

## **International Colloquium, Lyons, 2019, June 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>.**

Colloquium organized by the LARHRA Laboratory, University of Lyons,  
and the CREHS Laboratory, University of Artois

### **From the Astier Law to the “baccalauréat professionnel”. Young people and work: apprenticeship, training and vocational guidance.**

#### **Summaries**

#### **Tuesday, June 4<sup>th</sup>**

##### **1. Laws and regulations: the Astier Law area.**

Sébastien-Akira ALIX (Université Paris Est, CERLIS): *The Smith-Hughes National Vocational Education Act of 1917 and vocational training in the United States*

With the adoption, on February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1917, of the *Smith-Hughes National Vocational Education Act*, the USA establish one of the first programs on federal educational aid of their history breaking with the decentralization tradition of the American school. This legislation, aiming to support Vocational education, results from several years of pressure put on the Federate States and the US Federal Government by associations and interest groups, such as the *American Federation of Labor*, the *National Association of Manufacturers* and the *National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education*. In 1914, these groups obtained the institution by Woodrow Wilson of a *Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education* appointed to provide a report on this subject. Submitted to the Congress by two members of the Commission, Senator H. Smith and Georgia Representative D. Hughes, after several years of discussions and amendments, the report leads to the *Smith-Hughes Act*, one the main outcome of American progressive reformers on education of the end of 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Two years before the Astier Law, on July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1919, concerning the organization of Industrial and commercial technical education, the *Smith-Hughes Act* is a milestone in the history of American education, and particularly professional education. In its very designation, this Congress *Act* reflects an American specificity in the way to apprehend and to conceive this education. This *Vocational Education*, an expression that has no equivalent in French, which deserves to be supported by the 1917 legislation differs in a number of ways from the French conception of industrial and commercial technical education. As a matter of fact, commercial education which includes training in typing, accounting and shorthand, is excluded from the American program of federal aid which is mainly funding the development of agricultural and industrial education and domestic training for young women. In this regard, if the *Smith-Hughes Act* represents in the United States a significant step in the symbolic recognition of “the idea that *preparation for work* was a primary function of American education” (Harvey A. Kantor), the type of work – or of works – Americans wish schools to prepare their students for appears to be very specific with noticeable gender connotations linked to the educational ideals of the progressive reformers from the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Cédric PERRIN (IDHE.S Évry): *The birth of craft apprenticeship (1919-1941). Genesis and implementation of the Walter-Paulin law.*

This communication proposes to present the birth of craft apprenticeship from the 1919 Astier law to 1941 (Vichy's reform of professional education and end date of the archive sources consulted). The interwar years appear as a peculiar period for both the professional education and the apprenticeship. After the recurring complaint of a crisis of apprenticeship, the period sees the setting up of an institutional framework of which the Astier law constitutes a major landmark with, among others, the compulsory professional courses, the beginning of the CAP and the creation of the apprentice tax in 1925. It is also the period of the birth of craftsmanship. The first trade union representing all the craftsmen, the CGAF, appears in 1923. The first measures recognizing the specific characteristics of craftsmanship are taken during this period (tax status, craft credit, chambers of trade, trades register...). Yet, apprenticeship is at the heart of the debate that punctuates the birth of craftsmanship. The first Chambers of trade, already established by craftsmen before the war such as in Bordeaux, focused on apprenticeship. Apprenticeship is one of the core competencies granted to the Chambers of trade created by the 1925 Courtier law. Julien Fontègne, a specialist of career guidance, was the first to use the expression "artisanat" (craftsmanship) in an article in the *Gazette des métiers* in 1920. But, if the craftsmen are recognized players in the field of apprenticeship, they want their own organization, which was finally granted by the 1937 Walter-Paulin law about craft apprenticeship. Based on the debates of both the Parliament and craftsmen organizations, the communication will first trace the genesis of the law during the interwar period in order to show that it is a measure of compromise and autonomy. Further, after an analysis of the contents, on the base of case studies in various départements, the difficulties of its implementation both in the Chambers of trades and in the craftsmen's workshops will be followed.

María Luisa RICO GÓMEZ (Universit   d'Alicante): *The influence of the Astier law on dictator Primo de Rivera's project in Spain, 1923-1930*

This communication will analyse the influence of the 1919 Astier law on the project of industrial and technical education in Spain during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera between 1923 and 1930. Actually, the aim is to examine the points of similarity between the French ideological and institutional structure and the Spanish model.

Further to the impact of WW1, one way to get over the crisis and to modernize the resources was to invest in an elementary and intermediary technical training which would prepare the worker for the new systems proposed by scientific organization and mechanization. In a period that was moving forward to technical innovation, the modern State, trying to avoid that work differentiation should lead to social conflict, had to impose through vocational training a common morality of ideas in order to regenerate the worker and to grant him professional and social dignity. In this way, the modern State had to accommodate economic modernization with a social stability embodied by the "new middle class", the social structure of technicians. In this context, the State had to restructure its professional industrial education that was seen in an economic and social point of view, as well by the Spanish dictatorship as by the nationalistic conservative French Third Republic.

The analysis is focused on the political goal of this educational project aiming to instruct a distinct social group linked to factory or workshop jobs. The Government undertook a social policy centralizing all channels of the young worker's and the middle class' industrial training. In order to get a better understanding of this program, we will carry out a comparative study of the two contemporary educational projects starting in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century,

culminating with the French Astier law of July 1919 and the Spanish Status of industrial education of October 1924, with the latter being partially based on the structures of the first.

In contrast to England and, to some extent, to Germany, the French and Spanish states had to structure professional industrial education in order to make it responsive to the technical needs of the second industrial revolution and to confront the archaic and routine apprenticeship of particular initiatives. On one side, the cultural concept of technical education changed according to the political system: democratic and liberal or conservative, corporatist and reactionary. The conservative-reactionary forces as well of the Spanish dictatorship as of the nationalist conservative French Third republic saw industrial education in an economic and social perspective. In this way, it was settled in the Ministry of Work, Trade and Industry by the Spanish royal decree of March 15<sup>th</sup>, 1924 and by the French Astier law of July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1919. On the other hand, from a pedagogical point of view, both countries defended two similar conceptions of professional technical education: those who saw the workers' professional training as a pure question of education promoted an education form putting general knowledge over particular skills and manual instruction; but those who thought that professional training was more economic and social as cultural considered that utilitarian and practical characteristics would not be prejudicial for an integral general education. Finally, other topics like local administration, with the model of the French Departmental and Cantonal Comities of Technical education, school structures, programs or the status of apprenticeship, followed the French example.

Lorenzo BONOLI (Institut federal des hautes études en formation professionnelle - IFFP): *The discreet role of trade unions in the development of Swiss vocational training system between 1880 and 1930*

Comparative research about the historical development of vocational training systems show notorious differences in the way each country developed its own system (CEDEFOP 2004; Thelen 2004; Busemeyer & Trampusch, 2012). However some permanent features can be observed in the negotiation, and even in the clash between some actors, especially the State, employer organizations and trade unions, about issues like control of training conditions and contents, awarding of degrees, financing, school or factory organization, etc. (Cf. in particular Busemeyer & Trampusch, 2012).

The evolution of the Swiss VET system follows the same pattern but with a peculiarity that deserves to be analysed more deeply: the relatively low weight in negotiation and relatively discreet commitment of the trade unions. Current research on the history of the Swiss vocational training system shows without any ambiguity that the institutionalization of vocational training in the field of apprenticeship was mainly carried out by professional employers' associations, while the trade unions played a minor role accepting and even supporting surprisingly most of the initiatives taken in this field by the employers' associations (Gonon, 1998; Tabin, 1989; Bauder, 2008; Bonoli, 2015; Emmenegger & alii, 2018).

The first question to be asked is: how to explain the Swiss trade unions' relatively light involvement in this field? Which contemporary socio-political conditions could allow us to understand such a discreet attitude? Secondly, we need to ask ourselves to what extent this discreet commitment influenced negotiations about the before mentioned challenges, and in particular the extent to which this slight commitment influenced the negotiations concerning work conditions (working time, apprentice wages, control of training quality, etc.) and social policy issues such as integration of young adults in the world of work and fight against precarious jobs.

An analysis of documents (laws, official reports, scientific publications, press articles, etc.) written between 1880 and 1930, the decisive period for the deployment of the Swiss

vocational training system (Gonon, 1998; Bonoli, 2012), show that in Switzerland no “class struggle” in the field of vocational training took place (Bauder, 2008; Tabin, 1989). It is rather interesting to note that, if the trade unions do not seem to claim any key role in the process of institutionalization on this topic, the first laws adopted on cantonal level after 1890 provide nevertheless a series of measures welcomed by them, particularly regarding protection of young adults and improving training conditions.

A deeper study of sources will add to our understanding of the peculiar situation of the birth of Swiss VET where, despite the trade unions’ discreet role, the laws passed by bourgeois majorities include measures of protection of young male and female apprentices and assign social policy purposes to Swiss VET (Bonoli, 2015).

This analysis will also allow a better understanding of the current situation of Swiss VET, explicitly committed not only to economic purposes, preparation of skilled labour force for Swiss companies but also to social purposes, social and professional integration of the greatest possible number of young people, and this in spite of the relatively secondary role that trade unions continue to play even today.

## **2. Policies in picture**

Françoise F. LAOT (Université Reims Champagne-Ardenne, CEREP): *TV images of vocational training for adult women in the late sixties and early seventies*

Even if adult educational TV provisions (RTS/promotion) had been broadcast on national channels since 1963, adult education was far from being a favourite topic of television programs. Some of them, however, addressed the issue. The interest for the theme slightly reinforced with the progressive setting of institutional and legislative measures (1961-1963 funds for social promotion, 1966 and 1968 laws, 1970 agreements, 1971 law). Reporting sequences of varying lengths showed adults in vocational training and gave them the floor. Most often, images showed only men. Groups were rarely mixed-sex, and when they were, women were always strongly underrepresented. Vocational training, like labour world, remained gendered. In the second half of the 1960s, however, several programmes entirely devoted to the training of women led to the emergence of a new theme, that of “women’s recycling” for those wishing to (re) enter the labour market after a more or less long period of time as “housewife”. Two short films dealing with this topic will be shown and commented. The first, 3:32 min, went on the television news of November 18<sup>th</sup>, 1967; the second, 5:17 min, was broadcast on May 5<sup>th</sup>, 1972. The comments will aim to situate these two films within a corpus of filmed documentary and reports dealing with the training of adult men and women, and to analyse their content in the context of the changes in discourses on women’s work and training in the late sixties and early 1970s.

Édouard LYNCH (Université de Lyon, LER): *The earth, the table and the workbench: implementation and staging of professional education in the countryside of the silent revolution.*

Training for male and female farmers still remains a largely uncharted territory in the labour and professionalization history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Legitimately, historians focussed on new horizons opened by mass education and new perspectives in the manufacturing and services sectors. Despite the ambitious law of August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1918, contemporaneous to the Astier law, establishing a coherent and structured system was long in coming, due to an agricultural model mainly dominated by small-scaled farming and low productivity. After this date, vocational training structures for farmers have been built in a disorganised manner with private initiative taking precedence over public structures. The confusion was increased by

uncertainties and contradictions concerning the purposes of such an education intended for an activity that was for a long time more properly seen as a “condition” than as a “profession”. A major breakdown occurs only in the 1950s-1960s, the so called silent revolution, when public authorities in particular lead to a deep and ambitious reform of vocational training under the impulse of Michel Debré, an acceleration supported by the political context and especially by the appeasement of tensions with confessional training structures very involved in agricultural training.

Even if the main institutional benchmarks of this history are known, a lot of elements have yet to be explored at both national and regional levels, such as practical implementation of the content of courses, affected publics or concrete organisation and functioning of schools. This is particularly true for education in favour of girls which duality as not specifically “agricultural” and feminine tend to invisibilize. But their male counterparts are not necessarily better off.

In this communication, we would like to sketch a comparison between male and female agricultural schools that from the 1950s to the 1970s constituted an original place for the implementation of the policies of agricultural transformation. To this end, we will use a largely unknown kind of source, audio-visual archive produced and released as cinema newsreels at the beginning of the period, but essentially for television when the launch of local channels in the 1960s provided wider and more diverse sources. The analysis of media reports and clips aims to highlight the characteristics of this education torn between the logics of staying at their land and a now inevitable reorientation of part of the rural labour force. In a similar way, access to “modernity” and to peculiar professional qualification questions categories and roles assigned to men and women in rural areas.

## **Wednesday, June 5<sup>th</sup>**

### **3. Employers and companies.**

Antoine VERNET (Sorbonne Université, Triangle): *Saint-Étienne’s steel industry employers and workers’ training from the 1910s to the 1940s: was the school a choice?*

Careers in mechanics were the primary beneficiaries of the institutionalisation of technical education after the 1880s. The construction of a training offer for skilled workforce, from skilled workers to technicians, was based on public and private schools founded at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The development of professional courses was also partially founded on a first extension of technical education. Since the first debates about compulsory perpetuation of apprenticeship centres, the steel industry employers were concerned by the scope of these different proposals about the technical instruction of their (future) staff. At an associative level, the Union of Steel and Mining Industries (Union des industries métallurgiques et minières) acts as a lobby trying to influence the legislative process (Astier law, apprenticeship tax, Zay decree-laws, etc.). Public statements and lobbying of the companies’ leaders tried to minimize their impact on business freedom. However on the contrary, these actions did not reflect a denial of the schooling form as a means for preparing or complementing the future workers’ training.

This on national level well-known frame has to be corroborated by regional studies. The employers’ concrete practices have to be considered. The communication intends to inquire the strategy/ies deployed by the steel employer(s) of the Saint-Étienne region. In connection with their national representatives, they commit to negotiate the conditions of the local organisation

of the workers' vocational training. However their role is less important than that of the employers acting as departmental inspectors of technical education, and it leads to occasional disagreements. But these considerations cannot explain the steel industry employers' attitude concerning the workers training.

Next to an outstanding public offer, even if it is sometimes criticized by the employers, the use of private technical schools by the employers illustrates the search, in a frame similar to the standards of the Direction of Technical Education, of a more practical pedagogy or of a controlled socialisation of the worker elite. In a conventional way, only the biggest companies maintain their own apprentice schools, privileged places of familiar reproduction adapted to the technical realities of factories intended to benefit from these internal work markets. The choice is clear: the majority of the steel employers of Saint-Étienne benefits from an offer that does not commit them towards the schools or the centres.

Resorting to patronizing attitudes or liberalities, even after instauration of the apprenticeship tax, allows to benefit from the efforts made by cities or religious actors. Such a solution makes it easier to stage social relationships in the different labour pools. In limiting the cost of employer investment, this scheme illustrates the renewed importance of the social training of the work force and of the scientific and technical utility of these apprenticeships at school approved since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These theories can be validated by access to departmental archive, first of them the archive of the Departmental Committee of Technical Education and of the CAP examining boards, and also of the (scarce) archive of companies and employers' associations.

Jean-François GREVET (COMUE ESPE LNF, CREHS): *Berliet, from Taylor to Fidel Castro. Vocational training of young workers in the car company, a model exported to the Third World.*

The Berliet Company of Lyons is famous for its vocational training. At least, what we know is how the company was repeatedly seen as a model for apprenticeship reform. Since WW 1, at the avant-garde of training the automobile *homo faber*, it founded an intern press and, especially, a school for training its future management staff. This school, with its pupils called by the new word of "trainees" (stagiaires) that it popularized, almost became a synonym for first work experience of young people in France. It was also perceived as a model in training for readjustment of war invalids. After the vicissitudes of the interwar period, this effort of vocational training for young people undergoes a renewal with the Berliet Technical School (École technique Berliet) during and after WW2 until it closed in the early 70s. This school appears as a pool of foremen, technicians and supervisors but also, under Paul Berliet's impetus, as a training place for training staff with a partially changing audience. With its setting up in industrializing Third World countries, Berliet offers its professional training model to different leaders from Félix Houphouët-Boigny to Fidel Castro. Hundreds of trainees from Africa and Asia are thereby formed in Lyons, while Berliet training centres swarm over Africa and Central America.

This communication intends to study vocational training of young people in colonial and post-colonial environment in the manner it is conceived in direction of the so called "new countries". In Algeria, Morocco, Black Africa, but also in socialist countries like China, Cuba and beyond the Iron Curtain, the company from Lyons appears in a leading position for analysing transfers of technology and technical know-how between the West and the World in a key economic sector.

Based on the company's and Paul Berliet's archive, this contribution to *Global History* wants to restore for the different periods (WW 1, interwar period to 1950s, 1960s to early 1970s) the different objectives, training components, certifications, prepared diplomas, trainers profile,

future of promoted students, difficulties and realities in order to give a mixed report of this vocational training.

Farid AMEUR (Archives historiques Société Générale): *Serving business: the grooms' training school of the Société Générale*

Aged fourteen on average, grooms are recruited with their parents' consent after obtaining the "certificat d'études primaires" (Certificate for Primary Education). In most cases, it is their first working life experience. Against the common belief, grooms are not only responsible for client reception. Possessing multiple abilities, they sign the collecting and counting papers, deliver the mail and carry out the agency's small tasks. When the circumstances require it, they oversee the facilities security, and especially the vault's entrance. On due dates, they can accompany the collecting clerk on his tours. In 1934, the Société générale provides a specific training to these precious auxiliaries in order to allow them moving up the ladder more easily. Proportionate to their commitment, this initiative contributes to strengthening their feelings of belonging.

Jérôme MARTIN (CRTD - Centre de Recherche sur le Travail et le Développement - GRESHTO Groupe de recherche et d'étude sur l'histoire du travail et de l'orientation): *Enrolled male and female apprentices through the prism of psychology in the 1950s.*

This communication intends to highlight how was examined in the 1950s the question of adapting male and female vocational training for students in professional and technical schools by developing research works in psychology and psychotechnics that preceded the first sociological surveys concerning young working people in the 1960s (Maupeou-Leplatre, 1960). In the 1950s those who were sometimes called "schooled apprentices" (apprentis scolarisés) (Schiélé & Monjardet, 1964) become topics of applied psychology. In the context of the "rising of youths" (montée des jeunes) (Sauvy, 1959) two forms of post-compulsory schooling of 15-18 years old people are developed for training male and female workers (Troger, 1989 ; Lembré, 2016). On one side, there are the Apprenticeship Centres, 946 in 1958-59 with circa 170.000 male and female students, and, on the other side Complementary Courses (Chapoulie, 2007).

Applied psychology showed a particular interest for this new school population for various reasons. First, since the 1920s there is an institutional link between technical education and psychotechnics. On the other hand, the growth of technical and professional education offers a new field of research for psychologists who will notably study the male and female youths schooled in Apprenticeship Centres. At least, the needs of work force in the context of economic planning favours mobilizing techniques that tend to rationalize career guidance and vocational training of apprentices.

This research is conducted by different organizations. The first is the National Institute of Career Guidance and Work Study (Institut National d'Orientation professionnelle et d'étude du travail – INETOP) founded in 1928 that benefits from anteriority in the field of psychotechnics. By the 1930s, it raised the question of how to adequate training and work (Vasconsellos, 2003). A second survey centre is the Centre of Studies and Documentary Research on Technical Education (Centre d'études et de recherches documentaires de l'enseignement technique - CERDET), founded by ministerial ruling of March 7<sup>th</sup>, 1945, that, in addition to its role as a provider of statistics, commissions public surveys. At least, but only occasionally, the psychologists gathered around the magazine *Enfance*, founded by Henri Wallon (1879-1962), also show some interest in schooled male and female apprentices.

The communication will focus two issues:

- With their field surveys, psychologists deliver an accurate and detailed picture of the population they study. They are committed to work on its motivations, difficulties and representations of professions and work (Nicole-Drancourt & Roulleau-Berger, 2001). The surveys cover all the aspects of the students' experience and school career. They also enable observing how the gender issue splitters this population.

- The psychologists' surveys also provide an insight into both educational organization of Apprenticeship Centres and Complementary Courses and student adult relationships, or sometimes tensions and conflicts.

- The psychologists problematize the issues of adapting training to profession and employability. In this double perspective, special attention will be paid to the works conducted by a team of guidance counsellors around Antoine Léon (1921-1998) whose research lead to an educational psychology of apprenticeship and career guidance (Léon, 1957).

Underlining the specific nature of the group of schooled male and female apprentices, the psychologists help define the outlines of popular teens' experience. This communication is based on archive (INEROP, Henri Piéron, CERDET) and various journals of psychology (*Bulletin de l'INOP*, *L'Année psychologique*, *Le travail humain*, *le Bulletin de psychologie et Enfance*).

Pierre-Yves BERNARD (Université de Nantes, CREN) and Pauline DAVID (Université de Nantes, CREN): *Resistance to schooling in vocational education: the production schools*.

Historically, French VET is characterised by a long movement of schooling, namely to integrate it as a school form (Vincent, 1994) and as an organisation of educational public service (Pepel & Troger, 2001). Following an institutional approach, this schooling process can be seen as a specific model with strong State impact, in opposition to other models giving more room to the market and professional organisations (Greinert, 2005). However, other forms exist in France more linked to the practical dimensions of vocational training (Moreau, 2003). The network of production schools offers an excellent illustration that received until now minimal scrutiny by scientific literature. Formerly called Apprenticeship workshops (*Ateliers d'apprentissage*), these institutions propose an original training model, different from both the vocational college (*Lycée professionnel*) and the Apprentices Training Centre (*Centre de formation d'apprentis*). Within the school, students are placed in concrete production situations for the profit of clients, individuals or companies. Today, with more than twenty schools, this network is experiencing a significant growth.

However, these schools are situated outside the mainstream of initial vocational training. An ongoing survey intends to study this training model, to settle it as part of the work about schooling forms, within the landscape of initial vocational training. Here, the schooling form is seen as a specific institutional layout constituting a relatively coherent whole with a certain intrinsic inertia but affected by tensions likely to lead to change (Thelen, 2003). This study concerns five schools located in Rhône-Alpes and Pays-de-Loire. It is based on interviews of training managers and master trainers (N=15), on a corpus of observations of training situations (N=10) and at least on a questionnaire with students (N=150).

The survey reveals the importance of the memory of the network's history with a lot of references to the founders, the geographical rooting of these schools and to their connection to an industrial economic fabric. These references are largely legendary if we compare them with historical studies concerning Apprentices workshops (Seeley, 1992). Originally designed for socializing a both hard working and dangerous youth (Chevalier, 1958) with the values of industrial bourgeoisie, the workshops showed a low efficiency in both training and occupational insertion (Seeley, 1992).

But this past still has great resonance in the historical schools of the network. It is



mobilized in order to show a real continuity and to value the network's modernisation. Continuity appears precisely as a resistance to the schooling form in both knowledge, valuing practical knowledge in situation, "doing for learning", as in organization, structuring schools according to the managerial model enshrined in local economic fabric.

The first break is linked to the catholic institution even if vestiges of the values of social Catholicism remain present. In so far the major concern of welcoming the most disadvantaged children is updated as a goal of fighting school dropping out or of welcoming unaccompanied minors and pupils with disabilities. A second break concerns the educational model in moving away from a very restrictive curriculum control towards a model of active pedagogy. The third and last break affects geographical and sectorial rooting in a logic of expanding and renewing the supply of training.

Charles-Antoine WANECQ (Centre d'Histoire de Sciences Po): *From female ambulance driver courses to ambulance driver training: constructing a gender oriented professional knowledge of care professions.*

The first ambulance drivers trained in France were women. Recruited for war time needs in 1939, the Red Cross female ambulance drivers received a theoretical and practical training during sessions ending with the delivery of a certificate. Even if this training system continues after the war, it reached only a limited number of women while ambulance drivers working for private companies, and only trained in first aid, proliferate. The action of trade unions during the 1960s leads to the 1970 law that provides a legal framework for the creation of healthcare transportation companies. In this way, training becomes an essential issue of relationships between civil society organizations and representatives of professionals: finally cursus programs for ambulance drivers are developed under the authority of the expanding SAMU doctors outside the legal framework of the Astier law. Thus, the main issue of this communication is to identify the dynamics and the gender conflicts underlying the professionalization of a care activity.

Véra LEON (Université Paris Descartes, CERLIS): *Graduates versus autodidacts? The challenges of school enrolment of technical apprenticeships in time of mass schooling.*

Contrary to other industrial or artistic sectors, photography has long ignored formalized apprenticeship, at least in France. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in a context of expansion of compulsory schooling and of massification of professional education, various unions ask for a better training of photographers. It has to be said that, at the same period, amateur practices spread quickly and portrait photographers are neglected in profit of family cameras. To develop training appears as a necessity against the concurrence of amateur photographers. Even if its use remains numerically marginal, graduates become the flagship of a profession undergoing major change.

The National School of Photography becomes one of the main targets of these aspirations for change. There lies the interest of a dedicated case study in comparison with other institutions (apprenticeship centres, private schools...). This school will indeed experience a double transformation. Firstly, while it recruited students of both genders on the basis of qualifications since its creation in 1926, it will from now on (1951) recruit through competitive examinations in which mastering scientific subjects will take more and more importance compared to others like drawing (1956). Later, at a time when more and more concurrent private schools are opening, the school becomes a National Technical College (Lycée technique d'État – 1964). Elevated to the rank of secondary school, it is so placed at the top of the hierarchy of technical schools dedicated to photography professions.

School brochures, professional press, student files constituted through interviews and guidance booklets are used to analyse this crucial transformation on the crossroad of the evolutions of labour market and educational system. Studying the strategies of the school principals, the associations of former students, or various actors in the field of career guidance reveals an increasing prioritization policy between graduates and autodidacts, between students in initial training and professionals in continuous training, or even between the school subjects that are characterized by strengthening social and gender connotations. We will analyse how this process contributes to the creation of class and gender inequalities in the school career of the students learning photography.

Nicolas DIVERT (Université Paris Est Créteil, LIRTES): *The creation of the professional baccalaureate “Support, service and personal care”. The remits of a new diploma in the care and social sector.*

The creation of the professional baccalaureate in 1985 forms part of a policy of elevating the population’s general level of education. The reform of the professional way, initiated at the end of 2007 and completed in 2009, brought closer the aim to lead 80% of an age group to the baccalaureate level without reaching it, as the proportion of a generation’s baccalaureate holders is stabilized between 78% and 79%. Yet, if the success of this educational policy is closely linked to the “renovation” of professional education, it relies on an offer of diplomas in constant evolution.

A lot of people work in the health, medical and medico-social sector in which employment prospects seem high in view of the evolution of demography and health policies in France. Yet, before the creation of the professional baccalaureate “Support, service and personal care” (Accompagnement, soins et services à la personne – ASSP) in 2011, no professional baccalaureate existed in this sector belonging to National Education’s 20<sup>th</sup> CPC. This new diploma of the ministry of National Education replaced the BEP “Health and social careers” (Carrière sanitaires et sociales), a level V introductory training giving access to a specialization of same level (care-giver or childcare assistant). The transformation of the offer of diplomas changes deeply the links between the sector’s certifications. Although the professions were not asking for such a diploma and that the DGESCO was long opposed to the creation of a level IV diploma, a professional baccalaureate was still created. It was immediately well received by a lot of people and it counts for circa 12% of students enrolled in professional baccalaureates. It is one of the most followed specialties of professional education but, like numerous streams of this education, it is not mixed-gendered (Moreau, 1995). Women represent about 95% of the ASSP students and this specialty attracts a quarter of all female students enrolled in the last year of all the specialties of professional baccalaureates.

Contributing to school and professional socialization of numerous women, the dual objective of this baccalaureate faces, on one hand, tensions between the different certifying ministries in a highly vertical area where health appears as the most prestigious activity but lays under the authority of the ministry of Health, and, on the other hand, socio-economic realities of a sector that doesn’t recognize the diploma. Therefore, on the base of the CPC debates, the goal of this communication is to study the implementation of this new diploma and to light the real issues in terms of certification shown by the reference text. Observations carried out in different professional colleges (lycées professionnels) in three academic resorts (Paris, Poitiers and Strasbourg) and interviews conducted with students and teachers, administration staff and inspectors, but also with IFAS directors and members of Regional Health Agencies (Agences régionales de santé) will help to show how this baccalaureate questions the care giver’s training and shares an ambition of professionalization while reproducing gender division of work and mobilizing “gendered” experiences of *care*. This communication will help to contextualize the

transformations of care givers' training, to apprehend the labour market's effects on the offer of diploma and the tensions between the actors of the training about professional legitimacy issues.

Maryse LOPEZ (Université Cergy-Pontoise, ESPE Versailles): *Training tomorrow's worker in the mid-1970s: the example of training/certification tasks by continuous assessment.*

On the basis of the school discipline "French", this communication intends to question the transformations of the teaching contents for future workers in the context of modernising the educational system of the 1970s. We will especially analyse an experience that took place in professional education between 1972 and 1990 trying to bring a new orientation to the project of schooling workers: training/certification tasks by continuous assessment. Not well known, this experience changed the professional education into a laboratory that tried to rethink training knowledges in terms of skills (Ropé & Tanguy, 1994) and to reconfigure the model of training/certification initiated in the sector of life-long training. We will particularly focus on a general education school discipline in order to show how this new model of training/certification can accommodate with the disciplinary model that, since the 1960s, is moving closer to the model of secondary schools. Between utilitarian and educational purposes, this discipline can be apprehended through a structuring tension between a logic of training and a logic of certification (Lopez & Sido, 2015) that continuous assessment wants to outrance. Based on that experience, experimentally initiated in the early 1970s before being explicitly quoted by René Haby in its "Modernisation of the educational system" (*Modernisation du système éducatif* - 1975), we intend to analyse the institutional context in which it took place, the conditions of its implementation and of its relative failure and its effects on a knowledge taught in a general education discipline such as French.

Our purposes enters in a didactical-historical perspective (Bishop, 2013) and intends to question the actors' dynamics of adhesion and resistance during the implementation of continuous assessment. If, at first, the experience seems possible, the impossible spread of continuous assessment to other streams and resistance inside the proper professional stream led to disintegration in spite of the willingness to uphold it within the National Normal Schools of Apprenticeship (Écoles Normales Nationales d'Apprentissage – ENNA) in charge of training teachers for professional education.

On the base of institutional discourses, reports from the CNPC of metallurgy, educational magazines for teachers and the magazine *Cibles* edited by the ENNA of Nantes, we will study extern and intern factors in order to capture, through this experience of continuous assessment, the transformations of the teaching contents for future workers.

Florent MONTAGNON (Centre d'histoire sociale des mondes contemporains): *The apprenticeship school of the Company of Omnibuses and Tramways of Lyons, between staff management and dynamics of the intern labour market (1946-1982)*

In a context of modernising the urban public transportation network of Lyons in 1945, the Company of Omnibuses and Tramways of Lyons (OTL), with a staff of 470 skilled and 220 unskilled workers of rolling-stock maintenance, decides to create an apprenticeship school in order to complete and renew its staff of workers by training apprentices to various vocational training certificates (Certificat d'aptitude professionnelle – CAP). It opens its doors in 1946.

Even if the urban public transportation of Lyons comes later than the Parisian transportation, Renault or Berliet, the history of this school illustrates the commitment of large employers in organizing and financing the vocational training of workers in the form of apprenticeship schooling. Therefore, more than 500 apprentices entered the OTL School.

Among them, at least 280 obtained their CAP, 296 were recruited by the company and 83 were still working there in 2000. But with the change of the school's status and its transformation in an apprenticeship section in 1970, the company progressively steps aside from the school's management until its definitive withdrawal in 1982.

In this way, OTL could train its skilled staff of workers according to its quantitative and qualitative requirements. But if the school fulfils its role as breeding ground, the workers from within its ranks are not more tied to the company as workers from outside. Many of its former apprentices only stay in the company for few months or years. By contrast, others become foremen, shed masters or workshop managers. It is particularly true for the first period of the school (1946-1970), while in the later apprenticeship section this type of promotions were proportionally scarce for the apprentices in technical services. In fact, the most of those still working at the company in the beginning of 2000, who have between twenty or thirty years of seniority, are technicians, no more workers but not foremen yet. Nevertheless, in contrast with elder apprentices from the 1950s-1960s who remained in technical services, some of them have an ascending career mobility outside rolling-stock maintenance. Studying a factory apprenticeship school implies two issues: the company's policy of training and the fluidity – or viscosity – of its intern labour market.

Sources used for this communication are private archive from Keolis Lyon, the current operator of the urban public transportation network of Lyons and heir of OTL. They have been analysed for a PhD, defended in 2009, devoted to the management of OTL staff during the first 20<sup>th</sup> century. They can be distributed into two big sets. With the help of the first, the functioning of the school can be traced (recruitment, schedule, wages, teaching staff) thanks to various reports from the school administration and the works council's apprenticeship committee or the correspondence of different public actors (regional director of education [inspecteur d'académie], engineers of the city of Lyons or the department of civil engineering). Nominative files (register of apprentices, employment records and personal file) constitute the second set.

The archive material has been processed by data bases that could highlight not only the school population and the results of CAP exams but also the school career of the students during their apprenticeship and even further when they were recruited by the company. Furthermore, thanks to the information provided by the workers' career files, these careers were put in perspective with the dynamics of the company's intern labour market.

Anna PELLEGRINO (Université de Bologne): *Between workshop and factory: the VET of Italian workers at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.*

This communication concerns vocational training and access to the world of work in Italy, namely in the city of Florence at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. More specifically, it will analyse formal and informal channels, information circuits, share capital, personal and family networks and interpersonal exchanges that gave access to apprenticeship, vocational training and thus to employment. Focussing on Florence offers the advantage to highlight the problem of the access to the job market in a city where the two forms of work, industry and craftsmanship, have been significantly present during this period of strong transformation. It is in the light of this dichotomy that the antithesis proposed in the title of this proposition should be read. However this opposition should be interpreted not as a sharp contrast but more as a continuum in which could be historically observed not only fair situations of one of the both polarities, but also and mainly a diversified series of combinations between the two opposite poles.

## Thursday, June 6<sup>th</sup>

Jean-Louis ESCUDIER (Université Montpellier, CNRS): *Vocational training for farm women: between oblivion and manipulation (19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries)*

Regarding social legislation, agriculture has constantly been outside of common law. Thus, in a France where the agricultural sector still remains predominant, the July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1919 so called Astier law, is limited to industrial and commercial technical education. Agricultural education, based on October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1848 decree, remains for centuries defined on strictly masculine terms: farm schools, practical agricultural schools and national agricultural schools (fermes-écoles, écoles pratiques d'agriculture, écoles nationales d'agriculture) are only been available for boys until WW 2. The dispositions concerning female agricultural education required in August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1918 law have only been implemented very partially. Therefore, for farm women, whether daughters and wives of farmers or agricultural workers, acquiring farming competence lastingly occurred outside the legal realm.

At all times, the impulse of female vocational training is outweighed by the concerns of the farmers and the representatives of their socio-occupational associations: drift from the land and masculine celibacy, constant availability of a flexible work force, good functioning of the domestic sphere in order to maximize the productivity of masculine work force, valorising agricultural products and, from now on, merchandizing the rural space for recreational purposes.

The small scale farm relies on a gendered division of tasks. In this kind of farming, the area of occupation ascribed to women is limited to the farm and its immediate surroundings, and determines the conditions of acquiring some knowledge: milking of cows and ewes, small livestock, domestic skills (cooking, household, childcare...). In bigger holdings, the feminine work force, used intermittently according to the farm's needs, is constricted to an adjustment variable. Consequently vocational training is reduced to its simplest terms: it is limited to the transmission of rudiments in order to insure sufficient return, especially during crop operations (beets, haymaking, harvesting, vine harvesting). As the main part of professional knowledge is passed to young rural girls by relatives (mother, grandmother, neighbours), the agricultural and domestic training delivered to well-bred girls during the 1920s-1960s will always remain numerically marginal even if this education constitutes a social reference.

With the emergence of agricultural modernization driven by the August 5<sup>th</sup>, 1960 agricultural orientation law, the conditions of knowledge required from female farmers change: accountability, marketing, logistics, farm accommodation are becoming activities assigned to women and that disrupts their vocational training. The agricultural and domestic education persists, but deserted by rural bourgeoisie, now welcomes girls from working classes, daughters of farm workers or rural smallholders. The rural upper classes now send their daughters to general education completed by training in Centres for Agricultural Technical Studies (Centres d'études techniques agricoles - CETA), Agricultural and Domestic Centres of Information and Extension (Centres d'information et de vulgarisation agricoles et ménager-agricoles – CIVAM) or Chambers of Agriculture.

This communication is part of a research program in historical economics focused on gender oriented economical relationships in agriculture, a program that I facilitate for several years (Escudier, 2014, 2016, 2017). It rests on analysing departmental archive, on a new lecture of existing scientific literature concerning agricultural education (Chatelain, 1953; Caniou, 1980 & 1983; Harvois, 1984; Pelletier, 2010; Dahache, 2012....) and on monographic studies (Becouarn, 1975; Lagrave, 1983, 1987; Nicourt, 1984; Poulain, 2004; El Amrani-Boisseau, 2012....).

Arnaud PASSALACQUA (Université Paris Diderot, ICT/LIED): *Fitters and mechanics, all the boys are called Michel: in the footsteps of RATP apprentices.*

There are different ways to write the history of a technical education institution: we may look at the organizational structure, the teachings or the teachers' profile, follow individual school careers of students or, among others, try to understand educational choices. The approach offered here is quantitative and based on the encounter with one specific source: RATP School students' data files from the origin in 1945 to the closure of the school in 1995 (4 553 files). The idea is to show what might be drawn from such a source that contains little specific information about each student but concerns a large number of students.

The major questioning is really to understand what is common to all the school's apprentices and how these shared characteristics evolve through years marked by deep evolutions in both the technical professions and the conditions and framework of apprenticeship. In order to achieve this, and led by our source, we will successively question the different dimensions presented. In this way, on this not so well known school, we will try to gain a vision complementary to the more institutional history we proposed previously. The combination of different quantitative analyses through database queries highlights different elements. Firstly, the apprentices of the RATP School appear as a quite homogenous group not only in terms of age, gender and studied trades, but probably also in terms of social origin as can mostly be seen by convergences on first names, especially during the 1950s-1960s. Next, we find the idea of an evolution of certain group characteristics, namely stressing the fact of being born at the end of the year what could be the sign of a more undergone as chosen educational guidance, or the social progress of first names suggesting a social background of the apprentices less and less popular and more and more middle-class but still strongly differentiated from the managers.

Teresa PINTO (CEMRI – Universidade Aberta), *Industrial education? No more! When girls couldn't no longer attend industrial schools in Portugal (1897-1918)*

This communication aims to analyse the process of excluding girls and women from industrial technical courses (1897) and public industrial schools (1918) in Portugal as a consequence of the definition of a narrow and strict concept of industry and of the progressive hegemony of the paradigm of feminine domesticity. The increasing gap between feminine and masculine industrial education in public schools has gone hand in hand with a process of excluding women from the posts of principals of this kind of schools.

When could girls and women accede to public industrial schools in Portugal? How old were they? What was their origin and socio-economic background? What courses could they attend? And to what workshop practices had they access? What was girls' and women's participation in the entire school population? What was female teachers' and workshop trainers' participation in the entire staff of teachers of these schools and which women could access to posts of principals?

To answer these questions, national results will be presented for the 26 first years of functioning of public industrial schools in Portugal (1884/85-1909/10). The effects of successive reforms of industrial education in the reconfiguration of courses for women and the underlying mechanisms of sex segregation will also be analysed. The example of one of the first schools of industrial education, founded in the middle of 1890s, will allow us to appreciate further and to evaluate the impact of the reform of industrial education of 1919 on girl and women technical training.

The data presented result from an extensive research based on various kinds of primary sources (handwritten and printed) from different Portuguese historical archive centres such as statistics from the concerned period, legislative documents, reports and official proposals, correspondence (decision-makers, inspectors, male and female teachers), personal files from technicians involved in teaching in industrial schools and essays or opinion articles constituting a precious legacy left by some of the protagonists of this education.

Our wish is that this communication could contribute to a better understanding of the assumed diversity of education and vocational training according to national and local contexts and to material, cultural and ideological conditions that, at each moment, shape political decisions and their translation into actions which impact on social reality has to be questioned.

Laure MACHU (Université de Paris Nanterre, IDHE.S): *The JOC surveys, a source for history of young workers training and work conditions.*

Written in the movement's motto "See, judge, act", the JOC surveys have initially an educational and militant perspective in order to raise awareness, reactions and exchanges among young workers leading them to suggestions for actions. In this history, the 1960s represent a double turning point. On the one hand, in order to comfort its claiming function and to make JOC a legitimate interlocutor of public authorities, the scientific aim of the surveys takes shape. Professionalization of statistics compiling implies recruiting and collaborating with sociologists close to the movement. On the other hand, transformations of apprenticeship and schooling of young people probably spur the organization to concentrate on guidance or worker's advancement. These issues supersede other engagement topics like religious practice, culture or hobbies into the ranks of work. In this context, JOC conducts seven survey campaigns and referenda about work or professional future of young people especially targeting apprentices.

These surveys have already been used by researchers trying to document the progress of young people's work. They are full of information concerning both the conditions of young workers' professional integration and apprenticeship and their relationship to work. Without overlooking their informative value, it seems necessary to propose a new approach by double questioning them according to their double nature as scientific and militant documents. Firstly, form and elaboration of the surveys have to be analysed in order to understand the vision of youth work they contribute to establish. Following the perspectives opened by Xavier Vigna's research and by the history of worker surveys, they have to be put back in the general discourse concerning the world of labour.

On the other hand, in the framework of a social history of young people at work and apprenticeship, we have to work on the surveys' reception by JOC militants and young workers and on their reactions concerning the making of the surveys. Due to their militant nature, the distribution of the questionnaires and of their results serves as an occasion to organize national meetings and gatherings in order to open a discussion. The very counting of the questionnaires is realized locally by militants. As an informative device, the surveys are added to all the movement's available resources used to know the young working people: one-day meetings held by permanent representatives, grassroots reports, monographies established by chaplains or federal representatives. Traces of all these activities kept by the archive should help to capture the young militants' voice beyond the strict framework of the surveys. The communication will analyse the JOC's archive material deposited in the Departmental Archive of Hauts-de-Seine.

Fanny GALLOT (Université Paris Est, CRHEC): *Female VET organized by the CGT in the 1970s.*

The emergence of the category « migrant women » in the 1970s produces a profusion of academic, militant and institutional contributions. Training issue and professional integration are central themes of all these writings. Trade unions' discourses present "female migrant workers" "saying that life is too hard, that they are too tired to attend courses". On the political level, the emerging Local Delegations of Women's Affairs (Délégations régionales à la condition féminine) produce reports, such as in Ile-de-France in December 1976. They underline the will to work from all these foreign women – mostly from Morocco, Portugal or Turkey – arriving and reporting the "peculiar problems of integration in the workplace or of professional qualification" of daughters from migrant workers before listing all the actions and centres for "young migrant girls" in which they are directed towards "clerical occupations, typist, offset printing, sales, clothing" or even "childcare assistant, caregiver, typist, accountant, garment worker, seamstress", etc. At the same time, BUMIDOM leads women of Réunion or the Antilles to a hosting centre located in Crouy-sur-Ourcq where, inside the centre, they learn becoming "housekeepers".

As we can see, trajectories, ages, instruction levels, statuses or countries of origin are different and the ambition of this communication is to adopt an intersectional perspective in order to try to capture experiences and training specialties behind the public policy constructing the category of "migrant women". In that aim, trade union archive (CFDT and CGT) will cross more institutional archive, notably those from local or national Delegations of Women's Affairs or BUMICOM that include personal files.

André D. ROBERT et Yves VERNEUIL (Université Lumière Lyon 2, ECP): *VET teacher unionism from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-1960s: an example of workerism?*

If historical studies concerning technical and professional education have been developed in the last years, the technical education's unionism remains relatively unfunded. In studies concerning the teachers' unions, it is mostly reduced to its bare bones, or even completely ignored. If some research has already been conducted, for example by Julien Veyret (Veyret, 2005, 2010), it must be said that the history of the teachers' unions is generally focussed on the conflict between primary and secondary teachers, a conflict strengthened since 1967 by ideological divergences. The communication's aim is to fill a gap by adjusting our questioning on the issue of professional identity.

As the sociology of professions has showed, notably in its interactionist orientation, the emergence of a profession is both a question of balance of power and of professional skill: the concerned professionals have to compete with state authorities and with neighbour professions (Maroy & Cattonar, 2002). It is why professional associations promote their profession what, in return, contributes to the construction of a professional identity. The identity characteristics build the profession's "ideology", to use Howard S. Becker's term, who observes that the name of the profession finally involves in itself "*an elaborated ideology specifying the qualities, interests and aptitudes of those who identify with it*" (Becker, 2006). The technical education teacher's identity undergoes a tension between, on one hand, their belonging to the teachers' world and their desire for recognition and, on the other hand, the feeling of belonging to a peculiar community. That feeling is necessarily sharper during the concerned period corresponding to a larger autonomy of technical education even after its integration in the Ministry of Public Instruction in 1920. The dead line of our period is coincident with the disappearance of the Department of Technical Education (1960) and the merger of SNET with SNES (1966), merger seen until now under the SNES perspective according to the unions'



standpoint and not considering the question of professional identity (Dalançon, 2003). Our period is also marked by debates about education for all (*école unique*) that lasted until the early 1960s with the Berthoin reform (1959) and the Capelle-Fouchet reform (1963). These debates also function as an identity indicator.

The tension running through the professional identity of technical education teachers is clearly expressed when, after the Liberation, the question of turning the staff of the Apprenticeship Centres into civil servants is raised: some wish to join the dominant model of the ministry of National Education, but others want to keep a close link to the labour world, with the idea that young people trained in the centres should from the outset be rooted in a strong worker identity (Troger, 1991). This tension has to be considered in the long time. In fact, the debate is old (Montant, 2000). In the 1920s, the corporate organizations are confronted with the question of converting the fellowships into unions and to adhere to the Civil Servants' Federation (*Fédération des Fonctionnaires*), later General Union of Education (*Fédération générale de l'enseignement - FGE-CGT*). If we consider the constitution of corporate organizations as a process of professionalization aiming to guaranty to teachers the control of their activity and professional field (Robert, 1995), the question of the professional identity of the teachers of technical education is brought into particularly sharp focus: should we consider the adhesion to CGT, and later the resilience of a strong CGT influence among technical education teachers, even in the autonomous SNET, as a will to let the labour movement control the training of the "working class" through the unions of technical education teachers? The PTA (Assistant Technical Professor – *Professeur technique adjoint*) mention constantly their working class origin. But do all the teachers in technical education have a common identity?

Concerning the professional identity of these teachers, it seems clear that we have to distinguish teachers of general educational subjects, teachers of theoretical technical subjects and workshop teachers. During the interwar period, two distinct associations coexist: the *Association amicale du personnel des écoles publiques d'enseignement technique de France et des colonies* (Association of the staff of public technical schools in France and the colonies) and the *Syndicat du personnel des ateliers des écoles publiques d'enseignement technique* (Union of the workshop staff of public technical schools). Their merger only takes place in 1936 in the context of *Rassemblement populaire* (People's Party). Despite the unions' desire to forge a common feeling of belonging, we have to distinguish the different staffs according to the schools in which they are teaching, from the elite establishments like ENP (*École nationale professionnelle* – National Professional School) to the Apprenticeship Centres which, at the Liberation, constitute the first level of technical education. After the Union split of 1947, SNET cannot hold its unity, with the Apprenticeship Centres' branch remaining in the CGT and the Schools and Services' branch joining the autonomous FEN.

Our investigation concerns five unions. As well as the both above-mentioned, it includes SNET, SNET-CGT and SNETTA. As some Superior Primary Schools can include professional sections, a comparison will be led in addition with the Association of Civils Servants of Primary and Professional superior Schools (*Association amicale des fonctionnaires des écoles primaires supérieures et professionnelles*) editor of the *Bulletin de l'enseignement professionnel : écoles professionnelles du Ministère de l'Instruction publique* (Bulletin of Professional Education: Professional Schools of the Ministry of Public Instruction). Can we observe similarities or, quite the reverse, a concern of distinction?

This communication is based both on printed sources, notably corporate bulletins, and archive material (National Archive, SNETP Archive preserved at Departmental Archive of Seine-Saint-Denis).

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