THE RESTORATION OF A RUINED SCHOOL: APPROACHES, DEVELOPMENTS AND LESSONS LEARNED

ESTRATÉGIAS, DESENVOLVIMENTOS E LIÇÕES APRENDIDAS: A RESTAURAÇÃO DE UMA ESCOLA FRANCESA ABANDONADA

LA RESTAURATION D’UNE ECOLE SINISTREE: DEMARCHES, EVOLUTIONS OBSERVEES ET LEÇONS TIREES

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ABSTRACT: The situation of a school in the suburbs of Paris/France, deteriorated significantly between 2007 and 2013: serious internal tensions, very low results in national evaluations, frequent sick leave and repeated departures of teachers, and great discontent among parents. A local committee charged our team with analyzing the situation, helping to improve it, and learning from it for similar contexts. Our interviews with parents and professionals most concerned with the existing problems revealed the inadequacy of educational resources and support to address these problems and the lack of coordination among adults who could facilitate access to needed support and actions. Increased support and mutual understanding of each other's challenges then helped to stabilize teachers new to the school and promote student progress. These increased resources and cooperation have thus made it possible to stop spirals of failure, tension, and instability that have had severe consequences for students, their parents, and teachers, but the after-effects observed plead in favor of much more preventive action.


RESUMO: A situação em uma escola nos subúrbios de Paris/França deteriorou-se significativamente entre 2007 e 2013: graves tensões internas, resultados muito baixos nas avaliações nacionais, frequentes licenças por doença e afastamentos de professores, e grande descontentamento entre os pais. Um comitê de direção encarregou nossa equipe de analisar a situação, ajudar a melhorá-la e aprender com ela em contextos similares. Nossas entrevistas com pais e profissionais mais preocupados com os problemas existentes revelaram a inadequação dos recursos e apoios educacionais para resolver essas divergências, bem como a falta de coordenação entre adultos que poderiam facilitar o acesso aos apoios e ações necessárias. Um maior apoio e compreensão mútua das dificuldades de cada um ajudou então a estabilizar os professores recém-chegados à escola e a promover o progresso dos alunos. Esses maiores recursos e cooperação possibilitaram, assim, deter espirais de fracasso, tensão e instabilidade com graves consequências para os alunos, seus pais e professores, mas as consequências observadas apelam a uma ação muito mais preventiva.


RESUME: La situation d’une école de la banlieue de Paris/France s'est beaucoup dégradée entre 2007 et 2013: graves tensions internes, très faibles résultats aux évaluations nationales, fréquents arrêts-maladie et départs répétés des enseignants, grand mécontentement des parents. Un comité de pilotage a chargé notre équipe d’analyser la situation, de contribuer à l’améliorer et d’en tirer leçon pour des contextes similaires. Nos entretiens avec les parents et les professionnels les plus concernés par les problèmes existants ont révélé l’insuffisance des ressources pédagogiques et des soutiens prévus pour résoudre ces problèmes, ainsi que le manque de coordination entre les adultes pouvant favoriser l’accès aux aides et actions nécessaires. Des soutiens renforcés et une meilleure compréhension mutuelle des difficultés de chacun ont ensuite contribué à stabiliser les enseignants nouvellement arrivés dans l’école et favorisé les progrès des élèves. Ces ressources et coopérations accrues ont ainsi permis d’enrayer des spirales d’échec, de tensions et d’instabilité lourdes de conséquences pour les élèves, leurs parents et leurs enseignants, mais les séquelles constatées plaident en faveur d’actions bien plus préventives.

Introduction

The action research, the stages of which we will describe later, was primarily designed with two objectives in mind: a) to understand and overcome an unacceptable situation that generates failure and suffering for students, as well as for their parents and teachers; b) to elucidate the underlying cumulative processes to help prevent their frequent occurrence in similar contexts.

Indeed, the unacceptable situation in question is considered an extreme example of recurring malfunction in France, despite the compensatory policies implemented to mitigate the impact of social inequalities and urban segregation on educational processes and the performance of students from various social backgrounds.

A brief description of these policies, as well as the problematic situation that motivated the current action research, is outlined in this introduction. The following sections will further clarify the national and local contexts; the strategies implemented; and then, the outcomes achieved and the conclusions we believe can be drawn from such results.

Two Policies to Limit Socio-territorial Inequalities Over the Last 40 Years

The international economic crisis, which began in the 1970s, particularly affected certain territories and populations permanently unemployed, increasingly concentrated in those same territories. In order to reduce inequalities in living conditions and educational development resulting from this crisis, two compensatory policies were introduced in France.

The city policy, enacted in 1977, focuses on solidarity with the most disadvantaged urban neighborhoods. In these priority areas, the state provides additional resources to act on the development of the economy, education, and urban renewal in the context of life. The educational success component includes grants and supports aimed at cultural and sports activities, parents in difficult situations, and school reinforcement actions for students, especially for the effective completion of homework. A coordinator of the educational success program is responsible for organizing these actions in each priority neighborhood. This policy is supported by the Ministry of Territorial Cohesion and Relations with Local Authorities².

The priority education policy is conducted by the National Ministry of Education. Its central goal was established from its inception in 1981: "to correct [social] inequality by

selective reinforcement of educational action in areas and social environments where the school failure rate is highest." This policy focuses on compulsory education (before the age of 16): schools and colleges classified as "priority education," based on the social characteristics of the student's parents and the academic performance of these students, are entitled to additional resources, thus allowing activities in small groups or reducing the number of students per class.

Rarely well-coordinated, the educational success and priority education policies have not prevented the development of segregation and educational inequalities. Particularly over the past 15 years, evaluations and research on these issues have noted a decline in the learning outcomes of socially disadvantaged students, linked to the increase in urban and educational segregation.\(^3\)

For a long time, researchers have studied such cumulative processes in order to better control them\(^4\), including in the territory of Frassy (Broccolichi; Cesar; Larguèze, 2004; Larguèze, 2010). These studies have provided indicators and tools for examining the context of School D, for developing a research and intervention strategy, and for the subsequent analysis of the observed transformations, details of which will be specified in subsequent sections.

**Context**

The national context will be described first, followed by the local context specific to this action research.

**National Context**

According to data from the International Monetary Fund, France is ranked around 20th place globally in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita (US$ 43,000), average monthly income (US$ 3,500), and Human Development Index (HDI) (0.900). Over the last 15 years, the country has allocated a portion of its GDP to education, which, although slightly declining, remains close to the average of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (Oecd, 2011; 2018). However, the outcomes have become increasingly

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\(^3\) Broccolichi (2009); Broccolichi and Sinthon (2010); Broccolichi; BenAyed and Trancart (2010); Cnesco (2016); Merle (2012).

\(^4\) Ben Ayed and Broccolichi (2008); Broccolichi (2000); Broccolichi and BenAyed (1999); Broccolichi and Larguèze (1996); Chauveau (2002); Chauveau Rogovas-Chauveau (1992).
disappointing across all assessed areas of learning, particularly at the primary school level (Depp, 2016; Oecd, 2015).

**Table 1 - The School System and Primary Education in France**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Successive Segments of the French Educational System</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preschool (pre-primary for the OECD), with three class levels (ages 3 to 5).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary school (primary for the OECD), with five class levels (ages 6 to 10).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle school (first cycle of secondary education), comprising four class levels (ages 11 to 14).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General, technological, and vocational high school (second cycle of secondary education), consisting of three class levels (ages 15 to 17).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the Ferry Law of 1882, the beginning of compulsory education was set at age 6 (from 2019, this obligation has been extended to children starting at age 3). Education is mandatory until the age of 16.

**Some peculiarities of the French primary school**

The concept of primary school includes both preschool and elementary school, for which the teachers have the same training, status, and service obligations; the students also have the same school hours.

Each class is under the responsibility of one teacher (if working full-time), and the number of students per teacher is at least 30% above the average of the European Union (EU) and the OECD (Oecd, 2016; Oecd, 2018). This reflects the low investment in primary schools that characterizes France, whose per-pupil expenditure in terms of teacher salaries is about 35% below the OECD country average (Oecd, 2018).

Source: Author's elaboration, 2022.

**Sharp Decline in Primary School Student Achievement in France**

The educational performance of students, increasingly precarious except for those from socially privileged backgrounds, has been a recurring trend observed across all evaluated areas of knowledge, both in primary and secondary education. According to data from the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) for 15-year-old students, since the year 2000, the French average for these assessments remains close to the OECD average. However, the decline affecting students from "disadvantaged" contexts is nearly offset by the performance increase of "privileged" students. As a result, France has become one of the countries where student performance is most strongly associated with social background.

Student results have significantly declined in France, according to the latest national and international evaluations: currently, students are well below the OECD and EU averages.

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5 This trend was confirmed in the recent international assessments, *Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study* (TIMSS) (Depp, 2016) e *Progress in International Reading Literacy Study* (PIRLS) (Depp, 2017).*

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These results first reveal the effect of the low investment in primary education. However, the clear declines also evidenced by national assessments of primary schools (Depp, 2016; 2019) must equally be related to teachers' reactions to the new modes of public management of the French school system.

**Increasing Dysfunction and Discontent**

Since the 2000s, many studies indeed point to the growing unease and dissatisfaction of primary school teachers, who grapple with dual constraints: in particular, the challenge of ensuring all their students succeed in a system that subjects them to multiple changes in curricula and increasingly includes more students with disorders or disabilities, while at the same time reducing investment in teacher training.6

Researchers have found that most of these teachers criticize "the way reforms are implemented as unrealistic and bureaucratic," "the bureaucracy considered unnecessary," "overloaded and constantly challenged curricula" (Debarbieux; Fotinos, 2012) and "the disregard for the concrete difficulties of the profession" (Esquieu, 2008); and that evaluators from the General Inspectorate of National Education (Igen) report almost unanimous complaints about the lack of available training and about "the growing number of administrative documents they need to fill out to account for their actions."8
These vulnerabilities and exasperations of teachers have had more serious consequences in urban contexts like Frassy, as they resonate with the increasing concentration of social and educational difficulties (Broccolichi; Cesar; Larguèze, 2004; Larguèze, 2010).

**The cumulative processes of failure and school dropout observed**

In this context, the failures and disorders observed lead to the attrition of teachers and students whose parents can afford alternative schooling (Broccolichi, 2009). Therefore, it is the poorest families and the least experienced teachers who remain in schools with high dropout rates; and if the situation worsens, it is also because, while waiting for the opportunity to leave⁹, teachers tend to adopt short-term "survival strategies" (Woods, 1997) that lead to the development of failure spirals (Broccolichi; Ben Ayed; Trancart, 2010; Moisan; Simon, 1997; Philippot, 2014). Student behavior deteriorates, mainly because teachers defensively choose to blame parents instead of seeking solutions together. In extreme cases studied, many teachers take medical leave when they are "exhausted," as do their substitutes: this is how disturbances, tensions, and violence within schools continue to worsen simultaneously with student failure.

**Local Context**

After some indications about the town of Frassy¹⁰, its schools, and the circumstances in which our team was charged with the scientific responsibility for an observatory of educational trajectories in the locality in 2003, we focus on the history and context of School D.

Located about 40 kilometers from Paris, Frassy is characterized by a high proportion of social housing¹¹ (home to over 70% of its 10,000 inhabitants); by the youthfulness of its population; by a high average number of inhabitants per household; by the overcrowding of many dwellings; and by the social difficulties of its inhabitants. Virtually the entire municipality and its schools have been covered by urban and priority education policies since their inception.

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⁹ Considering that permanent teachers are not required to remain at a school for more than one year, typically, the new appointees (who have less tenure) are those assigned to schools that teachers with more experience systematically leave. This was the case with Frassy at the start of the study.

¹⁰ We committed to preserving the anonymity of the locations and individuals interviewed for two reasons: firstly, to satisfactorily obtain sincere testimonials and precise data to fuel collective reflections on the issues studied; secondly, to avoid spreading negative perceptions of school D that could increase its stigmatization and, therefore, its challenges. We adopted these precautions throughout our work, where such risks were present.

¹¹ In France, social housing policy is implemented through subsidized housing, which is made accessible to the needy population through modest rents (N. of the T.).
as the rates of social scholarships for students' families (almost all from immigration) and unemployment rates have consistently been above the thresholds set by these policies.

The Implementation of an Educational Trajectories Observatory in Frassy

During the 1980s, the pedagogical organization and outstanding achievements of the secondary school in Frassy (given its socially disadvantaged student population) drew many researchers, foreign delegations, and the Minister of Education to the town in 1989. However, after the construction of a second secondary school in Frassy, the new sectoral layout; the departure of pedagogical leaders; high turnover of teachers and management at the (first) secondary school; and the deterioration in school climate and results became some of the worst in France. Significant tensions and mutual accusations concerning responsibility for the observed decline were prevalent. The establishment of an Observatory of Educational Trajectories, supported by the state, was intended to help objectify and elucidate this deterioration, in order to build a consensus on how to remedy it. After being selected to take over the scientific responsibility for this Observatory from 2003 to 2008, our team studied the evolving situations of the secondary schools and primary schools in Frassy, including school D (Larguèze, 2010).

Initial Peculiarities Identified at School D

Before 2007, school D was indistinguishable from neighboring units in terms of unsatisfactory outcomes and high teacher turnover, with the principal remaining in office for 30 years. However, the school was notable for its isolation from external opinions and lack of collaboration with external partners. At the end of 2006, a study on the challenges, needs, and support points for the education of children aged 2 to 11 years conducted in Frassy noted dysfunction, as well as a tense school climate at school D: parents reported "unacceptable violence" against students and a breakdown in communication between teachers and some families. After these findings, the teachers at this school had requested transfers at the start of the following year, when the principal would retire. Over the following years, while results and

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12 The school's student population is determined by pre-defined housing sectors.

13 This was the school that had the least involvement in educational activities for small groups of students organized with the help of additional staff designated for priority education (actions that led to significant progress in other schools, whose students subsequently attend the sector's secondary school).
the climate of the secondary school and other schools in the sector continued to improve, those at school D continued to deteriorate, marked by a succession of more or less serious incidents and ongoing teacher turnover.

The Context of School D Studied in 2013-2014

To carry out a diagnostic of the situation at School D in 2013, it was noted that four principals had succeeded one another from 2007 to 2012, and that the students' results were significantly lower than those of students from other schools in Frassy. By the end of 2013, upon engaging with the teachers at the school, their exhaustion was noted, along with an almost unanimous desire to leave the institution in the following academic year.

The investigation also revealed other peculiarities of the school context:

- Lack of textbooks and educational equipment; repulsive odors in the bathrooms indicating the need for renovation; and the high frequency of shouting and exclusion of students from classrooms (noted from the initial interviews with the principal and members of the support network intervening at the school).

- The school was significantly exposed to deviant behaviors characteristic of the neighborhood, with the presence of a group of young traffickers nearby, visible even from the schoolyard. Both teachers and parents expressed dismay upon observing that many students had acquired the habit of alerting drug traffickers, who were sometimes their older siblings, of every police operation.

- A high proportion of large dwellings and large families in the school area, and of single parents or single mothers raising multiple children. This last point seemed decisive because these parents had little mobility and availability, besides being little known by teachers, and were particularly affected by the significant lack of speech therapists and support for medical-psychological disorders (reported by all the directors of schools in Frassy).
A "Crisis Management" Approach (Much More Than Managing Difficulties)

The analysis of data on beneficiaries of educational success initiatives based on the schools in Frassy indicated that few students from School D were enrolled in cultural, sports, or school work reinforcement activities; activities that aimed to promote the success of students from families with limited educational resources. On the contrary, they were much more frequently directed towards the scheme designed for students who were considered "uncontrollable" at school than the students from other schools. Moreover, these measures of temporary exclusion from school primarily concerned students at the end of primary education, who had more or less radically abandoned school activities, whereas the difficulties or problems of these students had almost always been detected in preschool or at the beginning of elementary school.

This observation, therefore, led us to question what might have contributed to a "crisis management" logic so often prevailing over the vigilance and concern for controlling emerging difficulties, mainly studying the communication between professionals capable of detecting or addressing the problems of the students in question, as well as their parents.

Strategies Inspired by the Pursued Objectives, Previous Work, and Opportunities

We have long studied the cumulative processes of failures that lead to various forms of dropout\(^\text{14}\) (Broccolichi, 2000; Broccolichi; Larguèze, 1996; Larguèze, 2010); and significant contributions have been made to transform this reality, especially in Frassy, over the past decade (Broccolichi, 2015).

Thus, the strategy for study and intervention adopted was based on the lessons learned from previous works and other initiatives aimed at remedying the difficulties of students whose parents cannot immediately meet the expectations of the school (Broccolichi, 2010; Chauveau, 2002; Ouzoulias, 2004).

The project aimed to improve communication and cooperation between the student's parents, teaching professionals, and members of the educational success program, which was shaped by the constraints and opportunities of the specific context in which the work was developed.

\(^{14}\) In recent years, work has been conducted to study the "dropout" of teachers who have lost hope of making their students, or some of them, progress (Alava, 2016; Broccolichi; Joigneaux; Couturier, 2018).
Four objectives, formulated here by questioning the means to promote such an approach, supported most of the strategies: How to more precisely understand the situations and vulnerabilities of families, the difficulties experienced by teachers, and the interactive processes that lead many students to "abandon" school? How to explore the possibilities of positively evolving the situation and thus help stabilize an initial teaching core? How to foster more fruitful cooperation among teachers, parents, and other local partners once obstacles have been identified? What conclusions can be drawn from the analyses performed, delineating the recurrences among the processes observed in this field and in similar settings?

Engaging with the School's Teachers

After analyzing the gathered elements about the school's situation, the phase of contacting the teachers was a delicate and significant moment to communicate with them, informatively and constructively, about their experiences in this context. From the first hours spent at the school, in the fall of 2013, with the principal and a teacher specialized in Rased, we became aware of the extent of the noise, tensions, nervousness, and exhaustion that often prevailed and, therefore, the empathy necessary for our actions to be seen as attempts to support (and certainly not as a repudiation of their action) essential due to the magnitude of the difficulties they faced.

We encouraged them to share their experiences in this context and to entrust us with their potential ideas for remediation. Most of them expressed a feeling of exhaustion associated with the decision to change schools as soon as possible. Consequently, they were rarely in a position to analyze the situation in any way other than attributing the difficulties to the peculiarities of the neighborhood and the families of the students, or making other complaints.

In addition to committing to forwarding some complaints to the municipality about necessary renovations in the school building, a careful approach was adopted when considering the information provided by teachers about various problematic or little-known family situations of the students. Teachers were encouraged to dedicate time and effort to better understand these family dynamics, aiming to identify opportunities for appropriate actions in collaboration with them and other professionals with complementary skills in Frassy.

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15 The term Rased refers to networks of assistance for students with difficulty in primary education. Each Rased includes a school psychologist and two or three specialized teachers who must intervene in five to ten schools.
Which students’ families should we focus on? We will specify what influenced the choice of this subject during the initial exchanges with the teachers and then how to contact and follow up with the student’s families.

The Informed Decision on Choosing the Students’ Families

Given the critical situation of elementary school D and with the aim of promoting effective short-term improvements, it was initially planned to focus on the challenges faced by students, families, and teachers of the Preparatory Course (CP) in the first year of elementary education, where students are typically six years old. The choice of this segment was motivated by the expectation of quicker progress with younger students, who had not yet been affected by the vicious cycle of failure and dropout. Concrete ideas were also possessed on how to stimulate initiation into writing, providing support to teachers, and considering parents’ limitations in participating in this process. However, this strategy was adjusted and postponed due to an event and a new configuration that emerged during a collective meeting with all the school’s teachers in January 2014.

At that time, the teacher of the second year of elementary education (CE1), who was the only tenured teacher planning to remain at the school the following year, reported significant concerns. She alerted many students in her class who had not yet achieved fluency in reading and who exhibited considerable behavioral problems.

We believed that this alarm signal was partly directed at us, and that we needed to collaborate with the only teacher determined to stay at the school. The challenge would not be easy, as it involved assisting the development of students who had been failing for over a year (and for two years, for three students who had repeated the first year). However, it was necessary to undertake this task because, at the time of making the decision, the entire school was being disturbed by a final-year class of the elementary school (CM2) with many non-readers, whose behavior had deteriorated over the years.

The CE1 in question had a similar profile, and we could not allow the same process to repeat in this class until CM2. Moreover, studying the problems of this class and making
contact with the parents of the students, who were the sources of greatest concern, seemed a
good way to quickly advance in discovering the main factors of failure at the school.

In identifying, with the teacher and the school director, the families of students to be
contacted, we also consulted other teachers who had previously worked with these students and
their parents in preceding classes or through the support network (Rased), as well as other
partners. The goals were to understand the perspectives, sometimes divergent, of these
professionals on the families of the students in question, to collect data useful for our
understanding of the situations, and to initiate exchanges to be continued later.

Contacting the Parents and the Proposal for Support

The main goal was to better understand the family situation and the concerns of the
parents (including health, employment, or leisure) to adjust our exchanges and proposals. We
knew they would understand and appreciate the efforts to improve their children's school
performance (including learning to read), with their help, or that of another family member if
possible. Thus, we quickly raised the prospect of support or reinforcement that could be
regularly conducted at the local community center (Maison des Associations - MDA) located
in the center of the school sector.

Table 2 - The Organization of Support for Children and Parents

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most of the activities were planned at the MDA, which had rooms of different sizes to simultaneously organize various activities with a varying number of children and exchanges with parents, either together or separately. We supplemented the educational materials, including textbooks and albums that the students and parents could also use or read at home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the first quarter of 2014, we selected and trained two professionals, chosen for their pedagogical skills and human qualities, essential for reversing the processes of failure and demotivation of the students, as well as for communicating with the parents; they themselves were mothers of students and were familiar with the Frassy context. We were also present and intervened, in partnership with them (especially in the beginning), in small groups of children (sometimes accompanied by a parent), or separately; and we regularly shared (all four of us) our observations and questions.</td>
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</table>

Trajectories in Frassy. These problems were resolved within a few years through intensive pedagogical actions with small groups of students, inspired by the work of André Ouzoulias (2004; 2011) in the Maclé, at the end of kindergarten and the beginning of elementary education, through the appropriate use of additional educational resources granted for priority education, except in Elementary School D, where few teachers were willing to participate in these actions.
To quickly and effectively support the second-grade non-readers, we first planned several sessions per week during the April vacation (which everyone spent in Frassy); then, sessions of three or four hours every Wednesday.

The schedules were negotiated with the parents. One hour was provided for each child (in groups of two or three, most often), allowing them to stay for larger group activities (games, drawing, writing, reading children's books). The participation of parents (or older siblings) was encouraged and complemented by phone exchanges.

Source: Author's elaboration, 2022.

We also wanted to help parents better master the role of "expected student's parent": communicate with teachers, demonstrate an interest in the child's schooling, follow up on schoolwork, and/or find suitable support in case of significant difficulties. A prolonged series of interactions was necessary to achieve progress while exploring and seeking to develop some of the students' dispositions towards schoolwork and teachers. These interactions and work with the children were intended to provide insights into what forms of support parents could autonomously adopt, considering their academic limitations and the difficulties faced by their children. Additionally, it was necessary to identify what other actions would be required to overcome these barriers.

Developing All Useful Cooperations

Another important goal was to help develop successful communications and cooperation between the student's parents, their teachers, and other professionals or stakeholders from associations that could play a positive role in the children's development. These supports were essential, as our actions in Frassy were intended only for a limited time.

From the diagnostic investigation phase, we made contact with many local actors, including municipal employees involved in the school, parents' associations, directors of neighboring schools, the nearest child medical-psychological center, etc. We then frequently participated in meetings about the students and families who had already been identified or were beginning to show problems. The aim was first to ensure the relevance of the proposals or advice and then the coherence of the various actions in favor of these families. We also

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18 We were aware that it would be very challenging for parents to help a child work effectively when they often struggled with school activities themselves: because starting to work was a problem from the beginning, and parents with limited academic skills did not know how to react to their children's stumbling blocks or mistakes, which led to much tension and discomfort (Thin, 2009).

19 Child medical-psychological centers are a public network of healthcare facilities specializing in early childhood (Note from the Translator).
wanted to promote better understanding and empathy on the part of the teachers towards the students and parents who were presenting problems, in order to lay the groundwork for constructive exchanges between them. At the same time, we encouraged parents to meet with the teachers, especially if they were unable to communicate in writing in the correspondence\textsuperscript{20} notebook and risked being perceived as "uncommitted"\textsuperscript{21}.

Given the high incidence of children with significant language delays and the difficulties reported by various directors in accessing speech therapy services, solutions to mitigate this problem were sought with medical services, speech therapists, and municipal employees.

The Strategy is Summarized in Five Objectives and Stages

In summary, our research and action strategy can be schematized, distinguishing between five objectives and stages (which may overlap) that also structured the following subsections: implementation, observed evolutions, and adjustments made.

1) Understand the main problems perceived by the teachers in the school. It relies on assessments carried out in collaboration with the involved professionals to select the families of students with whom further investigations will be conducted.

2) Better identify the problems at hand and possible solutions with the parents. Take an interest in family concerns and resources, as well as win the trust of parents and children by offering them help or exchanges that they perceive as useful.

3) Discover how to solve the problems faced by students, parents, and teachers, and identify obstacles to success. Work on the conditions to be met so that the students' parents can communicate with the teachers and find appropriate support if their children's difficulties exceed their capabilities.

4) Promote fairer and more favorable views towards successful cooperation among all partners, working regularly with them. Gradually withdraw our support so that the process can continue without us.

5) Analyze the observed developments, persistent problems, and opportunities to overcome them; identify optimization proposals for the involved decision-makers.

\textsuperscript{20} Notebook used for communication between teachers and students' families (Note from the Translator).

\textsuperscript{21} Démissionnaires, in the original text, is a term commonly used by teachers to designate parents who, according to them, are disinterested in their children's education (Note from the Translator).
Evaluations and Preliminary Consultations Concerning Parents

These initial evaluations and consultations proved very useful for establishing the groundwork for greater cooperation with teachers from preschool, elementary school, and the support network (Rased), as well as with professionals from the educational success program. They also allowed us to identify differences in opinions about the children or parents (e.g., their involvement in their children's education), which led us to further investigate the points causing these differences. We also noted cases where parents never went to school and whose communication with the teachers was almost nonexistent, except sometimes by phone with the school principal.

We quickly realized that the children whose circumstances were considered most problematic had experienced delays or disorders detected many years earlier, but these had not subsequently been addressed. Regarding this, some teachers questioned the responsibility of parents who had not taken necessary actions, while other teachers (and professionals from the educational success program) also highlighted barriers that could explain the failure to implement the recommended support or treatments: lack of nearby solutions and/or family difficulties that hindered the parents responsible from carrying out these steps.

However, even those who recognized such obstacles did not see what more they could do to help overcome them, either because they did not consider it their role or because they lacked the capacity to handle all these complex and numerous situations.

These points of convergence with previous works aided in identifying issues to explore and methods for initiating this process during the initial contact with the parents.

Clarification of the Links Between Family Situations and School Problems

As anticipated, establishing a relationship with the parents did not pose many difficulties, provided two conditions were met: clarity about the objectives and flexibility in choosing the times and places for meetings—whether at the family home, a community center/social center frequented by some of them, etc. Only two mothers who were severely ill preferred to communicate by telephone.

As we proposed to work together to find ways to help their children overcome their difficulties without any judgment, taking into account availability and the competencies required for such challenges, the exchanges with the parents were constructive and conducted in a positive atmosphere. These precautions were necessary, however, because, in all the
extreme cases of children's difficulties in school that we were addressing, the family situations presented challenges that prevented the parents from easily meeting the teachers' expectations for monitoring schoolwork or taking steps to have the students assisted by competent individuals.

Indeed, with two exceptions, the parents exhibited very low levels of education, with nearly half of them being illiterate or uneducated. Most were in precarious social situations, with low incomes, and often, their work schedules prevented them from being available after school hours. Among the 21 families of students with school difficulties being supported (assisting several siblings in the same family in five cases), eight were headed by single mothers and three by single fathers, responsible for raising two to seven children, often still young\textsuperscript{22}. Additionally, nearly a quarter of these guardians faced significant health issues that limited their mobility and/or often compromised their availability to oversee their children’s schoolwork.

The analysis revealed that the parents of students who exhibited academic difficulties were unable to meet the standard expectations of teachers, who in turn were unable to understand or consider the causes of this inability for two main reasons, identified in initial discussions: the lack of availability of the teachers to delve into the complex family situations and the severe personal difficulties they faced, which led them to avoid problems rather than confront and resolve them.

For example, they overlooked the severity of some parents’ disabling health problems and interpreted their absence at school as a sign of disinterest in their children’s education, which was linked with the lack of assistance that required parental consent\textsuperscript{23}. Therefore, the combination of family vulnerabilities with precarious working conditions at school often resulted in worsening educational difficulties due to the lack of effective communication between teachers and parents, as well as the absence of coordinated and concerted action to overcome such challenges.

\textsuperscript{22} At the request of some of these students, we also welcomed other students from their classes who could act as tutors for them in certain academic areas.

\textsuperscript{23} The two most seriously ill mothers were foreigners with a limited command of French (especially written French) and did not feel competent to intervene in the educational realm. However, they willingly spoke with us (especially by phone) and agreed to the establishment of regular support for their children at the MDA (after school hours), also mobilizing an older sibling for some support activities.
Problem-Solving Steps and Development Outcomes

Addressing this situation required working and interacting with children, parents, teachers, and other stakeholders who could contribute to improvements that would benefit everyone. The foundation of trust built with teachers and parents allowed us to work with the children to identify their challenges and motivations, and then explore various opportunities to promote their progress and discuss and develop solutions with the involved parties, starting with the parents themselves.

Support for Students and Their Parents

In dialogue with the parents, we consistently reached agreements for regular meeting times at the community center (MDA) located in the center of the school district, thus close to their homes. If necessary, an older sibling would accompany the child to make up for the parents' lack of mobility or availability, and additional meeting times or phone discussions with them were arranged.

Shortly after we began working with the ten most concerning second-year students, the parents of two asked if we could also assist their sisters, who were struggling with learning to write in the first-year preparatory course (CP)\textsuperscript{24}. After discussing with the CP teachers and the support network involved, we agreed to do so, finding it pertinent to start support in the first year rather than the second, as the progress observed was quicker and more significant than that of the ten second-year students the following year. Notably, one of the students who advanced to the second year stood out as one of the best in his class.

Conversely, progress was slower and more limited for three students who had already accumulated learning delays and faced challenges complex to manage by teachers and could only benefit from specialized care belatedly. However, all of them made progress in writing skills and began reading children's books and then carefully selected small books (with vocabulary and syntax within their reach) over the following two years, except for one student, for whom the implementation of speech therapy support was particularly delayed, and whose progress was slower.

Subsequently, we integrated students from the CP and other classes whose difficulties and demotivation were worsening due to the lack of monitoring of their work (both at home...
and school). Once again, it was much easier to mobilize students with more recent difficulties, which inclined us to advocate for a preventive approach to regulate difficulties quickly. Therefore, we explored the possibilities of finding (or developing in the future) suitable replacements to meet these regulatory support needs in schools or educational success programs.

The work carried out at the MDA allowed us to better understand the children's difficulties and motivations, as well as the opportunities for parents to act in various areas. They often expressed their doubts and fears of doing wrong when trying to encourage their children to do schoolwork and sometimes the shame that discouraged them from discussing it with teachers.

We reminded parents that they should encourage their children to do the work requested by the teacher, but they did not have to solve learning difficulties (which should be discussed with the teacher). Whenever possible, we encouraged parents to engage in short reading or writing activities that their children had already successfully completed with us, sometimes in their presence, specifying which ones.

In this way, we showed how to proceed in case of a child's error, without insisting if they could not correct it quickly. The more easily parents could do this, the more they practiced these small exercises, increasingly spontaneously. Discussions could also cover different ways to get children to do their work, including involving a sibling when necessary.

We talked about adult literacy opportunities in Frassy for parents who wished to acquire the necessary foundational knowledge. We also informed them about how to promote their children's progress by giving them access to activities they were unaware of or assumed to be more expensive than they actually were: cultural or sports activities; schoolwork reinforcement programs; speech therapy reeducation, etc. By dedicating time to help them understand the value of these activities, most parents agreed with the idea and tried to take the necessary steps.

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25 Our activities at the MDA quickly attracted other children from the neighborhood, often siblings or relatives of the welcomed students, who wanted to do homework, read a book, play, or draw. With the parent's consent, we always accepted them whenever one of us was available to receive them under good conditions.
Better Responses to Student Needs and the Involvement of New Teachers

Initially, little had been planned at the school level for pedagogical work on students' learning difficulties and monitoring their schoolwork, which justified the support proposed at the MDA. From the 2014-2015 academic year, local professionals from the national education and the educational success program recognized the need to develop support and monitoring offerings, especially to benefit the most needy students among those being followed (always with parental consent). Given the frequency of difficulties encountered by students in performing schoolwork in a home environment, a dedicated period for these activities was established at the end of the school day, occurring three times a week.

The new teachers adapted remarkably well to the evolving context, remaining at the school in subsequent years. At the administration's request, considering they had limited experience, a maximum of two years, an informational period was organized at the school so they could quickly become familiar with the possibilities for student monitoring, both internally and through various complementary educational success devices.

In the weeks that followed, it was possible to interact with the three teachers of the students involved in the action research, before or after their meetings with the parents, often on our recommendation. Subsequently, they were always understanding and constructive regarding the difficulties identified, including in interactions with the parents. As a result, a significantly positive evolution was observed in learning and student behavior, overcoming the difficulties previously faced by the school.

Some classes were challenging to manage, but since the 2014-2015 school year, the atmosphere began to improve, and this trend was confirmed in the following year with the arrival of a new, highly cooperative, principal. All this contributed to only one of the five teachers who had arrived at the school in 2014 and 2015 decided to leave in 2016 (to become the principal of the nearest school). The stabilization of the teaching staff was associated with greater involvement in various pedagogical and partnership actions appreciated by the student's parents.

The development of communication and cooperation thus allowed the joint regulation of existing difficulties (through more coherent and complementary actions) to promote an

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26 When we arrived, only three students from the school were benefiting from the educational support offered by the success program, which was conducted in the school; a much smaller number than recorded in all other schools in Frassy (although the need for support related to family situations was particularly high). Subsequently, several dozen students gained access to this benefit.

27 For instance, the school's main hall was renovated to make it more welcoming, and educational outings were organized with parent participation. An open classroom operation (for parents) also yielded positive results. With these various actions, a growing sense of trust continued to assert itself, according to the parents.
understanding of the role and limitations of each party, thereby alleviating tensions. However, this evolution had limits and allowed the persistence of risks of failure that needed to be clarified, in order to identify new proposals for improvement.

Persistent Risks of Failure: The Three Identified Problems

Frequent were the situations where parents did not know how to deal with their children’s difficulties nor had the resources to seek help from qualified professionals. This observation was confirmed through the assistance offered to some families in collaboration with teachers, revealing that this challenge was even more prevalent among families from other social classes.

Upon analyzing various statements and collected data, it was considered useful to identify three main obstacles preventing the universal success of students.

1) The lack of accessible specialized professionals. Reported by all school principals in Frassy, this primarily concerns the shortage of specialists who could address delays in oral language (in early childhood education) as well as dyslexia and dysorthographia (in elementary education). Exacerbated by the staffing reduction and operational hours of the child psycho-medical center in Frassy, this shortage was not offset by the arrival of any new speech therapists. We discovered how difficult it was to secure an appointment with speech therapists from neighboring towns\(^{28}\). Recent research on disorders (including dyslexia), which result in long-term educational failure, indicates that the need for specialized treatment can be reduced by mobilizing educational resources designed to stimulate learning and quickly control students’ “normal” difficulties (GARCIA, 2013)\(^{29}\). However, the inadequacy of these resources was precisely the second obstacle identified.

2) Insufficiency of Anticipated Pedagogical Resources in Terms of Needs: The magnitude of the needs was linked to the lack of educational and pedagogical skills of most parents, and primarily, to the difficulties that had accumulated at the school during years of anomie, where almost no regulation had been enforced. This problem was significantly

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\(^{28}\) Waiting times of about a year were often added to the problems arising from the lack of mobility or availability of the most vulnerable parents. In some cases, it was difficult to obtain short deadlines and assistance from social services to address issues related to attending appointments.

\(^{29}\) A growing body of research indicates that difficulties and errors are normal stages of learning that involve stages of progress through rectification that have not yet been mastered by teachers, given their lack of training and constraints related to the number of students (Giordan, Favre, Tarpinian, 2013; Reuter, 2013).
mitigated in the earliest grades of primary education (preschool and elementary), as a result of our initiatives and the support network, with volunteer teachers who provided educational assistance and helped manage their students' difficulties\(^30\). However, this issue was prominent in other classes where the difficulties were greater, and teachers were less frequently volunteers for such support. Moreover, the coordinator of the educational success program struggled to recruit sufficiently competent professionals for the support she organized, as this task was complex and delicate due to student demotivation after prolonged failures. Teachers expressed concerns about the pedagogical quality of the work performed in this context. Regarding needs, the insufficiency of anticipated pedagogical resources was quantitative and qualitative.

3) Overly Delayed Actions in Extreme Cases of Family Difficulties: Support for the success of all students, prevention of school dropout, and universal access to care were advocated by all involved institutions. However, at School D and other schools where teachers lacked the time to address all student difficulties, such difficulties often worsened over several years, after being detected, before being translated into delayed action (thus ineffective), in the case of families in problematic or little-known situations. In such contexts, teachers and the school medical department did not have the necessary availability to adjust their communication methods to all parents\(^31\) and primarily communicated the results and conclusions of assessments or examinations of students in writing. Consequently, they did not identify the barriers that prevented parents from understanding and applying the recommendations issued: illiteracy, lack of proficiency in French, mobility constraints due to health issues, or single parenthood.

Parental supports that took such impediments into account were anticipated in the texts on the personalized pathways to success organized by the coordinator of the educational success program (Programme de Réussite Éducative - PRE), but few families benefited from this in Frassy, due to the heavy procedural burden. Before any action in this direction was taken, it was necessary for a multidisciplinary team composed of 20 professionals to give their opinion after hearing the case presented by the school principal. The latter typically limited himself to the most severe cases of educational failure and associated disorders, avoiding mention of

\(^{30}\) Educational support is the term used by the National Ministry of Education for the priority education program designed to meet the need for support with schoolwork outside the classroom that parents are unable to provide. This involves supplementary work with small groups of students selected by the teacher: although it is extra paid work, it requires that the teacher volunteer and be able to communicate with the parents to obtain their consent.

\(^{31}\) They rarely find the time to contact, by phone, parents who do not come, or come infrequently, to school; it is not customary for teachers to visit students' homes in France (unlike in Finland [ROBERT, 2010] and Japan, for example, https://www.ecolespubliques.fr/tourdumonde/index.php/japon).
instances for which precise elements were lacking. This practice simultaneously eliminated the possibility of a quick assessment and intervention on emerging difficulties.

Proposed Responses to the Three Issues

For the lack of accessible specialized professionals, we primarily shared the results of our investigations and encouraged municipal officials to use various means to attract speech therapists to Frassy or to ensure that the local child psychological medical center was more responsive to the childcare needs of the population (alerting relevant services in the region).

Regarding the pedagogical resources to be developed to better regulate students' difficulties and thus prevent problems arising from prolonged failures, we indicated several paths that decision-makers could take:

- Enhancing the training of professionals who assist students with their difficulties is essential, particularly in structured support processes and, initially, in understanding the relationships between learning, the problems encountered, and the risks of demotivation that must be mitigated.

- Providing support, monitoring, and supervision indices for students commensurate with the difficulties to be addressed.

- Retain professionals from the educational success program who have acquired teaching skills through a combination of experience and training over several years, at least until the action of teachers and the support network is sufficient.

- Schedule exchange times between teachers, educational success professionals, and parents, if possible, in the presence of trainers or teachers with sufficient specialized knowledge.

To ensure that the regulation of students' difficulties was not often hindered or delayed by unawareness of family problems, it was proposed to establish a method of communication with parents that facilitated the clarification of their situations and needs, without initially involving the multidisciplinary team. Moreover, it was suggested that teachers and principals who were concerned about some students, without knowledge of their family situation, could request the coordinator of the Reintegrated Education Program (PRE) to designate an educational success professional to dialogue with the parents of these students.
Based on our experience, almost all parents of students appreciate that such professionals are willing to help their children succeed, and they are open to discussions to clarify the needs related to this issue. This straightforward approach allows for a quicker and more systematic adjustment of the sequence of operations by better understanding the situations, defining the initial advice to be given, and assessing the need to mobilize the multidisciplinary team to make decisions regarding specific directions. Similar recommendations were formulated following an in-depth qualitative evaluation of educational success programs conducted concurrently with our action research (Trajectoires Reflex, 2015).

Key Outcomes

This action research focused on an extreme case of a problematic school situation with the dual objective of elucidating and evolving such a situation, as well as enriching reflections on the ideal means to control the processes involved and limit the severity of their consequences. First, we summarize the main outcomes of the approaches designed to deal with the cumulative processes of failure and instability that seriously disrupted the functioning of School D. Next, we will indicate the key lessons that seem helpful to highlight, through cross-reference with other research and evaluations.

Evolutions of Guided Students and Parents

Firstly, all students who had failed to learn to write by the 2nd grade became capable readers, able to understand written statements and read children's books with pleasure that they requested on loan; this included even those whose parents were illiterate or uneducated. With this approach, it was possible to prevent this group of non-readers from becoming more challenging to manage after the 2nd grade. To achieve such a result, it was necessary to dedicate considerable time to students who had been experiencing learning failures for more than two years; collaborate with parents and teachers; and, in some cases, rely on the support of competent speech therapists. However, it was not possible to completely remedy all the learning deficits that had accumulated during the long period of these students' lack of success.

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32 We had observed this even with parents whose health issues prevented them from traveling and who preferred to communicate by telephone, including the two mothers described in footnote 30, who were eager to cooperate in implementing support actions for their children.

33 Particularly when the parents were too impoverished to complete the administrative formalities that conditioned access to assistance, it was necessary to mobilize social services.
Subsequently, we opted to address the difficulties of younger students (from the beginning of CP) or those who had recently started failing because their environment was often unable to provide the support expected by the school. The progress and mobilization of students always occurred faster, allowing us to assist a greater number of students with the resources available. On the other hand, this outcome requires us to recognize the limits of late intervention in a school where many past failures have not been overcome. The partial rescue experiment we report should not, therefore, be considered a satisfactory solution; it is more a means of reflecting on the conditions necessary to ensure much broader academic success.

The parents of the students we worked with engaged as they could in exchanges with us and in organizing actions they were unable to perform due to their lack of educational skills, availability (single fathers or single mothers), or mobility (parents with health problems). In extreme cases of parents of students experiencing academic failure who lacked literacy, it was often difficult and time-consuming to promote positive communication with the teachers of these students, as the lack of responses to written messages in the correspondence notebook, or their absence at meetings, had exhausted the patience of overwhelmed teachers who tended to judge these parents as neglectful or uncooperative. This type of obstacle was more easily overcome with new teachers at the school and those to whom we had provided preparatory mediation to establish positive communication with these parents34.

**Investment of New Teachers in Sustained Cooperations**

In order to make them recognize the value of other cooperations (with professionals from the educational success program, in particular), we sought to motivate new teachers to stay at School D for more than a year, despite the evident difficulties and problems upon their arrival, because projecting themselves in the long term was essential for them to invest in projects, exchanges, and cooperations, whose benefits were not immediate. Thus, it was possible to start a virtuous circle between the extension of engagement time and more successful investments by teachers, instead of the cumulative processes of failure and instability that characterized the school under investigation and other segregated schools studied in previously mentioned research.

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34 It must be emphasized that such obstacles were rarely overcome due to the lack of adequate mediation in the normal functioning of the institutions in question; hence, our proposal to change the procedures to address the third problem identified in the previous section.
The fact that they planned to remain at school for more than a year also contributed to these teachers confiding in us their questions or concerns regarding certain situations of the students and their families and, subsequently, for them to reflect with us on new possibilities to alert educational success professionals, who would be able to explore these situations, to assess the urgency of using the multidisciplinary team or, sometimes, to quickly perceive simple ways to control certain difficulties of these families of students.

Final considerations on the efficiency of the school organization: two key points

As in similar situations that we had the opportunity to study previously, the severe occurrences of malfunctions found in school D resulted from an excess of uncontrolled cumulative processes. By taking care to identify the main factors and processes involved and adjusting responses to them, it was possible to change the situation positively, but not remedy all the damage resulting from long years of failure and anomy at the school. For decision-makers who wish to optimize the efficiency of the school organization, it is helpful to identify the most effective and least expensive means to better control the failure processes that give rise to these catastrophic situations. Based on research and comparative assessments of these issues, two complementary key points deserve to be highlighted.

The great challenge of speed of control

The first, already mentioned, is that satisfactory results are much faster and certainly achieved when actions are taken before cumulative processes of failure degrade the situation and leave a lasting mark on the various actors, who are also victims. This is a known fact for students (IPP, 2015), although it has also been observed for teachers, as well as for parents with several children in a situation of academic failure.

Those who had already experienced a long series of disappointments and repeated failures were much more often defeatists; their commitment to the proposed cooperative work was much more limited, or took longer to obtain, than with those who discovered the (same) difficulties and were quickly encouraged to persevere in the effort to resolve the problem.

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35 Efficiency is the relationship between the resources used and the results achieved (Credoc, 2012).
36 These observations, very succinctly evoked here, are in congruence with the work on learned resignation, on the essentialization of students’ difficulties, and on the means of preventing school dropout and violence at school (Curonici; Joliart; McCulloch, 2006; Galand; Carra; Verhoeven, 2012; Lantheaume, 2011; Philippot, 2014).
through gains in understanding and power of action related to the proposed exchanges and cooperation.

Therefore, it is possible to understand the sudden stabilization of a team of teachers after six years of frequent departures, during which educators would leave School D as soon as possible. Faced with the same severe challenges their predecessors had encountered, the teachers who joined the school in 2014 appeared less destabilized and were more committed to quickly understanding these challenges. They began to address them in cooperation with the student's parents and other professionals. Thus, the importance of ensuring adequate conditions so that, in all schools, teachers' abilities to comprehend and address issues can be quickly adjusted to the problems to be solved is evident.

**Systemic Conditions for a More General Prevention of School Failures**

The second key point relates to the means of ensuring, in the best possible way, the efficiency and equity envisioned by the educational policies of most developed or emerging countries. The history of School D illustrates the risk of a disastrous prolongation of the situation in which teachers become progressively overwhelmed by the challenges they face. Consequently, it becomes imperative to identify the most effective ways of mitigating this risk.

The organization of the Finnish school provides instructive clues on this matter, as it was the first to control the processes of failure in all assessed areas, without excessive educational expenses. Based on experiences, evaluations, and repeated consultations, the Finnish school succeeded by first investing in training school professionals, which was designed to ensure they acquired all the necessary skills, coupled with a good student-to-teacher ratio.

Thus, it was able to encourage the autonomy of teaching teams, who knew how to organize useful cooperation between teachers and more specialized interveners in order to solve the various problems faced by the school\(^{37}\). Aware that some local contexts could create particular difficulties, the State provided additional educational resources to help the teams address these issues when the results of national assessments revealed vulnerabilities\(^{38}\).

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37 Robert (2010) shows that the teaching profession is very popular in Finland (ten candidates per position) thanks to the satisfaction and recognition resulting from professional success, while teachers' salaries remain close to international averages (Ocde, 2018).

38 Disparities in outcomes by institution are the lowest in the world in Iceland, Finland and Norway; Finland has the highest average (Pisa, 2015).
However, education spending remained moderate for at least two reasons: the real autonomy of competent teaching teams led to the elimination of inspection bodies\(^{39}\); and the annual amount of teaching hours in a school environment in Finland was one of the lowest among OECD countries (2018)\(^{40}\). Prioritizing the quality of learning conditions for everyone in primary school, based on the pedagogical experience of teachers and supervisory professionals, is a relevant choice for the efficiency of the school organization, as highlighted by the OECD (2015) and the National Council for the Evaluation of the School System (Cnesco) (2016)\(^{41}\).

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\(^{39}\) In France, there is, within the educational system, a body of inspectors who are hierarchically responsible for teachers (Note from the Translator).

\(^{40}\) The annual averages of the OECD and France exceed the Finnish hours by 23% and 33%, respectively (Ocde, 2018). In Finland, spending per student is very close to the international averages in secondary education and exceeds only by 8% in primary education. A dozen countries spend much more per student to achieve worse outcomes (Ocde, 2018).

\(^{41}\) To restore a French school "marked by strong and growing social and migratory inequalities associated with a large number of students with great academic difficulties," the National Council for the Evaluation of the School System (Cnesco, 2016, p.119.) recommends "breaking with a logic of repeated and poorly implemented reforms in classrooms and relying on the expertise of actors in the field (teachers, school principals, inspectors, and pedagogical advisers) who welcome students daily, giving them the means to implement effective pedagogical action." The recommendations of the OECD (2015) for improving the French school converge in the same direction.


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