date both the examination system and curriculum development lay outside direct government control. There has been not only change in the form and content of the examinations, but also a shift towards a greater degree of government involvement in the examination system and curriculum development. In the English decentralised education system main control is vested in

the system of external and externally moderated examinations, whereas the curriculum is the responsibility of LEAs and governors of schools according to the Education Act 1944, except in the following circumstances:

If the Minister is satisfied that any local education authority or managers or governors of any county or voluntary school have acted, or are proposing to act, unreasonably with respect to the exercise of any power conferred or the performance of any duty imposed by or under this Act, he may . . . give such directions as to the exercise of the power or the performance of the duty as appear to him to be expedient.

(Education Act 1944, section 68)

The 40 years since the Education Act have seen changes in the amount of governmental control over the examination system, with 1982 marking the return of strong governmental control similar to that of the period from 1944 to 1964. From 1917 to 1963 the advisory body on examination policy had been the Secondary Schools Examination Council (SSEC) largely made up of teachers and LEA representatives but dominated by HMI representing government policy. The function of the SSEC was to approve all new examination submissions and after 1955 the GCE examination submissions at 'O' and 'A' level, thereby supporting the basic assumption that examinations should follow the curriculum (At this stage, of course, examinations were only for 25% of the ability range, and examinations were based on the curriculum followed by grammar-school children). Conflict with examining boards was resolved through compromise, but there was considerable strain placed on the relationship between the two bodies when the CSE boards, largely teacher-based, were set up in 1963. SSEC was unable to monitor the vast range of new examinations and so in 1964 the Schools Council for the

Curriculum and Examinations was set up to overview both the curriculum and examinations:

'The Council incorporated the view that effective curriculum development in secondary schools depends on being able to reform the examination and examination syllabus alongside the subject curriculum.'

(Becher & Maclure 1978, p 41)

In effect, the DES had abdicated control of both the examinations and the curriculum, since the Schools Council, largely controlled by the main teachers' union (National Union of Teachers), had, in the main, taken over curriculum development, leaving the monitoring of examinations to the examination boards.

The expansion of the comprehensive school which increased the number of children taking new types of examination had thus strained the traditional mechanism of central control of the examination system. The DES attempted to regain control by setting up the Assessment of Performance Unit in 1974, responsible for the measurement of national standards in basic literary and numeracy. Similarly the Government responded boldly to the public's concern over standards expressed forcibly in the Black Papers of 1973. In his speech at Ruskin College, J Callaghan stated the government's intention of assuming greater control of the curriculum through increased involvement of the DES and HMI in policy pronouncements. Sir Keith Joseph went a step further than this, by introducing further measures of control: firstly, the publication of the DES 'The School Curriculum' (1982b) for discussion in all LEAs, the issue of a greater volume of circulars on curriculum matters to CEOs and a change in the role of HMI. His intentions in reforming the

examination system may be seen as part of a governmental decision to reform the curriculum itself:

The Government aims:

1. to raise standards at all levels of ability;
2. to secure the best possible return from the resources which are invested in education.

(DES 1985(a)p P1/7)

Sir Keith Joseph considered that reform of the examination system was important, since it was known that examinations have an influence on teaching and learning styles and on curricular objectives throughout the secondary years. Since the initial consultation period with teachers in Autumn/Winter of 1981/82 there has indeed been little further consultation at teacher level. Schools were sent the subject criteria in January 1985 but the teaching syllabuses were not due for publication until late Spring 1986. So any change in methodology and content incorporated in the new syllabuses will have to be worked out as the first cohort of pupils for the new examinations are actually being taught. There has been no pre-testing of the examinations designed to reform both the subject and general curriculum. In-service training of teachers did not start until January 1986, and was widely disrupted by teachers' industrial action.

New features of the GCSE examination

The most obvious new feature of the GCSE examinations embodying Sir Keith Joseph's wish (1984 Sheffield Speech) to

raise the general level of educational attainment, is the introduction of criterion-referenced assessment procedures for the summative examination at 16 plus. In brief, the statement of explicit criteria makes objectives clearer to both pupil and teacher - and, by inference, the objectives become more easily attainable. The Draft National Criteria for French, drawn up by the GCE and CSE Boards' Joint Council for 16 plus National Criteria Working Party under the chairmanship of M Buckby, make this clear:

"If syllabuses were made more appropriate, the general level of achievement of those now gaining CSE Grades 4 & 5 should be raised to a level more commensurate with their ability and those "new" candidates from around the 50% percentile should gain the equivalent of the present CSE grades 4 & 5."

Draft National Criteria 1 Introduction (e)
French Working Party Report 1982
(NCLE Papers 5, 1984)

By the time the Draft National Criteria had been published in 1985 the following statement had been made (in fact, of course, French had never been taken by as many as 60 per cent of the ability range).

'O' level and CSE taken together were originally designed for 60 per cent of the ability range by subject. GCSE is not to be limited in that way. It will be designed not for any particular proportion of the ability range, but for all candidates whatever their ability relative to other candidates, who are able to reach the standards required for the award of particular grades.

(DES 1985(b), p 2)

There is an obvious direct link made here between a clear statement of objectives and higher attainment. This reflects Sir Keith Joseph's concern over the fact that HMI's published reports have frequently stated that considerable numbers of pupils are underachieving:

'In a large minority of cases, teaching is frequently directed at the middle level of ability so that the most able are understretched and the least able cannot cope.'

(DES 1985(a), p 3)

A second new feature of the GCSE examinations is the differentiated assessment procedure:

'differentiated assessment techniques would be used in all subjects so as to enable all candidates to demonstrate what they know, understand and can do.'

(DES 1985(c), p 1)

One view on differentiation is offered by B Page who sees the ultimate 'pure' solution to the problem of differentiation to be the definition of 7 differentiated levels of criteria for 7 GCSE grades, with the possibility of obtaining each grade in three possible ways: by a weak performance of a higher level, by a successful performance of a particular level, or by an excellent performance of a lower level. In practice this would be cumbersome and impractical for classroom management, and force too fine a distinction between objectives at each level. His own alternative is, therefore, one that lends itself more to the practicalities of classroom management, where three ability groups are most commonly defined (NCLE Papers 5 1984, p 59).

The subject criteria document for French does not attempt to specify how many levels should be identified by each Examination Board but both a two-level and a three-level system are described:

'It will be necessary for the different schemes of assessment produced by the Examining Group to be monitored carefully to see how effectively the relationship between the different levels has been achieved in practice.'

(DES 1985(d), p 4)

The list of other general features of the GCSE examination is

long but includes the following:

- Pupil attainment is to be assessed in separate subjects (not over a group of subjects such as School Certificate, Abitur or Baccalauréat examinations).
- Board based, school-based and mixed mode examinations will have to meet the same national syllabus and grade criteria.
- No sex or ethnic bias is to be apparent, so that examinations will reflect positively the multi-cultural nature of society.
- The national criteria will require review and renewal.

'As with other aspects of the examining system, new developments and experimentation will continue to take place and will be encouraged. These criteria, like all others, will therefore be kept under regular review.'

(DES 1985(b), p 6)

- The assessment aims and objectives must match as far as possible the curricular aims and objectives of the examination.
- The curricular aims and objectives are to be couched in terms of:
 - knowledge and understanding to be developed
 - skills to be acquired
 - conceptual development
 - attitudes to be fostered
 - applications of the subject

These aims and objectives are much wider in range than those that underlie most current examination syllabuses (see WMEB Syllabus for CSE French 1985, Associated Examining Board Syllabus for French 1985 etc)

In French, the new examinations will require teachers to

concentrate on:

- more authentic material
- greater oral content (25% - cf 12% in some 'O' levels)
- more aural comprehension (25% - cf 0% in some 'O' levels)
- more reading comprehension (25% - cf 10% in some 'O' levels)
- less written French (25% - cf 50% in some 'O' levels)

In methodology this will require teachers to concentrate on:

- the compilation and use of authentic material and texts
- sustained oral practice from Year 1 onwards and greater encouragement for pupils to visit France
- more listening of French for gist comprehension
- more reading of texts for gist comprehension
- less insistence on grammar rote-learning

Such changes to be brought about through examinations (here seen as control mechanisms) may very well bring about the desired improvements in schools. The high degree of consensus among language teachers answering the 1983 CILT questionnaire may support this argument.

Consultation procedures for GCSE examinations

The consultation procedure involving not only teachers, but HMI, advisers, administrators and professional bodies, such as the Modern Languages Association and Institute of Linguists, had a considerable effect on stimulating discussion on aims and objectives in language teaching. The Schools Council Modern Languages 16 plus Subcommittee even went so far as to say:

'We have an opportunity here to create an exam that can

encourage good practice in schools and provide an incentive for more pupils of all abilities to continue a foreign language to this level.'

(quoted in NCLE Papers 5, 1984, p 26)

Class-room teachers had an opportunity of responding to the Draft National Criteria on at least 3 occasions:

- At School level. Written responses after discussion within the department with other teachers. Responses sent back to the Joint Council.
- At County level. Discussion at 16 plus meetings arranged by advisers for teachers from all over the area. Letters sent to the Joint Council.
- At Regional Level. Discussion at 16 plus meetings arranged by Modern Languages Association and British Association of Language teachers e.g. Newman College 1983.

In addition CILT (Centre for Information on Language-Teaching) decided to set up a series of 9 meetings to inform teachers about the various issues involved in the new examination. A total of 373 teachers from 79 LEAs in England and Wales attended these meetings. A questionnaire filled in by these teachers showed a general level of agreement with the broad aims of the examination, and the highest level of agreement was found over the following statements:

The examination objectives must be made more explicit than has been the general practice hitherto

strongly agree 79%

A statement of aims for modern language teaching is essential

strongly agree 74%

The principal purpose of the examination should be to

test candidates' ability to use French effectively for purposes of practical communication

strongly agree 75%

Examination syllabuses in modern languages should be closely defined, in terms of notions/functions, topics/ situations, roles, skills and marking schemes

strongly agree 72%

(NCLE Papers and Reports to 1984)

The dissemination of information

The model of change which is demonstrated in the introduction of the GCSE examination system may be regarded as a cascade model: change is brought about by decisions made by the Secretary of State and his advisers at the top of a hierarchy, the change affecting successive levels of the hierarchy of the education system after an initial stage of research and development, in which the lower levels of the cascade model (i.e. the teachers) have been involved through consultation and debate. In the second stage of this cascade model an extensive programme of in-service training began in January 1985 which was designed to give the optimum amount of information to the actual implementers of the innovation. Unfortunately all four phases of this stage of the innovation were threatened by teachers' industrial action, but the programme continued with attendance at training meetings varying between 60% and 30% in different parts of the country.

Phase 1 from July 1985 to December 1985. By July 1985 the preparation of subject manuals for all subjects that had National Criteria had been completed, and these were distributed to all teachers in schools by the New Year 1986. This distribution implied a considerable outlay in resources, but it was of prime importance that the assistant teacher should have immediate access to information rather than being required to wait his/her turn in the hierarchy. At the same time he/she received notes on the videos of his/her subject, giving information on course-work and differentiation of levels. In addition, teachers of French received a video on the French oral in each school. The use of video material in the dissemination of information of this type was produced using a combination of educational and technical expertise - the Open University with comments by HMI, in collaboration with the BBC.

Phase 2 from January 1986 to July 1986 the main thrust of the training programme involved experts, principally experienced assessors of examining boards who led seminars for school and college representatives, advisers and teacher-trainers. During this phase all information was not subject-specific.

Phase 3 from January 1986 onwards - LEAs and schools arranged for subject representatives to give seminars and briefings to heads of departments of specific subjects.

Phase 4 from September 1986 - LEAs and examination boards arranged for the training of all assistant teachers involved in GCSE examination work.

This cascade model for change may be directly compared with

a Scottish experiment that took place in 1983/84 where change was brought about on a centre-periphery model. In this model information was again filtered outwards through successive rings of a hierarchy but the possibilities of referring back to the instigators of change by the outside rings (i.e. the teachers) were minimal.

In this Scottish experiment (Black and Alexander 1984), the Lanark division of the Strathclyde Region was interested in disseminating knowledge about criterion-referenced assessment and diagnostic testing in conjunction with preparations for the new Scottish 16 plus examination. Only 2,326 Scottish teachers were involved against 60,000 English teachers involved in the Phase 2, 3 and 4 GCSE 16 plus preparations, but the strategies of disseminating a body of knowledge were comparable, and the attendant factors of current industrial action were similar.

By far the most important finding to come out of this Scottish research was that a variety of strategies for the dissemination of information was necessary at different stages of the innovation. For example, whereas the centre-periphery model was suitable during the early stages, since information was disseminated to the upper stages of the educational hierarchy (advisers, teacher-trainers), tensions tended to arise during the later stages when assistant teachers were involved. These difficulties were due to a variety of factors: the filtering of information through a number of successive levels, the lack of training of the trainers (heads of department and deputy heads), the short time between teachers receiving information and actually implementing the innovation and finally the lack of

debate at this late stage combined with the lack of information channels back to the instigators of the innovation. In addition, the Scottish researchers found that the level of awareness concerning criterion-referenced tests had only been raised slightly during the whole two-year dissemination period:

'while a substantially greater proportion of the teachers were aware of the notion, there was little evidence to suggest that their understanding of it had significantly increased.'

(Black and Alexander 1984, p 36)

The researchers suggested that improvements could have been made in the following areas to ensure a more effective dissemination of information at all levels:

- more open lines of communication and feedback between Division (cf English SEC) and teachers.
- more consultation across the hierarchical lines especially by assistant teachers upwards.
- less rigidity of time-table when implementation was taking place.
- greater awareness of rôle implications.
- more training of trainers especially deputy heads and heads of department.
- parallel lines of training at school and divisional level in subject areas
- more resources but, if resources were tight, they should be concentrated on the implementation stage.

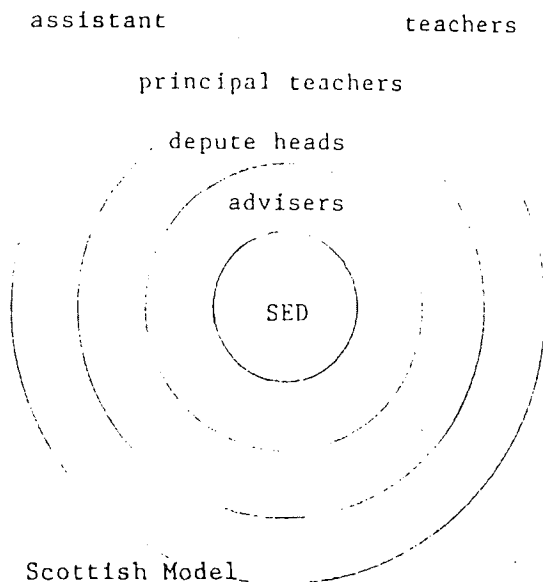
There are obvious similarities between the two innovations in Scotland and England, but the cascade-model was adopted in England in order to avoid some of the difficulties inherent in

the centre-periphery model. Some of the improvements in the Scottish experiment suggested by the researchers may be compared closely to the features of the cascade model that make it distinctly different from the centre-periphery model.

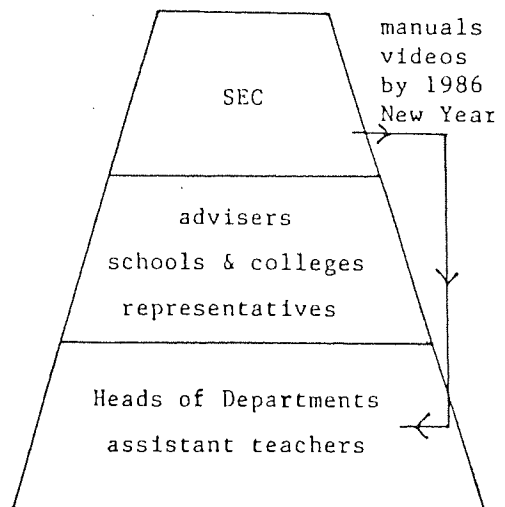
- Information was sent directly to Heads of subject departments and assistant teachers at least six months ahead of implementation; seminars were held at the same time.
- Advisers and school representatives received information simultaneously facilitating discussion across the levels of the hierarchy.
- There was no possibility of flexibility over the time schedule for implementation here, but all teachers had been aware of the time-schedule for at least 4 years. Examination organisation has its own imperative.
- As hierarchical levels had been telescoped and blurred, there was less possibility of friction over status and roles.
- The greatest area of concern lay here, as the value of, and necessity for, skills in transmitting information had not been widely discussed.
- The whole operation was subject-based and heads of department, at least, already had had access to information along the three channels mentioned earlier. Concern remained as to whether the general principles of the new examination had been understood, in particular the nature and implications of criterion-referenced assessment.
- Concern had already been expressed about the availability of sufficient funds (TES 10.5.85. p 3). SEC had allocated £450,000 for in-service training of teachers, £150,000 for the

appointment of 100 subject experts to the 5 Examination Boards and £6 million to provide replacements for 60,000 teachers attending meetings. Nevertheless the 5 Examining Boards warned the DES in May 1985 that the funding was inadequate. LEA representatives in June 1985 felt that the examinations should be delayed for a year because of lack of resources for training teachers.

Models of dissemination of information



Scottish Model
 SED = Scottish Education Department



English Model
 SEC School Examination Council

Difficulties encountered at the research development and dissemination stages of the GCSE 16 plus examination

The last feature, that of lack of resources, outlined above became the main criticism of the implementation of the examination as a whole. However there were other considerations even at the research level that caused considerable difficulties.

difficulties.

In research, for example, England and Wales had no experience of setting a single examination for the whole ability range (cf. Scotland's experience with the SCE single 'O' Grade examination for the top 60% of the ability range and their subsequent decision to opt for a 3-level examination after the Nunn and Dunning Report 1982). The new syllabuses for GCSE have not been tested in the classroom but will depend on teachers' and experts' 'connoisseurship'. Neither have the examinations been pre-tested. However, there is clear evidence that research was considered necessary by SEC. For example, in response to the Draft Criteria which stated that French should have a closely defined syllabus for the tasks, topics, vocabulary, structures etc, the GCE and CSE Board's Joint Council Working Party wrote:

'Some work has already been done on defined syllabuses in several languages by GCE and CSE boards, by other bodies such as the Council of Europe, and by independent groups of teachers devising graded objectives and related tests. Further work, however needs to be done, amounting perhaps to intensive work over about six months by one or two research workers"' (The Working Party) recommends that the necessary research be carried out at a national level to produce an agreed basis for all defined syllabuses which can be made use of by Examining Groups when syllabuses come to be prepared.'

(Recommended Statement to Secretary of State by Joint Council Working Party 28 July 1982 para 3)

The Secretaries of State reply is:

'The Secretaries of State agree that it is desirable to prepare a nationally agreed list of essential tasks and topic areas, vocabulary and structures. Such a list would permit and encourage a much more realistic approach to language learning than most present examinations offer . . . the Secretaries of State will be reluctant to approve criteria for French until they incorporate the lists The Joint Council are asked to confirm that this is what they intend, and

that the task is one that they themselves intend to undertake.'

(Letter to Joint Council on Draft National Criteria from Secretaries of State, 1982, para 4)

In effect the lists never materialised, and the Midland Examining Group, for example, used word lists from other Examining Boards from current text books and 'ad-hocery' to compile their defined vocabulary lists. The system of criterion-referenced assessment had not been used before in public examinations; hence the difficulty experts have had in agreeing the criterion-related grades, the delay in publication from Summer 1985 to Autumn 1985, and the decision to delay their implementation until the 1990 GCSE examinations (the decision was taken as late as October 1985).

At the development stage there has been a minimum of time for teachers to receive the syllabuses (May 1986) and put them into practice (September 1986) with the first age-cohort in schools. For example, in July 1985 Peter Weston, a Humberside deputy head outlined in an article in the Times Educational Supplement the programme he envisaged as typical for all schools involved in the organisation and management of the new 16 plus examinations. As he was already in the fourth week of the programme he was right to question whether other teachers in England and Wales were aware of the same sense of urgency and concern he felt about the time-scale of the operation (TES 5.7.85. p 19). Certainly there was a degree of uncertainty and confusion among teachers throughout 1985 and reactions predictably ranged from hostility to real commitment.

There was a general feeling of insecurity among teachers heightened by fear of the unknown because the syllabuses were not available for comment. Even 'O' level and CSE panel members, school examination secretaries and examination markers were unable to give information sought by teachers. At this stage some information was filtering through the three channels of LEA, professional situation or publication, but it was often left to the teacher's own initiative as to how much he/she explored these channels.

Some heads of departments had already invested in new textbooks and resource material, but it was as much a gamble for the teacher as it was for the text-book compiler to know whether their decisions would conform to the National Criteria for French not published until January 1985. In 1984 the Midland Examining Board published a syllabus for a Joint 'O'/CSE 16 plus Examination for the two years preceeding 1988. The intention was to prepare teachers for what could be expected in 1988, but, in fact, the Joint Syllabus appeared before the publication of the National Criteria for French, and was found not to conform in detail to the National Criteria. The Joint syllabus contained a prose for the Higher Level pupils, and did not contain either a defined vocabulary or structure list, and although there was clear differentiation in ability levels this was on three levels. In October 1985 teachers found that a decision had been taken by the MEG Working Party in French to have only 2 levels for the 1988 examination (this later reverted to three levels in January 1986). In a sense the production of this interim Joint 'O'/CSE

examination only added to the teachers' confusion, rather than prepared them for new materials and methods. Thus between 1983 and 1986, the following choices were available:

<u>Examination choices open to teachers 1983 to 1986</u>					
1983 for 1985	1984 for 1986		1985 for 1987	1986 for 1988	
CSE 'O'	CSE 'O'	CSE/'O' Joint 16+	CSE 'O'	CSE/'O' Joint 16+	GCSE
known	<u>Content and methodology</u> known unknown		known unknown	unknown	

Teachers were left to choose between continuing with known examinations, leaving the change-over to new text-books and new methodologies until September 1986, and opting for the unknown Joint 'O'/CSE examinations fully aware that pupils were to be used in a pilot project, and that the choice of levels was experimental and possibly open to misuse and misinterpretation by teacher, pupil and examiner.

The change in weighting between skills (domains) caused great concern to teachers especially where mixed 'O' level and CSE groups were taught together. Concern was expressed about the complexity of teaching homogeneous groups on 3 different levels in 4 different skills. The complexity of differentiation and of aggregation were other difficulties that arose.

This chapter has examined the process of innovation in examinations in modern languages over the period 1975 to 1985,

comparing two modes of information dissemination: the centre-periphery and the cascade. Both models are appropriate for analysing the movement of an innovatory agency (in this case the Government and its agents) towards the consumers (the teacher of modern languages) although the assumption is made that the cascade model will prove the more effective; the whole process is clearly opposed to that outlined in the previous chapter where innovation is brought about as a result of action at the periphery.

In general it appears that the process of changing the English examination procedures possesses features of both types of innovation. It is also evident that the examination system has been used as a direct means of effecting change within the schools.

PART II
(FRANCE)

Part II outlines the main external and internal factors affecting change in France. Chapter 5 makes it clear that the main external factor for change has been the implementation of 'la Réforme Haby' in 1977. This reform created 'le collège unique' providing a form of comprehensive education for all (16% of French children are in private schools, but these schools were reorganised on similar lines to the maintained schools in 1977). Chapter 5 also describes the difficulties of implementing this reform, its subsequent failure and new recommendations brought in by the 1981 Socialist government to remedy the situation. Chapter 6 describes the internal factors for change in the teaching of modern languages - the creation of 'groupes de niveau' and 'équipes pédagogiques'. Chapter 7 examines these internal factors in detail and Chapter 8 describes the developments in examinations that have taken place in France as a result of political and economic pressure.

C H A P T E R 5

THE MAIN EXTERNAL FACTOR FOR CHANGE:

LA REFORME HABY

Madame J Feneuille, Directeur du Centre International d'Etudes Pédagogiques defined change in the French educational system in the following way:

'Pour nous on emploie plutôt le mot de réforme pour désigner une réforme massive portant à la fois sur les structures, sur les contenus et sur les méthodes.'

(Conversation, 1986)

A reform becomes, therefore, a deliberate attempt to impose change from above on a large scale. The hierarchical structure of the French education system, combined with the power invested in the Office of Minister of Education, has in the past lent itself to this kind of interventionist strategy for change. As an example of such a reform, 'la réforme Haby' of 1977 may possibly be the last of its kind, as other styles of control and management emerge more fitted to implement real change in such a complex structure as the education system.

'Le temps est bien passé où l'Ecole pouvait vivre des décennies sur ses traditions, ses habitudes et ses structures fondamentales, en dépit de réformes plus apparentes que profondes.'

(Les Amis de Sèvres, 1983, p 7)

Indeed the French centralised education system is under pressure for change not only because of its size, but also because of the rapidity of social change and because of the emergence of more frequent political change after twenty-five years of 'Gaullist' rule.

Haby's achievement, albeit imperfect, was to create 'le collège unique' in 1977, almost 100 years after the ideal of 'une école publique laïque, gratuite et obligatoire' had first been proclaimed. Without doubt, moreover, such a reform on a national

scale was necessary in the 1970s to bring the system closer to the ideal here described by Legrand:

'On reste convaincu que cette forme d'école (l'école unique) est la meilleure, si l'on veut à la fois atteindre la justice sociale et créer les conditions intellectuelles et affectives de l'unité nationale.'
(Legrand, 1981, p 12)

100 years ago society tolerated and even demanded the stratification of the education system, since society was itself divided. As in England, there were two structures, 'l'école publique' and 'l'école privée' which created a situation that was socially divisive, since the former was free and the latter was fee-paying. 'L'école publique' had developed from the primary school, but by the end of the nineteenth century, it continued for two years beyond the age of 11 and provided a formal leaving certificate, the 'certificat de fin d'études' at 13. 'L'école privée' was essentially a secondary school, - 'le lycée', which had developed fee-paying 'petites classes' for its own primary-age children. Thus the two systems overlapped, and society largely condoned this state of affairs. Prost considers the Great War acted as a catalyst for social change, since the upheaval and destruction of these war years caused society to question its basic tenets, including the socially divisive education system:

'Partout la nécessité d'une réforme de l'enseignement est présentée comme une révélation, une leçon de la guerre . . . La résistance au changement . . . tient aux mentalités des hommes, à leurs habitudes pédagogiques.
(Prost, 1968, p 406)

In the ensuing debate on 'l'école unique' the simple solution was perceived to be a merger of the two structures of 'école publique' and 'école privée'. Views as to how exactly this

merger should be brought about reflected fundamentally different opinions concerning the nature of education itself: whether schools are to educate the social élite, or to allow the social élite to emerge, or to ensure that the élite that emerges does so on purely egalitarian grounds. For those who held the first view, reform could only be sanctioned if the original aims of the different types of schools remained distinct - a practical curriculum to be offered to those who were to become the working population, a technical curriculum for those who were to become engineers and a classical curriculum for those who were to enter the professions. Thus a play on the words 'école unique' permitted the old order to stand. The proponents of this view-point would support Durkheim:

'L'éducation est l'action exercée par les générations adultes sur celles qui ne sont pas encore mûres pour la vie sociale. Elle a pour but de susciter . . . un certain nombre d'états physique, intellectuels et moraux que réclament de lui . . . le milieu spécial auquel il est particulièrement destiné.'

(Durkheim, 1966, p 40)

Those who held the second view formed a group led by Lapie. They considered that the creation of an intermediary school for all, forming the first 'cycle' of the secondary school, would be sufficiently non-divisive for a valid élite to emerge. Lapie called these intermediary schools 'collèges':

'Prenez le premier cycle d'un établissement secondaire et les différentes sections d'une école professionnelle; au lieu de vous borner à les juxtaposer, brassez et amalgamez ces divers éléments et vous aurez l'établissement que nous cherchons à définir.'

(Lapie quoted in Prost, 1968, p 409)

The holders of the third view-point considered that education should be obligatory for all up to 14 (at that time the leaving

age was 13). As the 'école primaire' performed this function anyway, all children should attend this school. The secondary stage would continue to be optional.

In spite of prolonged discussion and the creation of 'la Commission de l'Ecole Unique' in 1924 there was little real change and the system continued to resist reform. Indeed, some idea of the extent to which legal injunctions were ignored may be gained from the fact that the 'petites classes des lycées' continued to exist until 1962 in spite of a decree in February 1926 and a further ruling in March 1945. Nonetheless, some experimental schools under Herriot in the period after the First World War introduced a single curriculum for all children. These experiments were successful until the post-war 'bulge' in the early 30s strained the new structures to breaking point and the experiments were abandoned. An indirect result of the setting up of these schools was however that all schools became free. Further governmental reform under Jean Zay and the Front Populaire in 1937 brought in:

- 1) the idea of 'orientation'
- 2) the system of three 'degrés'
- 3) the three 'sections' in the secondary school 'classique', 'moderne' and 'technique'.

This inter-war period was characterised by a slow movement towards a more equitable education system for all.

'Démocratiser pour Lapie, Herriot, Jean Zay c'était permettre au plus grand nombre d'accéder à l'enseignement secondaire, c'est-à-dire permettre aux enfants des classes populaires qui en étaient capables d'accéder aux emplois supérieurs. C'était au fond

conjuguer la générosité publique et le réalisme économique.' (Legrand, 1981, p 25)

The Plan Langevin-Wallon drawn up in 1945 shows the extent to which idealism again marked the immediate post-war period. The main proposals were:

- that school leaving age should be raised to 18;
- that all children after primary school should enter a four-year 'cycle d'orientation 11-15';
- that training should be uniform for all teachers.

More modest reforms under Berthoin established the notion of 'cycles d'observation' in the first two years of secondary school. 'Collèges d'enseignement général' were set up on former advanced primary classes providing a parallel secondary system to the selective 'lycées'. Finally in 1963 Fouchet announced the creation of 'Collèges d'enseignement secondaire' which were to contain four sections under one roof:

secondary-type education		continuation of primary education	
1	2	3	4
classique	moderne	moderne court	classes de transition

The growth in the number of these schools was rapid to cope with 'l'explosion scolaire' the post-war phenomenon that combined a steep rise in population with an increased demand for education:

1968	1,500	CES
1972	2,426	CES
1975	3,040	CES
1985	5,194	CES

However the picture was not really as ordered as government statements implied. CEG schools continued to exist in smaller towns, as adequately qualified teachers to form a 'section classique' for a CES were in short supply. Indeed the CES were rigidly streamed on entry at 11 with little movement between sections. As in England, new urban development areas were equipped with purpose-built CES often of enormous size, as it was believed in both countries at the time that larger schools were to be preferred in order to provide viable higher secondary classes. Successive ministers, Fauré and Fontanet, were dissatisfied with inadequate arrangements set up to cope with the enormous rise in numbers coming into secondary-school education, not only because of the post-war 'bulge', but also because of the raising of the school-leaving age to 15 and then to 16. It is not the intention here to explain in detail the demographic pressures on the system, as this has been done adequately elsewhere (Prost 1968, 1981, 1983, etc), but some figures should suffice:

L'explosion des effectifs du second degré (public et privé)

ANNEES	CLASSES de la 6e à la 3e	SECOND CYCLE court	SECOND CYCLE long
1958-1959		274 000	324 000
1960-1961	1 453 200		
1962-1963		406 000	549 000
1967-1968		609 000	774 000
1970-1971	2 771 500		
1972-1973		687 000	939 000
1975-1976	2 989 300		
1977-1978		756 000	1 022 000
1980-1981	2 950 400		
1982-1983	3 030 700	805 000	1 127 000

(Dossier Le Monde, 1985, p 2)

These figures show that between 1960 and 1980 the numbers in 'collèges' more than doubled, and between these dates the numbers in the 'second cycle long' more than tripled. In effect, between 1950 and 1975 alone the population of the secondary school (11-18) grew from 1 to 4.9 million with an average annual growth of 6%. In 1950 158,900 children entered 6e representing 28% of the year-group (72% of children continued in elementary schools to age 14), but by 1980 this figure had increased to 700,000 representing 100% of the year-group (Cherkaoui 1982, p 70/71).

Hamon and Rotman point out that the rise in the school population is not merely due to increased birth-rate:

'Cette formidable envolée des courbes est due pour une part à l'explosion démographique, mais celle-ci n'est responsable directement que du cinquième de l'augmentation totale.' (Hamon et Rotman, 1984, p 17)

This fact supports teachers' current contention that standards have gone down, as many children who would previously not have been admitted to secondary school, are now entering CES. In a relatively short space of time the nature of the secondary school population has changed. Whether French CES have become fully comprehensive on the English pattern is to be examined later. But, certainly, the education system has had to expand much more quickly than the English education system to take all children into the first year of secondary schooling (Prost shows the national picture in 1964/65 where even as late as this date considerable areas of France had less than 60% in 6e (Prost 1968, p 441).

La Réforme Haby

René Haby came into office as Minister of Education for Giscard d'Estaing's right-wing government in April 1974. By February 1975 he had published his proposals for reform (Haby 1975) and these proposals, with minor modifications, became law in June of the same year. The introduction of the changes themselves was established by decree to take place in September 1977. For the first time streaming was abolished in the secondary school and access to 6e was guaranteed to all ability levels. Since the creation of the first CEG and early CES the change in schooling in quantitative terms had been enormous, but the difficulties and tensions of the former tripartite CEG/CES/'lycée' system could not all be resolved immediately. The teachers' magazine 'L'Education' for 'Rentrée 1977' expressed all the doubts and uncertainties about this hurried and ill-prepared reform:

Trop d'ambiguïtés subsistent encore . . . trop de problèmes, . . . trop de craintes, surtout, demeurent sur les moyens et sur les intentions pour que le scepticisme et même l'hostilité ne se manifeste pas.
(L'Education, 15 sep 1977, p 1)

Haby's undoubted success was, however, that he had created 'le collège unique' - one school for all, under one roof and with the same curriculum in mixed-ability classes for at least two years. The impetus in France to create 'le collège unique' had been the desire to promote equal opportunities for all, in order to release the maximum potential for intellectual development 'au seuil du vingtième siècle' (Haby 1981). Haby's failure was his inability to create the necessary 'consensus scolaire' among all the partners concerned - the teachers, the unions, the

concerned - the teachers, the unions, the inspectorate and parents. The homogeneity of purpose was lacking (Orr, 1982, p 53). Nor could Haby's egalitarian ideals be transferred piecemeal by decree onto a strictly hierarchical, bureaucratic system that still retained a very strong élitist policy of selection through failure.

The reform took from 1977 to 1981 to pass through the CES and from 1981 to 1984 through the 'lycées'. During that time Haby was dismissed and in 1978 was replaced by Beuillac. The 'inspecteur général' J Binon produced his report on the failure of the reform in 1980. In the following year a socialist government was returned and Savary became the new Minister of Education until July 1984, when he was replaced by Chevènement. Legrand produced his report on the 'collège' in 1982 and Prost on the 'lycée' in 1983 in preparation for future modifications of the education system under a socialist government. The implementation of the reform over the seven year period took place, therefore, at a time of considerable political upheaval.

Initially, reactions from parents, teachers and unions were mixed, although Haby declared himself satisfied with the reception of the reform at a press conference on 15 February 1978 ('Le Monde' 16.2.78.). A group of largely centrist and left-wing teachers, the 'Confédération Nationale des Groupes Autonomes', issued a report in February 1978 covering fifteen 'Académies' and one hundred schools. Ninety-five per cent of teachers were opposed to mixed-ability groupings, and most felt they had been inadequately trained, and were totally unprepared for an effective use of 'le soutien' (remedial help for slower learners)

(Orr 1982, p 75). On the other hand a poll carried out by IFOP among parents in this right-wing parents' federation found opinions generally in favour of the reform ('L'Education' 5.1.78.). Left-wing teachers' unions predictably condemned the whole reform:

'On l'a fait une réforme sur le papier, sans penser aux conséquences pédagogiques.' (L'Education 24.1.78.)

It was therefore necessary that an unbiased and more reliable investigation should be carried out into the results of the reform in schools. Such was the report presented to the Minister of Education Beuillac by the 'inspecteur générale' J Binon: 'La réforme dans les collèges: situation en 1979-80. Synthèse des observations faites par les Inspecteurs généraux et les Inspecteurs pédagogiques régionaux de la vie scolaire dans le cadre d'une enquête sur la situation des collèges.' This report, initially considered confidential, was later quoted from extensively in Legrand's report of 1982; it showed conclusively that 'la Réforme Haby' was in disarray and that the basic principles of the reform - mixed ability teaching, with its corollary 'le soutien' - were not being observed in practice:

'l'hétérogénéité est très mal ressentie sur le terrain. Le soutien en voie de lente déségrégation est à 30% appliqué au maximum. Ainsi s'est réalisée la situation la plus défavorable qui puisse être imaginée, à savoir la mise en place d'une hétérogénéité relative sans l'appui d'un dispositif du soutien solidement structuré.' (Binon, 1980, p 181)

Binon considered that the percentage of children failing in 6e was reaching a new high level of 15% and was even higher in 5e, whereas one of the main aims of the reform had been to reduce the rate of failure to below 5%. He blamed the heads for their lack

of dynamism and inability to give a sense of direction to the teachers. Worse was the atmosphere in schools:

'un malaise diffus fait de désenchantement, de renonciation et de desintérêt . . . Le climat moral est certainement déplorable parce que les enseignants dans leur majorité ne savent comment procéder avec des élèves de niveaux si divers et qu'ils commencent à ressentir désormais l'échec scolaire comme leur échec personnel.'

(Binon, 1980, p 171)

Indeed, Binon was not only describing the failure of 'la Réforme Haby' but also 'l'échec du collège unique.'

The teachers themselves had been complaining that the failure of the reform that had been imposed on them was due to a lack of, and an ineffective distribution of, financial resources - 'une responsabilité politico-administrative'. Binon was able to show that this was true to some extent, in that the administrative rigidity of the education system ensured that every school was treated alike, but failed to differentiate between different types of schools. Predictions had to be made by heads in May of the number of extra hours of 'soutien' needed. These predictions were not revised until after the beginning of term in September when the exact intake numbers were known. There were three disadvantages to this system: firstly, disruptions to the timetable were inevitable; secondly, an unfair distribution of extra teachers occurred since, for example, a former 'lycée' in a middle-class area would have less need of extra help than a large CES in an inner-city area; and thirdly, wily heads often over-estimated their needs thus depriving other schools.

The establishment of mixed-ability teaching had been one of the basic principles of the reform. Even though most heads were

convinced that there was complete mixed-ability apart from 'Sections d'Enseignement Spécialisé' (SES) and classes formed by choice of first foreign language, Binon demonstrated (Binon 1980 Annexe XII) that this was by no means the case, even in the 6e:

'l'hétérogénéité ne peut exister à l'heure présente en 6e dans plus de 50% des cas.' (Binon, 1980, p 47)

By 5e there was:

'une forte diminution de l'hétérogénéité . . . un retour vers un système sélectif plus ou moins avoué . . .

De façon générale on peut dire qu'il n'existe presque plus de classes hétérogènes en 4e.' (Binon, 1980, p 50/57)

The second principle of Haby's reform had been 'le soutien' - a massive injection of extra money in the form of remedial help for children in difficulty. In practice it was found that 'le soutien' was only effective among children who had temporary difficulties, but did nothing for children who were 'en échec permanent' as the application of the extra hours was too uneven and inconsistent. Binon (1980, Annexe XXII) illustrated the variety of ways in which the extra teacher-hours were used. It does not show, however, which children actually received the extra teaching - the varieties of ways in which the extra hours were used were numerous, ranging from one teacher taking the whole mixed-ability class, to another taking half or third of the class weekly, or the same small group of children each week, or different small groups of children each week. The interpretation of the principle of 'soutien' was left to the school or individual teacher:

'chaque enseignant fait ce qu'il peut dans son domaine

'chaque enseignant fait ce qu'il peut dans son domaine propre.'
(Binon, 1980, p 118)

Binon shows very clearly to what extent modern languages were favoured in the distribution of resources (extra teacher-hours) (Binon, 1980, p 68,174, Annexe XI). In fact, the most frequent restructuring of classes was 'dédoublement' - the splitting of whole classes into two used particularly for language and science lessons. Through 'dédoublement' the extra resources allocated to modern language teaching amounted to 24% of the total - an obvious advantage to language teachers but questioned by Binon.

His four main recommendations were:

- 1) that at least 1% of the extra teacher-hours should be distributed

'strictement aux établissements ayant des problèmes spécifiques indiscutables.'
(Binon, 1980, p 190)

This reallocation would mean that 1 in 8 schools could be treated as a special case, and pointed the way to the creation of Z.E.P. (zones d'enseignement prioritaires) in 1981.

2. that heads should be given more freedom to create within their own schools 'projets d'établissement' based on the needs and aspirations of the particular school:

'projet de l'établissement préparé au sein de l'établissement définissant pour une certaine durée objectifs et moyens et faisant l'objet d'un contrat entre l'établissement et les autorités de tutelle . . .'
(Binon, 1980, p 190/191)

The constraints of such innovation would be, inevitably, the nationally laid down school curriculum; nevertheless

three areas lent themselves easily to adaptation within a 'projet'

'nombre et effectifs des divisions
choix et organisation des options
utilisation des moyens libres'

(Binon, 1980, p 191)

These last two areas opened the way for the individual initiative of the school to manifest itself - a rethinking on finance implied a rethinking of the basic internal organisation of the establishment. This second recommendation pointed the way to 'rénovation' through 'projets' - a policy brought in by Savary and helped by the decentralisation policies of the Socialists.

3. that a more effective use of 'le soutien' should be worked out. Binon suggests that schools should organise their own schemes, even going so far as creating separate remedial groups for pupils in real difficulty:

'le soutien en faveur des élèves les plus défavorisés doit être organisé à part et de façon institutionnelle au niveau de l'établissement . . . il n'est pas réaliste de ne pas recourir à une division de niveau (ex-classe à effectifs réduits).'

(Binon, 1980, p 198/199)

This more realistic approach was sanctioning a greater differentiation in class groupings and pointed the way to the setting up of 'groupes de niveau' in basic subjects.

4. that heads should think in terms of recreating '4e aménagées' for less-able children to keep as many children within the general education system as possible, and to prevent so many leaving for the 'lycées d'enseignement professionnel' (LEP) or repeating 3e. Binon had shown that a certain complicity existed between

the heads, parents and teachers at the end of 5e to keep children in the school by making them repeat 5e. He suggested that teachers were fearful of losing their jobs if numbers dropped in the CES, and that parents were afraid of the risk of unemployment for their children if they went to a LEP. After two years main-stream general education less than 70% carried on in 4e and 11.50% went to LEP (Binon 1982). It is very clear here that 'le collège unique' had not been established, even imperfectly, for longer than two years.

Binon singled out the heads' lack of initiative as being not only one of the prime reasons for the failure of 'La Réforme Haby', but also insisted that their cooperation was one of the most important factors in a successful restructuring of 'le collège unique' such as he envisaged. It is clearly proof of the resilience and courage of these heads that within four years of Binon's report, not only were the three main recommendations being implemented in schools, but the paralysis expressed in the following quotation had been overcome:

'les traditions de notre dogmatisme égalisateur, amplifiées par la réforme ont paralysé les tentatives d'adaptation jugées toujours plus ou moins suspectes.
. . .

En rupture avec les décennies d'application passive d'instruction dont la qualité dépendait de leur précision exhaustive, il faut les persuader qu'une marge de manoeuvre leur est accordée . . .
(Binon, 1980, p 201)

Between 1978 and 1981 Beullac, Haby's successor, managed to pursue a policy of appeasement of the left-wing teachers' union while continuing the main lines of Haby's reform, even though in

practice some of its basic principles were already being distorted (Binon 1980). By 1981, however, expectations were high that a socialist government would resolve the problem of 'le collège unique' which was increasingly returning to old patterns of selection and élitism. In fact, the 'école unique' had not yet found a real identity; it had lost the ideological foundations of its earlier unity as the educator of an élite, but the search for a new 'consensus scolaire' had failed:

'L'unification de l'école de base n'est plus finalement qu'un instrument plus raffiné de sélection sur critères intellectuels, c'est-à-dire une école instrumentale.' (Legrand, 1981, p 28)

An English commentator had no doubt which direction the development of 'l'école unique' should take:

'The challenge for the left is to refute the highly instrumental view of the education system and transform it into one of increasing personal autonomy.'

(Times Educational Supplement, 14.5.82, p 96)

Mitterrand's ten-point policy for education outlined on 15 March 1981 at a conference organised by the socialist party for the centenary of the 'école publique', had already moved in this direction:

'Ouverture de l'école sur la vie, tant au niveau des méthodes que du contenu de l'enseignement . . . mise en place d'un grand service public, unifié et laïque . . . renouvellement de la pédagogie favorisant les moyens d'expression et l'épanouissement physique.'

(Le Monde de l'Education June 1981, p 4)

Savary, the new socialist Minister of Education endorsed this viewpoint and rejected the idea of reform on Haby's pattern; indeed his style of management was based, firstly, on a belief in the involvement of all partners in decision-making:

'A long terme notre objectif est que tous les Français se sentent partenaires de l'Education nationale.'

(Savary, 1982, p 10)

Secondly, believing in the redeployment of resources to bring about change, he appointed 17,000 new teachers in January 1982, and improved some aspects of teacher-training in order to remedy some of the mistakes Haby had made. Later, under more stringent financial conditions Savary developed a scheme whereby money was allocated in response to successful 'bids' from schools putting forward proposals for projects. Thirdly, Savary had faith in the 'liberating' powers of the decentralisation policies favoured by the socialists. Local initiatives based on local needs were to create a richness in diversity.

Uniformity had given way to differentiation, centralisation to decentralisation, 'décret' to 'concertation', 'réforme' to 'rénovation'. These four new concepts lie behind Savary's main successes between 1981 and 1985, and were capitalised on by his successor Chevènement. These successes coincide with three of the main recommendations in Binon's report:

- the creation of 'zones d'éducation prioritaire' (ZEP)
- the introduction of a policy of change through 'projets'
- the introduction of a more flexible approach to mixed-ability teaching including 'groupes de niveau' and 'la pédagogie différenciée'.

Binon's 4th recommendation to resolve the differences between CES and LEP by creating experimental classes in 4e for lower-ability children in the CES was not taken up until Chevènement introduced them in 1985.

'Projets' The concept of 'rénovation' rather than 'réforme' favoured by the Socialists, was closely linked with 'projets'

'L'entreprise de rénovation de l'enseignement engagée depuis mai 1981 a conduit à fonder le changement sur l'idée de projet.' (Les Amis de Sèvres, 1983, p 50)

When Savary announced his educational policy of 'la rénovation des collèges' in February 1983 following the publication of Legrand's report in January 1983, there had already been a two-year development of the idea of the 'projet'. Short-term 'projets d'action éducative' had given way to long-term 'projets d'établissement' introduced in 1982. The important circular of June 1982 (82.230) which has been called a 'véritable Charte des Collèges' (Les Amis de Sèvres 1983, p 30) defined the main aims of the 'projet d'établissement':

'instaurer dans les établissements 'un climat de communauté scolaire' et mettre en place un projet d'établissement première étape, pour le collège, de sa rénovation, et première expression de son autonomie.'
(Les Amis de Sèvres, 1983, p 75)

In these terms the 'projet d'établissement' is a project to be carried out in the school, based on a needs-analysis involving all partners - teachers, pupils and parents. It is discussed and approved by the 'conseil d'établissement' and depends on the voluntary support of teachers. Through the project, remedial programmes of various sorts - for example in reading, socialisation and sport can be set up to resolve the problems of a particular school. The identification of the problem and its resolution are left to the initiative of the school, its staff and parents. The project is submitted to the 'académie' for approval, and money or extra teaching-hours are allocated where

needed. A large number of schools benefited from the extra money available amounting to 26 million francs in 1982. Seventy-two per cent of all CES, 66% of all 'lycées' and 54% of all LEP received help for their projects in 1982 ('Le Monde de l'Education', September 1982, p 12). In addition, expert help was available from the inspectorate (IRP) on the drawing-up of projects; this involvement of the inspectorate in an advisory rather than an inspectorial capacity marked a change in their rôle. A subsidiary but no less important aim of the project was to force schools to think clearly about their objectives and thus establish school policies, relevant to a particular school. This openness to diversity was a new phenomenon in the French education system, and very far removed from previous blanket policies imposed indiscriminately to ensure equality of opportunity:

'des dérogations à certaines normes ou prescriptions de circulaires nationales pourront être accordées par les autorités académiques à des établissements qui auront établi des projets.'

(Les Amis de Sèvres, 1983, p 76)

An example of a 'projet d'établissement' from one school is in Appendix 8. In the light of such permissiveness some schools asked for, and obtained, the right to reduce the length of lessons to 50 minutes, and to use the extra time on extra-curricular clubs and outings. Various forms of 'groupes de niveau' cutting across mixed-ability classes were set up on the same basis.

The dissemination of this innovatory approach to curriculum development was unusual for France in that the transmission of

information was by direct contact rather than by circular and 'Bulletin Officiel'. Four hundred specialists took part in two national conferences after the initial 'Seminaire de Souillac' organised by the 'Inspection générale' in October 1982. This appeal for greater participation ('concertation') was specifically aimed at head-teachers, to stimulate their cooperation:

'Avant tout, il faudra pouvoir compter sur la collaboration des chefs d'établissement, en particulier des principaux des collèges.'

(Le Monde de l'Education, July 1982, p 9)

Not surprisingly, however, this change-over from 'décret' to 'concertation' was not without its critics, especially in the early period of Savary's time in office. There was still a strong desire for State control expressed by 'recteurs' who considered they had been left without clear directives:

'La concertation ne peut suffire à définir une politique. L'Etat, le pouvoir politique, doivent reconnaître leurs responsabilités spécifiques . . . On ne doit non plus attendre de la 'base' des suggestions ou des exigences sinon de détail.'

(Le Monde de l'Education, Jan 1982, p 9)

In fact Savary was waiting for the publication of Legrand's report on the CES - a report that had been commissioned as early as November 1981 but was not published until January 1983. That Savary chose Legrand to compile the report may be considered Savary's third success, as Legrand's experience in educational research had already led him to recommend alternatives to the mixed ability teaching imposed by 'la réforme Haby'.

Legrand's influence on policy. Legrand's recommendations contained in his 1983 Report have had a profound effect on the

internal structure of schools especially those that have adopted 'groupes de niveau'. The next section, therefore, firstly considers early experimentation in 'écoles expérimentales', secondly analyses the main recommendations of his report and thirdly evaluates the implications of these recommendations for language teachers.

Early experimentation. In 1967, as director of INRP (Institut National de Recherches Pédagogiques), Legrand was asked to conduct a series of experiments in 28 'écoles expérimentales'; this research lasted until 1980, was undertaken in three distinct stages and became known as 'le protocole de St Quentin'. The initial aim of the research, however, had been prompted by the creation of the new CES in 1963 which for the first time were catering for children of all abilities under one roof. The first stage of the research was therefore directed towards two problems: a) that of devising reliable testing procedures to divide children according to ability at eleven and b) that of compiling an appropriate syllabus for the large group of middle-ability children. In wishing to find more sophisticated methods than the traditional one of scrutinising primary school reports when dividing children into streams at eleven, Legrand was departing from standard French practice. Attitudes towards IQ and general intelligence tests among French teachers are ambivalent even today, and teachers still prefer primary school reports to standardised IQ tests. Legrand's research identified three broad ability groups using his own standardised tests:

1) 8-10% who were good at mathematics and French, 2) 20-25% who were weak in mathematics and French 3) 60-70% who formed a broad middle group. Legrand directed his attention to the needs of this large middle group of children and to the curriculum they should receive.

In effect, Legrand preferred a compromise between the rigour of an academic syllabus ('lycée'-type) and the development of a completely new approach. His decision was to keep an academic syllabus for the basic subjects but to devise syllabuses in the other subjects that would be relevant to the children's own experience. Of particular significance for modern language teachers was the fact that Legrand included modern languages among the basic subjects (French and Mathematics being the other two). This decision has emphasised the more academic approach to the subject of modern languages than has been the case in England, and has supported the contention of language teachers themselves that content should not be diluted. Two concessions were, however, to be made to the needs of the middle-ability group; firstly, that there should be 'dédoublement' in the academic subjects and secondly, that a differentiated teaching approach should be adopted within the group. This last concession was doubly necessary, as Legrand had also decided that there should be no 'redoublement' during the whole four years 6e to 3e. He thus saw a direct relationship between the principles of no 'redoublement' and a differentiated teaching methodology. This policy of no 'redoublement' was possibly the most contentious in Legrand's research (cf. the policies of 'La Réforme Haby'). Nonetheless, the results of his research after

four years were positive: 75.5% of children in 'écoles expérimentales' entered the 4e, against 57.7% in control schools.

The second stage of his experiments arose naturally from the first, since by 1970 the top two sections of the CES had been merged. Indeed, by 1973 Haby reckoned that 80% of children in the 6e were following the same syllabus (Haby 1981, p 81). In accordance with this tendency, Legrand's middle-ability syllabus became the common syllabus for all children in the 'écoles expérimentales'. Even though Legrand acknowledges his debt to studies of the German 'Gesamtschule' and the English comprehensive school, the most important difference between experiments in the two countries was his decision to keep the same 'programmes' for all:

'Le parti était pris initialement de garder le même programme pour tous les élèves . . . Mais l'essentiel devait être la différenciation de la pédagogie, qui traitant d'un même programme devait adapter l'enseignement aux diverses catégories d'élèves.'

(Legrand, 1981, p 285)

This flexibility in pupil-groupings distinguishes his approach from Haby's simplistic equation of 'classes hétérogènes + soutien'. Actual results also demonstrated the success of Legrand's methodology. Not only did more pupils succeed academically (32.75% entered the 2e normale in 'écoles expérimentales' against 7.39% in the control group), but also class bias in the 4e of the 'écoles expérimentales' was less apparent:

'Dans tous les cas, le bénéfice est pour les élèves moyens au départ, c'est-à-dire appartenant à des catégories socio-professionnelles moyennes . . . Le dispositif expérimental conduit les professeurs à travailler en équipe.'

(Legrand, 1981, p 291)

The second half of this quotation demonstrated the 'spin-off' value to the teacher; the creation of a better school, a better atmosphere, and improved class-room relationships.

The following account shows how René Haby had deliberately discounted the results of Legrand's experiments when considering his own reform. These paragraphs also reveal the extent to which educational policies depended on the decisions of individuals in France. Haby preferred total mixed-ability grouping in spite of evidence to the contrary from 'écoles expérimentales':

'En fait malgré l'énorme effort d'adaptation des maîtres de ces établissements, les résultats n'ont pas toujours été probants. La complexité et l'instabilité entraînent beaucoup d'inconvénients; les vitesses d'acquisition différentes se traduisent par de très importants écarts entre les groupes au bout d'un an ou deux. Plus grave encore est la généralisation, au travers du système des groupes, de la pratique de la ségrégation et l'effet inhibiteur du classement et de la catégorisation.' (Haby, 1981, p 81)

Legrand's riposte to this contestation that 'setting' widened the gap between the most and less able was:

'Constatons d'autre part, ce qui pouvait être attendu, que les groupes de niveaux-matières ont accru les écarts de performance au bénéfice des meilleurs, libérant les potentialités des élèves les plus rapides. Est-ce un défaut?' (Legrand, 1982, p 291)

Haby, though, was very conscious of the dual pressure from trade-unions and parents:

'des parents sont de plus en plus organisés - parfois de l'extérieur - et de plus en plus hostiles à tout ce qui peut paraître entraver la réussite scolaire de leurs enfants . . . la nation a voulu le coude à coude de toutes les catégories intellectuels et sociales sur les bancs de l'école comme un apprentissage de notre société démocratique.' (Haby, 1981, p 101)

He was caught in a climate of opinion that was refusing selection more and more and he was very well aware that:

'les résultats des CES expérimentaux montrent que les élèves de 'transition' sont pratiquement tous dans les groupes faibles pour toutes les disciplines.'

(Haby, 1981, p 93)

Legrand's experimentation on the other hand had shown that this was unavoidable, that setting was the only feasible solution and that any other solution was unworkable:

'Les groupes de niveau-matière sont bien actuellement la seule solution acceptable lorsqu'on veut s'acheminer vers un tronc commun véritable.'

(Legrand, 1982, p 287)

It seems ironic that Haby's decision in 1975 to opt for total mixed-ability grouping without setting, in spite of the conclusive results of Legrand's 'écoles expérimentales' was based on a study of the results of experience in England:

'Une appréciation anglaise apportée à une expérience semblable sonne dès 1971 une sorte de glas: Si l'on considère la motivation des enfants, leur intérêt pour les activités scolaires, leurs relations avec les maîtres, c'est l'hétérogénéité du groupe d'élèves qui semble présenter le plus d'avantages.'

(Haby, 1981, p 81)

This comment, however, aptly demonstrates the danger of transferring piecemeal an educational solution from one system to another without due regard to all the variables involved. In this case the variables were:

a) the enormous freedom permitted to English teachers in choice of content, in contrast to the rigidity of the French 'programmes'.

b) the diversity of English teaching methods, in contrast to the relative unpreparedness of French teachers for teaching the whole ability range at secondary level.

c) the tradition of co-operative departmental work and

pragmatism in English schools, in contrast to the relative isolation and independence of the French teacher.

The third stage of Legrand's research began in 1977 as: 'Recherche prospective sur la pédagogie générale dans les collèges.' Since the official 'Réforme Haby' was being introduced also in 1977 with manifestly the same objectives, there was some attempt by Legrand to justify further experimentation into 'l'équipe pédagogique, le team-teaching, l'interdisciplinarité, le tutorat, le soutien, l'ensemble, les divisions de base, les groupes de niveau-matière.'

'La réforme officielle à l'étude vise à porter remède à cette situation d'échec et il n'est pas étonnant, dans ces conditions, qu'un certain nombre d'orientations se révèlent communes entre les projets ministériels et ceux qui ont été définis à grands traits.'
(Legrand, 1982, p 240)

For this reason Legrand wanted to put a particular slant on his research and investigate areas that had not been explored before: social skills, individual learning techniques and personal development. He underwent considerable criticism for such an approach, and the research was finally stopped in 1980. However, Legrand does not hesitate to defend his own thoroughness in attempting to analyse all the implications of his particular viewpoint, nor does he refrain from stating that any further ministerial reform should be subjected to similar meticulous research. He was certainly bitter that his research had been discounted by the very ministers who had commissioned the experimentation and who could have made use of it:

'Les pouvoirs conservateurs précédents ont autorisé et financé ces expériences tout en cherchant à les endiguer dans des limites qui leur paraissent infranchissables, en les contrôlant de façon

progressivement insupportable, et stérilisante, en les supprimant pour finir!' (Rapport Legrand, 1982, p 9)

The recommendations of 'Le Rapport Legrand 1982'

Legrand's rehabilitation was, however, complete when he received a letter from Savary on 13 November 1981 inviting him to investigate the failure of 'La Réforme Haby':

'La situation de l'enseignement au niveau des collèges est très préoccupante 4 ans après la mise en place de la réforme prévue par la loi de 1975 . . . la dégradation actuelle du fonctionnement des collèges.'

(Letter from Savary to Legrand, Legrand, 1982, p 3)

There were three areas of concern for Legrand to examine:

- 1) the mixed-ability teaching which was seen to be inadequate;
- 2) the "de facto" streaming which existed in the 4e and 3e;
- 3) the confusion affecting teacher-training and teachers' qualifications.

Legrand had, of course, already addressed the first two problems in his research from 1967 to 1980. The third area was a long-standing problem of considerable complexity and was examined in more detail by De Peretti. In addition to these three areas Legrand was asked to consider:

- 4) continuity and links between 'l'école et collège' and 'collège et lycée';
- 5) school relationships with the local community;
- 6) the break-down of streaming in the 4e and 3e
- 7) the conditions in which a common teacher-training course could be set up and the definition of an in-service training policy;
- 8) the possibilities of reducing differences between teachers' hours of work.

(Legrand, 1982, p 4)

The glaring omission in Legrand's brief was the revision of the 'programmes'. It is hard to understand how Savary could conceive of such a fundamental revision of other aspects of the educational system without including an examination of the content and weighting of the curriculum as a whole and the content of individual subjects in particular. Revision of internal organisational structures remained the dominant concern, as it had been with Haby. By contrast, in England at this time there was an overwhelming interest in curriculum matters - exemplified by such publications as the HMI document on the 11-16 curriculum, and the Schools' Council's 'The Practical Curriculum'. France was indeed concerned with the qualitative improvement of its education system after a comparatively late quantitative expansion, but did not consider that this improvement lay in a revision of programmes:

'Ce projet doit favoriser à la fois la mise en place d'une école permettant le développement des potentialités de chacun et la promotion d'un enseignement de qualité.'

(Legrand, 1982, p 3)

Legrand limits himself to making the following statement about the curriculum and the revision of 'programmes':

'Il n'a pas été possible, dans le cadre de cette mission, d'approfondir ce domaine.'

(Legrand, 1982, p 132)

The following section considers the 3 main areas that Legrand did examine.

1) Mixed-ability teaching As 'programmes' were to continue to apply to all children, and there was to be no revision of them, Legrand considered that on the strength of his earlier findings there was only one approach.

'Différencier la pédagogie est le problème crucial dans une école démocratique pour tous.'

(Legrand, 1982, p 35)

Legrand considered that condoning streaming meant condoning 'une société inégalitaire' - thus condemning to mediocrity a whole section of the population. He argued that the demands of a democracy together with the technical and economic needs of a modern state require the highest possible level of education for all - and that this cannot be achieved by lowering the objectives for some:

'Sans renoncer en rien aux objectifs supérieurs d'une formation théorique et abstraite, on cherche les voies méthodologiques qui permettent à tous à y parvenir.'

(Legrand, 1982, p 36)

This statement has obvious implications not only for the direction of overall education policy, but also for language-teaching in particular and for the perceptions language teachers in France have of their subject matter.

Legrand's recommendations concerning mixed-ability teaching included a more flexible approach to objectives and to the composition of classes. He differentiated between the old 'progressions pédagogiques' laid down by the 'programme de connaissances', and new 'notions' in subject areas which will lead 'de façon simple' to 'programmes-noyaux' attainable by most pupils. A rigid progression was to give way to a varied approach taking into account each pupil's ability and speed of working.

Each subject would therefore have a series of graduated objectives ('notions') which are to be:

- few in number but well defined;
- based on a number of different situations encountered on several occasions;
- related to pupils' interests and experience outside school;
- capable of being reinvested in the school and social environment.

In addition to subject objectives Legrand suggested much broader learning objectives that relate to general skills attainable at the end of each 'cycle'. For example, the ability to take notes; to use a dictionary; to form a hypothesis. Legrand also recommended as part of this more flexible approach, changes in the structure of the teaching-group:

' . . . la rupture du cloisonnement actuel en divisions fixes et en niveaux de classes est la condition nécessaire d'une transformation de la vie scolaire et d'une individualisation de l'enseignement.'

(Legrand, 1982, p 92)

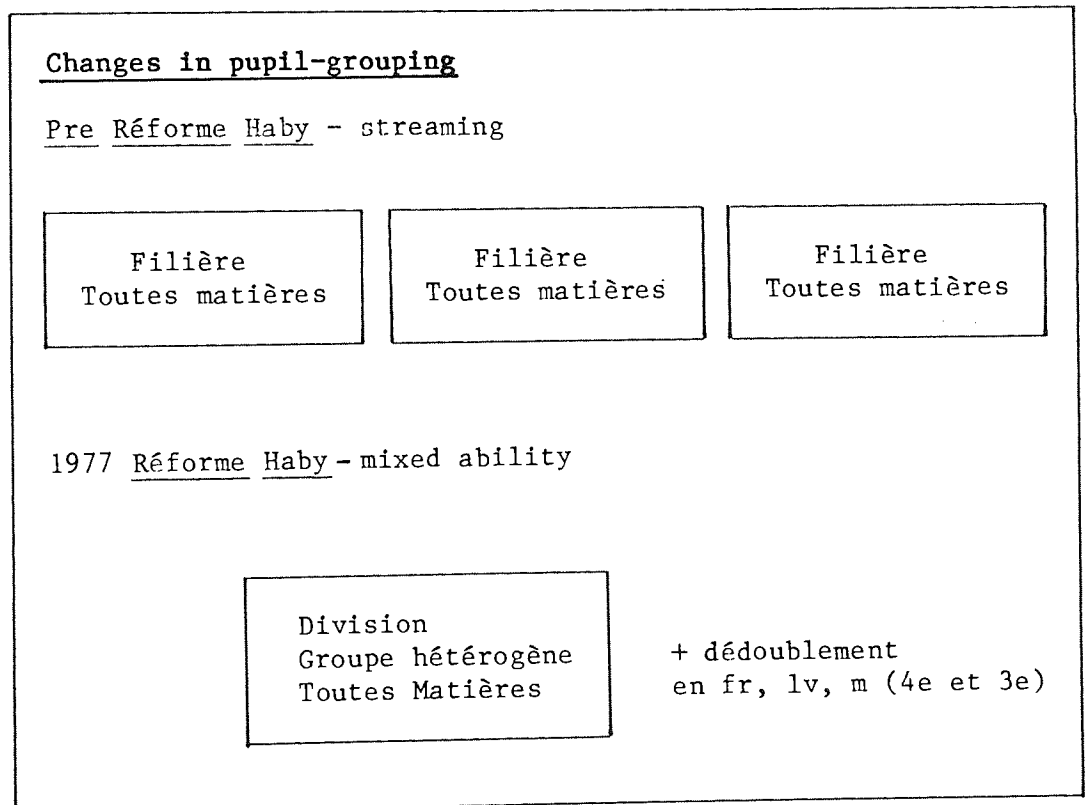
Legrand's recommendations were here based partly on his own research in the 'écoles expérimentales', and partly on research done in other countries, notably the English comprehensive schools and German 'Gesamtschulen':

'L'expérience des Collèges expérimentaux a montré la fiabilité de ce système adopté (de groupes de niveau matière) également dans les systèmes unifiés étrangers.'

(Les Amis des Sèvres, 1985, p 41)

These changes in structure meant moving from Haby's 'division' of 24 mixed ability children in a class unit for all subjects, to a larger 'ensemble' of between 2 and 4 'divisions'. These 'divisions de base' of not more than 26 pupils would be the

teaching group for some subjects - geography, history. For practical subjects, sciences, physics and craft, the 'divisions' would be subdivided into smaller teaching groups. For 'disciplines de base', mathematics, French and modern languages, 'groupes de niveau' could be created across the 'ensemble'. For 'séances d'information', or lead-lessons in teamteaching, the larger 'ensemble' unit could be used, releasing teachers for remedial help with particular children. The following diagram shows the transition from streaming to Legrand's recommendations on pupil-grouping:



<u>1982 Rapport Legrand : recommandations</u>		
Ensemble max. 96 élèves		
<u>Division</u> 26 élèves	<u>Division</u> 26 élèves	<u>Division</u> 26 élèves
<u>Division de base</u> histoire/géo		
<u>Dédoublement</u> Sciences, physiques naturelles, EMT		
<u>Séances d'information</u>		
----- <u>Groupes de niveau</u> ----- ----- français, maths, lv -----		+ 3 profs
----- ----- -----		+ 4 profs ou 3 profs + 1 assistante

The transition from streaming, via complete mixed-ability grouping (1977), to setting in basic subjects, has taken place in a remarkably short time - between 1976 and 1982. By contrast, English comprehensive schools have shown, albeit over a longer period of time, a wider variety of structures: banding, division according to 'course', mixed-ability classes in some or all subjects, and setting in as many as five subjects. In France, because Legrand's recommendations have been implemented in schools on a totally voluntary basis, the national picture has

become latterly almost as varied as the English picture. Although some schools had already attempted some form of 'groupes de niveau' before 1984, 1984-85 was the first year in which 'la rénovation des collèges' involved 10% of the nation's schools in reorganisation and setting procedures in some form or other.

2) "De facto" streaming in the 4e and 3e The Binon report had produced evidence to show that most secondary schools operated a system of virtual streaming on choice of language option particularly in the 4e and 3e. There was, however, a further factor that not only intensified the streaming, but also exacerbated the problem of school rejection at this stage - the departure of around 25% of the school population from main-stream general education at the end of 5e to LEP schools, and the 'redoublement' of a further 12% leaving only the top two-thirds of the ability-range continuing in the 4e and 3e. This is a historical problem, as traditionally the old apprentice schools began at 14 when the leaving-age was 14. Haby in 1977 had not closed 'la fuite' to these schools (renamed LEP) when he created 'le collège unique'. Legrand's main recommendation was that the LEP should become institutions attended by pupils solely on a voluntary basis, and not by pupils rejected by main-stream education (In a very few cases children may be sent straight from primary school to LEP as they have reached 14 in primary school as a result of successive 'redoublements'. In 1981 this affected 0.52% of those moving from CM2 (Cours Moyen 2)(Legrand 1982, p 190.) There is in fact a double selection operating at this

stage. LEPs are unable to take in all pupils that are 'rejected' by the CES, so select only the most suitable. The 'double failures' are redirected to Classes Préprofessionnelles de Niveau (CPPN) or Classes d'Aptitude Professionnel (CAP). Ninety per cent of these classes are within the CES buildings and provide a small entirely separate vocationally-orientated form of education alongside main-stream general education (but not all CES schools have CPPN/CAP classes). The implications are enormous for the school system if, as Legrand recommends, all children are in future to be kept for 4 years within the CES:

'Il convient de prendre toutes les mesures adéquates pour enseigner à terme, tous les élèves au collège. Il convient de ne pas s'en cacher la difficulté.'
(Legrand, 1982, p 97)

In order to create a single system from the dual system currently operating, Legrand recommended the introduction of technology as a bridge between the CES and LEP. In the LEP, the 'vocational' and 'general' 'programmes' would merge for two years up to the school-leaving age and specialisation for the CAP diplomas would be reserved for the third and possibly fourth year. Early specialisation would be reduced and what the 'Collège de France' called 'la multiplication des chances' would be provided for:

'Il importerait d'atténuer autant que possible les conséquences du verdict scolaire, et d'empêcher que les réussites n'aient un effet de consécration ou les échecs un effet de condamnation à vie en multipliant les filières et les passages entre les filières et en affaiblissant toutes les coupures irréversibles.'
(Collège de France, 1985, p 11)

Legrand put forward the concept of an 'éducation technologique polytechnique' and challenged the supremacy of the language options in 4e and 3e by suggesting that at this stage the

technology option should be given equal status with second-language options. At present technology is most likely to be considered a 'soft' option for the less-able:

'Ces options seront parallèles aux options de langues. Elles s'appuieront sur le même horaire de 3 heures et ne créeront en aucun cas une base de ségrégation et de sélection.'
(Legrand, 1982, p 53)

Nonetheless, the timetable between this recommendation (1982), the publication of the official timetable for 1986 and the availability of suitably qualified teachers has not been coordinated. In the paperback issued to all parents of children in CES in 1986, information technology has been given 3 hours:

HORAIRES DES CLASSES DES COLLÈGES

	1986-1987				1987-1988				1988-1989				à partir de 1989-1990				
	6 ^e	5 ^e	4 ^e	3 ^e	6 ^e	5 ^e	4 ^e	3 ^e	6 ^e	5 ^e	4 ^e	3 ^e	6 ^e	5 ^e	4 ^e	3 ^e	
Français	4,5	5	5	5	4,5	4,5	5	5	4,5	4,5	4,5	5	4,5	4,5	4,5	4,5	
Mathématiques	3	3	4	4	3	3	4	4	3	3	4	4	3	3	4	4	
Langue vivante 1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	
Histoire, Géographie, Économie Éducation civique	2,5 1	3 }	3 }	3 }	2,5 1	2,5 1	3 }	3 }	2,5 1	2,5 1	2,5 1	3 }	2,5 1	2,5 1	2,5 1	2,5 1	
Sciences physiques	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	
Sciences et techniques biologiques et géologiques	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	
Technologie ou Éducation manuelle et technique	2	2	1,5	1,5	2	2	1,5	1,5	2	2	1,5	1,5	2	2	1,5	1,5	
Éducation artistique	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	
Éducation physique et sportive	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	
Renforcement de l'enseignement dans des disciplines choisies par l'établissement	3	3	0	0	3	3	0	0	3	3	0	0	3	3	0	0	
OPTIONS (une est obligatoire)	Langue vivante 2			3	3			3	3			3	3			3	3
	Langue vivante 1 renforcée			2	2			2	2			2	2			2	2
	Latin			3	3			3	3			3	3			3	3
	Grec			3	3			3	3			3	3			3	3
	Option technologique industrielle ou option technologique économique			3	3			3	3			3	3			3	3

However, the following addendum has been inserted on a separate piece of paper since the teachers are not yet available:

'Au fur et à mesure que l'enseignement de la technologie se substitue à celui de l'éducation manuelle et technique l'horaire est porté à 2 heures à tous les niveaux d'enseignement.'

To ease the transition towards a common 4 year "programme" for CES and LEP, Legrand suggests "4e and 3e expérimentales". These would be classes in the CES for children who would otherwise have been sent to LEP; the classes would have small numbers of pupils and would have a slightly easier "programme" than the normal 4e and 3e. Again this recommendation has implications for modern-language teachers; as 25% of these less-able pupils would have abandoned languages in the LEP.

3) Teacher-training and teachers' attitudes Legrand recommended better training for teachers and extending the course of study from 3 years to 4 years after the baccalauréat. In this area he worked closely with De Peretti who was responsible for the report on teacher-training also commissioned by Savary. Legrand was concerned not only about the multiplicity of qualifications and the variety of training that teachers receive in France, but also with the effects rivalry and tensions within the teaching profession have on the role of the teacher. In 1984 the teaching force was:

Lycées publics et privés	112,381
Collèges publics et privés	218,659
LEP publics et privés	62,344
	<hr/>
	393,384
(Note d'inf 84-50 24 Dec 84)	

Of this total 393,384, 49,473 were teachers of modern languages -

about one-eighth of the total. Of this grand total, 28,232 were teachers of English; about one in fourteen of all French teachers teaches English. Within this number three different grades of teacher teaches English: 'agregés' (15 hours), 'certifiés' (18 hours) and P.E.G.C. teachers (21 hours). The remaining categories of teachers are 'professeurs d'éducation physique' (22 hours), 'professeurs d'art' (20 hours), 'instituteurs' (24 hours). Legrand wanted to amalgamate the grades to give each secondary teacher:

22 'heures de présence à l'établissement'

= 16 'heures d'enseignement'

3 'heures de concertation'

3 'heures de tutorat'

He argued that each member of 'une équipe pédagogique' must spend time collaborating with colleagues during school-hours for which he/she should be paid. Teachers' unions reacted predictably, and variously, according to the grade of teacher they represented. The outcry was so great that Savary did not attempt to implement this recommendation. However, the question remains of particular significance in schools where 'groupes de niveau' are introduced. Legrand's recommendations extended beyond the realm of attempting to establish parity between secondary teachers; he also wanted to develop the pastoral-care aspect of the teacher's role. This pastoral aspect of the teachers' role is considered to be essentially 'Anglo-Saxon' and is undeniably suspect to the majority of French teachers. Their training is essentially subject-based, and leaves them ill-prepared for the guidance and counselling work Legrand was suggesting. He wanted every teacher

to assume responsibility for 12 to 15 pupils as part of their paid service - this would entail 3 hours each week of discussion and advice, very much on the lines of 'active tutorial-work' that is currently in favour in English schools. His initial proposal was that pupils should choose their own teacher for these sessions, but this was fiercely resisted by both teachers and unions. At present pastoral care is limited to the form teacher - 'professeur principal' who is paid extra for the work involved. In effect, the pastoral care amounts to little more than arranging the termly 'conseils de classe' for teachers and pupils and parent representatives, and arranging the completion of termly 'bulletins trimestriels'. Legrand was hoping to modify the traditional role of the subject-specialist teacher, not by reducing the status of the subject discipline but by giving the teacher responsibility to create better relationships and a sense of community:

'Le tutorat doit être considéré comme une fonction capitale dans le collège structuré en ensembles. Il a pour objectifs généraux d'aider l'élève à améliorer et à intégrer son vécu scolaire, à conquérir et à assumer son autonomie et à se socialiser.'

(Legrand, 1982, p 111)

Similarly by recommending to teachers that they should create amongst themselves 'équipes pédagogiques' he was hoping to change the traditional rôle of the independent subject specialist teacher. Team-work, group discussion and collective preparation demand personal qualities that are not necessarily evident in a teacher who sees his role as transmitting a body of knowledge. But as society changes, the rôle of the school and of the teachers within it, must change:

La finalité d'un enseignement disciplinaire n'est pas de produire des savants; il est de former des hommes, c'est à dire capables de s'insérer dans une société qui n'est qu'exceptionnellement 'savante' mais plus généralement civile et professionnelle. L'enseignement disciplinaire doit donc être mis en perspective sociale. L'accent sera mis sur les compétences transférables et sur l'utilité de ces compétences pour la pratique sociale.'

(Legrand 1982, p 125)

Legrand considered that the strategies involved in the setting up of 'équipes pédagogiques' and the day-to-day management of them, altered teachers' perceptions of the nature of their job. Opportunities for collective discussion would challenge traditional teaching methods and open the way for new developments in localised circumstances:

'L'équipe pédagogique est donc désormais une nécessité . . . Il n'y a équipe pédagogique, que s'il y a pouvoir de décisions collégiales.'

(Legrand 1982, p 135)

Implementation of le Rapport Legrand

By the time that the Legrand report was published (1982) the main principles of the 'rénovation' were already known and being put into practice, or had been cleverly leaked and hotly debated ('le tutorat'). In a famous open letter to teachers at 'la Rentrée 1982', Savary told teachers that he was giving them the responsibility for change:

'Cette rénovation de l'école ne peut avoir lieu sans la volonté des enseignants . . . un appel pressant aux initiatives et aux recherches.'

(Le Monde de l'Education, Oct 1982, p 10)

Savary, of course, was making at least 3 basic assumptions:

- that teachers were prepared to be 'éducateurs' as well as 'professeurs', but the traditional rôle of the French teacher

had always been to give 'instruction' and not necessarily 'éducation',

- that schools were willing and capable of being independent,
- that a 'consensus scolaire' was possible, not only about the school, but within the school to allow the drawing up of a 'projet d'établissement'.

His approach was therefore a combination of optimism, 'Je n'ai que la force de mes convictions' (Le Monde de l'Education, March 1983, p 5), conciliation and pragmatism: 'en jouant la tache d'huile'. Resistance to imposed change is perhaps inherent in the largely left-wing, but conservative French teaching-force, but Savary in encouraging local initiative on a voluntary basis was allowing for this factor - 'n'imposons rien à personne', 'se hâter sans excès' 'y aller progressivement' are common phrases in his pronouncements. Certainly the view expressed by an I.P.R. in Bordeaux aptly describes the strength of feeling of most French teachers on this subject:

'Vous savez, en France on n'impose rien aux autres.'
(De Sarcilly, 1985)

A profound change in the relationship between the State and the individual school has occurred during the past 5 years, and the process of change is by no means finished yet. There has been a shift of the apparatus of decision-making from the central administration, via the 'académie' to the individual school in a local setting. In this way the school has been called on to open its doors to the community and parents have become partners in the educational process to a much greater degree. There has also been a shift of opinion away from the strictly egalitarian view

held by Haby that 'le collège unique' could regulate, if not solve social equalities. Haby had changed the structures (a necessary process) but Savary, by concentrating on the pupil, was stressing the need for change through an understanding of the function of the school as a social leveller. His tendency was to favour the greater 'épanouissement de l'individu', counting on the universality of the 'programmes' to create the necessary national unity. His views closely reflected those of Legrand, his chief advisor:

'tendre à l'unification en tenant compte de la diversité.'

(Le Monde de l'Education April 1982, p 62)

The role of the national inspectorate has changed too, since Savary asked them to concentrate more on evaluation and policy-making. Similarly, the role of the local inspectorate has been reinforced as IRP began to act in conjunction with heads as 'animateurs'. Savary gambled on the involvement of all partners, through the 'projet d'établissement' to:

'créer les conditions matérielles, psychologiques, morales les meilleurs pour susciter les progrès dans tous les domaines . . . ouvrir au maximum le collège: en faire un centre de rencontre, de vie, d'animation culturelle éducative, un foyer, un moteur, un phare actif et mobilisateur dans son environnement.'

(Les Amis de Sèvres 1983, p 128)

This hyperbole probably makes too many claims for the function of the school in France today, but it does demonstrate the degree to which its function has changed. The following features of this change are the most obvious:

- the amount of latitude given to individual schools to deviate from national norms, in class numbers, class time, class division;

- the pressure on schools to participate in the life of the local community;
- the amount of responsibility given to all partners in decision-making processes.

It should not, however, be forgotten to what extent the more stringent financial situation of Mitterrand's France in 1983 contributed to this new style of innovation. A system whereby a budget is fixed and for which bids are made and granted according to their perceived feasibility and viability, is certainly less expensive than a 'grande réforme'. Indeed by 1983 it was admitted that:

'le temps des vaches grasses est passé.'
(Le Monde de l'Education Sept 1983)

Various factors then combined to lead educational policies in a certain direction:

'Tirant la leçon des précédentes réformes mal appliquées ou déviées, et en accord avec la politique de déconcentration et d'autonomie le ministre opte pour une réalisation limitée, méthodiquement suivie.'
(Le Monde de l'Education March 1983, p 9)

Chevènement's contribution

After the 'public-privé' debate on education that caused such tension in 1983 and 1984 Chevènement replaced Savary as Minister of Education in July 1984. Since the main lines of the 'rénovation' of the secondary schools had already been drawn up and some were already being implemented, Chevènement preferred to continue these policies, or rather, adopt them as his own. He went, in fact, even further in this direction of 'rénovation' by undertaking a revision of some curricular problems in primary

schools and by moving towards some revision of the 'programmes' in 'lycées' as well as 'collèges'. His overall policy was an attempt to introduce a greater degree of clarity and simplicity into all statements of objectives, whether they be at national level or at school level. His emphasis on a 'return to basics' was welcomed by the majority of parents, as were his policies of greater accountability of teachers, of evaluation of schools and of 'désectorisation'. It may well be that Chevènement's style of management represents the synthesis that Halls was looking for:

'Bureaucratic, technocratic and participatory: at present all three elements are represented in the administration of French education. From them may well arise a new synthesis which may well supplant the old 'absolutism' of former days.'

(Halls 1976, p 44)

Chevènement, however, did owe a debt to Savary, whose main contribution lay in returning the initiative to the schools for their own renewal. Chevènement's strength was the force and conviction of his own personality, and his ability to put ideas into practice:

'l'ordre militaire type 'objectif, moyens, idée de manoeuvre' est souvent ce qu'il y a de plus efficace. Une grande institution comme l'école publique a évidemment besoin de directions générales simples et claires.'

(Hamon & Rotman 1985, p 139)

Nonetheless, his arrival in office coincided with a much greater degree of financial stringency than had existed, at least in the early part of Savary's time as Minister. Changes in pupil-teacher ratios and class size, combined with falling-rolls affecting secondary schools caused unrest among teachers, whose good-will was called upon more than ever before to voluntarily

take part in 'projets d'établissement'.

1984/85 was the first year that falling-rolls hit the secondary schools (2 or 3 years later than in England). The overall figure of children in secondary education went up by 1.4% against 1.9% the previous year, although the actual number of those going into 6e from CM2 fell by 9,600. This reduction was compensated for by a higher rate of 'redoublement' of 6e in that year, so the fall in 6e was only -1.2% against the previous year. Teacher reaction to higher pupil-teacher ratios and larger classes are predictable and the consequences to voluntary initiatives in schools may be disastrous in the future. This predicament is clearly illustrated in the following example:

School 9 (see Appendix 9) situated in a working-class suburb of Paris, received the following statement from the Rectorat in January 1986:

Divisions	6e	ABCDEF	(6 + 1 non-francophone)	160
	5e	ABCDEF	(6)	136
	4e	ABC	(3)	74
	3e	ABCD	<u>(4)</u>	<u>103</u>
			19 + 1 non-francophone	491
<u>Provisions pour l'année 1986/87</u>				
		1985		1986
	Effectifs	486		485
	Divisions	20		18
	Repartition	24.63		27.47
	Heures	605		534.5
	Soutien	14		5

The reaction of the Principal who had just received a delegation from his mathematics staff and modern languages staff incensed by the increase in class size for their 'groupes de niveau' was predictable:

'Par la loi 1975 nous avions des effectifs de 24 élèves. Maintenant c'est fini et nous avons des classes de 30 élèves. C'est une catastrophe - effrayante. Nous aurons 30 élèves par classe dès la 6e. Pour faire des groupes de niveau c'est pas possible. On charge le groupe des meilleurs autant que possible pour avoir des groupes de 20 à 22 pour les élèves en difficulté. Maintenant c'est pas possible - si on a 35 élèves en classe c'est le chaos. Cette année j'ai 60 heures de moins que l'année dernière et pour les mêmes effectifs. C'est à dire je supprime 2 divisions. Quand on est en renovation, c'est un grand travail - il faut des heures de concertation. Actuellement on ne crée pas de postes - il y a des transferts d'emploi. Quand quelqu'un prend sa retraite le poste disparaît. C'est un fait politique. Pendant les années 1981/82 ils ont créé, créé des postes. On s'aperçoit maintenant qu'on ne peut plus, donc on restreint partout. Ce n'est pas un problème pédagogique, structurel, c'est un problème politique.'

(School I Headteacher, 1986)

This demonstrates succinctly the effects of cuts in budget on teacher morale and indirectly perhaps on the future quality of teaching. But the following discussion on class-size which is likely to become the main problem in schools, shows that the perceptions of teachers and administrators may in fact differ as to the effects of class-size on the quality of actual learning in schools.

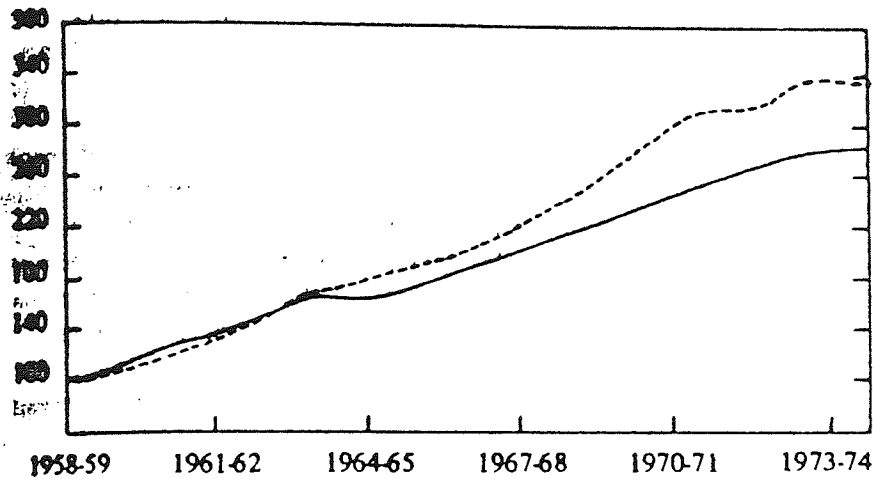
The growth in the number of teachers has been enormous over the past 30 years to cope with 'l'explosion scolaire':

'la progression, folle, galopante a été de 10% pour la période 1958-1970 avec un maximum de 13,8% en 1965 . . . En un quart de siècle quatre à cinq fois plus de professeurs . . . La croissance s'est brutalement ralentie au tournant de 1970. Elle est à présent

quasi nulle - on assiste plus à des transferts qu'à des créations de poste.'

(Hamon + Rotman, 1984, p 57)

II. CROISSANCE COMPARÉE DES EFFECTIFS D'ÉLÈVES ET D'ENSEIGNANTS 1958-1975



--- Effectifs d'enseignants

— Effectifs d'élèves

Source : Alain Norvez, *Le Corps enseignant et l'Évolution démographique*, Paris, PUF, 1978.

Between 1970 and 1980 therefore the average number of pupils per class fell from 26.4 to 23.3. It had therefore been comparatively easy for Haby to achieve maximum class numbers of 24; in 1977 the graph shows that the rise in the number of teachers outstripped the rise in the number of pupils. Binon's report for the Ministry of Education three years after Haby's reform demonstrates the extent to which class-numbers were reduced (Binon 1980, p 14) and would account for teachers' feelings of disappointment and resentment at what they see as a deliberate reversal of this policy after 1984. Haby's decision to reduce class size by law was based on his belief that mixed-ability teaching which he was introducing in his 'collège unique' would only be effective in classes of smaller numbers. 'Le

soutien' would provide remedial help for those unable to keep pace. His thinking was based on the equation:

'suppression des filières + classes hétérogènes
= classes de 24 élèves + soutien'

Unfortunately the situation in today's schools appears to be the following:

'classes hétérogènes = classes de 27.47 + soutien'

There appear to be three main reasons for this increase:

1. In spite of the force of the 1975 law classes have never really been fully of mixed-ability.
2. Several reports in France and England have shown that children do not necessarily obtain better results in smaller classes:

'de 27 recherches étudiées par de Peretti (président de l'INRP) 10 concluent que l'effectif de la classe n'a pas d'influence apparente sur la performance des élèves. Dix-sept trouvent différences en faveur des grandes classes, 5 en faveur des petites classes . . . classes où les élèves obtiennent les meilleurs résultats sont celles de moins de 16 élèves, suivies immédiatement par celles de plus de 26 élèves, effectifs pour lequel on se bat en France depuis 10 ans.'

(Le Monde de l'Education January 1985, p 56)

The only real benefit of smaller groups appears to be to the teacher and sometimes to the less-able.

3. De Peretti was able to show in his report on teacher-training that as far as the reform of 1977 was concerned:

'La réalisation d'un tel objectif a mobilisé les moyens considérables au détriment de l'amélioration de la formation des maîtres.'

De Peretti (1982)

That Haby had neglected to train and prepare teachers for the consequences of 'la suppression des filières' was one of the main reasons for its failure. He had naïvely believed in the ability of the teachers to adapt, and had deliberately chosen to use the limited budget at his disposal to reduce class size. However, as the smaller classes have not produced better results, and the government has openly admitted to 'l'échec scolaire', educationalists are suggesting alternative strategies:

'Ne serait-il pas temps que le gouvernement et surtout les enseignants eux-mêmes renoncent à leur obsession des nombres et réorientent leurs priorités vers la diversité et la souplesse des méthodes pédagogiques. Et donc vers une formation qui leur permettrait de mettre ces méthodes en oeuvre.'

(Le Monde de l'Education January 1985, p 58)

The opinion expressed in the article above shows a definite swing away from a preoccupation with class-size based on a low pupil-ratio, towards a policy of more effective initial and in-service teacher-training with a more flexible approach to class-size. Chevènement's intention was to give in-service training to 100,000 teachers between 1985 and 1990 (Hamon 1985, p 135). Whether this training would be enough to compensate the teachers for increased numbers of pupils in the classroom is doubtful. Indeed in answer to a question whether teachers need a radical restructuring of their career pattern as they are more liable to 'crises de nerfs' than any other professional people, Chevènement offered little comfort:

'Le métier d'enseignement, outre qu'il est essentiel dans une société avancée et, à vrai dire, comme l'a déclaré Mitterrand 'le premier des métiers' offre beaucoup d'ouvertures à qui veut s'en saisir . . . C'est certes un métier difficile . . . La difficulté

et l'importance vitale de leur tâche devraient valoir plus de considération aux enseignants. Je dis souvent qu'un pays qui dévalorise ses enseignants se suicide.'
(Hamon et Rotman 1985, p 161/2)

These words may however ring hollow to the teachers faced with larger classes.

French teachers, though, appear to have missed an opportunity to benefit from smaller classes endorsed by law in 1977 (a situation that would be the envy of English teachers) because they were ill-prepared to deal with mixed-ability classes and could not produce better results. Now that the teachers have been promised extra training they will, paradoxically, have to put this training into practice in increasingly more difficult circumstances i.e. in larger classes.

C H A P T E R 6

THE MAIN INTERNAL FACTOR FOR CHANGE:

'GROUPES DE NIVEAU' AND 'EQUIPES PEDAGOGIQUES'

This chapter approaches the subject of change in French schools outlined in the previous chapter, through the subject discipline of modern languages. The changes within the subject discipline have to some extent also reflected the changes in society's view of the function of the school, its structure and its curriculum.

Introduction

The period 1965 to 1985 has been a period of transition in the rôle of the school in society. Until 'la Réforme Haby' the French school was élitist - its function was to educate an élite by means of a selection process that coincidentally reinforced social segregation. Haby's egalitarian 'collège unique', was to provide a minimum 'savoir' and 'savoir-faire' for all. Under Beullac, and to a greater extent under Savary, the school became more child-centred and concerned with 'la vie scolaire' and its position in the community - its function became more complex than providing the basic 'savoir minimum'. Chevènement returned to a more instrumental view of the school; concern was with qualitative improvements in order to meet the demands of a highly technically orientated society ('il faut relever la sève-Chevènement').

Structural changes in the school have been profound.

Streaming has given way to mixed-ability classes with a swing in 1984 to more flexible methods of grouping - 'groupes de niveau'. In addition, the rate of 'redoublement' has gone down because of

changes in 'scolarité préélémentaire' and in the primary school:

1973 52.7% in the 6e had not repeated a year

1980 64.9% in the 6e had not repeated a year

(note d'information 84-42 Oct 84)

All these structural modifications were directly due to Haby's reform. However, because he neglected to close the 'fuite' to the LEP at the end of the 5e, structural reform has only really affected the first two years of the CES. The traditional selection procedures of the 'élitist' period remain. There has thus been no change in the proportion going into the 4e normale.

1973 58.4% went into 4e normale

1980 58.1% went into 4e normale

(note d'information 84-42, Oct 1984)

The proportion of 16 year-olds staying on in full-time education has however risen with the creation of '2e de détermination' (or '2e indifférenciée') in 1981 and the number of 'bacheliers' has also risen with the creation of technical 'baccalauréats':

1973 22.89% of the age-group passed the 'baccalauréat'

1980 26.00% of the age-group passed the 'baccalauréat'

(note d'information 84-42 Oct 1984)

Socio-professional changes in the school population after two years secondary education have not shown great change since Haby's reform in spite of open-access into the 6e (note d'information 29.10.84).

Curricular Changes. There has been a slow shift in the balance of the curriculum - away from the predominance of language-based

subjects towards science-based subjects and technology. However, language options in 6e and 4e have been used to create unofficial streaming - this is particularly apparent in the 4e and 3e. As far as language-specific changes are concerned, the audio-lingual approach in favour in the seventies is still very much in evidence in schools. The limitations of this direct method dependent on mimicry and memory for all but the most-able learner, have not become really apparent because after two years the lower 25% of the ability range either leaves for the LEP, or repeats the 5e. Even in the 6e and 5e, where the age-range is very wide as a result of 'redoublements', there is not always the complete range of ability such as is found in the English comprehensive school. In the schools visited the search for a learner-centred, needs-based approach, such as the Council of Europe has developed, has therefore not been deemed necessary. A particular style of setting ('groupes de niveau') which maintains common objectives for all ('grandes lignes de programmes') is being developed and 'programmes' have been modified only slightly; 'programmes' preserve a structural grammatical approach based on a linear progression, and text-books reflect this approach with very little differentiation in objectives, methodology and teaching-tasks.

The place of languages in the curriculum - developments 1965-1985

In general the teaching of modern languages in France has followed the same broad pattern of development as its counterpart in England - the euphoria of the sixties has been followed by a period of 'recul' in the seventies and eighties. Cuts in the

provision of teachers and in particular the decision in 1984 to remove the extra 'heure de soutien' allowed for in 'La réforme Haby', have put modern language teachers under pressure. The latest decision not to include languages in the written examinations for the 1986 'Brevet de Collège' angered teachers, as they saw their subject reduced in status against French, Mathematics and History/Geography all of which will have a written examination.

During the sixties, as in England, economic factors in general encouraged a mood of bouyancy, a belief in progress associated with greater mobility and a recognition of the need to communicate 'avec l'étranger'. At this time in the late sixties CES existed alongside 'lycées' and CEG. Before 1968 in the 'lycée section classique A' four hours of a modern language was followed by 3 hours in 5e, 4e and 3e with the addition of 3 hours of Latin each year, and 3 hours of Greek in 4e and 3e. Out of 25.5 hours a week a child in the 6e was doing 14 hours of language-based subjects - more than half of the total timetable. In the 'section classique B' the same timetable was followed but a second modern language was substituted for Greek. In the 'section moderne' of the 'lycées' and in the CEG 'section moderne' the hours given were 4, 5, 3, 3 in successive years with a second language from the 4e of 3 hours. Even in these classes of average ability children in the 6e, 11 hours out of 24.5, and in the 3e, 11.5 hours out of 24.5 were spent on language-based subjects. In the 'lycée Section A' French, Latin, Greek, first and second modern language carried 3 hours out of a total of 27

hours in 'Terminale' (Council of Europe, 1973). The heritage of the classical education as has been seen, has been eroded only slowly over the past 15 years.

The first step in the erosion process was the reform of 1968 which abolished Latin in the 6e, and in 1969 in the 5e. From that date, the first foreign language was on the curriculum for all years in all sections of secondary education. Significantly, the November 1969 Ministerial Bulletin allowed for the creation of classes in the 4e of 'première langue vivante renforcée'. These were to allow more intensive study of the first foreign language - 5 hours instead of 3 - rather than the study of two foreign languages. Circular 10-190 of 10 April 1970 made it clear that this class is not to be considered as an 'easy option' for those in difficulty, but for 'those who have taken a great interest in the language they have studied since the 6e and who wish to make a deeper study thereof' (Neumeister, 1973). In reality, of course, children are more likely to be guided by the former criteria. The system had thus created its own 'safety nets'. These classes of 'première langue renforcée' continue to exist today. They may be considered in the positive sense as outlined by the Ministry; they are more likely to be considered by pupils and teachers alike as classes for the less-able.

The sixties had been a period of optimistic expansion and change often under political pressure:

'les volontés politiques ont souvent pesé lourd dans ces incitations à un renouveau et une extension d'enseignement des langues.'

(Gallison 1980, p 15)

This 'relance assez ferme de l'enseignement des langues' had a number of results during the sixties:

- languages were now taught to the whole school population;
- more hours for languages were asked for by parents;
- parents and children were encouraged to diversify their language choice;
- considerable efforts were made to equip schools with audio-visual equipment;
- there was a greater demand for in-service training and retraining courses
- developments in courses and methodology took place: audio-visual courses such as 'Lend me your ears' comprising 40 audio-visual units used tapes and film-strips with follow-up work in the language laboratory. In 1962 schools television provided a back-up series 'Look here' for this course. Use of television for language-learning had begun in 1960 with a series 'Can I help you?' comprising 15 ten-minute grammatical sketches. School radio broadcasts began in 1963 and were designed as 'spoken supplements to the printed courses received by pupils'. The use made of these programmes depended on the availability of the equipment, and on the willingness of teachers to cooperate. These new developments, as in England, came about in an effort to encourage the skills of listening and speaking. The old structural grammatical approach based on texts was proving inadequate for revised objectives in language-learning, while the new audio-lingual method called for mimicry and memorisation. In practice the method depends on repetitive rote-learning and drills and is still widely in use today in French schools where

the most popular textbooks are the audio-lingual 'Imagine you're English', 'Speak English', 'It's up to you'. The doubts expressed by N Chomsky in 1959 as to the reliability of Skinner's theories and the confusion that resulted among linguists and teachers in Europe, appear to have by-passed France. At the research level there was awareness of Chomsky's ideas on transformational generative grammar, but the machinery of change in schools being dependent on 'l'inspection générale', 'programmes', publishers and training of teachers was too cumbersome to respond quickly. Moreover, Gallison, as does Hawkins later in the English context (Hawkins 1981, p 154-199), sounds a note of warning about transitory panaceas:

'considérées sur une durée très brève, des évolutions paraissent importantes qui prises dans une périodisation très large n'auraient peut-être plus grande signification.'

(Gallison 1981, p 17)

The world-wide interest in Primary School Languages had resulted in France in the creation of only 120 classes for English in infant and junior classes by 1968. These experiments were terminated by 1973 by the Ministry of Education. Similar experiments in England meant that by 1965 21% of all junior schools included some French in their curriculum. By 1970 this figure was estimated to be 35% (Hoy 1977)), but experiments in England were terminated at about the same period as in France, following the publication of 'Primary French in the Balance' (Burstall, 1973).

During the seventies the positive developments of the previous ten years began to lose their impetus, almost exactly

paralleled by similar developments in England:

- The demand for more hours of language-learning ceased. In some cases modern languages had become optional, even for the most able in some 'séries' in the 'baccalauréat'. Latin and Greek were permitted as alternatives for entry to university. As in England, immediately universities dropped a modern-language entry requirement there was a sharp decline in the take-up rate for modern-languages at school level.
- Diversification in the number of languages offered was no longer evident as the 'surrender-value' of the major European languages became more apparent to both parents and pupils.
- Money was no longer forthcoming for extensive re-equipment of schools with audio-visual aids. Some language-laboratories were already gathering dust.
- The training and re-training of teachers was not considered a priority as it had been ten years previously.
- There was growing disenchantment with the new, supposedly more efficient, teaching methods:

'les redéfinitions d'objectifs et de programmes là où elles sont intervenues ne paraissent pas avoir fait progresser de façon toujours très sensible la qualité et l'efficacité de l'enseignement.'

(Gallison 1981, p 16)

The year 1977 was the year of the publication in the United Kingdom of the HMI Report 'Modern Languages in Comprehensive Schools'. It was also the first year of 'la Réforme Haby' when French modern-language teachers were asked to teach the whole ability-range in mixed-ability classes for the first time. As in England:

'L'apprentissage de la première langue étrangère . . .
se trouve être la seule discipline nouvelle du
programme scolaire.' (Dalgalian 1981, p 44)

Whereas English teachers already had considerable experience of, if not success in, teaching modern languages in comprehensive schools by this time, French teachers found themselves not only already somewhat disillusioned with teaching methods and materials, but faced with the additional demands of non-segregated teaching groups. Text-books and programmes were only minimally modified and the audio-lingual methods were still advocated. The 'programme lexical' was designed for the average child:

'Le nombre restreint d'unités lexicales retenues (666 + 602) met cet objectif (d'expression orale et écrite) à la portée de l'élève moyen pour qui il a été conçu.'

And the teacher was still dominant:

'Son action s'organise selon un projet pédagogique soigneusement médité cohérent et rigoureux, mais toujours prêt à s'infléchir en fonction des réactions du groupe. A cette rigueur magistrale, nuancée de souplesse, doit correspondre chez l'élève une volonté d'appropriation, un effort tenace, sans lesquels la compréhension ne serait qu'approximative et l'expression caricaturale.' (CNDP 1979a, p 2)

Not surprisingly this rigid official framework of the pupil-teacher relationship was unable to contain the reality of the class-room situation.

The current situation for modern languages in schools

At present the Ministry of Education states that there are 12 languages studied in secondary schools each with its own official 'programme'; from 1986/87 Modern Greek will be included. However English is the first foreign language to be studied by an overwhelming 85% of children (Le Monde, 13 February 1986, p 13).

German comes second with 13%. This predominance of English has increased since 1982.

	Anglais	Allemand	Espagnol	Italien	Autres
1ere langue en 6e	83.4	13.4	2.1	0.3	0.8
2e langue en 4e	20.7	26.9	44.4	7.1	1

Langues vivantes étudiées par les élèves en 6e et 4e en 1982-1983 en pourcentage. (Source: Dossier Le Monde, p 13)

In numbers of pupils the 1983-84 situation was as follows:

Chiffres Clés 1983-1984 pour les établissements métropolitains publics et privés de l'enseignement du second degré

1. Effectif total d'élèves			5 222 506
2. Effectifs d'élèves par langue enseignée (1ere, 2eme, et 3eme langue vivante, langues facultatives)			
Allemand	1 202 354	langues régionales	20 646
Anglais	4 320 904	autres langues	3 417
Arabe littéral	10 034		
Chinois	2 573	langues enseignées par correspondance	4 067
Espagnol	950 849		
Hébreu moderne	5 354		
Italien	145 984		
Portugais	12 455		
Russe	26 122		
3. Effectifs d'élèves par type d'enseignement des langues vivantes			
1ere langue vivante	4 688 500		
2eme langue vivante	1 855 700		
3eme langue vivante	117 000		
4. Professeurs enseignant les langues vivantes (tous services confondus).			
Allemand	11 513	Italien	1 716
Anglais	28 232	Portugais	228
Arabe	145	Russe	524
Chinois	69		
Espagnol	6 958	Autres langues (langues régionales non comprises)	
Hébreu moderne	53	TOTAL	49 473

(Source: Note d'Information janvier 1985, Statistiques Expolangues)

Of the 50,000 modern language teachers just over a half are teachers of English (28,232). It is evident then that as English is taught to 85% of all children, classes for English are more likely to be larger than for the minority languages of Portuguese, Hebrew and Chinese:

'On trouve pour les langues largement étudiées des tailles moyennes de groupes supérieurs à celles mises en évidence pour les langues plus rares; 23.8 pour l'Anglais première langue par exemple; 15.1 pour l'Italien première langue sur l'ensemble collèges-lycées.'

(Note d'Information 85-12, mars 1985, ISSN No 85-12)

Groups for all first foreign languages are larger than for the second foreign language except for Spanish and Italian. The reason for this disparity is that average and less-able children have recently been guided towards Spanish 'reputé facile' and numbers rise to cope with the demand - only 0.2% choose Italian as first language (LV1) and the percentage of those who choose it as second foreign language (LV2) is three times less than it was 25 years ago (Le Monde 13 February 1986). The figures also show that the more a language is taught at a particular level, the higher are the numbers in the group - English LV1 then Spanish LV2, Spanish LV1 then German LV2. The brightest children are guided towards German LV1 (19.2 average in 6e) then English LV2 (18.5 average in 4e) who then benefit not only from a homogeneous group but from low numbers in the group (Note d'information 85-12).

The situation over a number of years shows a rise in class-size in all languages except Italian, in which language the number of pupils studying the language is falling faster than the groups. In the other groups the average class size is rising,

although for different reasons; for German it is that fewer teachers are being employed, while for Spanish and English separate new groups are not being created.

The more a language is studied, the higher is the percentage of classes between 23 and 29 - 67.9% of English classes LV1, 52.1% of Spanish LV2. In contrast 53.7% of German LV1 have less than 12 pupils. Similarly the most popular languages to be studied, English LV1 and Spanish LV2, are more likely to be taught as whole classes rather than as divisions of a class - for English LV1 69.6% and for Spanish LV2 41% (Note d'information 84-49).

The choice of foreign language

The choice of language is limited by the availability of suitably qualified staff and the 'académie''s conviction that a particular language will remain popular:

'Dans l'ensemble, les demandes d'ouverture ne pourront être satisfaites que dans la mesure où les instances académiques auront l'assurance que la demande de telle ou telle langue sera suivie ultérieurement.'

(ONISEP, 1978)

The 'académie' also has to ensure that adequate numbers of pupils want to study the language. The Ministry lays down 'seuils minima' (circulaire no 77-065 du 15 février 1977) for the creation of new language-classes.

Langue vivante I	Anglais Allemand:	15 élèves
	Autres Langues:	8 élèves
Langue vivante II	Toutes Langues:	8 (1ère option)
		15 (options suppl)
Langue vivante III	Toutes Langues:	15

(ONISEP, 1978)

A parent has recourse to two other courses of action if he is unable to have a class put on; either to ask for a 'dérogation de secteur scolaire' and send the child elsewhere than the neighbourhood school, or to apply to the 'Centre National d'Enseignement par correspondance' (CNEC) which will provide materials, evaluate progress and send results back to the pupil's school. Extensive use is made of 'cassettes sonores autocorrectives' and good results are claimed: (Note by HMI A Dobson on visit to CNDP). The geographical location of a school is often a limiting factor in the range of first and second foreign language teachers available, or more likely in the range of requests from pupils. For example, in Alsace and Lorraine German has high numbers for first foreign language and in the Pyrenees, Spanish has higher than average numbers.

Choice of language affected by geographical position

		LV1	LV2
Paris	English	48 822	4 662
	German	9 090	5 357
	Spanish	154	12 463
Nancy-Metz	English	74 463	13 369
	German	39 823	11 456
	Spanish	682	2 576
Bordeaux	English	98 765	7 489
	German	8 198	6 137
	Spanish	10 512	30 405

(Note d'Information, janvier 1985, Statistiques Expolangues)

All children study one language for 2 years. Twenty-five per cent of children leave at the end of 5e to enter a LEP or to repeat 5e. In the LEP those doing 'CAP industriels', one quarter

of the total intake, do not continue with a language. In the 'sections tertiaires' ('CAP sténodactylographe, employé de comptabilité, employé de bureau, vendeur') pupils continue for 2 or 3 years with the first foreign language but with only 2 hours a week as opposed to 3 hours in the CES. In the 'sections tertiaires' ('CAP des métiers de la restauration et de l'hôtellerie et des métiers de l'alimentation') all pupils continue 3 years study of the first foreign language for 2 hours a week, except those who want to enter hotel or restaurant work who do one year with 2 hours per week and then 2 years of 4 hours a week in the first foreign language (CNDP, 1984, p 7-9).

In spite of claims, then, that all children do 2 languages, in reality 100% do one foreign language for 2 years, 75% continue for a further 2 years with the same time allocation and roughly 19% with a reduced time allocation in the LEP (92% English). At this stage about 6% will have dropped a foreign language completely. Of the 75% continuing in CES, however, an average of 8.9% do not take a second language. Under two-thirds of French children take a second foreign language in France - most of these being the average and more able.

'Un peu moins de 60% des élèves des établissements secondaires tant publics que privés étudie une seconde langue. Toutefois cette proportion tend à s'accroître aussi bien en premier cycle qu'en second cycle long.'
(Note d'Information 84-49 17 décembre 1984)

In some areas of France, e.g. Académie de Lille, this figure falls to about 55% of the intake in the 4e. The following map shows a remarkable geographical disparity, and reflects the general pattern - of comparative richness of resources in the

south and Paris basin, and the paucity of resources in the northern areas:



(Don nationale.)

(Le Monde 13 February 1986, p 15)

Of 100 children in 3e, 54 go into the 'cycle long' and complete the 'seconde de détermination'. Of these 54, 12 either repeat, leave or transfer to the 'cycle court'. Only 42 go into 'première', with 7 taking 'Bac Série A' and 7 taking 'Bac Série B'. In both these 'Séries' a second foreign language or Latin or Greek is obligatory. In actual numbers of pupils this means that in 1984 out of 169,225 passes, for 'baccalauréat général', the following studies a second foreign language:

A1 : 16,129

A2 : 26,860

A3 : 2,192

B : 35,658

C : 34,279

D : 46,042

D1 : 1,306

E : 6,648

169,225 = 68% of all 'baccalauréats'

For the new technical 'baccalauréats':

Bac de technicien : 80,272 = 32 % of all 'baccalauréats'
 (Bac G + BTn : 249,497)

(Note d'Information 85-30 29 July 1985)

Of those taking the 'baccalauréat' in the 'cycle long' English still has a predominant place in the list of languages chosen by pupils as the first foreign language.

80.2% in English

17.0% in German

1.9% in Spanish

0.5% in other languages

0.4% in Italian (Note d'information 84-89, 17 December 1984)

Against this numerical background the importance of languages in the curriculum of the CES and 'lycées' is considered. The hours appointed for foreign languages in the CES and 'lycées' are as follows:

<u>Hours given to language-study in schools</u>				
Classe	LV1	LV2	LV1 renforcée	LV3
6e	3 hr			
5e	3 hr			
4e	3 hr	3 hr	2 hr	
3e	3 hr	3 hr	2 hr	
2e	3-2.5 hr	3-2.5*		3-2.5*
1e	3 hr	3*		3*
Te	Bac A,B 3 hr	3*		3*
	Bac C,D,E,F 2 hr			

*facultatif

In 1985 the 'seconde de détermination' included 2.5 to 3 hours of the first foreign language for all. Even at this stage the predominance of language-based subjects is clear because those who expect to do the following 'baccalauréat' courses are able to choose either a second modern foreign language or Latin or Greek (the choice is optional).

Bac A1	Lettres et Arts
Bac B	Sciences Economiques et Sociales
Bac C	Maths et sciences physiques
Bac D1	Sciences agronomiques et techniques
Bac D	Maths et sciences de la Nature
Bac G1	Techniques administratives
Bac G2	Techniques quantitatives de gestion
Bac G3	Techniques commerciales (vente)
Bac H	Informatique
Bac BT	Transport

For those particularly wanting to do the 'Série A2' ('Lettres et Langues'), a second and third foreign language are obligatory in the 'seconde de détermination'. For 'Série A3' ('Lettres et Arts') a second modern language or Latin or Greek are also obligatory.

During the last two years of higher secondary schooling a foreign language must be studied by all for 2 hours a week. Only 'Séries' A & B have 3 hours in the 'classes terminales'. The final examination for Bac A & B is an oral and written examination, but for the other series an oral exam only is required.

The place of languages in the obligatory timetable of the higher secondary is as follows:

	2e	1e	Te
Français	4/5	5/4	3/5/8
Histoire/Géo	3/4	4	3/4
LVI	3	3	2/3
Maths	3/4	2/5/6	2/5/6/8
Sciences physiques	3/2.5	0.5	0/3.5
Sciences naturelles	2	1	0/1/2
Education physique	2	2	2
Philosophie			3/5/8
Options obligatoires	1/5/3/8/11	3/12	3/11
facultative	1.5/2		

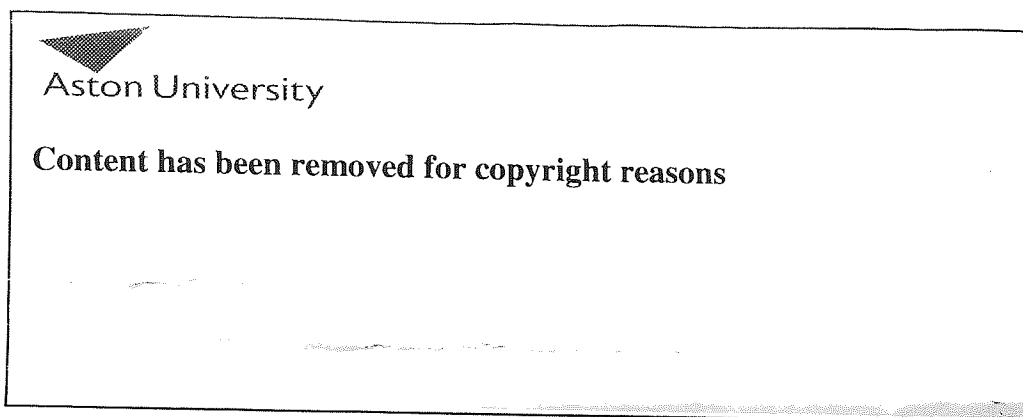
The changes in the numbers of hours for individual subjects is due to the differences in demands of the different séries. The syllabus for 'seconde de détermination' was designed originally in 1981 by Haby to defer the selection process and to provide 'un pont' between 'lycée d'enseignement général' (or 'lycée classique') and the 'lycée technique'. In other words he wanted a common syllabus to be followed by all, with limited option choice. In effect this amounted to 'un tronc commun' for all, with two groups of obligatory options (one is chosen from each group). In the first group, heavily biased towards industrial technology, science and applied arts (the requirements for most technical 'baccalauréats' - Bac F, Bac BT, Bac D1) an extra 7 to 11 hours are required. For the second group of

obligatory options including languages, economics, commerce and art only 2 to 3 hours are required. The second group is restrictive in that a pupil taking these options has excluded the possibility of switching back later to 'Bac E', - all the 'Baccalauréats de Technicien' and 'Brevets de Technicien' and the 'Bac E Mathématiques et technique' (ONISEP 1985b). However, these figures make it clear that languages have less importance in the technical 'baccalauréats' not only because languages occupy less time proportionally in the curriculum, but also because the final exam is only an oral one.

Comparison with the English syllabus is more difficult at these later stages of the secondary curriculum and becomes totally unrealistic, if not invidious, in the final year. However, in the 'seconde de détermination' a child choosing a subject from the second option group even if it is not a language, will still be doing 8 hours out of 26 - roughly one third - in language-based subjects. If he/she chooses an 'option complémentaire facultative' as a language, plus a language in the second group, the balance becomes 11 out of 29 hours - more than one-third. It is possible that a child who is to follow Série A1, B, C, D, D1, G1, G2, G3, H, BT Transport, could do this type of time-table. In contrast, the child who is at a 'lycée technique' will only have 8 out of 34 hours in language-based subjects - less than a quarter. In England, where of course just over a third of the school population is continuing a language at 'O' or CSE level, only 9 out of 40 periods is taken up by language-based subjects - less than a quarter, and if two

languages are taken 13 out of 40; this still amounts to less than a third. A child who has 'dropped' a language may be doing only 5 periods of English out of 40 - one-eighth of the time-table.

However, the following table shows the proportions of CES and 'lycée' pupils studying different languages in 1983-84:



(Note d'information 84-49, 17 December 1984)

At lycée level the slight decrease in the preponderance of English (Total 1er cycle 83.1% to Total 2nd Cycle long 80.2%) is probably due to the fact that the favoured choice of the most-able children is German, and the relative proportion of these children is higher in the 2nd 'cycle long'. The increase in English in the 2nd 'cycle court' will bear this out (Total '1er cycle' 83.1% to Total '2e cycle court' English 89.2%). Figures for the second foreign language are even more conclusive (Note d'information 84-49) showing that nearly half the children in 4e choose Spanish as a second foreign language (45.5% against 26.3% who choose German). In the second 'cycle long' 36.8% are doing

Spanish with 34.7% doing German, but in the second 'cycle court' 28.0% are doing Spanish and 27% are doing German. Here a large proportion (21%) are doing 'autres langues vivantes étrangères, langues étudiées par correspondance et langues régionales', possibly Arabic, Portuguese etc. As Binon has pointed out, choice of language tends to reflect ability level, or more euphemistically:

'A certains niveaux de l'éducation nationale les informations données aux familles tendent à faire coïncider la demande familiale avec l'offre limitée de tel ou tel établissement.'

(Le Monde 13 February 1986)

A third foreign language is on offer in the 2e and may include English for 'grands débutants' according to the availability of teachers and time-table restrictions (Note d'information 84-49).

The place of foreign languages in the curriculum

The first foreign language occupies an important place in the curriculum of the CES, and is considered not only by the school, but also by parents and society at large, as a 'discipline de base'. 'Langue vivante' comes in third position in each 'bulletin trimestriel' after French and Mathematics, and its importance is recognised in the Brevet de Collège 1986. In the 6e a child will have the following timetable:

		1986
Français	: 5 heures	4.5
Mathématique	: 3 heures	3
Langue vivante étrangère	: 3 heures	3
Histoire/géographie, économie		2.5
éducation civique	: 3 heures	1

Sciences expérimentales	: 3 heures	3
Technologie	au plus : 3 heures	2
Education artistique	: 2 heures	2
Education physique et sportive	: 3 heures	3

At the end of the CES his time-table will be:

Français	: 5 heures	5
Mathématiques	: 4 heures	4
Langue vivante 1	: 3 heures	3
Histoire, Géographie, Economie	3 heures	3
Education Civique	:	
Sciences expérimentales	: 3 heures	3
Technologie	: 1 heure	1.5
Education artistique	: 2 heures	2
Education physique et sportive	: 3 heures	3
(Langue vivante 2	: 3 heures	3
Options (Langue vivante 1 renforcée	: 2 heures	2
une est (Latin	: 3 heures	3
oblig- (Grec	: 3 heures	3
atoire (Option technologique	: 3 heures	3

(ONISEP 1985 a/b CNDP 1985)

In the 6e out of a total of 25 hours, approximately one third of a pupil's time is spent on language-based subjects (8 hours out of 25). By the end of the CES the proportion has risen to two-fifths (11 hours out of 27) and to nearly a half if 2 language options are taken (14 hours out of 30). A comparison with the average timetable of an English child in first year, and fourth year with one and two language options gives totally different proportions:

40 period week 1st Year		4th Year			
		1 language		2 languages	
English	5	English	5	English	5
Maths	5	Maths	5	Maths	5
R.E.	2	R.E.	2	R.E.	2
Games	3/4	Games	3/4	Games	3/4
Science	5/6	Science	4	Science	4
History	3	Humanities	4	Humanities	4
Geography	3	Language	4	Language 1	4
Art	2	Careers	1	Language 2	4
Craft	3/4	Form Period 1		Careers	1
Language	4	Option	4	Form Period	1
Form Period	1	Option	4	Option	4
Drama	1	Other	2	Other	2
	_____		_____		_____
	max 40		max 40		max 40

In the first year only one quarter of periods are spent on language-based subjects (9 out of 40) and in the fourth year the same proportion exists if one language is taken and rises to only one third if two languages are taken. The proportion of English children taking two languages is reserved for the most linguistically able and ranges from 15 to 35% according to the institution. Overall, the ratio of girls to boys taking a second language is girls - 62% girls, 38% boys (Powell 1986, p 37). The proportions for France are even more interesting when consideration is taken of the fact that success in the CES is based on a curriculum that gives high credit to linguistic skills but the 'voie royale' on the other hand in the lycée is based on

Série C and mathematical skills. There may be a paradox here, or it may be that the CES curriculum still reflects the classical heritage of the French education system, whereas the choice of 'baccalauréat' option reflects more the demands of a technically-orientated society. Languages are, of course, held in high esteem by a society that values its position as a trading nation:

'Pour acheter il suffit souvent de connaître l'anglo-américain. Mais lorsqu'il s'agit de vendre, c'est en parlant la langue de l'acheteur qu'on a le plus de chances.'

(Le Monde 13 February 1986, p 15)

For these reasons it is likely that languages will continue to hold an important place in the curriculum.

The aims and objectives of language teaching in France

Neumeister, in his study of schools in Europe commissioned by the Council for Cultural Cooperation in 1973, found that there had been a distinct shift in the aims and objectives of language teaching during the previous ten to twenty years. Up to this point languages had been taught to the élite. In France particularly the general culture of the social élite had traditionally included a training in rhetoric in order to develop the ability to paraphrase, to develop and summarise argument, to translate, to analyse and construct logically and to commit to memory a body of quotations and literary illusions for the writing of 'belles lettres' in the native language itself. Hence the interest in the structural aspect of language, grammatical analysis and the study of texts for linguistic and cultural information). Neumeister found that by 1973 the more practical

side of language learning was being emphasised and that the learning of a language had become part of the general culture of all pupils:

'Les instructions et les programmes de tous les pays décèlent qu'une réorientation de l'enseignement des langues vivantes qui passe du but principalement culturel vers un but plus pratique a eu lieu.'

(Neumeister 1973, p 33-4)

In France, the shift has had to be particularly big. The limitations of audio-lingual methods in schools have however reduced the speed and effectiveness of such a change. Nonetheless, Gallison detects a swing towards the practical use of language - the limitations of this new approach being, paradoxically, that the cultural aspects are delayed until later in the course and reserved again for the intellectual élite alone (Gallison, 1981).

The debate over the practical and cultural aims of language-teaching has continued since Bertrand (1977) outlines four aims - 'pratique, culturel, éducatif et politique', though here the practical aim is very closely allied to the educational (doing is learning) and the cultural to the political (understanding brings politico/economic advantages):

'un objectif pratique - l'élève apprend à communiquer dans la langue étrangère'

'un objectif culturel - l'élève découvre la littérature, la civilisation, les arts du pays étranger'

'un objectif éducatif - l'apprentissage d'une langue étrangère forme la personnalité . . .'

'un objectif politique - la connaissance des langues étrangères'

(Bertrand 1977, p 215)

Official Ministerial directives reflect the two aims:

'to exercise the pupils in the use of language and to contribute towards their intellectual development by giving them texts to study . . . (1950)

the aim of modern language teaching in the upper secondary school is not to study a particular author or period in the history of civilisation . . . but to give pupils practice in speaking and writing the modern language through the study of texts and documents.'

(Neumeister, 1973, p 44)

At the present time, the cultural and intellectual objectives of language teaching have largely been superseded by the practical objectives. The Ministry of Education in 1979 stated categorically that for the CES:

'le premier objectif de l'enseignement des langues à ce niveau est d'ordre pratique.'

(CNDP 1979, p 11)

The details of these aims may be compared to the National Criteria of GCSE French. The resemblance is close except for two interesting exceptions:

<u>Objectifs pédagogiques</u>	<u>GCSE National Criteria</u>
comprendre un interlocuteur, parler, puis lire et écrire une langue étrangère usuelle dans sa forme actuelle; être capable d'une communication sur des faits et des idées d'un niveau et d'une portée liés à l'âge de l'enfant	2.1 to develop the ability to use French effectively for purposes of practical communication
l'enseignement des langues vivantes doit contribuer à atteindre l'objectif général de l'éducation qui est l'épanouissement de la personnalité, de l'individu, ainsi que la formation du caractère par la pratique consentie de l'effort	2.2 to form a sound base of the skills, language and attitudes required for further study, work and leisure

Il reste que l'objectif proprement linguistique ne saurait être dissocié d'un objectif plus largement culturel. L'enseignement des langues vivantes a aussi un intérêt immédiat, celui de favoriser les relations des habitants de notre pays avec l'étranger

2.3 to offer insights into the culture and civilisation of French-speaking countries

Dans les éclaircissements donnés avec sobriété, le professeur pourra mettre en lumière des notions de nature à faciliter l'étude d'autres langues

2.4 to develop an awareness of language and language-learning

Lier l'acquisition linguistique à la découverte des civilisations étrangères est une école de compréhension, de tolérance, de sympathie

2.6 to encourage positive attitudes to foreign language learning, and to speakers of foreign languages and a sympathetic approach to other cultures and civilisations

la réflexion grammaticale se développera progressivement au cours des quatre années

2.5 to provide enjoyment and intellectual stimulation

(CNDP 1979b)

(DES 1985d, p 1)

Nowhere do the English criteria mention grammar, and nowhere does the French list mention enjoyment. Hence the miss-match in the last two points.

The most recent pronouncement by 'l'Inspection générale' presupposes a complete amalgam of the two objectives, cultural and practical:

'Il ne s'agit là cependant d'objectifs simplement juxtaposés et moins encore divergents. Leur unité profonde est assurée par la primauté que le professeur accorde à l'aspect linguistique de sa pédagogie en intégrant par conséquent l'information culturelle et l'action éducative à l'enseignement de la langue.'

(CNDP 1980, p 29)

English modern linguists would of course agree with this statement, but, in reality, the implementation of the aims, particularly the cultural, differs. The assumption has to be made in England by text-book writers that two-thirds of children will drop French after three years before a sufficiently high enough level of language-learning is reached for learners to be able to read 'background studies' in French. Therefore the tendency in most modern text-books ('Tricolore', 'Tour de France', 'Eclair') is to include from the first year an amount of information on France in English. In France, however, as the audio-lingual methods depend on the gradual introduction of increasingly more difficult structures, the story-line preferred is that of the highly stylised English family which engages in particular activities to show off required grammatical points - shall I, should I, etc. The assumption is made that at least three-quarters of children will continue learning English for four years during which time the stress is on grammatical acquisition. From 2e to 'Terminale', therefore, the course includes the study of texts and documents from Britain, United States, Canada, Australia, etc. Most text-books at this stage include background information, newspaper articles and extracts from plays and books in English. The level of language is high and the benefit of this approach is that around one-third of French 15 to 18 year olds will be reading about a foreign country in a foreign language. (The figure of 'around one-third' is arrived at by taking the figure of 28%, the percentage of the year-group obtaining the 'baccalauréat' and allowing for the pass rate which varies between 66% and 67%.)

In France the Council of Europe work has not directly affected practices in the schools visited in this study (but see pages 235 and 247 below). There is little evidence in class-room observation of group-work and pair-work, cue-cards and games, etc, advocated in the communicative methodology of Projects 4 and 12. Practice continues to be influenced by the earlier *Projet Majeur* audio-lingual approach; classes are teacher-dominated, and oral conversation is based on the structures of the text, and there is little evidence of the building-up of language skills based on the pupil's individual interests. However, the outstanding feature of language-classes is the overwhelming use of the foreign-language, insisted on by IPR not only for the study of the texts, and question-answer drills, but also for classroom instructions and control. The benefits of this practice are cumulative (Krashen 1982).

In France some educationalists appear to be wary of claims made for new approaches. Although Gallison allows, for example, that certain advances have been made by Council of Europe researchers in determining objectives in re-defining the place of the learner in the learning process and in constructing syllabuses, he suggests that the validity of the research is acceptable only because of the name and renown of the institution (Gallison 1981, p 19). He sees it as one approach among many. Dalgalian, Lieutaud, Weiss on the other hand tend to dismiss the learner-centred approach as being too fundamental a change to be realistic for an institution such as the school. For them the limitations of the classroom are too great for such an approach:

'au-delà d'une certaine limite il n'y a plus un apprentissage centré sur l'apprenant mais un nouveau maniérisme sans apprentissage.'

(Dalgalian 1981, p 46)

Their hesitations are based on the following factors;

- the teacher will be stretched, if not over-stretched, in responding to the needs of the individual.
- by insisting on a functional progression, based on individual needs, the structural progression may be lost.
- the teacher may not be able to guarantee the acquisition of learning objectives as he progresses through school (progress from class to class is not validated by language achievement alone).

The main limitations of the school as an institution have to be taken into account: 'programmes', exams, the teaching year and the classroom itself.

'l'enseignement des langues dans les structures pédagogiques actuelles est souvent un fiasco et toujours d'un rendement incroyablement disproportionnée aux moyens humains et matériels - et au temps d'études des élèves - investis dans cet enseignement.'

(Dalgalian 1981, p 138)

His solutions to these problems are: a revision of 'programmes', better training of teachers and

'l'éducation bilingue dans un projet politique multinational et pluriculturel'

(Dalgalian 1981, p 140)

He would certainly have the concurrence of English teachers in this suggestion, since the twin cultural and practical objectives of language-learning would be reached at one and the same time.

Before considering the implications of the recommendations made by Legrand, and the particular effects they might have on

language-teaching to remedy the situation just described, the following section gives more details of the difficulties experienced by teachers since mixed-ability teaching was introduced.

The Difficulties of teaching mixed ability classes

Haby's original intention in reforming the CES was to ensure that all children should benefit from the education given during these 4 years. No child was therefore to enter the 6e until he was ready i.e. had attained a certain level of numeracy and literacy. With this caveat the mixed-ability classes would have been fairly homogenous, and the extra hour of 'soutien' would have been sufficient to give occasional remedial help to those in difficulty. As it was, this original intention was overtaken by events (opposition by teachers' unions and parents' federations) and a far greater degree of heterogeneity among pupils was allowed to enter the CES than was originally intended, although the degree of heterogeneity in the 6e today is nowhere near that experienced in English comprehensive schools. In England the tradition of year-groups formed according to chronological age - 1 September to 31 August - is almost universal. Hence the need for various forms of setting and banding within a year-group, as the 'seuil d'hétérogénéité' is too great for mixed-ability grouping (this policy is by no means universal and many instances of complete mixed-ability grouping to Year 5 may be found in England). In France, however, 'redoublement' is used where necessary to establish a certain homogeneity, so that in the 6e at age 11 for example in 1983-4:

59.68% of children were normal age
 3.60% of children were 1 year ahead
 0.08% of children were 2 years ahead
 25.54% of children were 1 year behind
 7.87% of children were 2 years behind
 1.07% of children were 3 years behind
 0.16% of children were 4 years behind
 2.35% of children were in special education

(SPRESE Tableaux statistiques 1983-4)

The rate of 'redoublement' at the end of 6e, 5e and 2e is increasing:

1969-70 = 10.9% en fin de 6e	= 6.5% en fin de 5e
1984-85 = 12.05%	= 14.5%
1969-70 = 11.4% en fin de 2e	
1984-85 = 16.5%	

(SPRESE Tableaux statistiques 1984-85)

Au total on peut dire que si la quasi-totalité des élèves entrent dans le collège unique chaque année un peu plus de 7 élèves sur 10 connaissent un cursus complet jusqu'en 3e.

(Legrand 1982, p 186)

Even at the beginning of the CES a third of all children will already have repeated at least one class and as the figures above show 7.9% of children will be 13. The following figures are startling, and reveal the 'obstacle-course' nature of the French secondary school, the variety of routes of promotion and demotion and the power given to teachers in continuous assessment procedures:

De la 6e à la 3e

Sur 100 entrés en 6e en 1980

3 ans plus tard

- 58 en 4e
- 27 en 5e (12 redoublé 6e)
(15 redoublé 5e)
- 4 en CPPN
- 3 en CPA
- 8 en classes préparatoires au CAP

(Source: Panel 1er degré 1978
DT 321 SPRESE)

Just over half of the children in 3e go on into full-time education leading to a 'baccalauréat' (general or technical) (but the numbers in 3e are already reduced to about 75% of those who entered at 6e).

Que devient l'Elève de 3e?

Sur 100 élèves en 3e

- 14 redoublent
- 24 vont en BEP (LEP)
- 8 quittent l'école
- 8 en seconde opt tech
- 46 vont en 2e générale - 8 redoublent
- 2 vont en BP
- 2 quittent
- 7 vont en leA
- 7 vont en leB
- 7 vont en leGH
- 13 vont en leS -

Estimation à partir du flux d'élèves dans
l'ens pub et privé entre 1983-84 et 84-85
Document SPRESE no 5442 p 7

This diagram shows that 54 children out of 100 in 3e go into full-time 'cycle long'. Eight are able to leave as they have reached 16. Twenty-four go to LEP to follow a 2 year BEP ('Brevet d'Enseignement Professionel') to join those who left at the end of 5e to do a CAP.

In one sense 'redoublement' may be regarded as an endemic failure-rate. In another sense it may be used positively to solve the problem of the inflexible 'programmes'. The results of

the ECDL ('Echelle Collective de développement logique') tests in the 'écoles expérimentales' had already shown that in the 6e:

'Pour l'ensemble des 10 collèges expérimentaux soit pour une population totale de 1506 élèves: 43.82% sont au stade concret, 50.12% sont au stage intermédiaire et 5.9% sont au stade formel. Il apparaît donc que près de la moitié des enfants entrant en 6e sont au stade concret, c'est-à-dire qu'ils n'ont pas atteint le niveau nécessaire pour raisonner à partir de concepts, pour effectuer des opérations sur d'autres opérations.'

(Legrand 1982, p 230)

'Redoublement' is the only answer in a system that does not permit the latitude of graded objectives and, until recently, 'setting'. Significantly the 'redoublement' rate went up after 'la Réforme Haby'. It is unlikely that the system of 'redoublement' will change, as the teachers have a vested interest in continuing the system:

'Rien ne laisse présager une transformation radicale d'une tendance aussi fortement ancrée dans le fonctionnement de l'école.'

(P Moudon Directeur du SIGES in a speech to Académie de Bordeaux, 1984)

In the upper stages of education pupils are positively encouraged to stay on at the 'lycée' and repeat a year, rather than leave to increase the unemployment statistics. The problem has become so politicised that Chevènement has said:

'Je crois qu'il faut concéder des marges de souplesse et éviter des redoublements qui ne seraient pas absolument nécessaires.'

(Hamon & Rotman 1984, p 159)

Chevènement has also said that he does not want any child over the age of 12 to be left in primary school. This has enormous significance for all teachers, and especially for modern language teachers. Although teachers have believed that their classes are

'hétérogènes' in terms of ability, the figures above show that they are in fact much more homogeneous than teachers think, and therefore French teachers have never as yet had to face the real problems of mixed-ability teaching, syllabus-design and classroom organisation. The consequences of taking all children aged 11 into the 6e, rather than the wider age-range at present (10 to 14) are considerable, and allowances will have to be made in 'programmes' and groupings. Chevènement's long term plans as outlined in the 'Rapport Legrand' were to close the gap between the CES and LEP and keep more children following main-stream education. Here again changes in the ability-range of the children taking a course with fixed 'programmes' may result in pressure for a modification of teaching objectives. In 1980 and 1982 the 'Ministère de l'Education Nationale' undertook an evaluation of the CES in particular subjects at the end of 5e with the help of 'le Service de l'Informatique de Gestion et des Statistiques'. In the evaluation of English all three skills were tested - listening, reading and writing. The results showed that the teachers overestimated the pupils' actual performance in all skills:

'Discrimination auditive: Les professeurs ont été optimistes dans leurs pronostics
Compréhension de documents écrits: Le pronostic des professeurs est supérieur aux résultats obtenus
Expression écrite: On constate un écart important entre les prévisions de réussite faites par les professeurs et la performance des élèves'
(CNDP 1983b, p 28-47)

A particularly interesting example of this overestimation is the exercise in the writing test - a letter to a pen-friend transmitting certain information. The results may be compared to

the NFER 'Foreign Language Performance in Schools' report on the 1983 survey of French, German and Spanish (1985). The pupils examined were 2nd Year pupils similar to the French sample. The writing task was similar in both studies and the results show a remarkable similarity in percentage achievement:

Table A3.1 French Writing - Giving personal information

	Accurate %	Inaccurate %	Total %
je m'appelle	33	43	76
mon nom est	2	3	5
j'ai ... ans	39	26	65
treize/douze	55	21	76
12/13	8	-	8
j'habite	30	32	62
je n'ai pas	4	2	6
j'ai	38	12	50
frère(s)	37	4	41
soeur(s)	29	13	42
qui/il/elle s'appelle	3	3	6
père/papa	46	0	46
mère/maman	30	7	37
parents	0	-	0
travailler	10	8	18
Prep. + place	24	24	48
être + occupation	2	17	19
Poss. adjective	30	13	43
j'aime	90	4	94
je n'aime pas	29	21	50
Ref. to activity (noun)	58	15	73
Ref. to activity (verb)	15	14	29
je suis	14	2	16
Adjective	20	33	53
j'ai les yeux ...	10	18	28
j'ai les cheveux	3	28	31
écrire	5	14	19
Ref. to frequency	10	5	15

(CNDP 1983b page 44)

Previsions de réussite des élèves par les professeurs et résultats constatés

Description des activités proposées aux élèves

Niveau prévu par les professeurs	Résultats constatés (en %)				
	Correct Code 1	Partiels		Incorrect Code 4	Non répondu Code 0
		Code 2	Code 3		
62,5	44,6	—	—	26,2	29,2
46,0	21,3	0,6	8,0	33,9	36,2
47,1	28,9	6,9	3,1	38,3	22,8
42,8	23,0	6,4	1,8	30,5	38,3
—	16,8	—	—	4,0	79,2
38,2	32,4	5,5	—	33,3	28,8
—	6,5	—	—	8,7	88,8
—	17,3	2,3	4,5	35,0	40,9
—	4,0	—	—	6,2	89,8

IV.3 - La lettre.

Elaborer une lettre en vue de transmettre un certain nombre d'informations :

- a) 1) Nom**.
- 2) Age.
- 3) Composition de la famille.
- 4) 1 Habitation.
2 Informations complémentaires (adj).
- 5) 1 - Likes -.
2 Informations complémentaires.
- 6) 1 - Dislikes -.
2 Informations complémentaires.

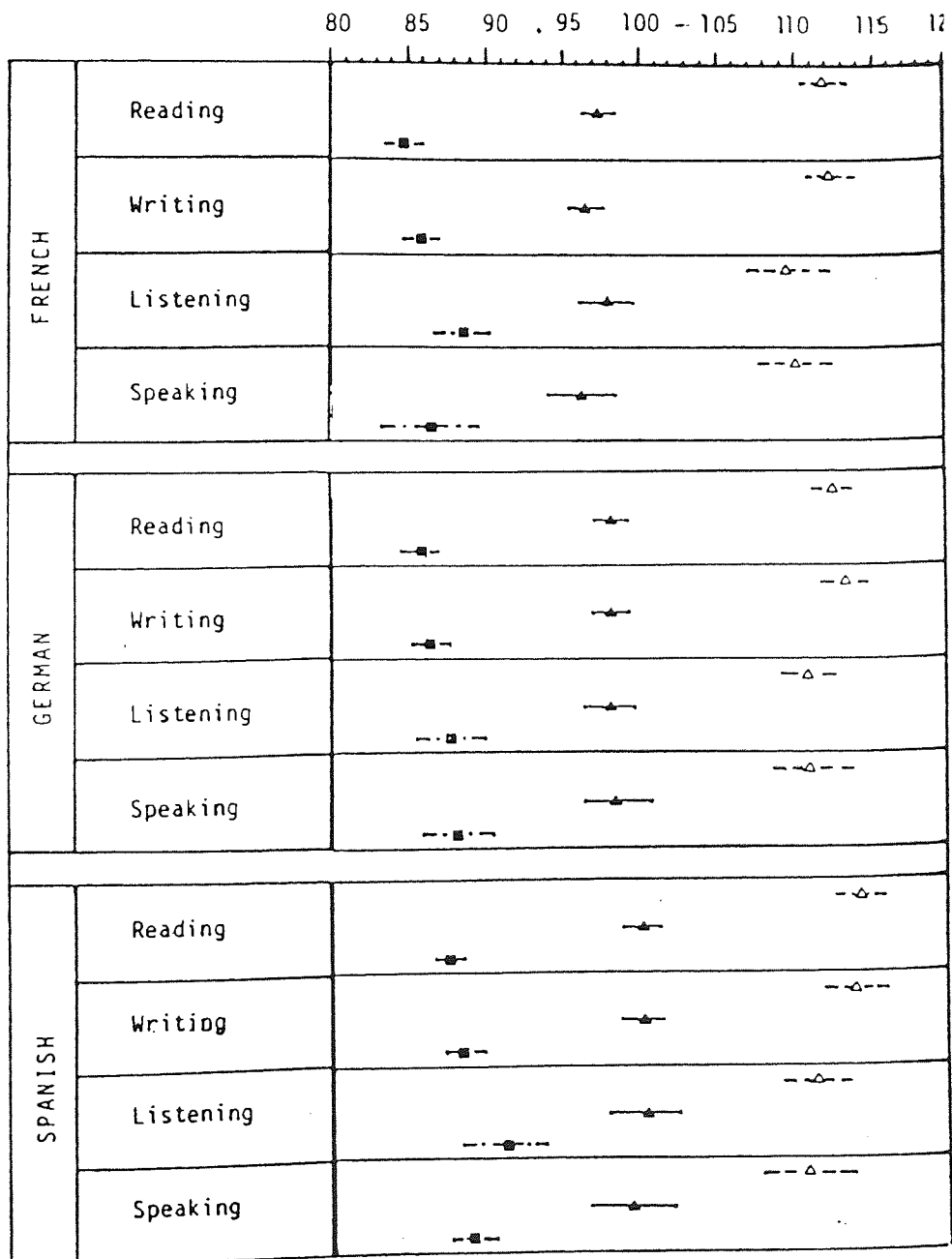
* Proportion des élèves pour lesquels les professeurs prévoient un résultat correct.
** En raison d'une omission dans le cahier élèves, il n'étant pas évident qu'ils devaient parler de leur nom.

(NFER 1985 page 410)

The French marking scale has 5 codes - Code 1 being totally correct and Code 9 incorrect. Codes 2 and 3 are partially correct. The English scale is 'accurate and' inaccurate'; these terms were used to refer to accuracy of spelling and usage, although for the purposes of this distinction, accents were disregarded. Comparisons are not therefore precise.

Roughly half the children in both samples were able to identify themselves correctly in the foreign language. More English children than French could write how old they were correctly. English children were more likely to write correctly about their family; more than half the French were inaccurate rather than accurate, but the reverse is the case with English children. In both samples only half could write correctly where they live. A high proportion of English children were able to write about their likes, but found much more difficulty with the negative form. The French children were very weak on this activity, and the complementary information about their hobbies and interests was not attempted by 86.8% and about their dislikes by 89.8%. The French teachers expressed reservations about the timing of the test - the letter was set at the end of the written test, in the summer term etc. Even so, there is here conclusive evidence in the English survey of the effects of a particular approach in language-teaching based predominantly on pupils' interests.

Figure 9.21 Estimated achievement



Key:
 ---◇--- high
 ---▲--- average
 ---■--- low

95% confidence limits

The table above compares the mean scores of pupils at each point on the scale. Teachers in England were asked to estimate each pupils' potential achievement on the three-point scale:

High - capable of GCE 'O' level A-C or CSE Grade 1

Average - capable of CSE 2-5

Low - unlikely to achieve CSE 5

The survey points out:

'All the differences were significant at the 1% level which indicates a very close relationship between teachers' estimates of achievement and pupil performance on the tests.'

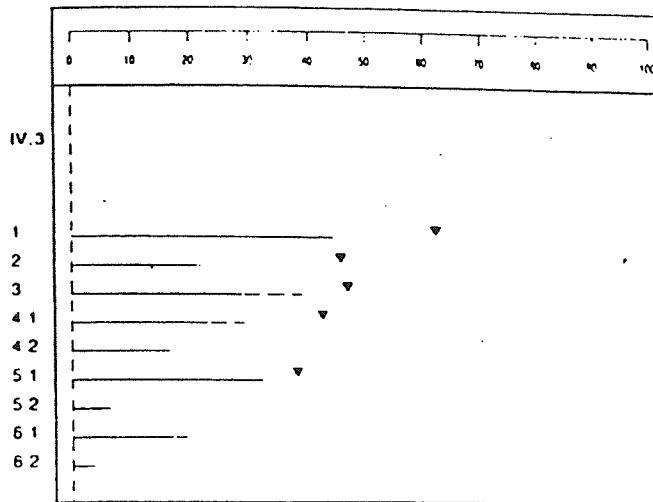
(NFER 1985, p 351)

The limitations of this comparison of teacher assessment are, however, clear. There was no attempt in the NFER survey to predict pupil performance in the tests set; teachers were only asked to allocate pupils to 3 broad bands of ability according to possible future performance in external examinations.

In the French survey, however, teachers were asked to predict the performance of each task. The graph shows the pupils' performance (1 to 62 being the items on the letter). This graph shows very clearly how high the teachers' estimates of pupils' performance were.

Représentation graphique des réussites* prévues (▼) et observées (-)

Guide de lecture



Dans la première partie de la lettre, les élèves étaient guidés dans la transmission d'un certain nombre d'informations qu'ils avaient à donner.

On constate qu'un nombre non négligeable d'élèves sont, dans un contexte de communication, capables de transmettre des informations les concernant et de les rendre intelligibles au lecteur. Pour chacune des informations principales, plus de 60 % ont entrepris la tâche, et la moitié d'entre eux ont transmis ces informations dans une langue grammaticalement correcte.

* La réussite est ici représentée par la proportion d'élèves qui ont répondu correctement soit à un seul item, soit à un groupe d'items.

The implications of the Legrand recommendations

There are two main areas to be examined here:

'l'équipe pédagogique' and teachers' attitudes

'la pédagogie différenciée' and 'groupes de niveau'

Legrand, in recommending the creation of 'équipes pédagogiques', was aiming to transform not only the nature of the teacher's rôle, but also the nature of 'la vie scolaire'. The traditional rôle of the teacher, independent in the classroom and in his discipline, and dominated by the demands of the 'programmes' and examinations was to change. As a member of a team covering several subject-areas the teacher should necessarily become aware of a pupil's performance in other subjects. This overall view of the pupil's performance in the 'écoles expérimentales'

'a permis de mettre au premier plan des objectifs généraux négligés dans le système normal - socialisation, autonomie, intérêt pour la tâche et épanouissement personnel.'

(Legrand 1982, p 291)

Legrand hoped for a gradual merging of the different grades of teachers by means of these 'équipes'. He wanted to guarantee 3 hours of 'concertation' for all grades of teachers, and reduce teaching hours for the PEGC teachers. He envisaged 'concertation' as taking the form of team discussion of methodology, organisation and testing procedures:

'Un pas de plus est franchi quand l'équipe décide de confronter les points de vue individuels dans le domaine de la pédagogie. Cela peut aller jusqu'à la division du travail dans la préparation de l'enseignement.'

(Legrand 1982, p 114)

In France this concept of team-teaching is new, and therefore delicate, because it threatens the traditional image the French teacher has of himself. Legrand wisely recommended the creation of 'équipes pédagogiques' on a voluntary basis in the first instance (the 'équipes pédagogiques' were obligatory in the 'écoles expérimentales' for the requirements of the research. This obligation may have created its own dynamism).

'L'équipe pédagogique' implies teacher cooperation in setting short-term objectives suitable for a particular school-population, and 'le projet d'établissement' implies the planning of a school policy based on longer-term objectives. However, both these examples of greater freedom in decision-making have their dangers and for this reason Chevènement insisted on a greater degree of accountability and responsibility on the part of his public servants (the teachers):

'J'entends que les établissements se sentent responsables de leurs résultats . . . ils devront désormais assumer une responsabilité importante en tant qu'animateur d'une équipe pédagogique.'

(Hamon 1985, p 164)

The report of 'le Collège de France' to Président Mitterrand in March 1985 put a similar stress on the need for a greater degree of accountability among teachers and emphasised:

'l'autonomie des établissements et des enseignants - qui soient jugés en fonction de leur efficacité et de leurs capacités d'innovation - la compétition entre établissements.'

(Collège de France 1985, p 4)

Teachers are well aware of the implications involved in being granted a greater degree of 'autonomie'; 73% of teachers in an opinion poll conducted by Le Monde de l'Education in September 1985 said they would like 'even more freedom'. However only 38% (against 43%) would like to see the evaluation of 'collèges' and 'lycées'. The article is very clear that greater freedom in decision-making implies certain constraints, even if this means a departure from control by 'programmes' towards control by independent evaluation of results and teachers:

'L'évaluation est le corollaire de la déssectorisation souhaitée et de la revendication d'autonomie. Si l'on veut éviter de laisser libre cours aux mimes et aux phénomènes du mode. L'évaluation est un moyen de reconnaissance sociale et de valorisation du contrôle des maîtres.'

(Le Monde de l'Education October 1985)

Evaluation of individual teachers is conducted by the inspectorate anyway, but evaluation of 'équipes pédagogiques' and the general community life of the school ('la vie scolaire') would be new in France. If evaluation by pupils of teachers was introduced, as suggested by an opinion-poll conducted by Le Point among 617 15 to 18 year-olds in September 1985, modern language teachers would indeed have cause for concern. More than 80% of pupils were generally satisfied with their teachers, but:

'Quant aux matières 'lanternes-rouges', celles où les professeurs sont considérés comme les moins valables, on y trouve surtout les langues vivantes: anglais, allemand et espagnol.'

(Le Point 8 Sept 1985, p 49)

In answer to the question 'Quelle est la matière qui doit avoir le meilleur prof?' the following list is revealing:

(the percentage figure is the percentage of pupils indicating a subject should have the best teacher)

mathématiques	32.3%
français	19.3%
toutes matières	17.6%
matières à fort coefficient	13.7%
physique-chimie	4.1%
philosophie	2.8%
langues	2.8%
économie	1.0%
EPS	0.5%
autres matières	2.5%
sans réponse	3.4%

(Le Point 8 Sept 1985, p 49)

This questionnaire was for young people most of whom had only 2 hours of languages out of an average 25 hours per week by this stage. Nonetheless some of the reasons given by pupils for their choices were disquieting, as they touch on methodology (even allowing for a certain exaggeration):

'Pour Jean-Claude Milner la raison tient à la pratique : dans ces disciplines des 'fameuses' pédagogies ouvertes - cocktail d'audiovisuel, de conversations improvisées, de chansonnettes et de souvenirs touristiques - qui ont fait grand tort à l'apprentissage des langues étrangères.'

(Le Point 8 Sept 1985, p 49)

In view of these opinions, it is important that the subject should retain the interest and motivation of its pupils without resorting to gimmicks. Indeed Savary considered that evaluation should include self-evaluation of the teacher. He also recommended to the 'équipes pédagogiques' that they should examine more closely the needs of the target group and use more responsibly the greater freedom they had been given:

'il s'agissait de permettre aux praticiens de la 'chose éducative' non pas de lancer des expériences non contrôlées, mais de tenir compte de la spécificité des publics accueillis.'

(Savary 1985, p 56)

The setting-up of 'équipes pédagogiques' in all schools at departmental level involves a profound change, firstly in the traditional work-patterns of the French teacher, and secondly, in the perceptions he has of his rôle. Thirdly, a change of such dimensions involves a shift in the power-structure within the school-system. The teacher is affected personally at the affective and perceptual level, when his status within the school system moves from being a small independent unit to being a member of a larger team. The French teachers have, however, no tradition of 'heads of departments' at present. At present decisions affecting the subject discipline are arrived at collectively and informally, and any contention is resolved by the head teacher. There is, in addition, no structure of monetary reward for the extra work of either an official 'chef' or for the natural leader or 'moteur', who may emerge in a team.

La pédagogie différenciée and 'groupes de niveau'

The complexity of the educational system was largely ignored by Haby when he created 'le collège unique'. Before his reform a variety of educational institutions catered for a school population unequally segregated on social and intellectual grounds; 'le collège unique' is today the sole institution catering for this multiplicity. Haby chose to ignore the implications of this multiplicity, but De Peretti, in a report on teacher-training commissioned by Savary in 1981, considered that this diversity of population needed a diversity of organisation and methodology within the framework of 'le collège unique'. He quotes Ashby, an American cybernetics and systems-analyst as having influenced his concept of 'la pédagogie différenciée':

'nous retrouvons là une conception basée sur les éléments, les théories, du système d'Ashby dans lequel Ashby montre que dans un système hyper-complexe la variété des sous-systèmes régulateurs doit être au moins égale à la variété des besoins de l'ensemble du système.'

(De Peretti at Conference in Birmingham, 1985)

He quotes the same 'loi de la variété indispensable ou requise' in the CIEP ('Centre International d'Etudes Pédagogiques') publication on 'la Pédagogie différenciée.' Contravention of this law was demonstrated by the failure of Haby's reform:

'si la variété des solutions et des relations offertes est insuffisante, le sous-système fonctionne comme réducteur et non plus comme régulateur; il entraîne des blocages et des ruptures qui favorisent les effets pervers du système.'

(Les Amis de Sèvres 1985, p 9)

The truth of this law had been practically demonstrated in Legrand's 'écoles expérimentales'; therefore Legrand's recommendation for a more subtle differentiation in methodology

and grouping carried weight on both theoretical and practical grounds. Savary accepted Legrand's recommendation for 'pédagogie différenciée' and 'groupes de niveau' in subject-disciplines but not the major reorganisation involving 'ensembles'. This would have involved considerable re-training of teachers ('Le Monde de l'Education' March 1983, p 6):

'J'ai proposé aux collèges de constituer des groupes de niveau dans les disciplines où les différences entre élèves étaient les plus préoccupantes; français, mathématiques, langues vivantes. Chacun pouvait alors progresser à son rythme.'

(Savary 1985, p 57)

Teachers in schools were permitted great latitude in the setting-up of 'groupes de niveau' in 1984 on a voluntary basis. Some schools had already begun to experiment with setting processes as an entirely spontaneous response to perceived pressures, for example in 'Collège de Sèvres' and 'Collège d'Anthony' in Paris, 'Collège d'Auzone' in Bordeaux. Chevènement continued Savary's policy with the same degree of caution - a 'non-imposition' of change:

'Les groupes de niveau - ont pour but de permettre aux enseignants d'être plus proches de ce qu'est le niveau réel des élèves . . . J'agis avec prudence car je ne dois pas non plus . . . faire comme si, par le miracle de quelques décrets donnant toute latitude à faire ce qu'il lui plaît . . . Je ne crois pas aux miracles.'

(Hamon & Rotman 1985, p 146)

There are, in fact, two interpretations of 'la pédagogie différenciée' in practice in schools. Firstly, as an organisation of 'groupes de niveau' across the year divided into 'bons moyens faibles' and 'forts moyens faibles'. Different teaching methodology is used according to the group - more formal grammar explanation is given to the more-able groups, more

activity methods to less-able groups, etc. The 'grandes lignes des programmes' are adhered to by teachers in all groups. There is no selection of objectives, as in England. Common testing procedures are carried out across the year based on 'les grandes lignes'. Secondly, as an organisation of mixed-ability classes, across the year with group-work based on ability within the class. Here the longer (50 or 55 minute) lesson in French schools lends itself more to this type of group-work, but preparation and marking time for the teacher is often doubled or even tripled. Because of the constraints of the class-room, the limitations of this approach centre on the difficulties of differentiating levels in reading and writing tasks. Speaking and listening tasks are more likely to be introduced at the beginning of the lesson using teacher-directed and undifferentiated teaching techniques. Nonetheless this approach is an advance on the former methodology of undifferentiated teaching to a mixed-ability class. It is recommended by the inspectorate and favoured by teachers unwilling or unable to set up 'groupes de niveau'. Institutional difficulties for setting up 'groupes de niveau' include the complications of 'blocking' lessons for groups of teachers who have less hours of service in school than English teachers.

The move towards a greater degree of differentiation in methodology and class-structure is a response to a greater degree of awareness of the complexity of the intellectual and social divisions within the school population. Haby's reform of the structures of the school has been succeeded by a 'rénovation' which appears to be more realistic and child-centred. The

influence of Legrand has been strong in establishing the foundations of this new approach, but also a much higher level of 'consensus scolaire' among all the partners involved in the education process - researchers, the inspectorate, ministry, teachers and parents - has been detectable since 1981. This view has been expressed forcibly by De Peretti:

'M Chevènement prononce toujours le mot 'pédagogie' avec le mot 'différenciée'. Nous avons mis au point ce terme avec l'appui de tous les doyens de l'Inspection générale . . . A l'heure actuelle, la pédagogie différenciée est tout à fait à l'honneur, pour le ministre et pour les instructions . . .'

(De Peretti at Conference in Birmingham, October 1985)

This chapter, in examining the situation of modern languages in France, both from the historical and contemporary angle, has shown that there are a number of factors involved in the gradual process of modification of the aims and objectives of language-teaching. These factors may either contribute to, or inhibit the process of change in actual practice in the class-room. An examination of these factors follows in the next section.

Contributors to change in France

- Ninety-eight per cent of the school population learns one foreign language for at least 2 years (81.7% learn English), and about 75% (61.31% English) for 4 years. About two-thirds of the school population learns another language for at least 2 years (13.4% English). About 35% of the school population continues in 2e 'de détermination' with at least one language (80% English) and about 28% of the year-group gains the 'baccalauréat'. So it is possible to calculate that about 35% (pass rate of bac 65.67%)

of the school population has studied a foreign language for at least 7 years (80% of this 35% have studied English to this level). Languages (83.1% in CES, 80.2% in 'Lycée Général', 89.2% in LEP study English) therefore form part of the core curriculum for a large proportion of the school population throughout secondary education.

- Languages are considered by the school as a 'discipline de base'. In the 'Brevet d'Etudes des Collèges' languages carry a coefficient of 3 (French and Mathematics carry a coefficient of 4) and a high coefficient in the 'baccalauréat'.

- Languages are considered by the pupils to be important for career prospects in business, industrial and professional fields.

- English forms part of the teenage culture - records, pop-stars, computers.

- A centralised education system could theoretically ensure fast dissemination of new ideas.

Inhibitors to change in France

Innovation at teacher-level may be stifled because of the dual pressure of 'programmes' and inspection procedures linked to the teacher's salary progression in spite of national inspectorate instructions to the contrary. Even official experimentation sanctioned by INRP may be ignored (this has been Legrand's experience). 'Inspecteurs généraux' who control policy nationally, do not inspect PEGC teachers, and are often unaware of conditions in CES. Dissemination of innovation procedures from INRP has been inefficient and 'Académies' have tended to be isolated from each other. However, De Peretti has given a new

role to CRDP and IPR - that of improving in-service training for teachers.

The cultural aims of language-teaching (including 'training of the mind') have given way to more practical aims. At the same time there has been a shift in the concept of the curriculum incorporating a body of knowledge towards a more practical curriculum developing skills. In the upper secondary curriculum languages have tended to lose some status, not only because of the reduction in hours but also because of some disillusionment among pupils who are not able to master the practical skills required.

In addition, the rôle of the teacher has been threatened not only because of wider social changes but also because of structural changes in the school system. Inadequate preparation and re-training before large-scale reform have built up a resistance to change. Savary's 'rénovation' called for personal qualities of initiative, adaptability and cooperation. 'Equipes pédagogiques', 'groupes de niveau' and 'projets' are contrary to the normal work-patterns of the traditional 'professeur autonome'. On the other hand, the 'non-imposition' of the 'rénovation' and lack of monetary reward to the 'moteurs', have caused some reactions of bewilderment and indifference.

The rigid differentiation into ability-groups in the pre-Haby period, was replaced by the 'tronc commun' for all. However, the 'programmes' have been modified only slightly since then, and continue to dominate subject-content and evaluation processes. In the 4e and 3e it has become apparent that the 'programmes' were never designed to cater for the whole ability

range anyway, as by then a quarter of the school population has left main-stream general education. Pupils in 4e and 3e in the LEP for example who continue with English, do so with their own 'programme'.

Evaluation processes have remained the same throughout the period with few attempts to evaluate within the teaching-group. Pupils are assessed against the exterior norm of the 'programme'. Progression from class to class (or 'redoublement') depends on achievement in subject areas, and more sophisticated testing processes or batteries of tests are not used (except for entry into SES and appeals to 'redoublements' and 'orientation' at the end of 5e or 3e). Because of the rigidity of the 'programmes' and the traditional status and privilege of the subject teacher, questions of motivation are of less concern to French teachers than English teachers.

The dissemination of change is very slow; even if research has been carried out at national level the results of research take a long time to be implemented by the teachers in school.

This chapter has shown that 'la réforme Haby' failed to establish the degree of egalitarianism that it intended in attempting to create 'le collège unique'. Indeed former patterns of segregation based on achievement in language-based subjects quickly re-established themselves after preliminary attempts to introduce remedial action through 'le soutien' were found to be inadequate. Such wholesale reform based on government decree did not take into account research that was being carried on in a number of schools at the time into the feasibility of a realistic common syllabus for the first four years of secondary schooling.

The chapter gives clear evidence of the politicised nature of the education debate in France and demonstrates how the results of this research were eventually adopted by the 1981 Socialist government in their decentralisation policies for schools.

This chapter also shows the extent to which potential reform is circumscribed by economic considerations and concludes that these considerations are becoming increasingly more important. Nonetheless, blanket policies of reform including low class numbers, and considerable resources, as in 'la Réforme Haby', have not necessarily raised pupil performance, so the further factors of time and opportunity given to teachers to develop innovatory techniques in curriculum and methodology have been considered. A study of Legrand's recommendations has revealed this new approach to reform and the change in the nature of this external factor for change.

CHAPTER 7

INTERNAL FACTORS IN THE BORDEAUX REGION

In order to examine the nature of change in France, a survey was made of the situation in Bordeaux. As the administration of a formal questionnaire was not permitted by the 'Inspecteur Pédagogique Régional' (IPR), 8 schools were visited, 18 teachers and 4 head-teachers were interviewed, affording 12 hours of tape-recorded interviews. In addition, the IPR with responsibility for English was interviewed, as was the 'directeur d'études du centre de formation à Bordeaux' (1.5 hour tape - recorded interview). The teacher responsible for all 'assistants' in the Bordeaux area was interviewed in a 1.5 hour conversation, and the views of two 'assistantes' in schools were taken into account.

Since it was necessary to investigate the national situation and evaluate the national research in progress the director of the Paris Centre International d'Etudes Pédagogiques, an 'inspecteur général', was interviewed for her views on change. A further 6 hours of tape-recorded conversations were held with researchers at the 'Institut National de Recherches Pédagogiques' (INRP) in Paris. In addition, 5 schools were visited in Paris and 16 teachers and 3 head-teachers interviewed there, making 6 more hours of recording. Appendix 9 lists the main characteristics of all schools visited.

The Gironde: schools and the use of languages

The 'Académie de Bordeaux' is divided into 5 'départements' of which the Gironde with the city of Bordeaux is the largest. The 'département' of the Gironde is itself divided into 10 districts each based on one or more 'lycées', and caters

for a total of 599,768 pupils in primary and secondary education. The 243,898 secondary school pupils are placed in a variety of institutions offering a range of modern languages. All 91 'collèges' offer English, 60 offer German and 56 offer Spanish. Most 'collèges' offer 2 languages, only 7 offer only one language, 37 'collèges' offer 3 and one offers 5 languages. In view of the intake of immigrants in Bordeaux it is surprising that Arabic and Portuguese are only offered in 3 'collèges'. All 20 'lycées' except one offer German, English and Spanish, and one 'lycée' offers 5 languages - German, English, Spanish, Russian and Portuguese ('Carte des Langues Vivantes - Académie de Bordeaux', 1985). A new development in the 'lycées' is the teaching of Chinese to 80 children, Modern Hebrew to 4, Occitan to 24. Italian is also taught to 1230 children ('Académie de Bordeaux' 1985b, p 34).

These facts do not, however, give a truly quantitative picture of the languages taught. The Gironde with Bordeaux reflects the national situation where English is the most popular first foreign language in CES (84.4%), but Spanish comes second with 8.0% and German has 6.9% (national picture: 83.1% English, 14.2% German and Spanish 1.7% ('note d'information' 84-49 17 December 1984)). The difference in percentages is directly due to the Gironde and Bordeaux's geographical position. Even more clearly influenced by the Gironde's proximity to Spain are the figures for the second foreign language: in the city of Bordeaux itself, 70% opt for Spanish, 13.4% for German and 15.3% for English (national picture: 45.5% Spanish, German 26.3% and

English 20.3%) ('note d'information' 84-49 17 December 1984). In the LEP in Bordeaux 77% of children have English as their first foreign language, 22% have Spanish and 0.5% have German (national figures English 89.2%, 3.2% Spanish and 6.9% German). In the 'lycées' in Bordeaux English is studied by 82.6%, German by 9.0% and Spanish by 8.05% (national picture: English 80.2%, German by 17.0% and Spanish by 1.9%) ('note d'information' 84-49 17 December 1984). Spanish therefore is studied throughout the curriculum to a much greater extent than in other parts of France but nowhere is the predominance of English threatened ('Académie de Bordeaux' 1985c). These statistics show quite clearly that when the figures in the LEP of pupils studying English began to decline in favour of Spanish, under the mistaken assumption that Spanish was easier than English there was a reversal of this tendency within 2 years. The 'volte face' was so abrupt that the general tendency has asserted itself even more forcibly than before:

'un renforcement de la position dominante de l'Anglais et corrélativement, une désaffectation relative des élèves pour l'Espagnol.'

(Académie de Bordeaux 1985c)

The rise of Spanish as the main second language may continue even further, with Spain's entry into the EEC and the creation of Bordeaux as a 'port autonome'.

In the Gironde there are 64,458 children in 'collèges' (44% of the 'Académie' total), 14,857 in LEP (40% of 'Académie' total) and 22,890 in 'lycées' (44% of 'Académie' total). All children study at least one language in the state 'collèges' (84.4% English) but in the state LEP only 8,126 out of 11,819 (69%)

study a language, of whom 8,126 77% are studying English - 6,982 children.

The total number of children in state schools learning English in Gironde as first language in 1984/85 was:

	<u>Learning English</u>	<u>Total numbers doing languages</u>
Premier cycle:	45,091	55,312
Second cycle court:	6,982	11,819
Second cycle long:	14,389	16,741
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	66,462	83,672

Of all children from 11 to 18 who have the possibility of learning a language, 79.4% learn English. Obviously the figures take no account of children who are in classes where languages are not on offer (e.g. CPPN, CPA, SES etc). If these were taken into account the percentage doing English would drop to 74%.

Figures including all learners of English - second foreign language, third foreign language, intensive courses etc - show that 83% of all children in school learn English in some way in state schools:

Premier cycle:	50,940	Total including
Second cycle court:	6,982	CPPN, CPA, SES
Second cycle long:	16,864	
	<hr/>	
	74,786	89,994

At 'baccalauréat' level in 1984 1,879 followed 'Série A' and 1,131 followed 'Série B' - the language options. Of these pupils 1,160 passed 'Série A' and 690 passed 'Série B' - a pass-rate of 64%. Overall figures of those doing 'baccalauréat général' and 'baccalauréat de technicien' were 7,455, 4,604 of whom passed. This represents an overall pass-rate of 61%. The main point of these figures here is to show that 7,455 children in the Gironde carried on the study of languages to an advanced level and 6,113 of these were doing English in 1984/85.

Children learn English in secondary school to basically three levels:

Baccalauréat	main-stream education	6e to 3e + lycée 2e to Ter
BEP	main-stream education	6e to 3e + LEP (2 years)
CAP	main-stream education	6e to 5e + LEP (2/3 years)

It is not possible to say that (as in England) all children have at least two years main-stream English at ages 11 to 13, and that then the lower-ability children follow an easier course with different objectives for another two or three years. This is because 'redoublement' has delayed entry into secondary school for more than one third of 11 year old children (36.64% are still in primary school or in special education - at this age, and even at 13, 7.9% are still there - SPRESE statistics 1984/85). The lower-ability children, who are most likely to go to LEP or CPPN/CPA classes after two years secondary school, are, in fact, the ones most likely to have repeated one, two or even three

years of primary school, and thus do not learn English until age 12, 13 or 14. It is possible therefore to say that the 'programme' for modern languages alters significantly for lower-ability children after 2 years secondary education, and that this alteration is linked to ability but not to age. Experience in language-learning after the 3e is likewise linked to ability, and not to age as it is in England.

In the 'département' of Gironde, for example, the 'redoublement' rate of the 5e is 17.5% - 44 pupils out of 268 repeated the 5e year in School 6 (16.4%) ('Redoublement' rate for the 'académie' is 18%). Out of 11 divisions of an average class size of 24, an average of 4 pupils repeated the year. In the 5e:

34.98% were 12
36.12% were 13
22.82% were 14
4.18% were 15
and 2 children were 16
(School 6)

The principal of School 6 has calculated that entry into the next year, 4e, is directly linked to whether a child has followed a normal progression through the school up until 5e. For example, of those less than normal age 100% move up,

of normal age	78% move up
one year behind	58% move up
two years behind	20% move up
three years behind	0% move up

He sees a direct link between failure measured in past years of 'redoublement' and failure measured in present achievement, but

nowhere does he point out the link between failure and differences in ability-level (this is in line with French teachers' distrust of IQ testing and concepts of ability curves etc). The manner of the compilation of these statistics demonstrates very clearly that failure is cumulative and that selection operates like a filter.

In this school (School 6) in the 5e, 34.98% were normal age but 65% were 1 to 3 years behind. Out of this figure 55% manifested a desire to go to a LEP (nationally this figure is 50.70% - SPRESE 1984/85 statistics). This school, with a slightly skewed intake of more less-able children than average from a densely-populated high-rise housing estate, had the following school-roll:

6e	200 pupils	8 divisions
5e	258 pupils	11 divisions
4e	128 pupils (CPPN 16)	5 divisions
3e	115 pupils (CPA 44)	5 divisions
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	701	60
	Total: 761	

In this school, then, about half the children left after two years to go to a LEP where, on average, 69% of them would continue with a language. The objectives for this group in the LEP are:

'De comprendre et de s'exprimer, de lire et d'écrire de manière adéquate;
D'exécuter des opérations simples, en rapport avec sa compétence linguistique, dans le cadre de la spécialité choisie.'

(CNDP 1984, p 67)

Necessarily, the syllabus for English is limited for those children who have already demonstrated failure in a number of subjects, but the linguistic base of language-learning already achieved is emphasised, as is the particular area of vocational work the pupil has chosen. The grammatical syllabus includes all that was covered in 6e and 5e with little further progression from that stage, and the lexical syllabus is laid down only as a check list of 466 general words and 6 'séries' comprising parts of the body, months, days, seasons, points of the compass. Fifty-seven 'mots transparents' are included. Overall only 7 new words compared with 460 new words are introduced into the lexical syllabus of the main-stream 4e in the 'collège'.

The syllabus for the pupils in the LEP is an obvious simplification of the 1,114 words presented in 6e and 3e and the teacher is even encouraged to depart from the list in order to introduce songs, magazines, newspapers, slides and photos. Recognition of the difficulties of maintaining motivation and interest is also given to the teacher involved in teaching languages at this level:

'Dans les classes de CAP plus qu'ailleurs peut-être, l'efficacité de l'enseignement est, en grande partie, fonction de la qualité de la relation unissant à travers la langue étudiée, le professeur à ses élèves.'

(CNDP 1984, p 243)

There has thus been a certain differentiation of both objectives and content at this level between pupils in mainstream education and pupils in LEP in 'sections tertiaires' doing 'CAP employé de comptabilité, employé de bureau, vendeur', 'CAP des métiers de la

restauration et de l'hôtellerie', 'CAP des métiers de l'alimentation' (6,982 children in the Gironde in 1984/85).

Children in main-stream education in 'collèges' in 4e and 3e continue with the lexical syllabus of 460 new words in 4e and 358 new words in 3e. The grammatical syllabus follows a progression of ever-increasing complexity, and the official text-book is followed. There is thus little opportunity for the use of authentic texts, songs and readers outside the timetable dictated by the 'programmes'. However, at the end of 3e there is a further selection based on ability, which determines the level to which languages will be studied. This second stage of differentiation is not based on age either.

In School 6, for example, 46% of boys and 56% of girls in the 3e wanted to go on to the 2e. 6.5% of boys and 14% of girls wanted to repeat the year. All of these would continue with main-stream general education. However, 37% of boys and 24.5% of girls wanted to do a 'Brevet d'Enseignement Professionnel' (BEP) in LEP. This qualification is vocational and leads directly to further training or employment, and two hours of English are included in all disciplines. For these pupils there is no defined lexical or grammatical syllabus, but objectives take into account the reduced number of hours and the level of ability of the pupils:

'Le seul objectif possible sera l'acquisition d'une langue simple et pratique mais on recherchera, à l'intérieur de ces limites raisonnables, l'efficacité et un maniement oral facile de la langue enseignée. Plus que partout ailleurs, la notion d'utilité restera présente à l'esprit des maîtres.'

(CNDP 1983, p 40)

This last sentence makes this level particularly interesting, as the mention of 'centres d'intérêt' around which the syllabus is to be built, makes it the most similar to the syllabuses which include the 'topic areas' of Council of Europe work and GCSE examinations. These 'centres d'intérêt' include: daily life, man in rural life, man in urban life, industry, commerce, transport, leisure, festivals, games and sport, transport and means of communication, life at school, elementary facts on work problems, factory and social problems, institutions, essential geography of countries, media-press, cinema, radio, TV. Simple and authentic texts are to be used to motivate the pupils who have reached a fair reading ability by this stage (four years of language), but whose knowledge of grammar may be unsound:

'La connaissance du vocabulaire essentiel de la langue courante sera renforcée et enrichie de façon à la fois méthodique et souple en s'appuyant sur des documents se rapportant aux centres d'intérêt.'

(CNDP 1983, p 40)

Comparison with the GCSE 16 plus syllabus at both higher and basic level reveals the lack of breadth and lack of sheer interest in the topic areas in the English examination for children of the same age. At 15 (Appendix 10), 30.07% French children are either in 2e, 1e, Terminale or first or second-year BEP, and in their fifth year of studying languages. They will be tackling texts in the target language from a wide variety of sources and themes.

For children of a higher ability in the 'lycée' at 15 the objectives of learning English in the 2e are different from those for children in the LEP:

'Il paraît raisonnable, de se fixer comme objectif prioritaire la consolidation des acquis grammaticaux du premier cycle . . . Les documents, représentatifs des civilisations des pays anglophones pourront être empruntés à tous les domaines culturels: littérature, arts plastiques, cinéma, télévision, radio, technologie etc.'

(CNDP 1982, p 27)

The French teacher, then, has considerable freedom left to him in his choice of texts through which the language is learned, and retains the possibility of extending the pupils' experience of the language beyond that of the simple traveller's (which appears to be the rationale of the topic areas in the English examination).

At 15 26.22% children are in 3e, 24.33% are in 2e, and 5.91% in CAP2; these children are in their fourth and fifth year of learning English. Thus just over the total target group envisaged by the English examination boards (60% of all 15/16 year olds) have in France had mainly four or five years of learning English. In fact only 26.48% of all children have followed the 'programmes' chronologically year by year or faster. 61.1% are in main-stream secondary schooling but following courses spread over 7 years from 6e to Terminale. 19.28% are in 'cycle court' of whom 14.65% are doing languages at CAP or BEP level. In total 75.81% of all children of 15 are doing languages in France (Appendix 10).

These figures demonstrate quite clearly that children of 15 in France have a variety of experience of language-learning that is quite unlike that of English children of 15. At present in England the move towards making languages part of the core curriculum for all from 11 to 16, is based partly on the assumption that England lags behind its close neighbours in the

EEC in language provision in schools. In fact the experience of language-learning in France is based predominantly on ability level rather than on age, and age and maturation may indeed be significant in the more successful acquisition of languages among the less able.

In France the least able are most likely to experience only two years of learning a foreign language and at a later age than most beginners. They are most likely to enter 6e up to three years' late aged 12, 13, 14 and then continue in CPPN/CPA classes where languages are not taught. The less able are most likely to have two years' language-learning, again at a later age than the normal 11, and then enter LEP with or without a further two years of language learning. The 'secteurs industriels' which account for 31% (nationally for 24%) of places in the Gironde do not have languages on their syllabuses. The average and above average child will experience four years' language-learning followed either by two years as a BEP student, or by three years' as a 'baccalauréat' student. The most able will follow the latter of these two courses, but at 16 only 18.30% of the age-group will be in 1e and at 17 this figure reduces to 17.48%. These two figures represent the percentage of the age-group (16 and 17 year-olds) who have followed the normal chronological progression of yearly 'programmes' and passed through a selection process based on both ability and age criteria.

The French appear to be moving slowly towards a different view of progression through school more closely based on age than on ability. This new approach is in line with government attempts to reduce unemployment and to educate the work-force

more satisfactorily by keeping more pupils in education and training up to 18. Chevènement's overall aim was to bring 80% of the age-group up to 'baccalauréat' level by the turn of the century. One strategy to fulfill this aim is to upgrade the qualifications already awarded - for example, 'Brevet d'Enseignement Professionnel' will become 'Baccalauréat Professionnel' with minor modifications. A second strategy is to research more efficient ways of ensuring success in the classroom (i.e. to reduce failure especially at the early learning stages) and thirdly, to develop a more satisfactory assessment procedure to ascertain the successful acquisition of learning and to raise standards (i.e. the introduction of the new 'Brevet de Collèges').

Bordeaux and Paris - an investigation

National concern about pupil failure underlies many areas of educational research in France. In this investigation, however, four main areas were investigated in order to parallel the questionnaire survey of Hereford and Worcester teachers (cf. Chapter 3 above): defined objectives (programmes), examinations, pupil groupings and teacher attitudes. The purpose of the investigation was therefore:

- to find out the extent to which national 'programmes' continue to dominate content and methodology;
- to find out what new developments in examinations are likely to affect practice in the classroom;
- to find out to what extent new patterns of pupil-groupings have been established, and what the main difficulties have

been;

- to determine teacher attitudes towards e.g. the less-able, innovation and change.

Many of the questions addressed to English teachers were considered irrelevant to direct response by French teachers, because the range of decision-making is largely restricted by the triple control of national 'horaires, programmes et instructions'. Because of the national 'horaires', questions 14, 17, 21, 24 of the Hereford and Worcester questionnaire (Appendix 5) are irrelevant, because of the national 'programmes', questions 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28 are irrelevant and because of national 'instructions' and the system of inspection linked to salaries, questions 13, 15 are irrelevant. The only question that was not affected by any of these restrictions was Question 26 on profiles of progress, probably the most recent advance in methodology in England. Significantly, profiles of progress and 'contrats d'apprentissage' form one of the main areas of research at national level in France (INRP) representing perhaps the one major development paralleled in both countries.

Area I - Defined objectives

The extent to which fully defined 'programmes lexicaux et programmes grammaticaux' reduce the range of pedagogical choices, is demonstrated where it was shown that 13 out of 20 questions to English teachers would be irrelevant for French teachers, because the pedagogical choices had already been incorporated into the national 'programmes'. This limitation on freedom of choice may

ultimately be seen as retrograde by English teachers, although at present most English teachers welcome the closer definition of objectives at least for the less-able. The basic difference between the English and the French approach to 'programmes' is, however, in the degree of differentiation of objectives at each level. The English approach working pragmatically across the whole ability-range and within the confines of a structure where the entire year group moves up to the next class year by year, looks for a more flexible differentiated approach, or at least for an approach in which the objectives for each year group are considered the basic minimum. Further evidence of this approach is the decision taken by the UK Secretary of State to consider Basic level as the core for all abilities in the new 16 plus examination and the concern of HMI that GOML should match ability levels in successive years. In the French approach the long-established 'programmes' were originally devised for the more able in the 'lycées'. They still preserve the characteristic of being more suitable for the upper-ability band and are considered as such by a teacher from School 4. This teacher has the twin difficulties of working in a school in a ZEP area, and in a subject whose programme is essentially linear:

'les programmes sont linéaires et faits en fonction
des meilleurs élèves et de leurs capacités.
L'apprentissage n'est pas linéaire, il est recurrent.'
(School 4)

'Programmes' in France have a dual function - as a leveller and as a selector. In accordance with the egalitarian views of the traditionally left-wing teaching-force, the imposition of a common curriculum is seen as justifiable:

'moralement nous sommes obligés de suivre le programme - le problème de l'égalité entre les élèves.'

(School 1)

Yet:

'une fonction de l'école est d'être discriminatoire.'

(School 6)

and the 'programmes' act as preservers of standards. In the last revision of the 'programme' for English, for example, modifications were minimal:

'... compte tenu des retouches et des allègements apportés. Le nombre total d'unités pour le premier cycle passe de 2059 à 1985.'

(INRP 1984b, p 3)

The opportunity for a greater degree of differentiation had not been considered and the inbuilt system of 'redoublement' ensures the continuation of undifferentiated objectives for each year.

Attitudes towards 'programmes' differ among teachers ranging from acceptance to rejection (as above):

'c'est une norme de référence qui est utile.'

(De Sarcilly)

'nous suivons les grandes lignes du même programme de façon à ce que les élèves ne sont désorientés le jour des tests.'

(School 3)

'pour que l'enfant sache où il en est.'

(School 4)

'nous n'avons pas voulu quitter le programme; on cherche à avoir une norme moyenne pour chaque niveau d'âge.'

(School 11)

There is also considerable pressure on teachers to preserve the programme as a control measure, whether by parents acting as watch-dogs through the powerful associations of 'parents d'élèves':

'on a suivi le programme de la même façon - les parents n'auraient pas été d'accord autrement.'

(School 1)

by inspectors using the 'programmes et instructions' on teaching method as criteria for teacher-evaluation, or by teachers themselves using 'programmes' as criteria for 'redoublements' and 'orientation'.

In France then 'programmes' have become far more than a closely-defined statement of objectives - they have become repositories of power.

In effect, however, the 'programmes' do not impose on the everyday practice in the class-room to the extent that might be expected from such an interpretation:

'Si nous apercevons que les élèves ne peuvent pas suivre le programme, on est forcé d'aller au rythme de la classe . . . Dans la plupart des écoles le professeur ne termine pas le manuel. La plupart des professeurs intelligents sont les gens qui respectent le rythme d'apprentissage des élèves.'

(De Sarcilly)

'La latitude du professeur est une très grande latitude vis à vis des programmes . . . En effet le professeur est très libre.'

(Mme Feneuille)

'A l'intérieur de nos cours nous faisons ce que nous voulons et à la vitesse des élèves.'

(School 3)

In cases where the programme has been abandoned there is interesting experimentation. In one school with a high immigrant population and multiple problems of social deprivation (School 4), a totally new approach was adopted towards a group of 20 children who were seen to be failing after only one term of English:

'Nous avons abandonné le programme complètement avec les plus faibles, parce que le premier problème n'est pas de leur apprendre l'anglais, mais le problème est de leur apprendre à être en classe.'

(School 4)

The teacher with the help of De Sarcilly, who gave official sanction for the experiment, devised a syllabus, derived from, but not wholly following the first year 'programme'. This syllabus was conceived of in functional/notional terms:

'On est parti par le livre de 6e - qu'est-ce qu'on peut leur ramener de ce livre? Qu'est-ce qu'il essaie de leur faire dire, de leur faire comprendre? . . . On a fait un programme - je suis capable de me présenter, de dire que je suis fatigué etc.'

(School 4)

The second new element in the syllabus was that the traditional use of text-book, tape-recorder and writing was to be discarded at least initially, as this method had been seen to have failed. The third element was the recognition that children learn in different ways according to their physiological make-up, and that teaching methods should reach these different faculties - 'les auditifs, les cognitifs, les visuels, les conceptuels etc'. The large class-room was divided into one area with a formal arrangement of desks, and another with no furniture to allow the free movement of bodies - 'les corporels'. At the same time the teaching hours were reduced rather than extended, as classes were divided into two on occasion. The same number of hours was given to the class as before, but twice a week the class was divided and half sent to a study-period. The experiment was considered successful as cooperation and motivation were restored and 2 of the group ultimately regained a '5e normale'. It has received wide publicity in the 'Académie de Bordeaux', largely because of

its innovative nature. Comparison with English initiatives with similar children in similar circumstances would place it as one among many.

A second example of new methods being used as a departure from the 'programme' was in a '4e expérimentale' (School 9) set up in accordance with Chevènement's desire to reduce the flux of children out of main-stream education. A special 'programme' was being devised for those children who would otherwise have gone to a LEP; this syllabus comprised a complete revision of 6e and 5e work, the adoption of a wholly supportive approach based on praise and encouragement, small numbers in the class and the use of computers once a week. The teacher herself was impressed by what had been achieved in one term and considered the introduction of computers (7 for 18 pupils) to have been vital in the resurgence of motivation. Closer examination of the computer programme, however, showed that it bore little relation to 6e and 5e work, and children were working with words they did not understand to a rule which they had to infer by trial and error - i.e. putting 'a' or 'an' before ewe, insurer, honest, hotel etc. Children who tried the same programme for the second or third time had some measure of success.

A third example was a class of 3e (School 1) where a teacher was using pair-work for the first time. The children had done a homework on the functions of giving and receiving advice-using the structures 'you should', 'you'd better', 'don't'. The teacher had said "C'est à nous de concevoir le pair-work. Je ne sais pas si cela vaut le chahut. J'essaie de faire un système un peu bâtard - c'est très difficile." Indeed with no previous practice

the pair-work soon reduced itself to chatter. Nevertheless the teacher said he would pursue this kind of practice and felt that this approach outside the 'programme' would be sanctioned by the IRP:

'C'est un besoin qu'on a dans les classes d'anglais. Car les enfants ne se satisferont plus uniquement de Sam, Sarah et Bother. Il faut absolument aller ailleurs c'est sûr . . . I don't think l'inspecteur would bear any grudge because the objective is that they have to speak English.'

(School 1)

Similarly the teacher from this school had 'jumped' from Chapter 3 to Chapter 12 in a class of 6e in order to study the Simple Present. This would give the pupils opportunity to express opinions using 'I think', 'Do you think?', 'Do you like?', 'I don't like' etc. This experiment had been done with the full agreement of other teachers in the year and showed how strongly a communicative functional approach may differ from the traditional grammar progression of an old-style text-book.

In the one school where a completely different text-book was being used from one of the official ones compiled according to the 'programme' - Breakaway (Nelson) - the teacher relied on her status as a member of the INRP research-group to sanction her choice (School 12).

In classes where the full implications of 'one programme for all' (ie in complete mixed-ability classes with whole class teaching) were being worked out, it was evident that a number of pupils were not following the content of the lesson at all. According to one teacher this number is between 7 and 8 in most mixed-ability classes of 24 to 27 (School 4). This figure is in

line with the estimation of about one third of the class that teachers would like to see repeating each year (School 11) (In fact the number of children repeating is reduced to 2 or 3 in most classes because of parents' wishes which are paramount up to 3e). The teachers' figures are in line with the number of children left in main-stream general education after 2 years when account has been taken of 'redoublement' (75-65%). With such evidence, it may be possible to suggest that the 'programmes' only meet the needs of the top two-thirds of the ability range at the most. The failure rate may be even higher for linear subjects such as English where failure becomes cumulative and no account is taken in the 'programmes' of the 'spiral' nature of language acquisition. On the other hand researchers at INRP are aware that progress in language-learning is not necessarily regular and that motivation can differ at different stages (INRP 1985a).

Even where differentiation into ability-groups ('groupes de niveau') has been considered appropriate, teachers continue to think in terms of preserving at least 'les grandes lignes du programme'. This approach has consequences for both methodology, evaluation and assessment, and has led to a variety of forms of lesson-time organisation:

'Ils gardent les mêmes objectifs - de façon que les plus faibles arrivent en 5 heures que les forts en 3. On veut qu'à la fin de l'année tous sachent la même chose . . .'

(School 2)

'Si on arrivait à faire que les enfants faibles font le même programme en 3 ans, que les autres font en 2 ans je ne vois pas pourquoi pas.'

(School 10)

'Nous avons décidé que le groupe des élèves les plus forts ne prendrait pas d'avance sur le programme par rapport aux autres groupes.'

(School 1)

'Avec un horaire plus large (5 heures) j'ai demandé un effort moins grand parce que j'ai diminué l'ampleur mais pas le programme. On peut changer un peu le lexique. On ne peut pas changer les données linguistiques essentielles, telles que les structures, les idiomes.'

(School 5)

As to methodology, the president of Association de Professeurs des Langues Vivantes (APLV) writing in 1980 said:

'J'hésite à parler de nouvelles méthodes dans la mesure où rien ne change véritablement dans la constitution du système scolaire, ni dans les objectifs.'

(ONISEP 1980, p 53)

His view of the objectives of language-learning may not have changed, but certainly the school system has changed, and the interest shown in 'la pédagogie différenciée' by researchers at national level and by teachers in schools bears witness to the fact that there is need for more differentiated teaching methods. The objectives may still be the same, but as Mme Feneuille, inspecteur général, points out:

'le vrai problème n'est pas de suivre le programme - il est de trouver l'exact niveau d'exigences pour tel ou tel point du programme qu'on attend d'un élève fort ou faible. C'est là le vrai problème pédagogique, que les enseignants ne savent pas ou quelquefois ont du mal à trouver tout seuls.'

(Mme Feneuille)

There is considerable evidence to show that the predominant audio-lingual approach is giving way to a more communicative approach based on a notional/functional approach (School 1, School 10, School 6, School 4). The revision of the 'programme grammatical' is a first step in this direction. However the

text-books in use in the class-rooms continue to dictate an audio-lingual methodology; any deviations from the norm appear in classes of less-able children where the audio-lingual approach is indeed the least appropriate. In 1982 the most common text-books in use were:

Speak English	- 48.9%	
Imagine You're English	- 31.6%	
It's up to you	- 6.8%	
Richard et Hall	- 6.8%	
Let's Go	- 3.7%	(CNDP 1983)

Since 1982 'Imagine You're English' has become the most popular text book, but the publication of 'OK' with a more communicative approach in 1984 could presage a change in practice in schools. Booksellers in Bordeaux estimated in 1985 that 'Imagine You're English' accounted for 78% of sales to schools.

As formal inspections of teachers can act as catalysts of change (a teacher teaching according to the approved official methodology will receive a higher 'note' linked to increments in salary than otherwise), changes in teaching method may be more vigorous, when they happen, than in England. However attitudes to these abrupt changes in official methodology may be less than enthusiastic among teachers:

'C'est la troisième façon que j'ai à enseigner depuis que j'ai commencé.'

(School 8)

'Je commence à en avoir assez de remettre en question sans arrêt, d'écouter que tout ce que vous avez fait jusqu'à maintenant ne valait rien.'

(School 7)

Even though most lessons observed were heavily conditioned by the text-books in use, the wide use of the foreign language in the class-room in the 'collèges' will make an important contribution to the attainment of the objectives of the new 'baccalauréat oral':

'I think what happens in 'collèges' at the moment is completely alright as far as the new oral is concerned. There is a lot of oral exchange in the class-room, a lot of pictures and of audio-visual stimuli that don't seem to be there in the 'lycées'.
(D Jones, Directeur des Assistants de l'Académie de Bordeaux, 1985)

One teacher even identifies 'la méthode française':

'la méthode française consiste en leur faire beaucoup parler. Faire travailler 35 enfants suivant cette méthode est un tel gymnastique - quel gymnastique épuisant.'

(School 9)

The creation of 'groupes de niveau' and of 'équipes pédagogiques' has certainly caused teachers to discuss methodology, and rethink traditional practices. There has been an attempt to match method and ability-level, though not without personal difficulties:

'Quels sont les moyens pédagogiques qu'on connaît les uns et les autres pour résoudre un problème? Chacun apporte ses idées - une autre fois ça sera quelqu'un d'autre.'

(School 11)

'le gros obstacle pour nous c'est qu'on puisse admettre que nous ne pratiquons pas la même pédagogie.'

(School 9)

There is however as much awareness among French teachers as among English teachers that different ability-levels do require different teaching-methods, although the French teachers are ultimately limited in innovative practices because of their

insistence on keeping to the 'programme':

'Je fais beaucoup de jeux et de mimes avec mes élèves faibles - avec une pédagogie qui est totalement différente.'

(School 10)

'On ne pouvait pas faire les mêmes cours aux élèves forts, aux élèves moyens et aux élèves faibles. Une pédagogie différente évidemment avec les plus faibles - on se tient beaucoup plus au concret qu'à l'abstrait.'

(School 3)

'On a enrichi le vocabulaire pour les meilleurs et on a varié les exercices qu'on n'avait pas eu le temps de faire dans les autres groupes.'

(School 1)

'Le rythme de travail était plus lent dans les groupes difficiles et plus vite dans les meilleurs groupes. Le prof de groupes meilleurs donnaient davantage d'exercices.'

(School 5)

'Il faut toujours introduire un nouveau élément dans une leçon (une 6e difficile). Donc il leur faut faire progresser mais en revenant toujours en arrière et étant attentif où la barre reste-t-il.'

(School 9)

'On a essayé chaque fois qu'il y ait des activités intelligentes - 'information gap' par exemple les problèmes à résoudre, où il n'y a rien d'évident. L'évident tue la pédagogie.'

(De Sarcilly)

There was widespread recognition in all schools that even differentiation of teaching methods does not necessarily ensure success with all pupils:

'Même avec les 5 heures on ne peut pas faire la même chose qu'on fait en 3 avec les bons.'

(School 2)

'Les enfants faibles de 5e sont plus distraits, font moins d'effort. Ils sont un peu plus à part par rapport aux autres. Ils participent oralement, mais c'est l'écrit qui ne va pas. Ils sont saturés - ce n'est pas en multipliant les exercices qu'ils réussissent.'

(School 1)

Although the 'programmes' for English are presented in two publications - one for 'collèges', and one for 'lycées', and the progression is particularly clear in the layout of the new collège 'programme', teachers tend to regard the teaching of English in 4 distinct phases:

Phase 1	6e & 5e)
) premier cycle
Phase 2	4e & 3e)
Phase 3	2e)
) deuxième cycle
Phase 4	1e and T)

These phases correspond to the points at which children leave main-stream general education:

	End of 5e	End of 3e	End of 2e
Redoublement	12.3%	11.9%	15.8%
Leave for LEP	12.4%		
Leave for work		13.5%	3.7%
Leave for BEP		22.8%	3.1%
Go on		51.5%	77.4%

(CNDP 1983a, p 43)

The flux of these children out of the system legitimises the stability of the programmes, and reduces the need for alternative solutions to be found in the face of the failure of such a high percentage of children. In cases where, however, children pursue the study of English in the LEP 'cycle court' the demands are reduced to only 700 words in the 'programme lexical' and great freedom is allowed to teachers both in methodology and material used in the class-room. The first phase is considered an introduction, whereas phase 2 is considered more difficult with the introduction of might, must, ought etc. Phase 3 is

considered as a revision year particularly as pupils come from a number of feeder 'collèges', and there is a need to establish a homogenous group. The last two years studying documents from Britain and other Anglophone countries - USA, Australia, etc are used as a preparation for the final examination.

In view of the fragmentation of progression a research group at the INRP working since 1980 have looked for a means of ensuring a coherent 'superstructure' to all the 'programmes'. Their main area of investigation was 'la pédagogie différenciée' and, as with the beginnings of the GOML work, the enquiry started in 4e and 3e exactly at the point where the differences in attainment become the most evident. The main priority was to establish:

1. the relative importance of all 4 skills: 'compréhension écrite, compréhension orale, expression écrite, expression orale.'
2. a greater degree of 'autonomie' in language-learning. This entailed diagnostic-testing followed by a 'bilan' of what pupils know and information on what they should know.
3. the drawing up of a 'contrat d'apprentissage' dependent on a clear definition of 'exigences' and the cooperation of children in the learning process.

At the 6e stage these priorities are to be presaged by a period of 'apprendre à apprendre', although it is assumed in France that the level of language awareness is quite high (certainly higher than among English children) as a result of formal training in grammar of the French language at the primary stage. The research group were aware of developments in Graded

Objectives in England, but still considered the established 'programmes' as being of paramount importance. They go a considerable way towards establishing objectives for the end of first year expressed in functional terms:

'saluer quelqu'un
se présenter et présenter quelqu'un
remercier
compter de 1 à 10, 100
exprimer sa sympathie lors d'une conversation
demander des informations etc'

(INRP 1985a, p 56)

Each function is accompanied by a structure, so that a child

'apprend à faire ce qui est demandé à chaque rubrique d'une telle liste, il est possible d'ajouter les structures, et nous ne sommes pas loin des 'graded objectives.'

(INRP 1985a, p 56)

At this point however the researchers chose not to adopt the GOML approach for the following reasons:

'dans une telle optique, tout l'aspect qualitatif pouvait facilement être exclu de même que tout ce qui concerne l'étude et la réflexion sur la langue elle-même.'

(INRP1985a, p 57)

The suggested French approach consists of devising a system of 3 levels for each domain (skill) for each year. In this way pupils' learning becomes individualised as they plot their course on individual profile sheets. The 3 levels ('paliers') are to be called 'seuil, crédit et maîtrise' and these 3 'paliers' are to be reflected in the simplified scheme of criterion-referenced assessment and school evaluation:

less than 60%	0	
60%	1 point	seuil
between 65% and 75%	2 points	crédit
between 80% and 100%	3 points	maîtrise

In spite of these theoretical research developments, the investment in 'programmes' is so heavy in terms of a desire to retain stability, control and standards, that 'programmes' are unlikely to be modified or differentiated further according to ability level. The French school system with 'redoublement' escape-routes has adapted to this rigid system of yearly programmes. The result is that innovation tends to be limited, as the felt need for change is not so great. Consequently recent research, although recommending new teaching practices such as 'bilans', 'contrats d'apprentissage' and profiles, directs itself towards making old methods more efficient and palatable, rather than conceiving new objectives.

Area 2. Examinations

'Collège' teachers were faced in September 1985 with the prospect of preparing their 3e pupils for a new examination - 'le Brevet des collèges' - to be taken in the summer 1986. September 1985 was also the year of the inauguration of 'le collège de la réussite' and a further 25% of all schools entered 'en rénovation' to add to the 10% already identified. This was part of Chevènement's intention of raising the general level of education and for 80% to continue their studies in the 'lycées' towards a 'baccalauréat':

'L'enseignement de masse ne doit pas se traduire par un affaiblissement des exigences scolaires. Les objectifs correspondent au besoin d'investissement massif dans la formation - le pari de l'intelligence pour affronter la guerre économique.'
(Le Monde 10 Oct 1985, p 26)

The 'Brevet des collèges' was a logical evaluation of the new

programmes which were to be published in October 1985:

'Il a pour but de vérifier que les objectifs assignés à la scolarité en collège ont bien été atteints.'

(Lettres de Matignon No 177, 9 déc 1985, p 4)

Chevènement himself described the examination as:

'un petit examen (simple et pratique): un brevet d'études générales qui sanctionnera la fin des études obligatoires et vérifiera l'acquisition d'une bonne formation de base correspondant aux exigences de notre temps (la pensée logique, la maîtrise de l'écrit, de l'oral et de l'image, la capacité de travail personnel).'

(Chevènement 1985, p 137)

The format of the examination is divided into 2 parts:

written: French (4) Mathematics (4) History/Geog (2)

continuous assessment: Modern Languages (3) Physics (1) Natural Sciences (1) Art (1) Technology (1) Sport (2).

(figures in brackets represent coefficients)

To pass, a child must have 10 out of 20 in both parts. It is not surprising, considering the very short preparation time that teachers themselves are expected to:

'apporter des outils pédagogiques et des 'conseils didactiques', de fixer les niveaux d'exigences' et de définir les 'moyens d'évaluation pour chaque niveau et dans chaque discipline.'

(Le Monde de l'Education November 1985, p 7)

Language teachers' reactions to the new examination are predictable - all expressed disappointment that there was no written examination for modern languages:

'une fois, qu'on me demande d'évaluer le travail de l'élève je passe sur l'écrit. On n'est pas d'accord qu'il n'y a pas d'épreuves écrites en langues dans les brevets des collèges.'

(School 1)

'Je suis très déçu. Il est anormal que 4 ans de scolarité en anglais soit sans examen.'

(De Sarcilly)

Even though the most obvious reason for a choice of continuous assessment for English is the oral exam for the majority at 'baccalauréat' level, De Sarcilly suggests another reason for having no written examination is to do with the internal structure of the inspectorate system:

'Les inspecteurs généraux ne sont pas très bien implantés dans le premier cycle, puisqu'ils sont des professeurs du deuxième cycle. Les professeurs du premier cycle sont inspectés uniquement par des IPR et des IDEN. Le premier cycle est mal représenté. Les inspecteurs généraux ne connaissent plus la situation en premier cycle, parce qu'ils n'y vont plus. J'ai l'impression que les IPR n'ont pas très bien défendu l'anglais.'

(De Sarcilly)

A second area of concern and confusion is the evaluation of the examination. Teachers in the 'Académie de Bordeaux' were unaware in December 1985 on what criteria the continuous assessment should be based, whether both oral and written were to be assessed and what moderation procedures were to be set up:

'J'aimerais beaucoup qu'il y aurait une évaluation correcte et une harmonisation de l'évaluation. Car on n'a aucun critère. Il n'y a aucun contrôle.'

(School 1)

In fact teachers were instructed only in January 1986 that a successful candidate must obtain at least an average of 10 out of 20 in three written tests. The mark is based on performance over 3 terms. A third area of concern was the exact nature of the examination and preparation of pupils for it. Some teachers had always directed their teaching towards preparing their children for entry into 2e with the emphasis placed on acquiring a sound knowledge of basic structures and grammar. However teachers were now being told that the examination would take place after

applications had been made to the 'lycées', so that the 'lycées' could not use the 'Brevet des collèges' as an entry-examination. An examination which is considered as 'un examen de fin de cycle' is very different in both intention and content:

'Il se différencie du passage en seconde dans les lycées puisqu'il correspond à un diplôme sanctionnant 4 années d'études dans le 1er cycle . . . A la sortie des collèges . . . il est surtout utile de présenter un bilan permettant de dégager ce dont l'élève est capable.'

(School 6)

French teachers found themselves in the same position as English teachers before the 16 plus examination, with little time for preparation before the actual implementation of the new examination syllabus, and they displayed the same reactions as the English teachers. However their sense of frustration was directed towards the ministry, the local inspectorate and the school - the last two being the channels through which examination information is dispensed. In fact 'Instructions' were promised in schools in November 1985 (Le Monde de l'Education, p 7, Nov 1985), and a publication 'Brevet des Collèges' had been published in March 1985 as 'Propositions - base de reflexion' by the INRP giving information on the new examination. There were various complicated reasons why the local teachers in Bordeaux had not been informed by the local INRP of the criteria for assessment.

In France traditional methods of assessment in schools have been based on writing and reading skills, and the textbooks have encouraged this approach by providing only exercises in formal grammar, reading comprehension and written work. Most teachers are used to such testing procedures and resist change because of

practical difficulties. One innovative teacher discusses a colleague's reaction to the new testing techniques:

'Nous voulions tester les élèves sur la compréhension de l'écrit, de l'orale et l'expression écrite. D'abord nous nous sommes réunis, et ma collègue a dit 'Je ne peux pas le faire - cela prend trop de temps. Je ne peux pas travailler comme ça. Moi, j'ai mon poulet à faire cuire.'

(School 12)

The general attitude towards this new examination is a combination of frustration and resignation among teachers:

'Elle peut donc s'avérer très différente selon le caractère de chaque professeur.'

(letter from School 1)

Summer 1986 marked not only the introduction of the new 15 plus examination, but also the final revision of the 18 plus examination. This complete revision of the examination system has been achieved in 4 years and includes the revision of the written 'baccalauréat' for 'Séries A & B' in 1984 and oral 'baccalauréat' for all 'Séries'. This rate of change is open to various interpretations:

'It seems to me that there has not been a debate about it, except at inspectorate level.'

(D Jones)

'C'est un travail commun des professeurs.'

(Mme Eboli, member of working party)

Certainly some assessment techniques imply a certain methodology in class-room practice (eg formal grammar exercises, but also discussion of authentic texts), and it is precisely here that changes in demands of examination syllabuses can inevitably lead to changes in methodology:

'Certaines propositions relèvent plus spécifiquement de l'entraînement que de l'évaluation.'

(INRP, 1984c, p 36)

'Certainly they are going to have to adapt teaching methods to fit it.'

(D Jones)

'Cela signifie pour nous pendant l'année . . . beaucoup d'apprentissage langagier . . . Je trouve que cet entraînement est très difficile.'

(Mme Eboli)

Reactions to the new-style of testing (unknown document could be a picture, a tape or a written text - see Chapter 8) by pupils were on the whole favourable, but extremely varied among teachers:

'the quality of tapes and equipment is so poor in schools that if a child got a tape he would do less well.'

(D Jones)

'Si un élève ne sait pas 'lire' un image, il aura des problèmes.'

(Mme Eboli)

'C'est une réforme qui est pour l'instant une demi-réforme: c'est-à-dire que le système antérieur va se continuer mais ne représentera que la moitié de l'épreuve.'

(School 8)

However as pupils are to be made aware of the criteria for assessment one of the purposes of the examination is to make the pupil take more responsibility for his own learning, so that he can 'remplir le contrat'.

Because of the innovative nature of the examination there is open recognition that the difficulties are going to be enormous in 1986. As there is no financial help from the government for resources or time for training in new methods of teaching and assessment, teachers will have to give up their own time to attend meetings at CRDP. Examination success may here depend on a teacher's commitment to in-service training, as in England.

'Il y a à Paris ceux qui ne se tiennent pas au courant. Il y a en province les gens qui se tiennent au courant, et d'autres non . . . Je suis quand même étonnée qu'il y a même ici à Paris des gens qui ne se tiennent pas au courant.'

(Mme Eboli)

In conclusion it may be said that in the interviews it became clear that, in France, examinations are perceived of as instigators of change in methodology, the 'Brevet des Collèges' is considered an overt instrument towards the raising of standards at 15 plus, there is a shift in French language teaching towards a more precise definition of discrete skills and that more value is now being given to the testing of oral skills.

Area 3. Pupil Groupings

The most common pupil-groupings in France still continue to be mixed-ability classes based on the class 'division'. According to 'instructions' each head has to allocate equal proportions of 'bons, moyens et faibles' into each 6e 'division' following the recommendation of the primary school report. There are various modifications to this rule improvised by heads, with the sole intention of creating rather more homogenous groupings within the 'division':

'Certains chefs d'établissement font quelques petits entorses de règlement.'

(School 10)

The most common of these modifications is 'repartition en tuiles' which consists of an overlapping of ability levels from, for example, Division A to E; the ability-range between each division is therefore less than with complete mixed-ability classes but a sufficiently broad divergence in ability is allowed for, to

conform to the official limits. Another deviation from the norm has been the setting up of 'groupes de niveau' within a year-group across all 'divisions', for some or all of the basic disciplines - French, Maths, Modern Languages. The range of practice is enormous:

- 1) School (10) has established a top 'filière' for all subjects, largely to improve the school's image in the local community, where it can be proved that at least some children can succeed.
- 2) School (4) has 'groupes de niveau' in 5e but not 4e and 3e.
- 3) School (3) has setting all the way through from 6e to 3e in 3 basic disciplines.
- 4) School (12) has abandoned all 'groupes de niveau' even though this school pioneered much early work.

The 'Directeur d'Etudes' is in no doubt as to the variety:

'En ce qui concerne les groupes de niveau, je dirais que vous entendrez autant de sons de cloche que de personnes que vous verrez, car il n'y a pas de politique uniforme pour toute la France.'

(De Sarcilly)

On the other hand, the official view appears to be that 'groupes de niveau' should only be created as a last resort, when all other attempts to create homogeneity within the class have failed:

'Les inspecteurs ne l'écrivent pas, mais ils disent que les groupes de niveau est ce qu'il faut utiliser quand on a échoué . . . On est revenu de l'idée de groupes de niveau et nos inspecteurs ne nous conseillent plus de les faire. Ils ne les considèrent pas comme panacée.'

(School 1)

The official hesitation is due to the fact that 'groupes de niveau' can very easily become 'filières' and these pupil-

groupings could easily revert to the old 'lycée'/CES divisions. 'Groupes de niveau' have never been 'arrêtés', even though successful experiments have been carried out in 'écoles expérimentales'. De Sarcilly has however seen the other side of the coin:

'Nous avons cette situation dans certains établissements où ils ont formé des groupes de niveau qui sont en fait des filières ou le niveau inférieur reçoit un enseignement vraiment minimum.'

(De Sarcilly)

The number of 'groupes de niveau' set up in the 'Académie de Bordeaux' 1984/85 in languages was relatively small:

en 6ème dans 17 collèges
en 5ème dans 16 collèges
en 4ème dans 8 collèges
en 3ème dans 7 collèges
(letter from Recteur-Académie de Bordeaux, 10 janvier 1986)

Twenty-four schools at this time were 'en rénovation' (10% over the whole of France) and each one had worked out 'un projet d'établissement'. All the schools observed except one were 'en rénovation' and the 'groupes de niveau' were considered an integral part of the 'projet d'établissement' designed to raise overall standards of pupil motivation and teacher initiative. The exception was School 1 where teachers of languages and mathematics decided to form 'groupes de niveau' on their own initiative, and all meetings for discussion were done in their own free time. The administration had wanted to take the time for 'concertation' from the pupils' time-table, but teachers had disagreed with this, and preferred to act on their own: 'Nous avons fait ça un peu à part' (School 1).

In 1985 all such initiatives were completely voluntary on the part of teachers. It is a measure of teachers' commitment and concern about failure that so many initiatives have been undertaken, and also a demonstration of the complete reversal in educational policy since the imposition of the Haby Reform that comments such as the following were widespread:

'On ne peut pas forcer les gens à faire de choses.'
(School 5)

'Pour le moment le chef d'établissement n'oblige personne.'
(School 11)

'Il fallait d'ici 1989 que tous les collèges soient rénovés, mais que chacun allait à son rythme. Et au moment où ils se sentaient prêts et mûrs à le faire.'
(Mme Feneuille)

'On ne peut rien imposer aux autres.'
(De Sarcilly)

The more forward-looking schools used the 'projet d'établissement' as an impetus to either continue officially experiments that were already going on (School 3) or to organise 'groupes de niveau' as they were in sympathy with the policy of 'projets' (School 4, 5, 6 etc).

All the schools visited displayed 4 common features:

- 'groupes de niveau' had been set up in response to a felt need, to remedy a situation where too many children were 'en échec';
- all 'groupes de niveau' were following at least 'les grandes lignes des programmes';
- common tests were being held across the year-group and pupils were moving freely between groups according to the results of these tests;
- pupil-grouping in 'groupes de niveau' was felt to be an

improvement on earlier patterns.

However, two schools were visited that had decided to abandon 'groupes de niveau' through the inability of teachers involved to find common objectives, common methodology and mutual respect (School 12); or through the retirement of 'le moteur' of the 'équipe pédagogique' and unwillingness of the remaining teachers to devote further free time to 'concertation' (School 5).

Another teacher said she would be unwilling to consider 'groupes de niveau', as all language classes in her school numbered 30 pupils. She was reluctant to teach groups of 35/6 children of high ability to create low numbers in groups of low-ability children (School 12).

In a very fluid situation where there are few guidelines, no designated leader and no financial reward for extra work and responsibility, these 3 very valid reasons for the failure of 'groupes de niveau' pinpoint the 3 main factors essential for the successful formation of 'groupes de niveau':

- 'une équipe pédagogique bien soudée'
- 'un moteur' or 'une locomotive' who emerges to give a sense of direction and a willingness among all teachers to spend time outside official hours on organisation and discussion.
- sufficient hours for 'concertation', and sufficiently small classes (20) for the less-able.

The setting up of 'équipes pédagogiques' has been one of the most interesting departures from the old tradition of the individual French 'domine':

'il fallait d'abord habituer les professeurs à travailler ensemble - un changement de mentalité et d'attitude.'

(Mme Feneuille)

'les professeurs sont trop habitués à avoir leur classe, leur horaire.'

(School 5)

'Il y a 2 choses: ou on accepte la démocratisation de l'enseignement, et tout ce que cela peut apporter de richesse, ou on reste des professeurs comme on était autrefois. Il n'y a pas 2 possibilités.'

(De Sarcilly)

All 'équipes' appeared to have good working relationships and they seemed to work best where teachers were well-established in the school and understood 'l'environnement socio-culturel des élèves de façon à adapter l'enseignement à la demande des enfants' (School 9). All agreed that consideration of the child should be foremost, and that the give and take of teaching good and bad classes should not give rise to petty jealousies among staff:

'Il est essentiel que les professeurs considèrent que ce qui est l'important, c'est l'enfant.'

(School 9)

'C'est une humanisation . . . On se rapproche de l'élève tel qu'il est et non pas de l'idée dont on se fait de l'élève.'

(School 5)

All agreed that good personal relationships were essential:

'il est essentiel qu'on s'entend bien avec les autres'

(School 3)

and that a sense of working for common objectives should be felt by all:

'quand il y a trop de disparités entre les objectifs, à ce moment-là le travail en groupe n'est pas faisable.'

(School 12)

Some have refused 'groupes de niveau' because they might have been given classes of the weakest children:

'Ils ne comprennent pas que les élèves faibles, avec une pédagogie différente, s'en sortent.'

(School 10)

Others have refused to join because of personal antagonisms:

'J'ai du mal à me plier à une contrainte.'

(School 12)

On the other hand many teachers have felt positive personal benefits from working with a team:

'La concertation s'avère indispensable pour le bon fonctionnement de groupes de niveau . . . cette mise en commun est très profitable et enrichissante pour nous.'

(School 4)

'Je trouve intéressant d'être à plusieurs.'

(School 11)

'Nous nous faisons part de nos problèmes, nous discutons les problèmes que nous avons avec un élève - cela nous remonte un peu le morale.'

(School 6)

The French 'équipe pédagogique' appears to be a temporary, fragile structure that is unlikely to be permanent unless basic problems are overcome. Although most 'équipes' say they function on collective terms where decisions are made in common, 3 'équipes' (Schools 5, 9, 10) said that a natural leader had emerged who tended to energise the group into action and preserve group cohesion. There is however no money available from the State to reward those who take on extra responsibilities, and no promotion structure whereby the fact of being a 'locomotive' or 'moteur' ensures progression on the national salary scale. As most experiments are still in their early stages these financial considerations do not arise as complaints, but with a continued

diminution in the number of hours available and a parallel rise in class-numbers, such considerations may weigh more heavily. Informal departmental meetings are not sufficient to meet the needs of an 'équipe pédagogique' especially in its early stages, nor does the practice of reducing the pupils' timetable by one lesson once a fortnight for a formal departmental meeting (School 1) meet with the approval of an 'équipe pédagogique' committed to the interests of the pupils. For this reason the practice of time-tabled weekly departmental meetings included in the official allocation of teachers' hours must be guaranteed. This was the initial agreement made with schools in return for extra resources as 'un collège en rénovation', but in some cases the hours were used elsewhere (School 5). The promise made in the Rapport Legrand (1982) for an extra room to be made available for teachers' meetings is risible. There is evidence here of a wide gap developing between the statement of educational objectives (Rapport Legrand) and the amount of resources allocated to the actual attainment of these objectives.

A closer investigation of factors mitigating against the successful implementation of 'groupes de niveau' produces the following statements from teachers:

'On ne voulait pas faire la concertation en plus de notre temps. Il faut le faire bénévolement en plus de notre travail, et nous ne voulons pas que cela se passe comme ça.'

(School 1)

'Il y a trop de différences de personnalité entre les profs.'

(School 6)

'Il faut une équipe avec un chef. Nous n'avons pas eu de conseil, pas de stage, rien de tout.'

(School 6)

'Beaucoup de profs ont été découragés.'

(School 5)

In the particular case of School 12 where the teacher had abandoned 'groupes de niveau' her reasons were two-fold. On the one hand she felt:

'les faibles entre eux toujours ne faisaient pas de progression. Le groupe manquait d'éléments moteurs. Il y avait une espèce de stagnation.'

When she wanted some pupils to move up a group because of their progress, the collective give-and-take was absent. She was told 'j'en ai déjà assez' by the other teacher. On the other hand she knew her own personality did not make it easy to work with personalities different from her own:

'C'est contre ma nature. Ils n'ont pas envie de travailler avec moi, et moi je n'ai pas envie de travailler avec eux . . . Un travail comme ça régulier, hebdomadaire doit être très lourd.'

In fact this teacher was a member of the INRP research group and perhaps her greatest difficulty was the lack of common objectives with teachers who did not have contact with the latest ideas on new methodology. In her research group she knew:

'Bien que nous avons les possibilités différentes, nous allons dans le même sens, nous avons les mêmes objectifs.'

but in her school when discussing new methods of assessment - aural comprehension etc:

'Ou je vais m'énerver ou je vais me mettre en colère.'

Her solution, and a solution that has more official sanction than 'groupes de niveau' is the acceptance of mixed-ability classes, but with each ability level (sometimes 3, sometimes 2 according to the task) catered for by work sheets differentiated

according to difficulty. The assumption is made by Mlle Samuel and her group that pupils make a correct assessment of their level, and mostly ask for the appropriate work-sheets - allowances being made for the lazy and the over-ambitious. Experiments in England have gone much further in developing this type of group-work; there groups of up to 5 or 6 pupils work with very fluid seating arrangements. Certainly the larger classrooms and longer lessons in France would lend themselves to this type of arrangement where mixed-ability classes are taught, but no example of this type of work was seen, and was even rejected by the teacher at School 12.

The teacher was convinced that:

'Lorsqu'on a une classe hétérogène avec des élèves bons, moyens et faibles, et quand on veut faire travailler toute sa classe en tenant compte de chacun, la solution est la pédagogie différenciée. C'est plus stimulant. C'est une façon d'ordonner l'échec scolaire.'

In fact it was clear that 4 or 5 children of the 6e observed could not cope with the easier Fiche B given to them, and their exercise books demonstrated that they were failing continually. In this class where the age range was from 15.5 (girl) to 10 (boy) it would be hard to contemplate a more heterogeneous group, but it is doubtful whether teaching on 2 levels only is likely to meet the needs of even an average mixed-ability class.

The 'classe de 2e' would seem to be an obvious point at which 'la pédagogie différenciée' could be used to cope with the wide range of ability among pupils where pupils have been used to a number of teaching methods, where classes are invariably larger than in the collège and where the objectives of the syllabus are

clear i.e. the complete revision of grammatical structures.

School 8 had in fact adopted this approach:

'Je donne des tâches différenciées au début de l'année. J'essaie de différencier les devoirs écrits, les tests.'

(School 8)

Criticism of 'la pédagogie différenciée' approach among teachers is based on the sheer amount of work involved in preparation:

'C'est le pauvre professeur multiplié. C'est pas réaliste.'

(School 1)

'C'est énormément de travail. C'est impossible à vivre.'

(School 10)

These comments are from teachers who have experimented with 'la pédagogie différenciée', attended courses at CRDP but opted instead for 'groupes de niveau'.

All teachers remain convinced that the working atmosphere they have found in 'groupes de niveau' has been an improvement for them as teachers and for pupils:

'Nous n'avons pas fait des génies des élèves qui n'étaient pas intelligents à l'entrée. Ils ont tous fait des progrès à leur niveau et à leur mesure. L'expérience a réussi à 80% - un meilleur comportement.'

(School 5)

'Psychologiquement cela leur a fait du bien.'

(School 2)

'Les parents sont en général favorables. Les fédérations sont d'accord.'

(School 3)

However one school (School 8) suggests that:

'Il y a plus d'inconvénients que d'avantages. Il y a le pour et le contre.'

and school 9 expresses the view of all teachers searching for the ideal solution 'nous tâtonnons.' This school produced results of a questionnaire sent out to pupils and parents on their views of the advantages and disadvantages for them in order to justify the continuation of their research.

'Groupes de niveau', may be equated with 'setting' in English schools. Here 'setting' has been institutionalised in the majority of comprehensive schools to cope with the differences in ability level but in France it is still at an experimental stage. It is possible to say moreover that the range in ability-level in each year-group is less wide than in England because of the French control system of 'programme', 'notation', and 'redoublement'. This acts as a filter for entry into the 'collège', in contrast to the completely open access policy dependent on chronological age in England. However in view of the government directives and pronouncements made by Chevènement it looks likely that the creation of 'groupes de niveau' may spread in order to cope with the greater degree of heterogeneity:

'La tendance serait plutôt d'étaler vers les groupes de niveau - mais c'est une tendance et dans la réalité c'est traduit par des expériences pas faciles - quelque fois elles sont positives mais elles ne le sont pas toujours - cela dépend des professeurs et des établissements.'

(De Sarcilly)

In fact, as one perceptive teacher pointed out, existing social stratification may very well continue to be the main overriding obstacle to all attempts at further democratisation of the education system as a whole:

'Il y a par ici une sélection par l'environnement. On peut dire qu'un CES qui se situe en lieu privilégié est déjà un groupe de niveau par rapport à un CES situé dans une zone moins privilégiée.'

(School 11)

Area 4: Teacher attitudes

There are various underlying attitudes among French teachers that colour their conceptions of, and answers to problems in language-teaching (such as, for example, the value of 'groupes de niveau', or the limiting of objectives for the less-able):

- the concept of an IQ (evaluation of general intelligence) and of testing procedures other than those that measure attainment in particular subject-matter, is alien. The paradox is that the terminal 'baccalauréat' examination is not subject-based;
- in languages testing procedures are still largely based on writing and reading skills in CES and 'lycées'. The paradox is that the 'baccalauréat terminal' examination for the majority is an oral test;
- the concept of a teaching syllabus linked to a fixed 'programme' of defined objectives is hardly questioned at all. The paradox is that far from being a useful criterion-referenced achievement level, the 'programme' has become 'une barre' wholly attainable by a few, and a measure of failure for many;
- 'redoublement' is considered normal and necessary for a significant number of children. 'Redoublement' becomes the equivalent to a differentiation of objectives across the year-group as in England. The paradox is that attempts to reduce 'redoublement' (or 'échec') have not been accompanied by a

corresponding differentiation of objectives in annual 'programmes', nor by an overall reduction in their difficulty so that they could be considered 'un minimum garanti' for the majority. These attitudes continuing to support the tripartite system of programme/notation/redoublement, demonstrate a remarkable degree of inconsistency when analysed fully, and account for the slowness in change in France in spite of the apparent wide range of possibilities for rapid change in such a centralised system.

On the other hand, the wide diversity of practice in schools in response to Savary's, and later Chevènement's, loosening of central control shows that Binon's (1981) castigation of head-teachers and teachers was ill-founded. Once the initiative was returned to the schools the response was made - 25% of schools 'en rénovation' voluntarily by 1985. Indeed teachers' awareness of the multiple difficulties resulting from social deprivation are very high:

'Ce sont des élèves qui ont des problèmes en langues, mais qui ont les problèmes en français, en maths, en toutes les matières. Ce sont les élèves qui ont passé en 6e parce qu'il n'y avait pas d'autres structures à les accueillir.'

(School 6)

'En 6e il y a une proportion qui suit bien, mais il y a quand même dans chaque classe un tiers qui a des difficultés.'

(School 11)

As in England various attitudes are adopted by teachers towards children displaying not only ability but also behavioural problems:

'Nous avons mis tout un premier trimestre à leur faire accepter une discipline. Ils manquent de concentration mais maintenant ils sont sages.'

(School 12)

'Je comprends les problèmes de leur travail à la maison. Je sais que dans la banlieue peu d'enfants ont de véritables possibilités de travail à la maison. Donc il faut que l'aide il la trouve avec les professeurs.'

(School 9)

In all schools with 'groupes de niveau', the level of understanding of psychological and sociological problems was high.

'Les élèves en difficulté se sentent vraiment découragés car ils sentent que la barre est tellement haute - qu'ils ne pourraient jamais l'atteindre et ils essaient de se valoriser d'une autre façon en faisant les pitres.'

(School 5)

'Parmi les plus faibles ce n'est pas toujours une question d'intelligence - ils manquent de travail, d'intérêt à l'école, de méthode de travail et c'est tout.'

(School 4)

'Après tout n'est ce pas aussi quelque chose d'important de rendre les enfants heureux à l'école et de les empêcher de détester notre système scolaire. C'est un petit objectif, mais il a une grande importance.'

(School 5)

'Souvent ils ont eu une passée où il y a eu un échec - et l'échec les rend timide. Il faut les rendre confiants, les aider à s'épanouir, d'avoir confiance en eux. Peut-être il faut dire que l'épanouissement de la personnalité leur donne confiance en anglais.'

(School 6)

'Il y a une chose qui me heurte profondément. C'est à dire - tel élève est ceci. Utiliser le verbe 'to be'. Il est paresseux, il est mauvais en anglais. Je trouve que c'est le mot le plus anti-éducateur que soit. Quant à moi je suis aujourd'hui ce que je suis, et demain je serai autre chose.'

(De Sarcilly)

In England this level of awareness and commitment among

mature teachers operating in a decentralised educational system has led to the development of the grass-root graded objectives movement. In France where inhibitors to innovation are greater, such teachers operate within well-defined limits and change has been much slower. However, the added factor of the European economic recession which has brought about reductions in the education budget, has caused a common feeling of demoralisation detectable in both countries:

'Je crois qu'il y a une démoratisation entre les profs actuellement. Que vous faites votre travail correctement ou non, vous n'avez pas de promotion. Il y a aucune émulation.'

(School 6)

'Les profs tout naturellement réagissent. Comment voulez-vous que nous appliquons une réforme comme celle qui est proposée pour les groupes de niveau? A condition qu'il y aie un effectif-horaire important.'

(School 5)

Conclusions

The development of 'la pédagogie différenciée' over the last few years to cope with the wider range of ability in secondary school has been interpreted in two ways: firstly, by using graded work-sheets appropriate to different ability-levels within a mixed-ability class, and secondly by creating 'groupes de niveau' across the year group. These changes may be seen as essentially changes in organisation, and not changes in curriculum, as there has not been an accompanying large-scale revision of 'programmes' (although teachers have practised different teaching methods with different groups).

The involvement of some schools particularly in 'groupes de niveau' has been a voluntary movement by teachers since 1983 with

the official sanction of the académie. Groupes de niveau were specifically recommended by Rapport Legrand (1981) after early experimentation in 'écoles expérimentales' and all later imitations bear some resemblance to these earlier models. The style of innovation in organisation is closely based on official patterns, and decisions concerning size of groups, distribution of teachers and allocation of hours are taken by school-heads and teachers together. Schools appear to value this freedom in decision-making, but a wide variety of practice has emerged as a result of this policy. However, the increased freedom appears to have led to a greater degree of commitment to 'équipes pédagogiques' which run on a collective decision-making basis. Nonetheless the voluntary nature of the innovation raises doubts as to the permanence of such structures, particularly if the difficulties of reduced hours and raised pupil-teacher ratios become too intense. There has as yet been no national research to discover whether 'groupes de niveau' improve pupil achievement across all ability levels, in conditions outside those of 'écoles expérimentales'. In those schools, 'groupes de niveau' were obligatory, 'ensembles' were created and the commitment of the whole school to the experiment was high. Since at this stage the innovation is an innovation in organisation, it may be possible to suggest that an accompanying differentiation in 'programmes' may yield more positive results than emerge at present.

The introduction of the new 'Brevet de collèges' at 15 plus, together with the new 'baccalauréat oral' may be seen as an attempt to alter practice in the class-room through changing the

demands of the examinations. The main changes in the future will be towards a finer definition of the four skills, requiring more discrete teaching and testing in the class-room. This is particularly so for speaking and listening skills. It is recognised that greater objectivity in testing procedures implies greater sophistication in the drawing up of criteria for testing all four skills. Research is under way at INRP in all these fields, but much work remains to be done in the development and testing of oral and aural comprehension.

Although 'programmes' provide for the teacher a closely-defined structure of the year's teaching, 'programmes' tend to assume other functions in the school system. Without in-built revision, the 'programmes' tend to fossilise teachers' perceptions of what is required for the whole of the ability-range. A second phase of innovation after this preliminary phase of innovation in organisation may result in a greater differentiation of objectives, particularly in view of the French interest in 'contrats d'apprentissage', and profiles incorporating successive 'paliers' of 'seuil' 'crédit' and 'maîtrise'.

CHAPTER 8

EXAMINATIONS IN FRANCE

This chapter considers the main changes that have occurred in France in the examination system paralleled by similar developments in England (Chapter 4).

There is, however, no direct equivalent in France to the former GCE, CSE, nor present GCSE 'private' examination boards nor to the Secondary Examinations Council (SEC); hence there is no need in France for government directives attempting to control such semi-autonomous bodies. Since the whole examination process is part of the State educational process the Ministry's function is to ensure adequate provision for growth and change and to prevent stratification in examination procedures. The Ministry performs this function by involving research units at the INRP such as the 'Service des études et recherches pédagogiques' formed of committees made up of ten members of the 'Inspection générale', teachers from 'collèges', 'lycées' and higher education. In contrast with the English system, criteria for examinations in France are set by the 'inspection nationale', but some local variation is allowed in that 'inspecteurs généraux' from 9 main 'académies' set different examinations albeit conforming to national criteria. Examinations are marked by the teachers themselves in a procedure of cross-moderation that ensures that no teacher marks the work of one of his own pupils. Specific assessment criteria are established at the 'académie' level, and conform to national guide-lines. All examination results are published a short time after the tests are taken.

Change in the examination system both at 'baccalauréat' level and 15 plus level ('Brevet des Collèges') has followed

closely on the minimal revision during the period 1965 to 1984 of the 'programmes' and of the grammatical and lexical syllabuses. As the 'programmes' perform the function of annual control against which pupils are assessed, they may therefore be validly included in this chapter on examinations. Indeed Madame Jeanne Samuel has led all the research teams at the INRP that revised the 'programmes grammaticaux' and 'programmes lexicaux', set up the new written and oral 'baccalauréat' assessment procedures and investigated ways in which the new 'Brevet des Collèges' should be examined.

This chapter begins, therefore, with an examination of the process of research into the teaching syllabuses below the examination level, since these new 'programmes' amount in essence to annual assessment objectives. The process of change in examinations at 15 plus and 18 plus is then examined.

Programme of research at INRP from 1965 to 1984:

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 1965 | 'Programme lexical', 'programme grammatical' published |
| 1967-72 | Preparation of new 'programme lexical' - 6e and 5e
published 1973 |
| 1972-75 | Preparation of new 'programme lexical' - 4e and 3e
published 1976 |
| 1975 | Preparation of new 'programme grammatical' |
| 1977 | Revision of both 1965 'programmes' - adapted for the
'Réforme Haby' - 1er cycle |
| 1979 | Further revision of these 'programmes' |

- | | |
|---------|---|
| 1979-81 | Preparation of new 'programmes' for 2e, 1e and Te on notional/functional lines (published 1982) |
| 1982-84 | Further preparation of new 'programme lexical et grammaticale' on notional/functional lines for 6e, 5e, 4e, 3e (published 1984) |

This 20 year period has covered changes in school population as well as changes in approaches to language-learning. Work has been complicated by what is now seen as an artificial division between the lexical and grammatical syllabuses, and the natural progression of a revision of the 'premier cycle' to be followed by a revision of the 'second cycle' 'programmes' was disrupted by the demands of 'la Réforme Haby'.

The group working on the 'programme lexical 6e - 3e' adopted a thorough approach to their task using a variety of language lists of English from several countries and 6 text-books in current use. The criteria of the word-counts were based on 'fréquence, répartition, disponibilité, rentabilité structurale, motivation' (INRP 1973, p 8). The books used for English included 'A General Service List of English Words' M West 1965 (revised), 'Teacher's Word Book of 30,000 Words' Thorndike and Large 1959, 'The Words and Sounds of Telephone Conversations' N French 1930, 'Buntus Gaelige Ràamthujarascail (0) by C O'Huallachain (1966). This last book contains a classification of 1,100 words based on 20 centres of interest (8 years before the Council of Europe 'situations'). The group extended these centres of interest after an enquiry among 13 to 15 year-olds to include: 'les voyages, l'exploration, la science fiction, les

aventures, le mystère, les histoires policières, les grands hommes, les récits historiques, la technologie du monde moderne' (INRP 1976, p 14). Further painstaking work established a list that has formed the basis of all 'programmes' and text-books in English since. The only differences have been a slight reduction in the overall number of words, with some words being introduced in a later class.

<u>Total Numbers of words in new defined syllabus</u>				
	1976	for recognition	1984	for recognition
6e	666		555	19
5e	602		559	59
	1268		1114	
4e	413	113	460	16
3e	378	145	358	29
Total	791		818	
Overall Total	<u>2059</u>		<u>1932</u>	

Figures from INRP (1976) (INRP 1984b)

A comparison made in November 1985 by the author between these official 'programmes' and the vocabulary lists at the end of text-books show an almost perfect match, as the text-books have to be approved by the 'Inspection Nationale' and sometimes have been written by 'inspecteurs nationaux' themselves.

The research group found that the compilation of the vocabulary lists was often constrained by the demands of the 1965 'programme grammatical'. When, therefore, the group were asked

to undertake the grammatical revision in 1975 they decided not only on a quantitative improvement (simplification to meet the needs and ability of a wider school population learning languages), but also on a qualitative improvement (presentation to pupils based on a 'spiral' approach). They knew teaching conditions were changing (1975-77) but did not want to undertake a large-scale reform that carried the risk of failure. They therefore limited themselves to 3 objectives:

- to reduce the 'programme grammatical' by one third i.e. to teach in four years the 'programmes' for the three years of 6e, 5e, and 3e.
- to construct a 'programme' that could be used easily by teachers. It should therefore have a clear progression.
- to underline one of the main objectives of language-learning - communication.

There is clear evidence here that the thinking of the research group was influenced by the work of the Council of Europe (The Threshold Level published 1973 and 1975). A debt was also acknowledged to the work of socio-linguists, Hymes and Widdowson among others, which confirmed the researchers' own interest in the contexts in which language functions. The work of psycho-linguists, stressing the learning process and the interests, motivations and needs of learners was also taken into account. Halliday (1973) and Leech and Svartvik (1972) Alexander (1975) were other influences; but the group felt that their interests were best served by using the most appropriate material from a variety of sources. Surprisingly no reference was made to

the long French tradition of functional grammar (Martinet 1979). Some limitations of 'The Threshold Level' approach were, however, evident to them:

'C'est, on le voit un ensemble très complexe et, il faut bien le dire, d'une utilisation malaisée pour la mise en oeuvre pédagogique.'

(INRP 1984a, p 10)

They felt that not only was some of the work already well known to them ('situations', 'language-activities') but that, for example, the idea of 'behaviour' as a basis for language work was not applicable to school-based work being more suitable in the context of adult learning.

On the other hand, the principal innovation in the Council of Europe work that underlined the importance of notions and functions was adopted by the group to provide 'une présentation fonctionnelle et sémantique' (although notions of possession, quantity, place were considered to belong more in the grammatical field). The French group, rather than adopting wholesale the notional-functional approach, as has happened in England, were far more circumspect and took much more account of the limitations of the audience and institution involved:

'L'apport essentiel, en fait de cette nouvelle façon d'analyser et de présenter les contenus d'un enseignement linguistique est qu'on propose des inventaires aussi complets que possible, et qu'on fournit aussi au professeur un véritable instrument de travail.'

(INRP 1984a, p 11)

The group decided to present the 'programme grammatical' on a notional/functional basis. They reduced van Ek's functions to 5:

relations de civilité	socialising
influence exercée sur autrui	suasion
appréciation	intellectual, affective and moral attitudes
information (demandée et donnée)	information giving and receiving
discussion	

This last function was specifically included for the needs of learners in le 'second cycle' - 2e, 1e, Te. To cater for this function, the group developed 'la modalisation' 'la façon qu'a le locuteur d'exprimer son point de vue et/ou son attitude affective sur le contenu de son message.' This quality of language depends on intonation, accentuation and rhythm. In contrast to England, phonology is of particular interest to French teachers of languages.

A functional grammar depends on a progression from the simple to the complex function. A 'programme' based on the 4 classes from 6e to 3e for teaching purposes shows this typical progression. The 1977 (CNDP 1979b) 'programme grammatical' gave 10 pages of a progressive grammatical exposition based on 'le verbe, le nom et le groupe nominal, la phrase', for each of the 4 classes. The new 1984 'programme grammatical' is a 96-page booklet with two-page spreads and shows the progression in complexity for each grammatical element in 4 clear divisions for each successive year (INRP 1984a).

A second main characteristic of the new edition is its great detail and precision. This departure from tradition was a

deliberate attempt to define as closely as possible the teaching syllabus for the teacher:

'au lieu de l'indication vague 'autres prepositions'
ou 'autres adverbes''.

(INRP 1984a, p 14)

The number of words given are to be taken as a maximum. A third characteristic is the 'spiral progression' i.e. a return to the same grammatical element in a more complex form at a later stage, but also an indication to the teacher that in different years some grammatical elements are given more weight than others, e.g. 'prétérit simple' in 5e, 'passif' in 3e, 'les articles' in 6e.

The 'programme grammatical' is divided into:

- 1) 'présentation fonctionnelle et sémantique';
- 2) 'présentation grammaticale';
- 3) 'annexe: phonologie'.

There has been an attempt to cross-reference the examples given in the grammatical syllabus by giving the same examples in the functional/semantic syllabus, where these overlap. However the nature of this task is acknowledged as being beyond the scope of the syllabus, and the teacher is given freedom to develop the task as he sees fit. Further research is however being undertaken along these lines both in France and England - it appears to be the most fruitful line of development at the present stage, since the limitations of a too simplistic functional/notional approach in early Graded Tests have been apparent for some time (OMLAC, 1978). The more structured approach of the French teacher towards language-learning has been softened by the greater flexibility of a functional approach. Nonetheless,

there is a fundamental difference in the complexity of the grammatical code between the two languages and it is clear that a functional approach with the minimum of grammar is less complex for learners of English, than it is for learners of French.

The 'présentation grammaticale' is divided into:

A la phrase; B le groupe nominal; C le groupe verbal.

The analysis of different types of sentences with examples, leads on to a study of the simple sentence, - prepositional groups, adverbs - and on to the complex sentence. Here the subordinate and coordinating conjunctions are analysed along with articles, demonstrative and possessive adjectives, the verb tense, aspect and infinitive etc. A teacher used to the concept of grammatical progression would have a clear 'exposé' of the whole 4-year programme with a list of exponents. An interesting development is the use of the symbol (F) - 'structure figée'. This denotes a grammatical structure that is considered useful for communication but appears early in a pure grammatical progression:

I'd like + nom (F)	6e
I'd like + verbe (F)	5e
I'd like + you to come (F)	4e
'En 3e cependant, l'exemple apparaît aussi dans la progression grammaticale puisqu'il n'est plus figé'.	
(INRP 1984a, p 17)	

This closely resembles the use of the conditional 'je voudrais' in most Level I Graded Tests.

The 'présentation fonctionnelle/sémantique' is based on the 5 main functions defined by the research group and derived from van Ek's work. The presentation owes a great deal to van Ek in

that, for example, the function 'Relations de Civilité' are divided into:

1) salutations; 2) présentations; 3) établissements de contacts; 4) offre et remerciements; 5) sympathie, encouragements, hostilité; 6) Excuses; 7) Souhaits; 8) 'Gap fillers' - Well! Oh! Appréciation affective (contrariété, déception, plaisir, regret, surprise.

The definition of 'la Modalisation' as a function covers the difficult points of the English language - can, may, must, need etc, and depends on a clear understanding of phonology for its correct intonation and phrasing. Training in phonology from the 6e is however an interesting enrichment of the syllabus that does not exist to any great extent in England:

e.g. 6e: 'Degrés de certitude'

Are you going to play football today?

1. Of course
2. I think so. I don't know.
3. Perhaps. I don't know.

3e:

1. There's no doubt about it.
2. He may be late.
3. He might be late.

It could rain tomorrow.

The purpose of presenting both a functional/semantic analysis and a grammatical analysis is to encourage 'communication et apprentissage de l'autonomie'.

'Le professeur pourra s'appuyer sur cette présentation pour amener les élèves à utiliser à chaque niveau la

totalité des moyens qu'ils auront acquis . . . et enrichir progressivement les possibilités d'expression de ses élèves selon leurs besoins, dans les limites du programme lexical.'

(INRP 1984a, p 18/19)

Other limits are clear: the text-books in use, the skill, training and awareness of the teacher, and above all, the time factor. The acquisition of the productive functional/semantic syllabus depends on the practice of the skill of speaking. But 'programme grammatical' for the 6e has hardly changed since 1977.

For example:

'Présent: forme simple et forme progressive
Prétérit: pré-apprentissage
Futur: 'going to' be + ing
Verbes auxiliaires et modaux: be, do, can, must
Impératif: deuxième personne, forme affirmative
Forme Interrogative et négative
Infinitif'

(CNDP 1979b, p 15)

All these grammatical elements are to be taught in the first year to all ability levels in addition to the lexical and functional syllabus. The teacher is encouraged to use the double presentation for 'role-play', 'discussion', résumé personnel, listening and reading comprehension (these exercises are all included in the final 'baccalauréat' examinations and practice is recommended at early stages).

In comparison, English children have a variety of experience of grammatical elements according to ability. A child in a top set will learn for example:

Present: -er, -ir, -re verbs regular
Auxiliary verbs: être, avoir, pouvoir, devoir
Irregular verbs: aller, dire, faire, prendre
Imperative

Interrogative form

Future: aller + inf

In a middle set a child will learn:

Present: -er, -ir verbs

Auxiliary verbs: être, avoir

Irregular verbs: aller, faire

Imperative

Interrogative form: est-ce que

Future: aller + inf (possibly)

In a lower set a child will learn:

As part of a	(J'aime, je préfère, je voudrais
Graded Objectives	(Je suis, j'ai
syllabus	(Je vais, il va; je fais, il fait
	(Je n'aime pas

(These examples are only given as an indication of the ground covered by most 1st Year classes. The final example is from Hereford and Worcester Level I Graded Test.)

It is evident that the two countries have made use of the Council of Europe's work in two ways. Researchers working within the traditional framework of a subject discipline are limited to a greater or lesser degree by this framework and by their own perceptions. In England the freedom allowed to the teacher to choose his own subject content and methodology has resulted in the development of Graded Objectives work that is essentially child-centred and needs-based. By a variety of circumstances including the reform of the examination system, this approach has come to dominate the syllabuses of all modern language teaching.

The teachers' perceptions in England tend to be influenced by notions of measurable intelligence and differentiation of objectives and syllabuses. In France, however, teachers' perceptions tend to be influenced by the need to preserve a common 'programme' for all. In circumstances where the 'programmes' can be changed by researchers working at national level, the result has been the adoption of a functional approach to complement rather than replace the former programme of grammatical content. The grammatical content has hardly been modified at all in the first year, but in the next 3 years the content of 2 years' work in the former 'programme' has been spread over 3. The efficacy of the two approaches can only be measured by an evaluation of the extent to which the objectives of the two approaches have been attained by the pupils. Such a large-scale cross-national evaluation would be a field for further research.

Coincidentally, however, a recent evaluation of pupil performance in modern languages has taken place independently among pupils in their second year of learning languages in both countries. The French evaluation was carried out by the National Foundation for Educational Research for the Assessment of Performance Unit at the Department of Education and Science in 1985. Both reports examined the extent to which pupils had attained syllabus objectives, which in the case of the French system are specific, and in the case of the English system are generally assumed by the majority of teachers.

The 'Evaluation Pédagogique dans les Collèges' in 1983 contains no testing of oral work, even though the evaluation is

presaged by a clear statement of national objectives in language-learning:

'le but de l'enseignement de l'anglais au cours des 2 premières années de collège est avant tout d'ordre pratique-mettre les élèves en mesure de comprendre, de parler, de lire et d'écrire . . . Instructions 1977.'
(CNDP 1983b, p 2)

The skills are listed in that order, but the tests administered to 6,179 children were in:

'le domaine de la compréhension: de documents oraux
de documents écrits

le domaine de l'expression: seule a pu être réalisée ici
l'évaluation de l'expression
à l'écrit

For the testing of speaking there is a cryptic note:

'Pour de multiples raisons d'ordre pratique, l'évaluation de l'expression orale n'a pu être envisagée cette année.'
(CNDP 1983b, p 3)

The practical problems of assessing oral competence of a large number of children have not been overcome, even though the official methodology of 'la méthode française' emphasises this skill.

By contrast the NFER Evaluation of Modern Languages (1985) tested all 4 skills, but the English study points out:

'lower levels of performance in relation to particular language skills may also be a result of curriculum or pedagogical decisions.'
(Foreign Lang Performance in Schools NFER 1985, p 206)

The same is true, of course, in France, and understanding of the relationship between the value given to a particular skill in examinations, and the emphasis given to it in class-room

practice, has led both in France and England to an interest in the development of the testing of oral work at stages both at and earlier than the final examination. In England these developments include the Graded Objectives scheme and in France a Research Group has been working at INRP on new forms of assessment for the 'Brevet des Collèges'.

Research into assessment procedures for the 'Brevet des Collèges'

The Research Group at INRP led by Mme J Samuel has drawn up assessment criteria, suggestions for test material and a mark scheme. Members of the Research Group had been working for a number of years on assessment procedures for the 4e and 3e and used this work as a basis for their proposals (in 1985) for assessing the new examination. The criteria for assessment remains the 'programme' with no differentiation of objectives. The pass-rate is to be 60%; for a task to be considered satisfactorily fulfilled, it has to be about two-thirds successful:

'tel élève a obtenu son brevet des collèges, cela signifie qu'il est capable de ceci, cela . . . nous sommes en mesure de proposer des exigences minimales correspondant à ce qu'on peut attendre d'un élève de 3e.'

(INRP 1985b, p 1/2)

The division of skills falls into 2 broad domains:

- 1) compréhension - orale (listening tests - gist and detail)
 - écrite (reading comprehension - gist and detail)
- 2) production
 - orale (conversation + document de base)
 - écrite (invitations, lettres, etc)

Material, to be supplied by the teacher, is to be authentic and of interest to the pupil. Developments in oral work mean that:

'nous pensons qu'il faut tenter de préparer et entraîner l'élève à une vraie situation de communication avec un document de base qui va servir de support à partir duquel il aura à réagir.'

(INRP 1985b, p 27)

As in England, the Minister of Education's desire, in bringing in a new examination, is to improve the general level of education by ensuring that the right objectives are correctly tested. France has a very clear statement of objectives in the form of 'programmes' but the level of sophistication in examining techniques is much lower than in England. There are distinct disadvantages to the introduction of a new examination:

- preparation for and announcement of the new examination has been rushed;
- teachers have been ill-formed and ill-prepared for change;
- no national moderation schemes had been published as late as December 1985;
- as the pass-mark is 60% teachers will not be obliged to grade pupils more finely.

On the other hand, the introduction of an examination at this time will force teachers eventually:

- to reassess their teaching methods in terms of all 4 skills;
- to develop the means of assessing listening and speaking skills;
- to work towards a nearer goal than the 'baccalauréat' or entry to the 'lycée' (2e), which in the past has often led to an insistence on a 'grammar-grind' in the 3e.

In fact these proposals for the assessment of the 'Brevet des Collèges' in English have remained theoretical, and teachers used traditional methods of assessment awarding a mark out of 20 in the summer of 1986. As the overall pass-mark was only 56% in the collèges and 9% in the LEP with wide variations between 'académies', general dissatisfaction with these testing procedures has already led to calls for increased sophistication in examination procedures and more adequate preparation for both teachers and pupils ('Le Monde de l'Education' October 1986).

The revision of the 'baccalauréat écrit' in English 1984

The revision of the written 'baccalauréat', which formerly consisted in the written part largely of an essay, and in the oral part of a commentary on texts studied during the previous two years, resulted from greater teacher awareness of the possibility of dividing language learning into 4 skills:

'On s'est rendu compte que finalement il n'y avait que les bons élèves qui arrivent à avoir de très bonnes notes et les autres qui faisaient des choses tout à fait lamentable, et qu'on ne pouvait pas récupérer tous les 'skills' de la langue vivante.'

(Mme Eboli)

'pour permettre à tous les élèves de donner leur mesure et de montrer ce dont ils sont capables, de ne pas pénaliser certains.'

(INRP 1984c, p 1)

There is no doubt that the research group working under Mlle Samuel at the INRP since 1982 was greatly influenced by developments in England, particularly in the definition of precise objectives:

'Nous avons copié les Britanniques . . . Maintenant nous avons des critères très, très précis. Avant cela

on pouvait rester très vague . . . Ce changement d'épreuve doit être un souci d'objectivité par rapport à ce que nous avions avant.'

(Mme Eboli)

In the written 'baccalauréat' for 'Séries' A and B, the examination is divided into three parts:

1) volet 1 - compétence des élèves dans le domaine de l'acquisition (grammar and structure knowledge tested by multiple-choice, gap-filling, matching, etc).

2) volet 2 - compétence des élèves dans le domaine de l'expression écrite (essay, passing of message, reactions etc)

Volet 1 will demand a thorough knowledge of grammar, but may unfortunately result in the sanctioning of the 'grammar-grid' in the 2e.

'Pour la préparation cela demande un travail assez important.'

(Mme Eboli)

'2e is the last chance for grammar before embarking on difficult texts.'

(D Jones)

'Dès qu'ils arrivent il faut faire une sorte de mise à niveau - réexpliquant la grammaire à la base avec beaucoup de tests.'

(School 7)

The evaluation of Volet 3 (writing) caused considerable difficulty in establishing criteria for assessment, but, interestingly, resembles some of the English marking-schemes at 'A' level:

25%	1	la tâche est accomplie
25%	2	la cohérence du texte

should remain one of the alternatives in spite of difficulties referred to by teachers (INRP 1985c).

Such a change in examination format had considerable implications for methodological change in the class-room; but the short time allowed to teachers between the announcement of change in the syllabus (1985) and the actual implementation of the change remains typical of examination reform in France.

This chapter has examined the process of innovation in examinations and programmes of modern languages in France over the period 1965 to 1985. Considerable differences from English practices in the procedures for change result from the French centralised system of education, where both the setting of examinations and programmes come under the direct control of the Ministry.

In general it appears that this link between examination and programmes is perceived by the Ministry of Education and researchers as theoretically facilitating methodological reform. In reality there is a minimum of debate, and a minimum of time allowed to teachers to adapt teaching methods to examination changes. Assessment procedures at 15 plus and 18 plus are, however, relatively uncomplicated and continue to be controlled by the teachers. The teachers are, in turn, controlled by the 'programmes', which continue to function as annual assessment objectives and as theoretical guarantees that the assessment procedures at 15 plus and 18 plus are reliable.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

The hypothesis for this study was that change is slow in France because of an unwieldy and centralised education system, and is slow in England because of a fragmented and decentralised education system. This hypothesis was tested within the subject-specific framework of developments in language-teaching from 1975 to 1985. The study also took into account the broader economic and political influences that have led to moves towards decentralisation in France and centralisation in England. The general conclusion must be that this generalisation is borne out, but that the two systems although differentially aware of the need for change, and having different policies towards teaching practices and the implementation of change, nonetheless share a number of features in common, and in some ways are moving closer together.

Additional variables taken into account were the main developments in educational reform in the two countries. In France these have been:

- 'la réforme Haby' 1977, and the creation of 'le collège unique' with the accession of the whole ability-range to secondary education, and a common curriculum for at least 2 years in 6e and 5e.
- subsequent public unrest over 'l'échec scolaire' and Socialist government 'rénovation' of CES and 'lycées'. 1981-85.
- changes in exams - 'baccalauréat' 1983 and 1986, 'Brevet des collèges' 1986.

In England these developments compared closely to the French ones above have been:

- the lack of sudden reform, but since the early 60s the numbers of children in comprehensive education had been building up so that by 1975 69.7% of children were in comprehensive schools and by 1985 had reached 89.9% (DES 1978). Even as early as 1968 80.5% of comprehensive schools had a common course and in 48% of these this common curriculum lasted for 3 years.
- public concern over the Black Papers and the return of a Conservative government renewed debate on standards. The 1981 Education Act invited greater parental involvement.
- changes in exams - there has been considerable discussion since 1980, new syllabuses have been created for 1986, and the GCSE is to be introduced in 1988.

Both countries have moreover been subject to cross-cultural and international developments in educational thinking during this period (encouraged by the participation of ministers of education at EEC and Council of Europe conferences). These developments have included a greater degree of accountability of the education system to the state that funds it and the recognition of the need for a better-educated work-force to cope with the increasing speed of modern technological change. There has been considerable pressure for a more explicit link between general education and vocational training. In particular calls have been made for a return to 'basics', a clearer definition of objective-type learning and new forms of assessment to measure this attainment. Similarly, there has been pressure from parents

to enter into partnership with schools and pupils, and a move in society generally towards demanding more equality of opportunity and access to further and higher education.

The growth of the comprehensive school in England

The change-over to a form of comprehensive education from a tri-partite system that was based on tested ability and attainment at the age of 11, has involved both organisational and curricular changes. It is possible though, to say that by 1975 English comprehensive schools had progressed beyond the initial difficulties of setting-up viable organisational schemes. Indeed 10 years earlier, in 1965, more than half the LEAs in Britain had adopted schemes which were wholly or partly comprehensive (King 1973, p 204), and the number of actual comprehensive schools in existence moved from 262 in 1965 to 2,596 in 1975 (Benn & Simon 1970, p 156). Because of the great freedom allowed to the head-teacher in devising the internal organisation of his school, a wide variety of practice had developed and this freedom ensured a greater degree of pragmatism and experimentation than is possible in France. By 1975 English teachers had been closely involved in the curricular problems of teaching the whole ability-range in secondary schools up to school-leaving age for at least 15 years. CSE was introduced in 1963 and the decision to devise a largely teacher-based examination for the average and less-able resulted in much curriculum discussion and development. The raising of the school-leaving age to 16 in 1972 stimulated similar debate.

Against this background of:

- growing expertise in curriculum development,
- awareness of the needs of the average and the less-able physically in the same school-building as his more able peer for 5 years up to school-leaving age,
- interest in the testing of children by IQ (general intelligence) tests as much as by subject-based achievement tests,
- administrative concern to move age-cohorts up year by year,
- teachers' egalitarian idealism that called for continued equality of opportunity,

there has been a move towards a far greater differentiation of objectives for different ability-groups than has been the case in France. This move may indeed be considered a relic of the 1944 Education Act classification into three ability groups, as indeed may be the interest in IQ and aptitude tests for the division of children into 'ability groups', 'sets' and 'bands'. On the other hand, a greater differentiation of objectives may simply be a recognition that a certain 'seuil d'hétérogénéité' may not be crossed in an educational system.

By 1975, therefore, both organisational and curricular questions of comprehensivisation had been subject to 10 years' debate in England. There was evidence of a certain 'levelling-down' of educational procedures, and a variety of realistic concessions made to the needs of the wider ability-range - for example, in the differentiation of objectives and in the modifications to the syllabus often begun as early as Year 1, and 'setting' procedures and the development of pastoral care

systems. Early experimentation in comprehensive schools favoured an undifferentiated approach with accompanying structural reorganisation, but the majority of comprehensive schools now favour a common curriculum with a greater or lesser amount of setting in linear subjects (Maths, foreign languages, English).

The growth of 'le collège unique' in France

In France, however, the situation in 1975 was very different. It was not until 1970 that 75% of children were transferring from a primary to secondary school (King 73, p 159) and co-education did not exist at a 15 plus stage until 1971. Up until 1972 14 was still the minimum leaving age, and in 1973 in the 'collèges' 17.8% were still in 'section allégée', of whom only 2% joined normal general education after 1 year (Note d'information 84-41 29 October 1984). At age 11 in 1975 44% were in primary and 51.5% were in secondary schools (4.5% in special schools). However, by 1984 35% were in primary and 63.7% were in secondary (2.3% in special schools) (Government statistics: Evolution des taux de scolarisation p 212/213). These figures show how difficult it is to compare figures across an age-cohort with the English school system but the general trend is one of increased admission to secondary school at an earlier age. Only in 1977 was open access to the secondary school guaranteed to the whole ability range. Haby had originally given a caveat to this guarantee though, recommending that only those children who could benefit from the secondary school curriculum should enter the CES. This recommendation was overlooked, but may to some extent

account for the unexpected number of difficulties experienced by teachers. In contrast to the situation in England outlined above, in France since the 'Réforme Haby':

- even though the 'programmes' were simplified to some extent the tradition of one 'programme' for all persisted;
- some CES and 'lycée' teachers had never encountered children of the whole ability range, and had never taught mixed-ability classes;
- IQ tests had never been used to any great extent in schools, were distrusted philosophically, and pupils continued to be tested regularly according to achievement in specific subjects on a national scale;
- 'redoublement' continued to exist to reinforce the selection process of advancement/non-advancement;
- teachers' egalitarian idealism called for the same opportunity to be given to all, but thereafter each child was to succeed as he could (Binon 1980).

In general the very strong weight of tradition inherent in the French education system ensured that the triple influence of 'programme'/'notation'/'redoublement' continued to exert pressure, and blocked the way towards curricular innovation. There was what amounted to a 'levelling-up' of educational procedures, towards those procedures that had been considered more appropriate to the academically more able, eg the rigid system of 'notation' from primary school onwards, the linear progression of factual 'programmes', the predominance of language-based subjects in the curriculum, the acceptance of

pass/fail standards and the lack of practical work and craft subjects.

In general there is evidence to show that the change-over to comprehensivisation is incomplete in France, in the sense that the second curricular phase has not been worked out. Indeed the organisational phase is still incomplete, as the investigations into, for example, the experiments in the 'groupes de niveau' have shown. The reasons for this are many:

- the imposition of uniform legislation in 1977 did not allow experimentation until 1980 under Savary. There was certainly a widely-held belief that only blanket uniformity would ensure equality of opportunity for all children, and this had the effect of making teachers unwilling to experiment voluntarily;
- there was a lack of training of teachers who had no strong tradition of in-service training, or experience in curriculum development;
- the lower number of hours taught by teachers in schools ranging from 15 to 21 hours out of a possible 35 hours lessened the chance for even informal discussion among teachers of similar subjects, as teachers often leave school between lessons;
- the whole ability range has never been encountered as an age-cohort: eg the less-able 11 year-olds are left behind in CM2, and by 4e and 3e the less-able have departed to the LEP. French teachers have not had to take into consideration, as have English teachers, the needs of the less-able in a year-group. There has thus been less compunction on the French teacher either to consider alternatives to 'programmes' or to question them to any great extent, as the difficulties are only

encountered for 2 years anyway. Differentiation of objectives in 'programmes' is not even considered, moreover, as these are the guarantees of standards and of the status of the teacher.

The machinery of change

The machinery of change has been seen to operate on two levels, firstly governmental imposed change and secondly teacher-based change. Not only can one of these two levels of change operate more significantly than the other in the two countries, but it can also operate more significantly during the ten-year period at different stages than the other within the same country.

In England the teacher-based movement of the GOML scheme, has become in effect a governmental imposed change because of the incorporation of many of the GOML aims into the 16 plus syllabuses for modern languages which will affect the teaching in schools at least at the Year 4 and 5 stage. Many teachers would contest this interpretation, as the vast majority of GOML schemes retain independence from the state-approved examination groups. However some examination groups already have control of GOML schemes (NEA and Welsh Examining Board) and at least one other is actively seeking candidates for its own Level Tests (MEG). This is despite the fact that there are at least 10 GOML schemes in operation at no cost to schools within this latter examination catchment area. This take-over by examination boards marks the final stage in the institutionalisation of a teacher-based reform, and without careful oversight, could mark the beginning

of its fossilisation. There is also no doubt that during these ten years there has also been a swing towards greater control by central government of local education policies largely through the control of finance, but also through the reform of the examination system to improve standards in schools. Over this period there has been an increase in the number of circulars sent to LEAs from the government through the DES. These circulars do not have the authority of law, but are considered as strong recommendations from the Secretary of State. In some cases these circulars are in the form of instructions relating to recently passed legislation, but in other cases the DES ask for bids for a portion of the education support grant, 5% of which has deliberately been held back by the DES for its own specific projects - e.g. primary science and in-service training. This system of funding is to be superseded by TRIST schemes (TVEI related in-service training) so that by 1987 it is envisaged that all INSET courses should follow Government guide-lines. The slant given towards all these schemes is deliberately towards technology and science, as is the intervention of the Manpower Services Commission through TVEI (Technical and Vocational Education Initiative) into the school-system. HMI and School Council documents on the curriculum were seen as DES attempts to control the curriculum, but more effective control has perhaps been established through successive cuts in education-spending on teachers and resources.

In France, however, there has been a tendency over these ten years in the opposite direction: towards a decentralisation not only of finance but also of decision-making, moving from the

centre to the 'académie' level. Traditionally, education laws, such as those for 'la Réforme Haby' have been applied by 'décrets'. More detailed regulations are made through 'arrêtes', 'instructions' and 'notes de service' all of which are published in 'le Bulletin Officiel de l'Education' (BO) distributed to schools and 'rectorats' each week. Since 1 January 1986 however many of the functions of the centralised education system have been relegated to 'conseils régionaux' for the 'lycées', to 'conseils généraux' for the 'collèges' and to the 'conseils municipaux' for the 'écoles primaires'. Areas in which these 'conseils' can make local decisions and use funds previously centralised, but now allocated in a lump sum directly to them from Paris, include repairs to building and even training schemes over and above the state allocation. Decentralisation policies aimed to:

- '1) rapprocher les centres de décision des usagers de l'école.
 - 2) renforcer leur participation à la gestion, et leur contrôle sur des décisions désormais plus transparentes, car débattues dans des assemblées élues pouvant avoir leur propre politique scolaire.'
- (Le Monde, 8 mai 1986, p 22)

Nonetheless Government educational policies can still be imposed since the Government retains the right to create teaching posts. However, the Education Minister must ensure the cooperation of the 'régions' as the building of schools ('lycées', for example) is now a regional matter. In October 1986 for example the Education Minister called together all the 'présidents des régions', so that he could be assured of regional building funds to create 100,000 new places in the 'lycées'. After initial fears that schools would be invaded by local councillors, parents

and local industrialists, the general consensus of opinion is that the effects on school have been positive. One difficulty has been that local councillors have been able to gain direct access to schools without reference to the 'rectorat', but this problem has now been resolved. Decentralisation has meant 'moyens accrus' to schools for repairs and resources. On the negative side the State still retains the right to block local initiatives by keeping its powers of recruitment of teachers, control of examinations and the definition of 'programmes'. At regional, departmental and commune level there is increased opportunity for decision-making, and in the schools themselves the 'projets d'établissements' have returned the initiative for reform and development to the schools themselves. However this fragmentation of the decision-making apparatus will necessarily bring about a shift in organisational structures within the schools, and perhaps involve consideration of a move towards creating middle-management levels.

Following this clarification of some of the variables influencing change within the education systems of both countries, the next section compares and contrasts the four main aspects where change has taken place as studied in Chapter 3 and 7 'programmes', examinations, pupil groupings and attitudes. However, it is more profitable to consider 'programmes' and examinations together, as these two aspects of the education systems operate similar control-mechanisms on the curriculum for the maintenance of standards. Similarly it is preferable to group

the two aspects of pupil-groupings and attitudes together since the basic attitudes of teachers towards pupils, and in particular towards less-able pupils are translated in practice into systems of pupil-groupings.

'Programmes' and examinations

In France, since the 'programmes' have traditionally been regarded as annual selectors, with failure to meet up to the standard meaning either 'redoublement' or exclusion from mainstream secondary education after 5e, the assumption is made that those who have successfully leaped the hurdles of 6e to 3e have successfully completed secondary education 'premier degré'. The need for a formal examination at this stage is therefore small, and the introduction of the 'Brevet des collèges' at this stage may be seen as a move from certification to evaluation, in response to the move towards greater accountability and efficiency of schools discernible throughout Europe. Although no other country in Western Europe has chosen to reintroduce formal evaluation at this stage, Britain has always had it then. In no way is the 'Brevet des collèges' likely to replace the annual 'programmes'; it will tend rather to reinforce their predominance and the system of 'notation'. In modern languages, however, if all proposals for the 'Brevet' are incorporated in the final assessment, the greater importance given to the assessment of speaking and listening skills can only raise general standards of language-teaching.

In England the 16 plus examination system has traditionally been the control system guaranteeing standards at this stage.

In spite of the weight exerted downwards through the school system, Year 1 and 2 have generally been considered relatively open to a variety of pedagogical choices by teachers. This phenomenon is reduced to a certain extent in modern languages by the fact that the subject has a linear progression. Nevertheless teachers welcome a clearer definition of objectives, and a more closely defined syllabus, at both the examination stage Year 4 and 5 and also during the years when Graded Objectives are likely to be introduced Years 1, 2 and 3. This may be seen as a move towards the establishment of annual objectives similar to 'programmes', in the interests again of greater accountability and efficiency. In both countries economic forces are exerting pressure on the traditional control mechanisms towards more sophisticated evaluation and assessment techniques.

Traditionally 'programmes' in France have been devised externally by experts (the 'inspectorat national'), but the assessment procedures have been carried out internally by teachers either acting individually or in 'juries'. In England, on the other hand, subject-syllabuses have been devised internally by teachers (although within the constraints of the examination system of Years 4 and 5), but the assessment procedures have been carried out externally by professional 'experts' on examining boards. Although the English inspectorate has always maintained some influence over the examination system through their presence at examination board and Schools' Council meetings, and their great involvement in SEC meetings in each GCSE subject committee and in each grade-related criteria working

party demonstrates the desire of the government to capitalise on their expertise, they are nonetheless not directly employed as examiners. Even if Year 5 subject syllabuses are still under the control of teachers it is likely that the present examination reform will affect the first three years much more than in the past. In France more sophisticated examination criteria for assessment devised by researchers and experts are likely to affect examination procedures to some extent, although it is unlikely that examinations in France will be evaluated centrally or externally. The 'Brevet des collèges' is to be assessed entirely by teachers in schools, but the 'baccalauréat oral' will be assessed by teachers and teacher 'juries' using cross-moderation procedures involving teachers within an 'académie'. The 'baccalauréat écrit' is set by 9 groups of the 27 'académies' - Aix, Amiens, Besançon, Bordeaux, Créteil, Lille, Montpellier, Nice and Toulouse - according to national criteria established by the inspectorate. In England there is a move towards the CSE practice of assessment by teachers in the new 16 plus examination for French, where oral work is to be assessed by teachers (suggested minimum of 20% school-based assessment in national criteria).

Nonetheless, the continuation of the policy of undifferentiated 'programmes' may be considered the most important factor in the slowness of change in France. Indeed the new 'Brevet des collèges' is based on the 'programmes' which remain unchanged. It may be suggested then that the greater freedom of choice allowed to teachers in the English system would hasten the speed and diversity of change. To some extent this is

true, but the decentralised nature of the system itself inhibits a quick implementation of innovation. The first HMI report on a GOML scheme was in 1982 (DES 1982a), and a Draft Statement of Policy on language-learning was not published until 1986 (DES 1986). Teachers have found the vacuum left by this lack of direction filled by a combination of the new GCSE examination system and local GOML schemes. By far the most speedy catalyst for change appears then to be changes in examinations (16 plus examinations, 'baccalauréat' and 'Brevet des collèges') exerting pressure on the syllabus from the top downwards. The French centralised system has demonstrated a far greater speed of change in the introduction of new examinations than the English decentralised system, but the actual implementation of the new schemes may very well reflect the undue haste and lack of consultation during the preparation process. Indeed to some extent the introduction of these schemes repeats the pattern of the imposition of 'la Réforme Haby' and many other previous reforms. The slower English procedure of teacher consultation and open preparation processes may encourage a more effective implementation of innovation.

Changes in examination systems would imply changes in syllabuses, and such has been the case in England, but the 'programmes' remain unchanged in France. In addition the textbooks for the most part embody the teaching methodology of an older audio-oral scheme of work. The proposed testing of all 4 skills for the 'Brevet des collèges' would imply a teaching methodology based on the development of all 4 skills during

lesson-time so there is need here for new text-books reflecting such proposed changes in examinations. At 'baccalauréat' level the oral test for the majority of pupils is a natural sequence to the greater importance given to oral skills at 'Brevet des collèges' level, but the introduction of the 'unknown document', whether tape, picture or reading passage will place great pressure on the teachers at this level, in view of the high numbers of pupils in language classes. Again, text-books as yet do not reflect this change. In England changes in school schemes of work, are likely to be great, particularly in schools moving from academic 'O' level syllabuses to GCSE defined syllabuses. New text-books have already been published and are in use in some schools incorporating the new examination syllabuses and assessment techniques.

In France the appraisal of text-books has until recently been under the direct control of the inspectorate, thus guaranteeing equivalence between 'programmes' and text-book content. Chevenement released 'inspecteurs nationaux' from this task in 1985 but replaced them by a committee of subject specialists to carry out the same function. In England, however, the majority of text-books are written by practising teachers, and the use of a particular text-book is very much open to market forces. In the case of the new 16 plus examinations in French some publishing companies successfully preempted even the publication of the Draft Criteria by two or three years. Thus, Tricolore (1982), Communications (1981), for example, adequately conform to the French National Criteria (1985) in content and suggested methodology.

The insistence on 1988 as the date of the first GCSE examination has been fiercely contested by teachers' unions and some LEAs, but there is no doubt that without this dead-line, preparation for the examinations would not have progressed as far as it has done. The two countries therefore display different degrees of preparedness for examination reform. To further complicate the possibilities of comparison, the industrial action in England caused a partial blockage of all examination preparation courses for teachers. However the long period of discussion prior to the teachers' action may go some way towards mitigating the effects of this non-cooperation.

Pupil-groupings and attitudes

The basic contrast between the two systems is the policy in England of year-groupings by chronological age, and in France of year-grouping by ability (Appendix 10). Differentiation of objectives and systems of setting and banding have developed in England to meet the needs of the whole ability range across a year cohort. But in France 'redoublement' is institutionalised to make the undifferentiated 'programmes' practicable. Modification of this pattern is evident in France ('groupes de niveau'), but in England year-grouping by age is likely to continue, especially since the principle of differentiation is incorporated into the National Criteria. One of the basic reasons for changing over to 'groupes de niveau' expressed by teachers in France was a desire to meet the needs of the individual child. This child-centred approach is more sensitive

to the strengths and weaknesses of each child, and to the speed of his learning in relation to the rest of the class. Both countries displayed interest in mixed-ability teaching in the early stages of comprehensivisation, but either covertly, as in France (Rapport Binon), or overtly, as in England (systems of banding and setting) soon reverted to more homogeneous groupings. However, both countries officially recommend such groupings only after an initial period of mixed-ability grouping. Although 'groupes de niveau' are officially sanctioned in France, they are considered 'a last resort' when all other attempts at establishing homogeneity in the class have failed. This is unfair to teachers involved in the schemes as they display a genuine caring and supportive attitude towards the average and less-able children who find it difficult to follow the prescribed 'programmes'. All these teachers expressed the belief that the better motivation in 'groupes de niveau' was a direct result of teaching pupils to their own level. This appeared to be a key factor in large urban schools with a high incidence of social deprivation and large numbers of immigrants where the problems of motivation are particularly acute. The need for differentiation into ability groups in France seems to be (as in Year 2 in England) greatest in 5e. Thereafter the need reduces in France as the lower-ability children go to LEP, and other factors intervene to create some degree of homogeneity (Binon, 1981).

In England, although some children 'drop' French at Year 3 stage, there is a predominant pattern of setting into ability groups not only because of a recognition of the different ability-levels, but also because of a recognition that children

achieve different objectives at different times. Sets have been created and continue because of the permitted differentiation in objectives. Objectives are often differentiated according to the amount of time the set is likely to study French - 5 years, 3 years or 2 years. However, this differentiation of objectives is perhaps over-emphasised in England, where movement between sets is often minimal, and where early setting often predicts examination success or failure at a later stage. In France pressure from parents and indeed from teachers would not permit such setting procedures. A comment from one French teacher who knows the English system well is revealing:

'Je ne veux pas condamner un élève à l'échec.'
(School 9)

The concept of 'failure' is hence kept more hidden in England than in France. Setting enables children to progress at their own pace, whereas 'redoublement' can have profound psychological effects. On the other hand 'being in the bottom set' can have as great an effect, and the fear of 'redoublement' can be an incentive for achievement. There is a need for research here as psychological as well as social factors are involved, and because concepts of 'failure' and 'échec' appear to be culturally-bound. There is also need for further research to establish at least 'les grandes lignes' of the English syllabus, so that the re-creation of streaming ('filières'), which is the greatest fear of the French (De Sarcilly), can be avoided to a greater extent in England.

The 'groupes de niveau' in France have been accompanied by the setting-up of 'équipes pédagogiques'. In comparing the

'équipes pédagogiques' with the English subject-department the most obvious difference is the length of time the English subject department has had to develop as an integral part of the school management structure. Subject departments were created in post-war grammar-schools where the Head of Department was rewarded for the extra responsibility for examination preparation by extra money. His colleagues in the secondary modern schools received no such differential, until examinations began in the late 50s to enter these schools too. With the introduction of the CSE examinations there was more need still for subject-based departments and this pattern of subject division was adopted by the new comprehensive schools. Responsibilities for the multiplicity of tasks within a subject department, associated also with the strong pastoral element in English schools have been shared but also rewarded financially. Professional organisations such as the Modern Languages Association and the British Association of Language Teachers appear to flourish among interested parties (800 at 1986 JCLA conference in Manchester), but the vast majority of teachers of modern languages belong to neither organisation. In France organisations such as the 'Association des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes' (APLV) exist with a similar pattern of membership.

In France the traditional pattern of the individual teacher working in isolation from colleagues, has, in the case of 'équipes pédagogiques', had to give way to new patterns of organisation, relationships and attitudes within the team. Significantly, the government asked for the setting-up of such

'équipes' on a voluntary basis, as such an abrupt change in working conditions, if imposed forcibly, would have been resisted strongly. The teams that have emerged, though, lack two essential features that could ensure their success:

- they have no leader appointed and rewarded for his/her extra responsibilities and time;
- they do not have continued official support of guaranteed hours and manageable pupil numbers.

In the absence of both these features the stronger 'groupes de niveau' look likely to survive, because of the close personal relationships between the members of the team, and the emergence of natural leaders (Schools 9,1). When, however, the natural leader retires and no successor is willing to take on the extra unpaid work-load, the team collapses (School 5). When the second feature gives cause for concern, the team feels threatened and questions its own permanence (School 10).

There is hence evidence that schools in France suffer from the lack of a middle-management structure based on subject 'équipes', such as the English subject-department. Decentralisation policies which have delegated more responsibility and decision-making to the school level, warrant the creation of such new structures. The function of middle-management is to assume certain responsibilities delegated to it, and to take decisions concerning the implementation stage of decisions made at senior management level and above. For example, a 'projet d'établissement' demands the cooperation of many teachers and a more efficient organisational structure would probably assure a more successful implementation of the 'projet'.

It is possible that a more permanent middle-management structure might also allow a certain degree of innovation to emerge at this stage, as possibly a challenge to the fixed 'programmes'. It is at the departmental level that teacher-based innovation largely operates in England.

In view of these factors the present structure of the 'groupes de niveau' is likely to be temporary, in spite of the high level of commitment and belief expressed by teachers working within them. Indeed, although teachers in England work within a departmental framework and teachers in France mostly work as individuals (apart from the 'équipe pédagogique' experiments), there are many committed teachers in both countries working to their own high professional standards. More research is needed in France to compare the actual achievement of pupils in mixed-ability groupings and 'groupes de niveau', although it is hard to see how this type of grouping could be set up after the first two years in view of the Option factor in 4e; research in 'écoles expérimentales' under Legrand, although demonstrating very positive results in favour of 'groupes de niveau', was carried out in favourable conditions with particularly committed teachers.

Finally, of course there is a difference in the part foreign languages play in the school curriculum, reflecting the prestige-value allocated to languages by society at large. In England there may in fact be a reversal of the tendency in schools for languages to be relegated to a minority role in Year 3 option schemes; it seems likely that the inspectorate through consultative documents will again actively encourage languages to

become part of the core curriculum for all but the least able from 11 to 16 (DES Draft Language Policy Statement 1986). This change is happening anyway in a growing number of schools, as the link is perceived by teachers between successful motivational GOML schemes and the GCSE Basic Level. There is no doubt of a real advance, however, as the take-up rate of the study of languages at Year 4 and 5 is now estimated at about 40-45%. In France, on the other hand, languages particularly English have an established place in the school curriculum for trade and business purposes above all. At a time when in England there is a move to assert a more instrumental rationale for learning languages, doubts as to the validity of such an approach have been noted among some teachers in Bordeaux and, for example, in the following letter to 'Le Monde':

'cette 'vulgarisation' de l'anglais tend à lui faire perdre sa valeur culturelle, réduisant son rôle à celui d'un 'outil professionnel de communication'.'
(Le Monde 8 May 1986, p 22)

Indeed, even in England B Page, one of the main proponents of GOML schemes, warned of the possible one-sided nature of the instrumental approach when he spoke at the JCLA 1986 Conference in Manchester on the theme 'GCSE, Motorway or cul-de-sac?'.
-

Associated with this place of languages in the curriculum is the fact that more children at, for example, 15 are doing languages in France than in England. At this age 76% of all French children in school are doing languages against 40-45% in England. At this stage only 61.16% of all French children are in main-stream education; an additional 19.28% are in LEP, of whom only three-quarters are doing a language, with a

substantially reduced 'programme'. Closer analysis of the figures reveals that only 24.33 are in their fourth year of learning languages with a further 2.15% in their fifth or sixth year. Only 26.48% have, therefore, followed the 'programmes' either at the intended rate or faster. Indeed French children's experience of learning languages at the age of 15 may range from one year to seven years (SPRESE 1983-84). These figures show that the numbers of English learners of foreign languages at 15 are not as unfavourable by comparison with French learners of English as first appears.

The question of the place of languages in the school curriculum is seen ultimately to be closely linked with cultural and social factors in both countries. This analysis has demonstrated that teachers have sought in both countries to make the subject more accessible to a wider ability-range as educational policies have extended the provision of language-learning to all. To meet these changes, teachers have employed a variety of strategies that continue to reflect the inherited traditions of two widely differing educational systems, and the weight of these inherited traditions have been shown to inhibit change in both countries. Recently, however, because of pressure from economic factors and national needs other measures have been adapted by both countries to bring about change more quickly and to raise standards. The reform of the examination system has been perceived by both countries to be the means whereby these aims should be reached, and this study has analysed the ways in which these reforms have been instigated. The conclusion must be

that here again traditional practices - identified as considerable teacher involvement, pragmatic compromise with the slow implementation of reform in England, and imposed innovation lacking in detailed preparation in France - continue to dominate.

A P P E N D I C E S

Appendix 1: Tasks outlined at the Council for Cultural Cooperation for a 'Projet Majeur' on modern languages, June 1964

1. établir un inventaire
 - a. des moyens disponibles (méthodes et matériel d'enseignement)
 - b. des recherches en cours applicables à la pédagogie des langues vivantes
2. organiser une diffusion systématique des informations et de la documentation qui auront été rassemblées
3. stimuler des recherches ressenties comme particulièrement importantes dans le domaine de la linguistique appliquée à l'enseignement des langues vivantes
4. faciliter l'expérimentation avec des méthodes et du matériel d'enseignement récemment mis au point
5. dégager des formules de coopération suivie avec des organisations non-gouvernementales
6. faciliter l'entraide en faveur des enseignants des langues vivantes
7. favoriser des échanges d'enseignants, d'étudiants et d'écopliers
8. mener une politique active dans le domaine des publications
9. organiser des stages et des réunions d'experts en vue de coordonner les efforts menés sur le plan national et d'échanger des vues sur les expériences passées et en cours
10. contribuer à organiser et à financer des rencontres internationales

Appendix 2 - Tables to show development of 16 plus examination from Threshold Level

Topic Areas

Threshold Level 1975 (15 Topics)	Waystage 1976 (12 Topics)	J Clarke 1984 (16 Topics)	NEA 1985 for 1988 (16 Topics)
Personal Identification House and Home Free time Travel Health and Welfare Shopping Food and Drink Services Places Foreign Languages Weather Public Notices Trade/Profession/Occupation Relationships with others Education	Personal Identification House and Home Free time, entertainment Travel Health and Welfare Shopping Food and Drink Services Places Language Weather Public Notices	Personal Background House and Home Hobbies/Leisure/Holidays Travelling Health and Hygiene Shopping and Services Food and Drink Town, countryside, environment Signs, notices Careers and Occupations Relationship with others School and Education Accommodation Discussion topics, news, Body positions, movements Describing self/others	Personal Identification House and Home Free time and entertainment Travel and Transport Health and Welfare Shopping Food and Drink Services Geog Surrounding and weather Foreign Languages Relations with others Education and future career Accommodation Holidays Family money

Provisional Southern 1985 for 1988 (14 topics) London Draft Proposal 1985 for 1988 (21 topics) MEG 1985 for 1987 16+ (14 topics) Un Niveau Seuil 1976 (14 topics)

Personal Details, daily routine	People	Personal Identification	Identification et caractérisation personnelles
Home and Family	Family and Daily Routine	House and Home	Maison et Foyer
Freetime, leisure, entertainments	Leisure activities and Sport, entertainment	Freetime, entertainment	
Travel and Transport	Road Travel	Travel and Holidays	Voyages et déplacements
Health and Welfare	Health		Hygiène et Santé
Shopping	Shopping	Shopping	Commerces et courses
Food and Drink	Cafés, Restaurant, Food and Drink	Food and Drink	
Public Services		Services	Services publics et privés
Local and Foreign environment	Towns and Country, Geography and Climate		Environnement géographique, faune et flore, climat, temps
Weather		Weather and Seasons	Langue étrangère
Work and Careers		Meeting people	Profession, métier, occupation
Relationships with others		Life at School	Relations électives ou associatives
School/College work routine and future plans	School		Education
Accommodation/Holidays	Accommodation		Le gîte et le couvert
			Hotel et Restaurant
			Actualité, vie politique, économique, sociale,
			Positions perceptions, opérations physiques

Provisional Southern 1985 London Draft Proposal 1985 MEG 1985 for 1987 16+ Un Niveau Seuil 1976
for 1988 for 1988 (14 topics) (14 topics)
(14 topics) (21 topics)

Holidays

Finding one's way
Public Transport

Finding your way
Public Transport
Life at home

Money

Domestic and Personal
Situations abroad
Communications
Tourist information and
Tourist visits, Banks and
Customs, Lost Property,
Possessions, Towns,
Buildings, houses, yearly
routine, Festivals
Crime and the Law
History, Biography

Appendix 3: CSE & 'O' & 'A' French Passes: DES Statistics

	1961	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
CSE			7,923	20,632	28,653	36,688	45,266	51,377	58,729	65,895	73,394
'O'	78,451	97,396	94,996	96,190	92,139	90,908	90,274	89,072	85,952	84,317	83,611
'A'	11,375	15,618	18,075	18,497	18,518	18,981	18,528	18,049	18,099	16,767	16,443
	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
CSE	93,165	93,747	102,793	115,283	123,471	131,653	139,795	147,834	148,957	153,864	155,086
'O'	85,692	88,559	87,461	90,670	93,317	95,226	99,285	98,578	96,313	94,202	90,230
'A'	16,480	16,251	16,653	17,462	18,519	19,113	17,724	18,042	18,408	18,355	17,847
	1985										
CSE	156,038										
'O'	88,346										
'A'	16,720										

Source: Statistics of Schools Vol 2 DES - Tables 33,34,35 1971
 Tables 28,29,30 1978
 Tables C 30,31,32 1984

Figures of pupils in maintained secondary schools

Source: Statistics of Schools Vol 1 DES - Table 5 1961
 Table 3 1973
 Table C 1978

Elizabeth House, Statistics Branch

Appendix 4: Questionnaire sent out to schools

SURVEY OF TAKE-UP AND USE OF FLAC IN HEREFORD AND WORCESTER

PART 1 Please fill in the details which apply to your school

1. Total numbers of those doing French in:

- Year 1
- Year 2
- Year 3
- Year 4
- Year 5

2. Numbers of classes doing FLAC with their ability range.

	<u>Mixed ability</u>	<u>Lower ability</u>	<u>Average ability</u>	<u>Higher ability</u>
Year 1				
Year 2				
Year 3				
Year 4				
Year 5				

3. Estimate of numbers doing FLAC test in summer 1986.

	<u>FLAC 1</u>	<u>FLAC 2</u>	<u>FLAC 3</u>	
Year 1				
Year 2				
Year 3				
Year 4				
Year 5				

4. How do you integrate FLAC into your courses? Please tick.

	<u>Mixed ability</u>	<u>Lower ability</u>	<u>Average ability</u>	<u>Higher ability</u>
<u>Year 1</u>				
FLAC as basis of course				
FLAC fully integrated with course book				
2-3 weeks hard work on FLAC				
<u>Year 2</u>				
FLAC as basis of course				
FLAC fully integrated with course book				
2-3 weeks hard work on FLAC				

Year 3

FLAC as basis of course

FLAC fully integrated with course book

6-8 weeks hard work on FLAC

Year 4

FLAC as basis of course

FLAC fully integrated with course book

2-3 weeks hard work on FLAC

	<u>Mixed ability</u>	<u>Lower ability</u>	<u>Average ability</u>	<u>Higher ability</u>
FLAC as basis of course				
FLAC fully integrated with course book				
6-8 weeks hard work on FLAC				
FLAC as basis of course				
FLAC fully integrated with course book				
2-3 weeks hard work on FLAC				

5. How long has your school used FLAC? Years 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. How long have you taught FLAC? Years 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. Does FLAC replace school exams for? least able groups
 average groups
 higher groups

8. Do you see the greatest value of FLAC in: developing listening skills
 developing speaking skills
 developing reading skills

PART 2 Please respond to these statements with a tick in the appropriate column

9. FLAC syllabuses have generally improved my pupils' motivation for language learning.

10. FLAC syllabuses have modified the content of my lessons.

11. FLAC syllabuses have improved my pupils' communication skills.

12. I believe FLAC syllabuses should only be for the average and less able.

13. Using FLAC syllabuses has influenced the way I teach languages.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
9. FLAC syllabuses have generally improved my pupils' motivation for language learning.					
10. FLAC syllabuses have modified the <u>content</u> of my lessons.					
11. FLAC syllabuses have improved my pupils' communication skills.					
12. I believe FLAC syllabuses should only be for the average and less able.					
13. Using FLAC syllabuses has influenced the <u>way</u> I teach languages.					

33. Are you concerned at this stage about what you know, or don't know, about the 1988 GCSE?

34. What do you consider are the main advantages of using FLAC syllabus with your pupils?

35. And the disadvantages?

Any further comments:

Thank you very much for your help in completing this questionnaire.

Appendix 5: NUMBERS IN ABILITY GROUPINGS: Questions 1-3

<u>High Schools</u>					
	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year	5th Year
334 m.a.		110	168	36	20
1346 l.a.		432	780	80	54
1410 a		247	1104	33	26
420 h.a.	56	55	258	51	
	56	844	2310	200	100
Grand Total = 3510					
<u>Middle Schools</u>					
	3rd Year	4th Year			
232 m.a.	73	159			
380 l.a.	107	273			
175 a	65	110			
85 h.a.		85			
Total	245	627			
Grand Total = 872			<u>Total of all entries = 4382</u>		

Combined Entries

	Age 11/12	Age 12/13	Age 13/14	Age 14/15	Age 15/16
566 m.a.	73	269	168	36	20
1726 l.a.	107	705	780	80	54
1585 a	65	357	1104	33	26
505 h.a.	56	140	258	51	
	301	1471	2310	200	100

Grand Total = 4382

Total of all entries in first and second year of language learning = 1772 (40% of all entries)

Appendix 6: Pattern of FLAC entry by levels and ability - survey

ma = mixed ability, la = lower ability, a = average,
 ha = higher ability

Middle Schools

FLAC Level	Year 3			Year 4		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
1	la/a					
2	la					
3				ma		
4	a					
5				la		
6				la	ha	
7	la					
8				la		
9	ma					
10	la			la		
11				la/a/ha		
12				la	a	
13				la		
14				la		
15				la		

Appendix 7: Use of FLAC in schools - survey: as the basis of a course, fully integrated or as a 2 to 3 week 'crash course'

ma = mixed ability, la = lower ability, a = average, ha = higher ability

Middle Schools

Ability Level	Year 3												Year 4												
	Basis				Integrated								Basis				Integrated								
	m	l	a	h	ma	la	a	ha	ma	la	a	ha	m	l	a	h	ma	la	a	ha	ma	la	a	ha	
1		+						+								-									
2		+																							
3																			+						
4																+									
5																+									
6																			+	+					
7		+																							
8																+									
9												+													
10		+														+									
11																			+	+	+				
12																++									
13																			+						
14																			+						
15																			+						

Ability Level	Year 4												Year 5											
	Basis				Integrated 2-3 weeks								Basis				Integrated 2-3 weeks							
	m	l	a	h	ma	la	a	ha	ma	la	a	ha	m	l	a	h	ma	la	a	ha	ma	la	a	ha
21					+	+																		
24							+																	
25								+																
33																							+	
35															++									
41		++						+				+			+									
45																				+				

Ability Level	Year 1											
	Basis				Integrated 2-3 weeks							
	m	l	a	h	ma	la	a	ha	ma	la	a	ha
25								+				

PROJET D'ETABLISSEMENT
-:-

I.-/ANNEE SCOLAIRE 1984-1985/

Juin 1984 : Analyse des besoins auprès des élèves, des Parents et des Professeurs .

Septembre 1984 : Conseils d'enseignement définissant par discipline et par niveau le noyau indispensable de connaissances.
Ceci a débouché sur :

- 1°) la mise en place
 - équipes pédagogiques
 - de groupes de niveau en français en 6ème et parfois en 4ème, allemand en 6ème
 - d'une concertation (en dehors des heures de service)
 - d'une évaluation régulière
 - d'un travail interdisciplinaire
- 2°) un projet d'actions éducatives dont l'objectif est : "Enrichir et diversifier les connaissances, mieux savoir communiquer avec les autres, prendre en compte et favoriser l'épanouissement des capacités de chacun pour le guider vers la réussite".
- 3°) une demande de formation
 - pédagogie différenciée
 - évaluation
 - informatique

II.-/PROJET D'ETABLISSEMENT 1985-1986/

Après avoir examiné les données spécifiques à notre Collège, nous souhaitons mettre en oeuvre une structure et des actions qui permettent à chaque élève une orientation vers le second cycle dans les meilleures conditions.

- Accent mis sur ...
- (. méthodologie
 - (. travail personnel
 - (. évaluation
 - (. information

III.- /CONTENU DU PROJET/

- A./ ELEMENTS OBLIGATOIRES
- 1°) Actions spécifiques en direction des élèves en difficulté dans le domaine de la lecture et du calcul
 - Atelier de lecture (participation de la Documentaliste)
 - Atelier calcul avec exploitation de logiciels.

2°) Culture TECHNOLOGIQUE

- Projet informatique pédagogique :

Objectifs :

- * apprendre un nouveau langage
- * aider les élèves en difficulté en
 - . faisant manipuler, décoder, exploiter, etc...
 - . éveillant leur curiosité à l'environnement, au monde technique
 - . stimulant leur désir de réussir

Ce qui est déjà engagé

- * achat de matériel par l'établissement
 - 2 T.O. 7-70
 - et 1 M.O. 5
- * une demande de subvention pour l'achat d'un matériel semi-professionnel de type Goupil S.M.T.
- * une demande de formation de 50 à 100 h (29 Professeurs)
- * une demande de formation dans le cadre du C.R.I. (plus candidatures pour Pâques)

Ce qui est envisagé :

Utiliser l'informatique en priorité pour aider les élèves en difficulté.

- Projet technologie

* Economie - Gestion

1. Initiation à l'économie, à la gestion, à la comptabilité
2. Découverte de l'entreprise et du monde du travail
3. Le secteur tertiaire
Place et fonction de l'entreprise dans l'économie

Disciplines associées au projet :

- Éducation manuelle et technique
- Lettres
- Sciences humaines .

* Agronomie alimentaire

Thème à définir :

- étude diététique
- étude de l'entreprise alimentaire
- étude des conditions de travail
- visite d'entreprise agro-alimentaire ?

Disciplines associées au projet :

- Éducation manuelle et technique
- Français
- Sciences
- Sciences humaines

3°) AUDIO-VISUEL

Acquisition de la maîtrise du langage audiovisuel afin de mieux en décoder les messages.

Ce qui existe :

- * équipement d'un studio-télévision
- * utilisation fréquente par les Professeurs de sciences humaines et expérimentales

Ce qui est envisagé

- * Projection simultanée dans plusieurs salles de classe
- * Demande de formation

B./ ELEMENTS OPTIONNELS

- Ouverture sur l'environnement naturel
 - * P.A.E. III : en cours de réalisation travaux de peinture par les élèves pour un salle de ping-pong
- Ouverture sur l'environnement culturel
 - * Relations constantes des Professeurs et de la Documentaliste avec la Bibliothèque Municipale
 - * Relations fréquentes avec le Conservatoire de Ville d'Avray (Musique - visites d'expositions de peinture).
- Ouverture sur l'environnement social
 - * Ce qui est engagé :
 - . Cycle de conférences sur les professions
 - . Conférences sur le rôle de la Banque dans l'économie
 - . Entretiens individualisés élèves-professionnel
 - * Ce qui est envisagé :
 - . Relations avec Education-Entreprise Ile-de-France
 - . Liaisons avec les autres ordres d'enseignement
 - . Conventions de jumelage
- L'orientation des élèves : politique d'information et éducation des choix
 - * Ce qui est déjà engagé :
 - . Bulletin d'information à toutes les familles
 - . Séances d'information sur l'orientation par petits groupes
 - . Séances d'information en fonction du choix des thèmes retenus par les élèves : projection et commentaires par des professionnels
 - . Visite de carrefours des métiers
 - . Rencontre avec des professionnels
 - * Ce qui peut être envisagé
 - . Visite d'entreprises pour les élèves intéressés
 - . Convention avec des entreprises
- Efforts entrepris dans les disciplines artistiques
 - . Atelier de dessin (fonction d'une heure restante).

C./ MODALITES DE MISE EN OEUVRE

- Modalités d'ordre structurel
 - Groupes de niveau matière
 - * Ce qui est déjà engagé :
 - Alignement des heures en français en 6ème et en 4ème
 - Modalité utilisée pour une partie de l'horaire

- * Ce qui est prévu :
 - . Alignement des heures niveau 6ème en
 - Français : 2 heures
 - Mathématiques : totalité de l'horaire
 - . Alignement des heures niveau 4ème en
 - Français : 2 heures
 - Anglais : 1 heure
 - Mathématiques : totalité de l'horaire
 - . Alignement des heures niveau 3ème en
 - Français : 2 heures

Observation jusqu'à la Toussaint et évaluation :
 - formation des groupes
 - contenus et progression identiques

- Moyens mis en oeuvre

Totalement sur D.

- * Equipes formées en fonction des vœux des Professeurs et compte tenu des nécessités de service
- * Réunions des Conseils d'Enseignement en fin d'année scolaire 1984-1985 et à la pré-rentree pour :
 - . Elaboration d'objectifs communs
 - . Définition des critères et des modalités d'évaluation

* Organisation de la concertation

- . au niveau de la classe : à l'initiative du Professeur Principal, réunion de l'équipe éducative
- . au niveau de la discipline : non encadrée structurée
 Deux tendances :
 - Utilisation des heures de soutien pour certains (mathématiques)
 - organisation autonome des Professeurs hors des heures de cours
- . interdisciplinaire :
 - réunion des professeurs concernés :
 Ce qui est prévu :
 - 6è - 5è : Français - Anglais - Allemand - Histoire - Géographie - Dessin - Musique
 - 4è..... : Français - Anglais - Allemand - Histoire - Géographie - E.M.T.
 - 3è..... : Français - Anglais - Allemand
- . avec les familles :
 - 1er trimestre : réunion de chaque division avec l'équipe pédagogique (objectifs - moyens mis en oeuvre)
 - 2ème trimestre : entretiens individuels
 - A l'initiative du Professeur Principal
- . avec les élèves :
 - Suivi individualisé des élèves :
 - Professeur Principal
 - Conseillère d'Education

* Modalités prévues d'évaluation interne :

- de chaque action spécifique } non encore
- de l'ensemble du projet } structurée

* Formation :

Ce qui est déjà engagé :

- . Stage sur l'évaluation auquel participent plusieurs professeurs du Collège
- . Stage sur la pédagogie différenciée organisé au Collège pour les Professeurs de langues vivantes

Ce qui est prévu :

- . demande de formation : Pédagogie différenciée Evaluation.

Appendix 9: Schools visited in Bordeaux and Paris

- School 1 Large school on outskirts of Bordeaux with housing problems. No 'projet d'établissement' but 'l'initiative a été prise sur la base du volontariat de 4 prof d'anglais et la coopération de la direction de l'établissement'. (Blanquefort).
- School 2 School outside Bordeaux towards les Landes. No obvious real social problems. Projet d'établissement - school 'en rénovation'. Teacher was 'professeur-conseillère'. (Cestas)
- School 3 School on large housing estate. Had experience of 'groupes de niveau' since 1978 in 3 disciplines. Projet d'établissement - school 'en rénovation'. (Grand Parc)
- School 4 School in cité, ZEP, high immigrant population, with many social problems. Projet d'établissement, school 'en rénovation'. (Lourmont)
- Interviewed group of 3 teachers and deputy head on time-tabling and projets d'établissement.
- School 5 School in Bordeaux in difficult area. Groupes de niveau started by teacher who retired 1985 - initiative abandoned by staff. (Auzone)
- School 6 School on large housing estate, high immigrant population in suburb of Bordeaux. Greatest evidence of social deprivation. Projet d'établissement, school 'en rénovation'. Groupes de niveau under consideration but not established yet. (Cenan)
- Interviewed 2 teachers.
- School 7 Lycée technique drawing intake from whole département of la Gironde. Pupils well-motivated, but accommodation crowded.
- Interviewed 2 teachers. (Lycée George Eiffel)
- School 8 Lycée in centre of Bordeaux - one of 2 prestigious state lycées. (Montaigne)
- School 9 School in suburb S of Paris with high percentage of immigrant children. Second year of projet d'établissement school 'en rénovation'. Obviously caring school. (Cames)
- Interviewed group of 4 teachers and headmistress.
- School 10 School in suburb SE of Paris. Projet d'établissement - school 'en rénovation'. Had created top stream but

also had SES; school that had improved over 2 years with new head. (Anne Frank-Anthony)

Interviewed group of 3 teachers, head of SES and headmistress.

School 11 School in suburb W of Paris in middle-class residential area. Pupils well motivated. Projet d'établissement - school 'en rénovation'. (Ville d'Avray)

Interviewed group of 4 teachers, assistante, deputy headmistress and headmaster.

School 12 School in suburb W of Paris. Well known as 'école expérimentale'. Mainly middle-class intake. Projet d'établissement - school 'en rénovation'. Teacher member of INRP but abandoned 'groupes de niveau'. (Collège de Sèvres)

Interviewed one teacher.

School 13 Lycée in suburb W of Paris. Mainly middle-class intake. Had had 'groupes de niveau' in 2e. Teacher member of INRP. (Lycée de Sèvres)

Interviewed 3 teachers.

Appendix 10: Time spent by French children on learning languages,
analysed according to age

(Figures are given as percentage of age cohort)

At age 11/12 a total of 100% are in school

[Year 1 England]

Pupils in primary school

Total 34.97

Pupils in mainstream secondary schooling in CES

6^e 59.68

5^e 3.60

4^e 0.08

Total 63.36

Pupils in special education

Total 2.35

Remarks: 1. Only 63.36% of all children aged 11/12 have begun a language.

At age 12/13 a total of 99.76% are in school

[Year 2 England]

Pupils in primary school

Total 11.96

Pupils in mainstream secondary schooling in CES

6^e 30.32

5^e 50.70

4^e 3.52

3^e 0.10

Total 84.64

Pupils in special education

Total 3.15

Remarks: 1. Only 50.70% of all children aged 12/13 (and 3/62% in 2 higher classes) are in their second year of language learning.

2. 15.11% of all children aged 12/13 have not yet begun a language. They are still in primary or special education.

At age 13/14 a total of 99.30% are in school

[Year 3 England]

Pupils in primary school

Total 3.23

Pupils in mainstream secondary schooling in CES

6^e 13.54

5^e 34.10

4^e 40.82

3^e 3.54

Total 92.00

Pupils in pre-vocational classes after 2 years mainstream secondary schooling. These classes are mostly in CES.

CPPN 0.18

Pupils in vocational classes after 2 years mainstream schooling - 'cycle court' in LEP

CAPI 0.03

Pupils in special education

Total 3.80

- Remarks:
1. Only 40.82% of all children aged 13/14 (+ 3.54% in a higher class) are in their third year of language learning.
 2. 13.54% of all children aged 13/14 have only just begun a language and a further 7.09% have not yet begun a language.
 3. At the age of 13/14 4.04% of the total number of children are not doing a language (0.18 in CPPN classes, 3.86 in special education).

At age 14/15 a total of 97.20% are in school

[Year 4 England]

Pupils in mainstream secondary schooling - 'cycle long' in CES and lycées

6 ^e	1.51
5 ^e	15.27
4 ^e	23.28
3 ^e	36.06
2 ^e	2.60
1 ^e	0.04
	<hr/>
Total	78.76

Pupils in pre-vocational classes after 2 years mainstream secondary schooling. These classes are mostly in CES.

CPPN	7.51
CPA	0.78
	<hr/>
Total	8.29

Pupils in vocational classes after 2 or 4 years mainstream schooling - 'cycle court' in LEP

CEP	0.01	} classes after 2 years in mainstream secondary schooling
CAP1	6.19	
CAP2	0.04	
CAP3	0.01	} classes after 4 years in mainstream secondary schooling
BEP1	0.07	
BEP2	0.01	
	<hr/>	
Total	6.33	

Pupils in special education

Total	3.82
-------	------

- Remarks: 1. 6.32% of all children aged 14/15 are in 'cycle court'. As only 76% of them will be doing a language, this means 4.80% of all children aged 14/15 are doing a language in the LEP.
2. The total of all children learning a language at 14/15 in CES and LEP is 83.56%.
3. Only 36.06% of all children of 14/15 (+ 2.64% in higher classes) are in their fourth year of learning a language following the main 'programmes'.
4. This figure of 36.06% (+ 2.64% in higher classes) taken together with 23.28% in their third year of learning a language following the main 'programmes' amounts to 61.98% of all children aged 14/15.
5. At the age of 14/15 13.43% of the total number of children are not doing a language (1.32 in LEP, 8.29 in CPPN/CPA, 3.82 in special education).

At age 15/16 a total of 93.00% are in school

[Year 5 England]

Pupils in mainstream secondary schooling - 'cycle long' in CES and lycées

6 ^e	0.14
5 ^e	1.56
4 ^e	6.76
3 ^e	26.22
2 ^e	24.33
1 ^e	2.10
T	0.05
	<hr/>
Total	61.16

Pupils in pre-vocational classes after 2 years mainstream secondary schooling. These classes are mostly attached to CES.

CPPN	3.49
CPA	5.47
	<hr/>
Total	8.96

Pupils in vocational classes after 2 or 4 years mainstream secondary schools - 'cycle court' in LEP

CEP	0.34	} classes after 2 years in mainstream secondary schooling
CAP1	9.35	
CAP2	5.91	
CAP3	0.09	
BEP1	3.51	} classes after 4 years in mainstream secondary schooling
BEP2	0.08	
	<hr/>	
Total	19.28	

Pupils in special education - attached to CES

Total	3.60
-------	------

- Remarks: 1. 19.28% of all children aged 15/16 are in 'cycle court'. As only 76% of them will be doing a language, this means 14.65% of all children aged 15/16 are doing a language in the LEP.
2. The total of all children learning a language at 15/16 in CES and LEP is 75.81%.
3. Only 24.33% of all children of 15/16 (+ 2.15% in two higher classes) are in their fifth year of learning a language following the main 'programmes'.
4. This figure of 24.33% (+ 2.15% in two higher classes) taken together with 26.22% in their fourth year of learning a language following the main 'programmes' amounts to 52.70% of all children aged 15/16.

At age 16/17 a total of 76.25% are in school

[Year 6 England]

Pupils in mainstream secondary schooling - 'cycle long' in CES and lycées

6 ^e	0.03
5 ^e	0.09
4 ^e	0.49
3 ^e	6.72
2 ^e	15.75
1 ^e	18.30
T	2.07
	<hr/>
Total	40.45

Pupils in pre-vocational classes after 2 years mainstream secondary schooling. These classes are mostly attached to CES.

CPPN	0.44
CPA	0.37
	<hr/>
Total	0.81

Pupils in vocational classes after 2 or 4 years mainstream secondary schools - 'cycle court' in LEP

CEP	0.24	} classes after 2 years in mainstream secondary schooling
CAP1	2.76	
CAP2	7.86	
CAP3	5.49	} classes after 4 years in mainstream secondary schooling
BEP1	10.70	
BEP2	3.42	
	<hr/>	
Total	30.47	

Pupils in special education

Total	1.52
-------	------

- Remarks: 1. 30.47% of all children aged 16/17 are in 'cycle court'. As only 76% of them will be doing a language, this means 22.85% of all children aged 16/17 are doing languages in the LEP.
2. The total of all children learning a language at 16/17 in CES and LEP is 63.30%.
3. Only 18.30% of all children of 16/17 (+ 2.07% in a higher class) are in their sixth year of learning a language following the main 'programmes'.
4. This figure of 18.30% (+ 2.07% in a higher class) taken together with 15.75% in their fifth year of learning a language following the main 'programmes' amounts to 36.12% of all children aged 16/17.

At age 17/18 a total of 61.93% are in school

[Year 7 England]

Pupils in mainstream secondary schooling - 'cycle long' in CES and lycées

6 ^e	0.01
5 ^e	0.01
4 ^e	0.04
3 ^e	0.43
2 ^e	3.92
1 ^e	13.62
T	17.48
	<hr/>
Total	35.51

Pupils in pre-vocational classes after 2 years mainstream secondary schooling. These classes are mostly attached to CES.

CPPN	0.03
CPA	0.02
	<hr/>
Total	0.05

Pupils in vocational classes after 2 or 4 years mainstream secondary schools - 'cycle court' in LEP

CEP	0.09	} classes after 2 years in mainstream secondary schooling
CAP1	0.40	
CAP2	2.42	
CAP3	7.37	
BEP1	5.97	} classes after 4 years in mainstream secondary schooling
BEP2	9.75	
	<hr/>	
Total	26.00	

Pupils in special education

Total	0.38
-------	------

- Remarks: 1. 26% of all children aged 17/18 are in 'cycle court'. 19.5% of them are doing a language.
2. The total of all children learning a language at 17/18 in CES and LEP is 55.01%.
3. Only 17.48% of all children are in their seventh year of learning a language following the main 'programmes'.
4. This figure of 17.48% taken together with 13.62% in their sixth year of learning a language following the main 'programmes' amounts to 31.10% of all children aged 17/18.

(Source: 'Evolution des Taux de Scolarisation par âge et par niveau de 1974-75 à 1983-84', extract from 'Modèle par âge', Service de la Prevision des Statistiques et de l'Evaluation.)

REFERENCES

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Académie de Bordeaux (1985a): Carte des Langues Vivantes. Bordeaux.
- Académie de Bordeaux (1985b): Une Année d'Enseignement. Service statistique rectoral. Bordeaux.
- Académie de Bordeaux (1985c): Evolution des Effectifs d'Elèves selon les Langues Vivantes. Bordeaux.
- Les Amis de Sèvres (1983): Le Projet d'établissement. Centre International d'Etudes Pédagogiques, Paris.
- Les Amis de Sèvres (1985): La Pédagogie Différenciée. Centre International d'Etudes Pédagogiques, Paris.
- Associated Examining Board (1985): General Certificate of Education. Syllabus for French - Ordinary Level. London.
- Becher T. and Maclure S. (1978): The Politics of Curriculum Change. Hutchinson, London.
- Benn C. and Simon T. (1970): Half Way There. MacGraw-Hill, London.
- Bennis W., Benne R. and Chin T. (1961): The Planning of Change. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.
- Bergentoft R. (1980): Modern Languages Project School Sector: report on 'Intensive visit organised by the British authorities within the framework of the interaction network of the school sector of the Modern Languages Project (Oxford, Leeds, York, London. 17-21 March 1980). Council of Europe, Strasbourg.
- Bergentoft R. (1983): Consolidated report on the interaction network of the school sector of the Modern Languages Project, September 1979 - May 1981. Council of Europe, Strasbourg.
- Bertrand Y. (1977): Remarques sur les Objectifs de L'Enseignement des Langues. Les Langues Modernes, Paris.
- Berry M. (1975): Introduction to Systemic Linguistics - Structures and Systems. Batsford, London.
- Binon J. (1980): La Réforme dans les Collèges - Situation en 1979-80. Synthèse des observations faites par les Inspecteurs généraux et les Inspecteurs pédagogiques régionaux de la vie scolaire dans le cadre d'une enquête sur la situation des collèges. Ministère de l'Education, Paris.
- Black H.D. and Alexander W. (1984): Administering Change in Assessment. Scottish Council for Research in Education, Edinburgh.
- Burstall C., Jamieson M., Cohen S. and Hargreaves M. (1974): Primary French in the Balance. N.F.E.R., London.

- Carroll J. B. (1979): Psychological and Educational Research into Secondary Language Teaching to Young Children, In Stern H. H. (Ed). Languages and the Young School Child. O.U.P., Oxford.
- C.N.D.P. (1979a): La Réforme du Système Educatif-Anglais. Paris.
- C.N.D.P. (1979b): Anglais 6^e, 5^e, 4^e, 3^e; Horaires, Objectifs, Programmes, Instructions. Paris.
- C.N.D.P. (1980): La Pédagogie Différenciée au Collège-Inspection Générale. Paris.
- C.N.D.P. (1982): Anglais 2^e, 1^e, T; Horaires, Objectifs, Programmes, Instructions. Paris.
- C.N.D.P. (1983a): Les Lycées et leurs Etudes au Seuil du XXI^e Siècle. Rapport Prost. Paris.
- C.N.D.P. (1983b): Evaluation Pédagogique dans les Collèges-Anglais. Paris.
- C.N.D.P. (1983c): Baccalauréat de l'Enseignement du Second Degré. Paris.
- C.N.D.P. (1984): Disciplines d'Enseignement Général - L.E.P. Paris.
- C.N.D.P. (1985): L'Education Nationale en Chiffres. Paris.
- C.R.D.P. Amiens (1985): Pédagogie par objectifs. Evaluation-Rénovation. Amiens.
- C.R.D.P. Clermont-Ferrand (1982): Langues Vivantes-Anglais - Pédagogie Différenciée. Problèmes d'Evaluation. Clermont-Ferrand.
- C.R.D.P. Lyon (1983): Anglais Second Cycle: Approche fonctionnelle et sémantique. Lyon.
- Cherkaoui M. (1982): Les Changements du Système Educatif en France 1950-1980. Presses Universitaires de France. Paris.
- Clarke J. (1978): The Syllabus - what should the learner learn? Audio Visual Language Journal, Vol. XXVII no. 2. London.
- Clark J. and Hamilton J. (1984a): Syllabus Guidelines 1: Communication. C.I.L.T., London.
- Clark J. and Hamilton J. (1984b): Syllabus Guidelines 2: French - a Graded Communicative Approach. C.I.L.T., London.
- Collège de France (1985): Propositions pour l'Enseignement de l'Avenir. Collège de France, Paris.
- C.I.L.T. (1986): G.O.M.L. Newsletter 10. C.I.L.T., London.
- Coste D., Courtillon J., Ferenzi V., Martins-Battar M., (CREDIF) and Roulet E. (1976): Un niveau seuil. Council, Strasbourg. Published 1981 by Hatier, Paris.

- Dalgalian G. and Lieutaud S. (1981): Pour un Nouvel Enseignement des Langues. Clé, Paris.
- D.E.S. (1961): University Grants Committee, Report of Sub-Committee on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies. H.M.S.O., London.
- D.E.S. (1963): Higher Education. Report of the Committee appointed by the Prime Minister. H.M.S.O., London.
- D.E.S. (1977): Matters for Discussion 3: Modern Languages in Comprehensive Schools. H.M.S.O., London.
- D.E.S. (1978): Comprehensive Education. Report of D.E.S. Conference 1977. D.E.S., London.
- D.E.S. (1982a): H.M.I. Report on Oxford Scheme of Graded Objectives. D.E.S., London.
- D.E.S. (1982b): The School Curriculum. H.M.S.O., London.
- D.E.S. (1984a): H.M.I. Report on Classroom Practice in Schools in N.W. England preparing pupils for Graded Tests. D.E.S., London.
- D.E.S. (1984b): H.M.I. Report on Graded Tests in Leeds. D.E.S., London.
- D.E.S. (1985a): Better Schools - a Summary. D.E.S., London.
- D.E.S. (1985b): G.C.S.E. The National Criteria - General Criteria. H.M.S.O., London.
- D.E.S. (1985c): G.C.S.E. A General Introduction. H.M.S.O., London.
- D.E.S. (1985d): G.C.S.E. National Criteria - French. H.M.S.O., London.
- D.E.S. (1985e): Boys in Modern Languages. D.E.S., London.
- D.E.S. (1986): Foreign Languages in the School Curriculum. A Draft Statement of Policy by the Secretaries of State for Education and Science and for Wales. D.E.S., Welsh Office.
- Dobson A. (1983): Visit to C.N.D.P. Unpublished note of visit.
- Dossier Le Monde (1985 Oct): L'Ecole publique aujourd'hui. Paris.
- Durkheim E. (1966): Education et Sociologie. P.U.F. Paris.
- L'Education-hebdo (1974-1980): Paris.
- Van E.K. (1975): The Threshold Level. Council of Europe, Strasbourg.
- Van E.K. (1976): The Threshold Level for Modern Language Learning in Schools. Council of Europe, Strasbourg.

Van E.K. and Alexander L.G. (1977): Waystage. Council of Europe, Strasbourg.

A European unit/credit system for Modern Language learning by adults, report of the Ludwigshafen Symposium (1979): Council of Europe, Strasbourg.

Forum (1985): No. 1 1985. London.

Gallison R. (1980): D'hier à Aujourd'hui, la Didactique des Langues Etrangères. Clé, Paris.

Haby R. (1981): Combat pour les Jeunes Français. Julliard, Paris.

Halliday M. (1975): Learning how to mean. Arnold, London.

Halls W. (1976): Education, Culture and Politics in Modern France. Pergamon, London.

Hamon H. and Rotman P. (1984): Tant qu'il y aura des Profs. Seuil, Paris.

Hamon H. and Rotman P. (1985): Le Pari sur l'Intelligence - Chevènement. Flammarion, Paris.

Harding A., Page B. and Rowell S. (1980): Graded Objectives in Modern Languages. C.I.L.T., London.

Hawkins E. (1981): Modern Languages in the Curriculum. C.U.P., Cambridge.

Hereford and Worcester (1985): Foreign Language Achievement Certificate - Syllabus. Worcester.

I.L.E.A. Bulletin (1980): Arguments for and against Graded Tests. I.L.E.A., London.

I.N.R.P. (1973): Compte Rendu de Recherche sur le Programme Lexical. Paris.

I.N.R.P. (1976): Elaboration d'un Programme Lexical-Compte Rendu. Paris.

I.N.R.P. (1984a): Nouvelle Présentation du Programme Grammatical. Anglais 1^{er} cycle. Paris.

I.N.R.P. (1984b): Anglais dans les Collèges. Paris.

I.N.R.P. (1984c): Baccalauréat Ecrit. Paris.

I.N.R.P. (1985a): Pédagogie Différenciée - Anglais classe de 6^e. Paris.

I.N.R.P. (1985b): Brevet des Collèges. Propositions - Base de Réflexion. Paris.

I.N.R.P. (1985c): Baccalauréat Oral. Paris.

King E. (1973): Other Schools and Ours. Comparative Studies

- Krashen S.D. (1982): Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition. Pergamon Press, London.
- Leech G. and Svartvik J. (1972): Communicative Grammar of English. Longman, London.
- Legrand L. (1981): L'Ecole Unique: à quelles Conditions? Editions du Scarabée, Paris.
- Legrand L. (1982): Pour un Collège Démocratique - Rapport Legrand. La Documentation Française, Paris.
- Lettres de Matignon (1975-1985): Services d'Information et de Diffusion du Premier Ministre. Paris.
- Littlewood W. (1981): Communicative Language Teaching. C.U.P., Cambridge.
- Littlewood W. (1984): Foreign and Second Language Teaching. C.U.P., Cambridge.
- Martinet A. (1979): La Grammaire Fonctionnelle du Français. Matier, Paris.
- Midland Examining Group (1984): Joint O/CSE 16+ Examination - Syllabus for French. Birmingham.
- Modern Language Learning in Adult Education. Report of the Rüschlikon Symposium (1971): Council of Europe, Strasbourg.
- Modern Languages (1971-1981): Report presented by CDCC Project Group 4 with a Resumé by Trim J.L.M. (1981): Council of Europe, Strasbourg.
- Le Monde (1975-86) Paris.
- Le Monde de l'Education. (1975-1986): Paris.
- Murphy A. (1984): Development of Graded Tests in Kent. Unpublished M.Sc. thesis. Institute of Education, Oxford.
- N.C.L.E. Papers and Reports 5 (1984): Foreign Language Examinations. The 16+ Debate 1981-1983. C.I.L.T., London.
- N.F.E.R. (1985): Foreign Language Performance in Schools. N.F.E.R., London.
- Neumeister H. (1973): Les Langues Vivantes à l'Ecole. Conseil d'Europe, Strasbourg.
- Norvez A. (1978): Le Corps enseignant et l'Evolution Demographique. P.U.F., Paris.
- O.E.C.D. (1973): Case Studies of Educational Innovation. O.E.C.D., Paris.
- O.K. (1985): Anglais en 6^e, 5^e, 4^e, 3^e. Nathan, Paris.
- O.M.L.A.C. (1978) New Objectives in Modern Languages. Hodder and Stoughton, London.

- O.N.I.S.E.P. (1978): Langues Vivantes - Les Guides de l'O.N.I.S.E.P. Paris.
- O.N.I.S.E.P. (1980): Avenirs - Langues Etrangères et Vie Professionnelle. Paris.
- O.N.I.S.E.P. (1985a): L'Entrée en 6^e au Collège. Paris.
- O.N.I.S.E.P. (1985b): Après la Classe de 3^e. Paris.
- Orr V.C. (1982): Recent Reform in French Education - La Réforme Haby. Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis. Faculty of Education, University of Birmingham.
- Page B. (1974): An alternative model for modern language examinations. Audio Visual Language Journal, Vol XII No. 3 (p237-241). London.
- Page B. (1979): Notions, functions and threshold levels. Audio Visual Language Journal, Vol XVII No. 2 (p115-122). London.
- Perren G.E. (1972): Introductory Paper in Teaching Modern Languages across the Ability Range. C.I.L.T., London.
- De Peretti A. (1982): La Formation des Personnels de l'Education Nationale Documentation Française. Rapport au Ministre de l'Education Nationale de la Commission Française.
- Porcher L. (1980a): Petit guide d'emploi pour l'adaption de 'Un niveau-seuil' pour des contextes scolaires. Council of Europe, Strasbourg.
- Porcher L. (1980b): Reflections on language needs in the school. Council of Europe, Strasbourg.
- Porcher L., Huart M., Mariet F. (CREDIF) (1980c): Adaption de 'Un niveau-seuil' pour des contextes scolaires. Council of Europe, Strasbourg.
- Powell B. (1986): Boys, Girls and Languages in Schools. C.I.L.T., London.
- Prost A. (1968): L'Enseignement en France 1800-1967. Colin, Paris.
- Prost A. (1981): L'Enseignement et l'Education en France. Nouvelle Librairie de France.
- Richterich R. (1973): 'A model for the definition of language needs of adults' in Systems Development in Adult Language Learning. Council of Europe, Strasbourg.
- Roulet E. (1977): Un niveau-seuil - présentation et guide d'emploi. Council of Europe, Strasbourg.
- Savary A. (1982 Oct): Un mois d'Enseignement-Enseignants en avant! Le Monde de l'Education, p10. Paris.
- Savary A. (1985): En toute Liberté. Hachette, Paris.

Schon B. (1971): Beyond the Stable State. Penguin, London.

Schools Council (1981): The Practical Curriculum. Methuen, London.

Secondary Examinations Council (1984): Annual Report 1983-4. S.E.C., London.

Service de la Prévision des Statistiques et de l'Evaluation (1983-84): Evolution des Taux de Scolarisation par Age et Niveau Scolaire - extraits de 'Modèle par Age'. Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Paris.

Service de la Prévision des Statistiques et de l'Evaluation (1984-85): Repartition des Elèves par Langue Vivante étudiée, Cycle et Classe. Ministère de l'Education Nationale, Paris.

Statistics of Schools Vol 1 (1961, 1973, 1978): D.E.S. Statistics Branch, London.

Statistics of Schools Vol 2 (1971, 1978, 1984): D.E.S. Statistics Branch, London.

Tella S. (1985) editor: International Workshops for Trainers of Modern Language Teachers. Report on Workshop 3. Council of Europe, Strasbourg.

West Midland Examinations Board (1985): Certificate of Secondary Education - Syllabus for French. T.W.M.E.B., Birmingham.

Weston P. (1985): Countdown to the G.C.S.E. Times Educational Supplement 5-7.85 p.19, London.

Wilkins D.A. (1973): 'The linguistic and situational content of the common core in a unit/credit system' in Systems Development in Adult Language Learning. Council of Europe, Strasbourg.

Wilkins D. (1976): Notional Syllabuses. O.U.P., Oxford.