THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONAL SOCIAL SERVICES IN FRANCE (1896-1946)

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SUMMARY

The purpose of this study is to examine the social, economic and political factors which contributed both to the rise of social work in France and to the forms and categories of social work practice which emerged during the period 1896 to 1946.

During the period in question French social work developed from its first organised beginnings, as a religiously inspired movement for social reform and social harmony, into a significant instrument of national social policy. By 1946 training courses for social workers had long been established and were conducted within a strict statutory framework, the value of social work was well recognised by entrepreneurs, and the rôle social workers could play in promoting the health and well-being of children in a nation characterised by slow population growth was understood by governments.

It was in 1946 that holders of the State diploma in social work were first given, unequivocally and by statute, the exclusive right to practise as social workers and that the existing professional association of social workers, l'Association Nationale des Assistantes de Service Social, was established.

One of the major themes of the thesis is the health care orientation of social work in the context of the pursuit of national power and security through populationist policies. Also discussed is the rôle of social work in promoting industrial harmony and thereby aiding in economic development against a backcloth of paternalistic industrial relations. Particular attention is paid to the impact on social work of the major upheavals caused by the two world wars and the experience of governments

of radically different ideological persuasions: the Popular Front and the Vichy régime. The strong and persistent moral content of early social work is a recurrent theme throughout.

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INTRODUCTION

"The nature of most of the other professions and occupations, such as those of the law, medicine, nursing, teaching and architecture, is far less ambiguous, and so the need for.....clarification is less apparent.

"The special position of social work in this respect can be put down to two interrelated factors. Social work is not only a relatively young profession but it is also one which derives more directly and more substantially from the particular society of which it is a part than is the case with other professions. Hence its functions and its modes of operation are substantially dependent on existing social structures and are to a great extent affected by the various processes of change within them. In addition, the preoccupation of social work with people and with their social circumstances creates its main occupational risk - that of a lack of specificity, of an inherent ambiguity - which makes it particularly prone to changes and fluctuations, not all of which are necessarily consistent or logical."

This short extract from Zofia Butrym's "The Nature of Social Work" provides a large part of the justification for studying social work in other countries. The nature and social role of the profession have been extensively discussed in Britain, especially in the post-war period, and not least during the last few years as the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work (CCETSW) has worked to lay a foundation for the new approach to social work education to be introduced from 1991. Many things might be said about this discussion, but in the present context, that of an analysis of the

process of emergence and growth of French social work, three comments are felt to be particularly relevant. First, the debate has not been sufficiently rigorous and conclusive to satisfy all observers that social work as an institution is any less problematical than before. Second, surprisingly little attention has been paid in the course of the debates to the ways in which social work is understood, the contexts in which it is practised and the pattern of its development in countries other than our own. The one exception to this is the United States, from which source many of our ideas about social work have been obtained. The European countries, however much closer they are, geographically, historically and culturally, to Britain, have received little attention in mainstream social work literature, a fact which is curious given the pursuit in recent years of harmonisation and a European identity. Closer comparative study might well confirm, as Butrym suggests, that social work is even more diverse and problematical than it appears in its narrow British frame of reference, but that should not be a reason to neglect the broader view. A third proposition is that it is currently of great interest to consider social work in a country in which both its teaching and the conditions in which it is practised have for over half a century been subject to fairly detailed control by the State, as is the case in France. Since the first State diploma in social work was introduced there in 1932 the momentum of central control over the structure and content of social work education has increased inexorably, and governments of different political complexions have sought to use social work in the pursuit of their own ideologically determined goals. The relevance of this derives from the centralising tendencies of the post-1979 Conservative government in Britain. The introduction of a national basic school curriculum, the quest for a greater degree of

standardisation in social work education against a backcloth of greater control of higher education generally, and the considerable erosion of local authority autonomy are some manifestations of the policy thrust towards tighter control by central government. Whether or not these are desirable developments is less material here than the fact that they bring us closer to a model of government and administration which has now existed in France for a considerable period of time, and from which we can perhaps learn a little.

The period 1896-1946 has been chosen for a number of reasons. It was during this time that the foundations of modern social work were being laid in France as in Britain. Although some important distinctions need to be made, the progression from voluntary activity aimed at moral reform and social amelioration to State sponsored welfare administration is clear in both cases over this time span. In France the years during which this process occurred were particularly rich in terms of political, economic and social change and in the problems attendant upon such change. There was a fairly generalised anxiety about the danger of national decline and the need to come to terms with the modern world. This in turn served as a leitmotiv in debates about more specific dilemmas: the struggle for power between lay and religious forces, for example; industrialisation and the emergence of new forms of class conflict; the acknowledgment of a need for population growth as a prerequisite of national power, tempered, however, by a persistent fear and suspicion of the mass. The recurrent themes of individual and family irresponsibility, moral laxity and indiscipline, both in political rhetoric and in much social work literature of the period reflect such preoccupations, and each of these concerns, heightened by the experience of two world wars, contributed something to the form taken by French social

work by the mid-1940s.

Essentially, four kinds of sources of data have been used for the purposes of this study. Official reports, policy statements and statutes are referred to extensively for the obvious reason that, as governments became more active in the field of social welfare, such documents created an increasingly well-defined framework for the growth of social work and social policy in general. They are relied on heavily as a basis for discussion of social work policy during the Vichy period in the early 1940s, because very little else by way of reliable source material exists on this period. Some of the more important of these documents are reproduced, in translation, to illustrate the extent and character of the State's interest in social work. Two kinds of discursive or evaluative commentary are available on social work developments prior to 1946. On the one hand, contemporary accounts, or manifestoes, dealing with the social and moral purpose of social work and written by social work educators and pioneers are plentiful, especially if one includes the published accounts of social work conferences, the annual general meetings of social work organisations and other such gatherings. Such accounts tend to be somewhat idealistic or dogmatic in nature and should be used with a little caution, bearing in mind class antagonisms and the social control aspirations of some elements in pre-war and wartime social work. Records of the annual conferences of social workers in industry (the surintendantes d'usine) are a particularly good example of this. On the other hand, the few general historical accounts available can be almost equally polemical on occasion, tending to dismiss social work as nothing more than a controlling or containing device directed against the working class. Alternatively, they may be historically rather selective,

choosing most notably to make little or no reference to developments during the Vichy period when many of the pre-war initiatives in social work were built upon and some important foundations for post-war social welfare policy were laid. Finally, general works on the social, economic and political history of the Third Republic and the Vichy régime have been used to supply contextual information and to help compensate for the lack of published material on social work in the early 1940s.

A few words should perhaps be added about the use of terms throughout the text, notably references to social work itself. Clearly social work can not be left entirely to define itself, although it has often had a tendency either to do so or to assume that no definition is really necessary. I deliberately follow Butrym's lead, however, to the extent that any activity the French literature refers to as travail social, the direct translation of social work, or service social, a term frequently used with the same meaning, will be given as social work. Similarly the French assistant(e) social(e) will be equated with the British social worker. Nonetheless, although this rather pragmatic approach is adequate for the purpose of the main part of the text, in the concluding discussion some consideration will be given to the issue of how a general characterisation of social work may be attempted.

Quotations from French sources are most frequently left in the original French in the text, but translations are provided as footnotes to each chapter. A résumé of French terms and expressions, as well as brief biographies of some of the more significant personalities referred to in the text, is supplied in the Glossary in Appendix 3.

OVERVIEW

In the first four chapters of this study an attempt is made to identify some of the major institutional changes which have taken place in relatively recent French history and to show in what ways these changes have led to the emergence of a particular configuration of social policy and social work. It is not intended to produce a truly comparative study, outlining in a detailed, systematic way the areas of congruence and divergence between the historical experience and responses of French and British policy makers and social workers. Attention will be drawn to such areas on a selective basis, however, where it is felt that similarities and differences between the two countries are of particular significance.

Since the major religious faiths in France, both the Catholic and, to a lesser degree, the Protestant Church, have played a significant part in prompting and promoting welfare work of various kinds, the first chapter is devoted to an outline of their rôle. A number of writers on French social policy have suggested that religious institutions provided the principal driving force in the early development of activities akin to social work, some proposing that their motivation for doing so was disinterested and purely altruistic, others imputing more mundane political motives. Whatever factor or combination of factors was primarily responsible for urging the establishment of a church commitment to social welfare work, the fact remains that this commitment was established securely towards the end of the nineteenth century. In spite of lay opposition, translated into anti-clerical legislation, the contribution of the churches has proved to be an enduring one, notably in

institutional settings and in the field of education and training for social service.

The second chapter discusses the process of demographic change in France, the factors which have influenced this process and the way in which population matters have occupied the minds of those involved in social policy making. The attainment of a slow, at times static rate of population growth at a much earlier point in history than was the case in Britain, and certainly long before the main thrust of industrial development took place, has furnished a basis for the populationist strategies which have, albeit without great success, occupied a very important place in the general body of French social policy. The concern over the persistently low rate of natural growth was greatly heightened by the carnage of the First World War and led fairly directly to a considerable stress in social policy on the values of home and family and on the provision of inducements to high fertility. French industry has been obliged to depend heavily on immigrant labour, a multi-cultural society emerging from the early stages of industrialisation, with substantial ethnic minority representation. This is not, however, solely because of the small rate of increase amongst the host population, but also because until quite recently there was a great reluctance on the part of the native French population to leave the land and engage in factory work.

Because of the particular impact of the 1914-1919 war on population size and structure in both the short and the long term, it is treated as a theme in its own right within this section.

In Chapter Three aspects of the French economy and the process of economic development are dealt with. The

models that have been offered of the relationship between the modernisation of an economy and the growth of State-sponsored welfare systems suggest variously that industrialisation and the creation of new wealth are essential prerequisites of investment in welfare programmes, that the latter are launched to compensate for the ill effects of the former, and that social policy in general may be deployed in a kind of 'handmaiden' rôle, being structured in such a way as to facilitate the process of economic growth. Each of these varieties of relationship may be seen as having relevance to an understanding of the form taken by French social policy and social work and illustrations of this are supplied in the text.

The fourth chapter deals with those aspects of French political structure and thought considered to be of especial relevance to the emergence of a distinctive framework for the practice of social work in the second half of the twentieth century. In France as in any other advanced society there is more than one way in which the historical process of political change affects social service delivery. This, it might be suggested, is basically because the State acts as a powerful generator and purveyor of social values. Whether these be the values of thrift and independence enshrined in much British legislation in the early to middle nineteenth century, those of family and home which have figured very prominently in the concerns of a twentieth century French State much preoccupied with slow population growth, or indeed other values such as patriotism or economic growth is in itself of little consequence. Such values take shape and either persist or atrophy according to the particular set of circumstances with which the State has to contend. What matters more is the way in which the State deploys or, indeed, withholds resources in order to

impose the values by which it is wished that society be guided. A fundamental tenet of this chapter is, in short, that the values promulgated by the State influence and often, when the State involves itself in the management and development of social work, determine the organisational context, the allocation of resources and the broad ideological setting within which social work is both taught and offered to the community. Particular attention will be paid to the factors which contributed to the development of a corporatist approach to the administration of French society and to the ways in which social work became part of this corporatism from the 1930s onwards.

In each of the chapters in Part One reference will be made to the developing rôle and structure of social work, within the broad context of social policy and prevalent social values, in response to each of the problem areas identified. As a basis for succeeding chapters, emphasis will be placed particularly on the ways in which the influences mentioned have served to shape the professional concerns, institutional framework and general orientation of State welfare work in France.

Part Two deals with the interest taken by two French governments of very different political persuasions in the way social work was organised and the ends it served. Chapters Five and Six deal with the short term of office of the Popular Front of 1936. Attention is paid in particular to the broad reforming intentions of the Popular Front, the challenge it offered to the oppressive and paternalistic character of relations in French industry and commerce, and the threat to social workers in industry posed by the democratisation of industrial relations. Other aspects of the reforms introduced by the Popular Front impinged even more directly on the form

taken by social work and helped to establish its key position in the matrix of social welfare provision. Especially noteworthy are the first serious attempts, in collaboration with the voluntary sector, to achieve a real coordination of social work activities and the shift of emphasis from moral preoccupations to a concern with issues of health as a more immediate and pressing problem for ordinary people. The desire to make health care the main focus of social work and the reorientation of social work training to that end must be seen as a major contribution of the Popular Front to the development of social work in France.

The guiding philosophies of the extreme right wing administration of Marshal Pétain are in marked contrast to those of the broad left anti-fascist Popular Front. The approach of Pétain and the Vichy régime to the achievement of a social, political and moral revolution and the rôle of social policy and the harnessing of social work in pursuit of this end are the subject of Chapters Seven and Eight. Warner (in Woolf, 1968) has argued that to consider the Vichy régime as fascism in power "may seem at best something of an exaggeration and at worst the communist party line". Indeed, to the extent that it clung to the image of a mystical and largely spurious past rather than proclaiming itself unequivocally as the architect of a totally new order, the régime did not conform to the typical model of European fascism. It did, however, subscribe to broadly similar ideas about national and racial purity to those of the National Socialist movement in Germany and import an Italian model of industrial organisation. In the domain of social and family relations, it extolled the virtues of the patriarchal family and sought to confine women to the domestic arena of home-making and child-rearing. In these and other respects it stood to be

compared with the régimes of the extreme right in Germany, Italy and Spain, and developments in social policy and social work in the period 1940-1944 need to be seen in this light.

Since both governments came and went within the short span of eight years, they provide an interesting basis for comparison but it should not be assumed that, because of the pronounced ideological differences between them, all continuity in social work and social policy was lost. To a large extent the Vichy régime, far from eschewing the policies and philosophies of the past, simply enunciated them more clearly and, capitalising on the ready cooperation of many of the leading moral entrepreneurs of social work, laid a foundation for post-war social action in many areas. From a professional social work point of view, the measures it took to promote the development of a family, as distinct from a health, orientation could certainly be seen as important and relevant innovations.

The concluding discussion takes up a number of general themes which emerge from the preceding material. Although the study does not set out to be a comparative one as such, focusing as it does almost exclusively on developments in French social work, selected areas of similarity and divergence between British and French social work are identified in the Conclusion. Some consideration is also given to varying conceptions of the nature and purpose of social work, largely because of the need to assess, if possible, the relative importance of the structural factors which have influenced the shape of the métier and the universal characteristics it may be deemed to possess. The other themes discussed in this final section, those of clients and work settings, and control and participation in social work are in a sense

subsidiary to this central concern, in that they bear upon the ability of social work to assert itself as a relatively autonomous profession.

A number of documents, translated from the original French, are appended, in full, to the text. They are selected on the basis that they are key documents which illustrate the general trends in thinking about social policy and social work to which reference is made. The decision to reproduce the documents in their complete form is based on the belief that a more real and immediate impression of their authors' purposes is given in this way than can be conveyed by either description or summary of their content.

CHAPTER 1: Religious Influences

The rôle played by religious institutions in the inception and development of social service in recent French history has been amply acknowledged by those British observers who have undertaken a study of this subject. Many French writers have also given considerable emphasis to the part taken by the churches, and notably, of course, the Catholic Church, in the historical growth of various forms of social service, but they have had a greater tendency to give recognition also to the influence of lay and republican forces, both liberal and socialist. Kniebiehler (1980), for example, lists social catholicism as just one, albeit the first, of the factors contributing to the emergence of le service social in the late nineteenth century, under her heading Emergence du Métier: Doctrines favorables.

It goes without saying, however, that in a country like France, with a strong Catholic tradition, the Church would be expected to play a prominent part in pioneering social welfare schemes of various kinds. It might equally be anticipated that its motives in so doing have not always been exclusively benign and politically disinterested, the Church having been of great historical significance in initiating (especially prior to 1789) or in influencing the political process. The rôle of the Church needs to be considered in political and economic terms as well as in terms of pure benevolence.

Before 1789 the Church and the Monarchy together sought to maintain social order by confronting the problem of poverty in ways which bore more than a passing similarity to the Elizabethan Poor Law and its antecedents in Britain. As Daniel Puymèges comments in the introduction

to 'La Fin des Mauvais Pauvres' the growth of the monasteries from the fifth century onwards was accompanied by a concern that the relief they provided for the poor should not be the subject of abuse. Charlemagne and his successors sought to differentiate between 'bons et mauvais pauvres', in the former case those who were in real need of immediate assistance, and in the latter those who concentrated all their efforts on the task of begging (quémander). For the former, François 1er established the Grand Bureau des Pauvres in 1531, which body levied a tax on all property for the relief of poverty. This, the first poor rate to be raised in France, continued under the auspices of the Grand Bureau until 1791. At the same time, the Settlement Acts in Britain were paralleled by the decree of Charles IX in 1556 which required all towns, boroughs and villages to provide assistance to the poor whilst forbidding the latter to seek alms outside their own community. A further decree in 1721 drew attention to what was perceived as the maladministration of poor relief, on the assumption that the indiscriminate giving of alms at abbeys and priories not only seduced the poor from their employment, but also gave rise to scenes of idleness and indolence which set a bad example to those living near institutions of this type.

"La distribution qui se fait aux portes des abbayes et des prieurés, indistinctement et sans connaissance est faite à celui qui n'en a pas besoin comme le nécessiteux, d'où il suit que le véritable pauvre en reçoit que peu de soulagement. Cette distribution donne occasion à une grande quantité de particuliers de venir de deux ou trois lieues loing pour y avoir part; ils quittent le travail dont ils auraient retiré plus de profit et ces assemblées tumultueuses donnent souvent occasion à beaucoup de querelles et de

désordres et entretiennent la plupart des voisins de ces abbayes dans l'oisiveté et la fainéantise, en vue des aumônes." (Arrêt du Conseil du 28 janvier 1721). [1]

Three years after this decree was issued the king ordered that able-bodied beggars should be imprisoned for a period of not less than two months and that recidivists should be branded with the letter 'M' (Mendiant) or, in serious cases, sent to the galleys for five years.

This social welfare/social control matrix of Church and State in a largely theocratic society was disrupted in 1789 with the advent of republicanism, and the Church was obliged to seek a new rôle for itself. Even after the end of the Napoleonic era and the restoration of the monarchy in 1815, the constitutional checks which accompanied this change consolidated the Church's view that it should forge a place for itself in French society rather different from the overtly powerful position it had occupied before the revolution.

The writing of Stendhal (cf. 'Le Rouge et le Noir', 1830) suggests very strongly that the Catholic Church in the early nineteenth century had not only considerable potential in terms of providing political leaders, but also, and perhaps more importantly for the aspiring peasantry and working class, supplied a channel of upward mobility and access to a degree of political and economic power inconceivable under the ancien régime. Support for this perspective is given by the comte de Montloisir who, in an account written in January, 1826, reported that the Congrégation, a secret society of Catholic militants, numbered 48,000 adherents and exercised great influence in the Chambre des Députés. Even if, as has been suggested, they give a somewhat exaggerated picture of the emergence of the Church as a force behind the scenes,

such accounts lend support to the view that it had aspirations to political influence.

At the same time a number of charitable enterprises were initiated by the Church. Amongst these were la Société des Bonnes Oeuvres (founded in 1821), a visiting society for prisoners and the sick; l'association de Saint-Joseph (1822), concerned with finding work for the unemployed; and la Société des Bonnes Etudes (1823), a discussion circle providing a forum for debate of contemporary social issues whilst also organising the distribution of 'moral' books. The Catholics sought by such means to extend their moral and religious influence at the same time as providing relief to those in need and although Stendhal, from an anti-clerical stance, may have overstated the Church's potency in the early 1800's, it was in fact undergoing a relatively successful adaptation to its new status.

Table 1

Catholic Baptisms, Marriages and Funerals (1865-1969)

Year	Baptisms	Marriages	Funerals
1865	89%	n/a	n/a
1875	84%	83%	n/a
1885	68%	71%	75%
1905	63%	61%	73%
1925	61%	57%	67%
1945	72%	50%	75%
1965	70%	52%	64%
1969	70%	49%	n/a

("Français, qui êtes-vous?", Documentation Française, 1981)

It was only, however, towards the end of the nineteenth century that the Church began seriously to confront the problems associated with the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation, and in 1891 the issue of the Papal Encyclical 'Rerum Novarum' (15/5/1891) represented its rather belated recognition that traditional catholicism was being overtaken by events. Table 1 provides some evidence that the authority it had traditionally enjoyed was beginning to be eroded by the later years of the century.

In the encyclical Pope Leo XIII sanctioned a new variety of social catholicism which sought to accommodate itself to the exigencies of modern society whilst, like the doctrine of solidarisme advanced by Léon Bourgeois, undermining any potential threat to the distribution of power in French society. Trade unionism was endorsed, a shorter working week was advocated, as well as salary levels which would permit workers to provide for the needs of their families without having recourse to additional income supplied by wives or children. The Pope did not, however, envisage measures to ameliorate the living conditions of the working class which would involve more than a slight modification of the orthodox nineteenth century liberal doctrines which guided the existing French government.

Writers adopting a Marxist standpoint (eg. Hoog, 'Histoire du catholicisme social en France [1871-1931] 1946 and Rollet, L'action sociale des catholiques en France [1871-1901] 1948) have argued that the Church was effectively aligning itself with the interests of the employers in seeking to diminish class antagonisms, rather than disinterestedly promoting good works and seeking the relief of poverty. Yvonne Kniebiehler (1980), however, although accepting the main thrust of

this analysis, suggests that it would be doing less than full justice to social catholicism to characterise its efforts simply in terms of a strategy of class conflict. Her interest in not only, nor even primarily, in the objective historical rôle of the Catholic Church, but rather in the subjective experience of social service and the intentions of its early Catholic practitioners. Their testimony constitutes the major part of her book and reveals little if any awareness of a political as opposed to a purely ameliorative function for social work and social policy in general in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The translation of the doctrine of social catholicism into concrete social action took a variety of forms, including the initiation of a christian trade union organisation for male workers, which developed from the 1890's as a small but not insignificant element in the overall structure of working class representation. If, as Kniebiehler, Donzelot and others have suggested, the intention behind the inauguration of Catholic trade unionism was to promote social solidarity by pre-empting the rise of more divisive and combative initiatives of the political left, a different and more subtle approach was prescribed for Catholic women. To understand the nature of their proposed participation in social affairs two principal factors should be taken into account. The first of these is that from the 1880's onwards an inexorable movement had been taking place towards the emancipation of women. This implied particularly, for the daughters of the bourgeoisie, rebellion against marriage and a single-minded concentration on family and home, as independence and alternative means of fulfilment were sought. The second is that restrictions were placed on the freedom of the Catholic Church to intervene in social affairs for overtly religious purposes by a series

of 'lois sur les congrégations', intended to promote lay as opposed to ecclesiastical authority in such matters.

In respect of the former, Guerrand and Rupp note the substantial contribution made by a number of Catholic women to the development of social service and to the academic disciplines providing guidelines for such work. In 1896 Marie Maugeret founded the journal Le féminisme chrétien, which placed emphasis on the need, from both a personal and a social point of view, for women to find employment outside the home. A later periodical, La femme contemporaine (1903-1913), also stressed the social and economic importance for women of work in the community. That middle class young women responded to this sort of appeal and pioneered the first significant social work initiatives in France is clearly seen from the early development of the settlement movement which will be discussed later in this chapter.

As far as the second factor is concerned, although anticlericalism had long had a firm foothold in France and attempts had been made to curtail the power of the Church, it was not until the first five years of the twentieth century that legislation definitively separating Church and State was passed. During the Combes ministry, just before the measures taken by Lloyd George to limit the economic and political power of the Church of England, the new enactments of 1902 and 1905 were largely a reaction to the virulent anti-semitism of the Catholics at the time of the Dreyfus affair. Magraw sums up the conflict between the republicans and the Catholics at this particular juncture in the following terms,

"There were many genuine reasons why republicans should mount an anticlerical counterattack

after 1898. A rare Catholic Dreyfusard reported that fellow Catholics treated him as the perpetrator of the eighth deadly sin. Hundreds of curés accompanied their donations to the fund established for the widow of Colonel Henry, who had committed suicide in jail when his forgeries were disclosed, with messages expressing their desire to possess 'Yidskin bedmats' so they could walk over the Jews morning and night.....The bishop of Nancy had urged Christians to boycott Jewish shops. Yet Republican policy was also determined by sordid tactical considerations. Priest-baiting and the flogging of ancient clerical horses were, as ever, cheap substitutes for social reform. Anticlericalism by winning worker support at minimal cost, served the function that anti-semitism performed for the right. Until 1902 Waldeck-Rousseau's policy was measured and Gallican. He disciplined the Assumptionists and insisted that 'unauthorized' religious orders register. Combes, a small-town doctor weaned on provincial anticlericalism, had fewer inhibitions. He closed 30% of Catholic schools and exiled many of the orders."

In the short term, the social service initiatives inspired by the Catholic faith and to a large extent run by women who would otherwise have been members of religious orders, fell victim to the resurgence and institutionalisation of anti-clericalism in the early twentieth century. In the longer term, however, a substantial contribution was made to the development of French social work by a number of the women who had served their apprenticeship in this period. This contribution was made through the establishment of formal training for social service before the First World War and through their subsequent participation in planning and advisory, as well as educational activities.

La Maison Sociale

A leading Catholic feminist of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was Marie Gahéry (1867-1932), who became familiar with the British settlement movement in the early 1890's. Inspired by a series of anarchist atrocities in the summer of 1894, she set about the task of establishing the French equivalent to the settlement system in collaboration with the Marquis de Beauregard. Both of them were alarmed by the class divisions in French society at the time and saw the settlement as the social bridge which would provide for reconciliation. After a number of unsuccessful attempts Popincourt in one of the poorest areas of Paris (11ème arrondissement) emerged in September, 1896 as the first example of this kind of community based social work in France. Even at this early stage the workers, exclusively female, described themselves as travailleuses sociales. They offered help in the resolution of the family and personal problems of local inhabitants, as well as sewing classes to bring together the women of the area and activities for children on a twice-weekly basis. The Oeuvre Sociale, which is how this agency described itself, eventually settled in Ménilmontant after a number of moves. It defined its aims in the following terms: "la fusion des classes, la régénération morale du peuple, la réconciliation du pauvre avec le riche et l'apaisement si vainement tenté jusqu'ici." [2]

Although Marie Gahéry had been largely instrumental in establishing and administering the settlement (as travailleuse-chef) she withdrew from this rôle soon afterwards in favour of Mère Mercédès Le Fer de la Motte, a nun of the order of Saint Philippe de Néri, sent from her convent in Brest to undertake an evangelical mission amongst the French urban poor. At a time when anti-

religious sentiments were widespread, the particular requirement that members of this order contribute to all forms of proselytism but work exclusively in urban environments made her arrival an especially welcome event from the point of view of the Church. From a practical standpoint, in the opinion of Guerrand and Rupp it was Mère Mercédès who imposed discipline and order on the nascent settlement movement and enabled it to offer a coherent system of social service on a personal and community level.

Between 1901 and 1903 other centres were established in Paris, in Montrouge and Montmartre, each offering a broadly similar range of activities. By 1903 these included free medical consultations, classes in French, household management and hygiene and lectures on Marxism, working class organisation, strikes and other kindred subjects. In fact a common programme was devised by the settlements in Paris and published on March 21st, 1903. Signed by Madame la baronne Piérard, wife of a monarchist ex-Député and president of Oeuvre Sociale, the programme included this general statement of purpose:

"Quelques femmes, pénétrées de la nécessité, tous les jours plus pressante, de l'action sociale, et ardemment désireuses d'établir entre elles et les travailleurs des liens vivants de solidarité, ont résolu de réunir dans une vaste organisation, analogue aux settlements anglais, toutes les branches de la mutualité et de l'assistance. Elles ont créé la Maison Sociale, dont l'inspiration et la direction sont absolument indépendantes de toutes les associations politiques ou religieuses, de toutes les ligues et de tous les partis.

"Le groupe fondateur de la Maison Sociale s'est proposé, comme but, l'amélioration de la vie du

peuple à tous les degrés, par la pénétration mutuelle des classes. La Maison Sociale reçoit et surveille l'enfant hors de l'école (garderies scolaires, abri social de l'enfance), facilite aux jeunes gens l'apprentissage et les prépare à la vie professionnelle (enseignement pratique, cours techniques élémentaires), accueille et seconde les mères de famille (conseille des femmes), cherche des emplois aux ouvriers sans travail (placement gratuit), procure l'assistance médicale et judiciaire (consultations gratuites), rapproche dans des réunions familières tous les travailleurs, ouvriers, employés, étudiants (cours du soir, conférences sociales, cercles, bibliothèques populaires), développe la mutualité sous toutes ses formes (prêts gratuits, livrets, retraites, etc..), en un mot, s'efforce à résoudre les questions sociales par l'union intime et féconde de tous les éléments et de toutes les classes du peuple français." ("La Maison Sociale, communication faite à la Société d'économie sociale" 1903) [3]

That the manifesto disavowed any connection with religious bodies is directly attributable to the Combes legislation referred to above. However, the fact that the settlements were clearly being used as a vehicle for the redeployment of energies formerly channelled through the religious communities, and this against a backcloth of bitterly divided public opinion over the position of the Church in society, meant that the Maison Sociale experiment lived under the constant threat of extinction. Although it left an enduring legacy, the movement itself came to an abrupt end in 1909 mainly as the result of a bizarre case involving both civil and ecclesiastical courts.

The case concerned Jeanne Bassot, daughter of one of the most eminent generals in the French army, who had broken

free from the strict confines of middle class family life and spent five years working as one of the more militant members of the settlement movement. Madame Bassot, no longer able to tolerate the independent life style of her daughter, arranged for her to be kidnapped and taken to an asylum for the insane in Switzerland in July, 1908. The clinic in question found her to be of sound mind and her lawyer in Paris lodged a complaint of unlawful abduction. Her father, in turn, brought charges of false mysticism and heresy against the leaders of the Maison Sociale, and Mère Mercédès in particular.

Given the potential anticlerical content of the case, it is perhaps not altogether surprising that Bassot engaged the services of the lawyer Maître Labori who had previously defended both Dreyfus and Zola. Whereas, however, in these previous cases the defence of individual freedoms had been the principal issue at stake, in this instance the main assault was essentially mounted against the Church. Indeed Labori refrained from attacking the settlements themselves, focussing his attention rather on the dominant rôle played by the Church in their administration and ideological orientation. After a series of lengthy and fraught courtroom battles Jeanne Bassot won no more than a pyrrhic victory. A token fine of one franc was imposed on her parents and even this sentence was suspended, the judgment representing a defeat for the Catholics and an implicit rejection of the values which had motivated her to become part of "l'élite des féministes catholiques pour lesquelles la famille n'est plus une fin en soi ni la volonté des parents un absolu". (Guerrand & Rupp) [4]

The outcome of this legal action was that the Maison Sociale lost its credibility, its members and its revenue. In 1901-1902 the budget of the Ménilmontant

centre had been 17,312.90F, comprising subscriptions paid by those making use of its facilities, donations from well-wishers and the lodging allowance paid by its resident workers. After the court proceedings the budget of this and the four other centres which had been established in Paris dwindled to almost nothing and on October 19th, 1909 the managing committee of the Maison Sociale announced the final dissolution of the movement.

"Le Comité, après avoir pris connaissance de la situation actuelle, considérant l'opposition faite à la maison sociale, déclare se refuser à laisser plus longtemps dénaturer son action. En conséquence, le comité prononce la dissolution de l'association et la fermeture des maisons sociales, rejette la responsabilité de l'effondrement de cette oeuvre essentiellement populaire sur les calomniateurs et exprime à la classe ouvrière des cinq quartiers de Paris où étaient établies des maisons sociales, sa douleur d'abandonner les garderies d'enfants et de la priver de ces centres de réunion et de travail. Avant de se séparer, les membres du comité, à l'unanimité, renouvellent à Madame Le Fer de la Motte, leur secrétaire générale, l'expression de leur profonde estime et de leur indignation contre les inqualifiables calomnies dont elle a été l'objet." (formal announcement of dissolution 1909) [5]

In a sense Mlle Bassot had been condemned for challenging the norms of nineteenth century family life and the settlement movement had suffered extinction for its rôle in facilitating this challenge. More importantly, perhaps, from an historical point of view, the Maison Sociale had fallen foul of the anticlericalism of the period which was determined that either the "pénétration mutuelle des classes" was impossible or it could be achieved through the intervention of the State alone.

Nonetheless one contemporary, albeit somewhat partisan, journalist had written of the experiment in La femme contemporaine (1905),

"C'est la maison amie du peuple qui n'a ni le faste du palais offert par un philanthrope, ni la froideur d'un bâtiment administratif..... A l'avare charité de la visite, au voyage du quartier riche au quartier pauvre, à l'aumône d'une heure prise dans une vie distraite par mille autres soucis, on a substitué un admirable appareil de solidarité." 6

What is more, even if the Maison Sociale had never attained the scale of the "vaste organisation" which had been projected in its own programme, the affiliated centres had supplied a practical training ground in social service both for the daughters of the Catholic bourgeoisie and for other young women who would previously have performed charitable works as members of religious communities.

More structured and rigorous forms of training were, however, introduced in the years prior to the First World War under the aegis of both Catholic and Protestant Churches, although protected under the law by registration within the terms of the loi sur les associations of 1901. In 1911 the Ecole Normale Sociale was established by the Catholics under the directorship of Andrée Butillard (1881-1955), one of the leading advocates of social action for women. Its stated objectives were, "susciter, former des élites sociales féminines dans tous les milieux sociaux, pour une action large, compétente, éclairée, qui tende à établir l'ordre social chrétien." 7 The Protestants followed this initiative two years later when Pasteur Paul Doumergue

created the Ecole Pratique de Service Social. Doumergue had already been actively concerned in the propagation of Christian ideas about social issues and, to this end, had launched the periodical Foi et Vie in 1898.

That the creation of the two schools was separated by such a short interval largely reflects the desire of the Protestants to emulate the more powerful and influential church. It may also well be the case that the adoption of different approaches to education for social service reflected an accurate perception of the respective rôles of the Churches in French society. Whereas the Ecole Normale was concerned with creating élites to take up posts of public responsibility and social service administration, the Ecole Pratique showed more interest in the detailed study of social conditions amongst the most disadvantaged. Their lecture courses dealt with working class housing conditions, public health problems in the poorer districts of Paris and the organisation of the cooperative movement as a remedy to some of the difficulties encountered by the poor.

Although neither of these schools was the first in the field of education for social service, they proved to be more enduring than their fairly ephemeral precursors and still operate as major centres of social work training in Paris.

Translations

1. "The charity which is offered indiscriminately and thoughtlessly at the gates of abbeys and priories goes to those who have no need of it as well as to the destitute, the genuine poor consequently

receiving little by way of relief. Such distribution encourages a large number of individuals to come from as much as two or three leagues away to get their share; they leave their work from which they would have drawn greater profit and these riotous gatherings give rise to much quarrelling and disorderly conduct, most of those living in the vicinity of these abbeys being enabled by the giving of alms to live in idleness and indolence."

2. "the merging of the social classes, the moral regeneration of the people, reconciliation between the poor and the rich and the social harmony so vainly sought in the past."

3. "A number of women, convinced of the ever more urgent need for social action, and fervently desiring to create living bonds of solidarity between themselves and the working class have committed themselves to the unification in a wide-ranging organisation, comparable to the English settlement movement, of all branches of mutual aid and social assistance. They have established the Maison Sociale, of which the inspiration and the management are totally independent of all political and religious organisations, and of all leagues and parties.

The founding group of the Maison Sociale has set itself the objective of enhancing the lives of people of all degrees through the mixing of the social classes. The Maison Sociale takes in and supervises children out of school (supervision before and after school hours, child care facilities), opens up opportunities of apprenticeship for young people and prepares them for working life (practical training, elementary technical classes), opens its doors to and provides help for mothers (women's counselling service), seeks work for the unemployed (free placement service), arranges medical and

legal advice (free consultations), brings together in informal encounters all categories of employees, workers, labourers, students (evening classes, social gatherings, discussion circles, people's libraries), works for the development of all forms of mutual aid (interest free loans, savings schemes, retirement pension schemes, etc..), in a word, endeavours to resolve social problems through the intimate and fruitful union of all elements and classes of the French people."

4. "the élite of catholic feminists for whom the family is no longer an end in itself, nor the will of parents an absolute."

5. "The Committee, having considered the present situation, in view of the opposition mounted against the maison sociale, declares its resolve no longer to permit its work to be misrepresented. Consequently, the committee announces the winding-up of the association and the closure of the maisons sociales, places the responsibility for the collapse of this essentially popular movement firmly on the shoulders of its detractors and expresses to the working class of the five districts of Paris where the maisons sociales were established its sadness that the crèches and the centres where we have met and worked together should have to be abandoned. Before disbanding, the committee members, in complete unanimity, wish to express once again to Madame Le Fer de la Motte, the general secretary, their profound esteem and their deep indignation over the unspeakable calumnies which have been heaped upon her."

6. "It is the house of friendship for the people which has neither the splendour of the palace offered by a philanthropist nor the chill of an administrative building.....In place of the parsimonious

charity of the visit, the journey undertaken from a rich area to a poor one, the alms- giving of one hour taken out of a day replete with a thousand other concerns, there has been substituted an admirable system of solidarity."

7. "to create and to train female élites in all social milieux to engage in wide-ranging, capable and enlightened action for the establishment of a Christian social order."

CHAPTER 2: Demographic Factors and the Influence of War

In the broadest of terms the French could be said to have followed the same course of population change as that which has occurred in Britain over the last two centuries. Both countries have experienced population growth and the processes of urbanisation and ageing, not to mention fairly substantial immigration. As already suggested, however, the differences between the British and French patterns of demographic change during the period of industrialisation have been substantial. They might be considered more important than the similarities, at least as far as social policy is concerned.

Thus, whereas in Britain a small population and a slow rate of growth in the eighteenth century gave way to high fertility and a large and youthful population in the first three quarters of the nineteenth, in France a relatively large population in 1800 was augmented by a somewhat sluggish natural increase which it has proved difficult to stimulate, in spite of efforts directed to that end.

Table 2

Population 1800-1970: France and Britain (millions)

	1800	1850	1900	1910	1920	1939	1950	1970
France	26.9	36.5	38.4	39.2	38.7	41.2	41.4	50.6
Britain	10.9	20.9	36.9	40.8	42.8	46.4	48.8	54.5

(INSEE & OPCS)

The comparative stability of the French population has been disturbed primarily by the death toll and the consequences for fertility of war, the First World War in particular. It has responded, however, only slowly and belatedly to the less exceptional forces that are normally associated with the emergence of industrial societies. The rapid and large scale urbanisation which was at once consequence and cause of the British demographic explosion of the last century has been a recent phenomenon only in France. This has been largely because of the tenacity with which peasant farmers and artisans have clung to their traditional livelihoods, linked to the tardiness of the process of modernisation and rationalisation of the agricultural system.

Table 3a

French Farmland in Large and Small Units (% of total)

Size of Holding	1955	1971	1981
less than 20 hectares	40.0	26.0	18.4
more than 50 hectares	25.0	36.0	44.4

(Albertini, J. M. L'Economie Française 1978; INSEE Tableaux de l'Economie Française 81)

Table 3b

Size of Farms in France (%s of total holdings)

Hectares	1960	1978
1- 5	26.2	19.6
5-10	21.2	15.0
10-20	26.7	21.6
20-50	20.5	30.8
50+	5.5	13.0

(INSEE Tableaux de l'Economie Française 81)

Much of France's early urban industrial plant was manned by immigrant labour rather than by indigenous French workers. What is more, as Table 4 demonstrates, ethnic minority groups have continued to figure rather more prominently in the country's population than in that of the United Kingdom ever since the latter years of the nineteenth century. The arrival of these minority groups over the years has had a number of important consequences, not least of which has been that of attenuating the ageing of the population. Although this process has taken place more gradually in France than in Britain in the twentieth century, because the sharp fall in our fertility rate in the 1870's was not experienced in France, it has nonetheless occasioned much concern among policy makers.

Table 4

Foreign Nationals Resident in France

Origins	1901	1921	1946	1975
European	984,542	1,403,629	1,547,286	2,090,235
African	1,150	37,666	54,005	1,192,300
Asian	4,748	28,972	69,741	116,915
Other	43,431	29,410	21,653	30,515
Percentage of popn.	2.69	3.94	4.38	6.54

(INSEE Données Sociales 1981)

1750 - 1914: An overview of population trends

The demographic transition in France, from high fertility and mortality to low birth and death rates, began earlier than in Britain and has been marked by fewer dramatic fluctuations. Comparative statistics available for the mid-eighteenth century (quoted in Lévy 1982) show that France, with some twenty four million inhabitants, was second only to the Russian Empire (with approximately twenty five million) and that it far surpassed the Austro-Hungarian Empire (sixteen million), Britain (ten million) and Spain (nine million). Méthivier (1961), amongst others, helps to account for the healthy state of the French population by drawing attention to the two preceding centuries of improvements in public health and in the methods of production and distribution of foodstuffs under the Ancien Régime. Lévy goes so far as to suggest that in the middle to late 1700's France might almost be considered to have been over-populated by contemporary standards. Emigration occurred, largely to Québec and the islands of the West Indies, and was seen as a necessary means not only of maintaining French influence in such places but also of relieving pressure on scarce resources at home. The domestic population remained, however, substantial enough to guarantee a position of political and military dominance which could only effectively be ended by the combined action of other European powers in the early years of the nineteenth century. It may not be too fanciful to suggest that a nostalgia for this period has made its own contribution to persistent anxieties in France over the subsequent course of demographic change, and it certainly stands to be contrasted sharply with the period prior to the outbreak of the 1914 War. At this time the French population, standing at just under forty two million, had been overtaken by that of the United Kingdom and that of

Germany, even when the territory of France was defined by its 1919 frontiers.

Table 5

Population Structure in Three Countries (1911)

By age and sex (per 1000 popn.)

	Total (millions)	0 - 19 M	0 - 19 F	20 - 50 M	20 - 50 F	60 & over M	60 & over F
France	39.23	170	169	264	271	57	69
Germany	58.50	220	217	237	245	35	44
G. B.	40.80	201	200	247	276	38	47

(Armengaud, A. Population in Europe 1700-1914 [Cipolla, 1973])

France proved to be unique among the powerful nations of Europe in that it shrank from entering the industrial "age of the masses" with the kind of enthusiasm evinced by its competitors.

It is difficult to account with any degree of certainty for this sharp reversal in France's demographic fortunes, but a number of contributory factors have been suggested. Lévy, in his discussion, acknowledges the problems involved in going beyond speculation, but notes two developments which had already taken place by the latter years of the reign of Louis XV. These were the postponement of marriage in the more affluent parts of France, occurring at the age of 24-27 for females compared with 16-18 in poorer areas such as the Mediterranean south, and the smaller completed family cohorts of 5-6 in the former as against 7-8 in the

latter. A pattern was beginning to be established which the revolution of 1789 would serve to accentuate. As far as Lévy is concerned the most potent factor in the reduction in fertility bore directly upon those classes that had achieved a fairly comfortable social and economic standing as a result of the powerful political position France had come to enjoy at this time. The affluent peasantry and the commercial petite bourgeoisie pursued actively a "stratégie d'ascension sociale" and saw the limitation of family size as the most effective way of consolidating, and if at all possible enhancing, the social and material gains they had already secured for themselves.

"Pour ces catégories, la question centrale était celle de l'établissement des enfants, acquisition d'un fonds agricole ou commercial pour les garçons, mariage et dot des filles. Dans cette 'stratégie' d'ascension sociale, mieux vaut n'avoir pas trop d'enfants." (Lévy 1982) [8]

A powerful support to this economic rationale for family limitation is referred to by Fohlen (1973) in his discussion of the same issue. He points out that there was no real equivalent in France of the English enclosure movement of the eighteenth century largely because of policies pursued by the Monarchy which effectively preserved the rights of small tenant farmers. They became regarded as de facto owners of the land they worked, and the 1789 revolution transformed the de facto owner into a de jure owner, thereby contributing to the persistence of small scale agriculture as the dominant form. In these circumstances the small family represented the only way of avoiding excessive subdivision of already small units of land on the proprietor's death, since the Code Napoléon required that

the immediate descendants of the legator share his bequest equally.

If it were possible to consider nineteenth century France without regard to the international context in which it found itself, one characterised by rapid industrialisation and the assertion of national identity and power, the country's early adoption of a pattern of slow demographic evolution might be seen as beneficial in some respects. If, for instance, the French had experienced the same pace of population growth as occurred in Britain in the 1800's what was already a volatile and politically unstable century would in all probability have been even further perturbed and subject to even greater social tensions. As it was, however, by the latter stages of the century the interests of the State were becoming increasingly ill-served by the low fertility of its people and the concern of the State came increasingly to be expressed by those with an interest in influencing and making social policy. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870, provoked as it was by the diplomatic ineptitude of the Emperor Louis Napoléon, revealed how ill-equipped the French were to defend their own territory when compared with the emergent German State whose population not only grew vigorously throughout the nineteenth century but also, by virtue of this growth, could supply large numbers of young men for military service. Magraw (1983) sums up the experience of 1870 in the following terms:

"The decaying régime blundered into a fatal 'prestige' war with barely 235,000 men mobilized against an enemy with huge trained reserves....The war....proved an unmitigated disaster both for the régime and for the French army."

The lesson of France's territorial vulnerability began to be learned and, although the war was followed by the election of a government of the liberal right, a programme of measures was enacted between 1874 and 1880 which represented a formal acknowledgment of the need for the State to intervene in social and economic affairs on behalf of children. These initiatives, albeit tentative and relatively ineffectual, at least recognised the needs of children deprived of a normal family life and imposed limitations on the exploitation of children in the labour force. They provided something of a foundation for the steps taken later not only to protect the young but also to promote family formation and encourage childbirth.

Such populationist social policies, the principal features of which have been generous benefits to families with dependent children, extensive social work and other support services to these families and a highly developed pre-natal and child health care service, have occupied an increasingly prominent place in social planning since the beginning of this century. They have, however, proved less than adequate to counteract the damage inflicted by two world wars and the continuing "refus de la famille nombreuse". By the outbreak of the Second World War the population stood at forty two million and by the early 1980's at around fifty four million, and the report of the Commission de la Protection Sociale et de la Famille (1980) clearly demonstrates that what was already a considerable source of concern a hundred years earlier still loomed large in the thinking of those responsible for the framing of policy recommendations.

"Ce n'est pas l'idéologie ou la mode qui remettent la politique en faveur de la famille au premier rang de l'actualité, c'est la situation démographique. Même si cette politique a des ambitions plus larges,

puisqu'elle concerne l'ensemble des familles, et tient compte de situations spécifiques - comme celles des familles en détresse ou des parents isolés - l'examen des causes de la dénatalité doit constituer le point de départ de la réflexion et donc des améliorations à apporter en priorité au système d'aide aux familles." [9]

Under the sub-heading 'Une Situation Préoccupante'[10] the members of the commission go on to say:

"La situation préoccupante que connaît la France depuis plusieurs années tient d'abord à une baisse sensible de la fécondité, qui n'assure plus le renouvellement des générations. Mais le plus inquiétant est peut-être que cette baisse affecte les naissances de tous rangs (y compris premier et deuxième) et qu'elle se conjugue avec l'arrêt de l'immigration et le vieillissement de la population." [11]

They point out, furthermore, that even during the period 1950-1975, when there was an acceleration in the rate of population growth, some two thirds of the growth that occurred was attributable to the combined effects of immigration and the increased longevity of the native French.

The First World War

For all that low fertility had been the norm in France for two centuries, the commission's preoccupation with the subject might not have been so great if it had not been for the profound and enduring impact on the country and its people of the war of 1914-1919. It is because the First World War had a great many repercussions, and not only in terms of the very substantial numbers of

deaths and mutilations it directly caused, that a separate section is devoted to it here.

The demographic impact of the war may be summarised under military and civilian headings, in as far as these can be adequately differentiated. In the former case those directly affected were, of course, male and in the economically active age range; in the latter all remaining sections of French society were touched either directly or indirectly by the fighting.

Military Casualties

In the course of the war some eight and a half million men served in the French army, the overwhelming majority of whom (approximately eight million) were of metropolitan as opposed to colonial origins. (Armengaud 1977) Estimates of the numbers of soldiers lost during the conflict vary, but perhaps the most authoritative source is the Statistique médicale de l'Armée which puts the total number of deaths and men disappearing without trace at 1,325,000. This total is broken down into the following categories:

killed under fire	675,000
disappeared/taken prisoner	225,000
fatally wounded	250,000
died as a result of illness	175,000

Of the nations caught up in the war France came second only to Romania in the proportion of the active male population lost (10.5%) and the death or disappearance of 17.6% of all those actually mobilised was exceeded in the cases of Serbia and Romania only.

Over and above the numbers actually killed in combat, the Statistique médicale de l'Armée also reports that at least three million men were wounded in battle between August 1914 and November 1918. Although the seriousness of the injuries varied considerably, more than a million were officially designated 'invalides de guerre' after the war and, of these, 228,500 were deemed to be at least 50% disabled. Whether disability resulted from the loss of a limb, other forms of injury, or illness contracted during the war, the net outcomes were the same: a loss of earning capacity on the part of the individuals concerned, a hampering of the country's reconstruction in the post-war years, and a heavy burden of war pensions paid not only to the disabled but also to those who had been widowed and orphaned. In purely demographic terms, of course, those who survived either mutilated or sick served to swell the morbidity and mortality statistics whilst being debarred from or rendered less eligible for marriage. As Cobban writes (1965),

"It is tempting to trace the economic malaise of France between the wars to the effects of the First World War. Approximately 1,300,000 Frenchmen had been killed, apart from the injured, and France seemed a nation of old men, widows and mutilés de guerre. This was partly the reason why, by 1938, it had 140 persons per 1000 over 60, compared with, say, Holland's 94; and why the death rate was 150 per 10,000 as against 107 in the United States and 117 in the United Kingdom. By 1939 the population of France was practically what it had been in 1913, and even this figure had only been reached with the aid of massive immigration."

The Civilian Population

The death and disablement of very considerable numbers of young males obviously had important and immediate implications in terms of marriage and fertility rates in the short run. As Cobban suggests, however, there were equally clear and at least equally important long term implications of the war. This section will deal briefly with some of the less direct results of the war as far as rates of marriage, fertility and death are concerned, and the next with patterns of migration affecting non-combatants. The sharp decline in the first two of these contributory factors, coupled with an increase in the third, played their part in a net natural loss of population which Armengaud (1977) estimates at two and a half million between the census years of 1911 and 1921. The fourth factor mentioned involved, amongst other things, an acceleration in urban growth, which prior to 1914 had been relatively moderate.

In the seventy seven departments which remained free of German occupation during the war the marriage rate stood at 149/10,000 in 1913. This figure fell to 102/10,000 the year after and 45/10,000 in the following year, couples who had not deliberately postponed marriage until the end of hostilities being effectively prevented from marrying by the sheer fact of military service and separation. From 1915, however, the rate began to increase again, albeit slowly, reaching 66/10,000 in 1916, 97/10,000 in 1917 and 109/10,000 in 1918, this change being attributable to a growing awareness that hostilities would carry on longer than had at first been anticipated, as well as to the introduction of a system of regular leave entitlements for combatants in 1915. In 1919, with the return of peace, the marriage rate rose to 280/10,000, a level which might have been expected to be

considerably higher had there not been such a substantial death toll amongst the armed forces.

Given that the number of illegitimate births declined only very slightly during the war (from 50,700 in 1913 to 43,000 in 1916), it is evident that the principal causes of the low fertility of 1914-1919 were the reluctance or inability of couples to marry and the limitation of fertility within marriages. Table 6 shows that the birth rate almost halved between 1913 and 1916 and recovered only slowly to about two thirds of its pre-war level by 1919.

Table 6

Birth Rate in France (1913-1919)

	Live Births (000's)	Births per 10,000 popn.
1913	604.8	182
1914	593.8	179
1915	387.0	116
1916	313.0	95
1917	342.5	105
1918	399.5	122
1919	403.5	126

(Armengaud, A. La Population Française au XX^{e} Siècle)

Thus the First World War gave added impetus to a process which had been under way for some considerable time

already. As suggested, to lower rates of marriage as a factor in natural population decline must be added the low fertility rate within established marriages. For every thousand married women between the ages of fifteen and forty nine an annual average of 112 children were born in the years 1911-1913, whereas the average figure for 1914-1919 was 74/1000. Both of these stand to be compared with a figure of 172/1000 in 1870.

Mortality in the non-occupied departments, although less dramatically affected than fertility, nonetheless showed a tendency to increase during the war years. The figures quoted in Table 7 compare non-combatant death rates for these departments from 1914-1919 with the death rate for the whole of the French population in 1913 and include, in the former case, therefore, not only deaths occurring among the normal civilian population but also those of refugees from occupied areas and of troops away from the theatres of operations.

Table 7

Civilian Death Rate in France (1913-1919)

	Total Deaths (000's)	Deaths per 10,000 popn.
1913	587.4	177
1914	623.8	207
1915	617.3	210
1916	575.0	198
1917	583.0	202
1918	722.3	246
1919	617.5	193

(Armengaud, A. La Population Française au XX^{e} Siècle)

The substantial increase in 1918 was largely attributable to the outbreak of 'Spanish' influenza which increased mortality from that specific cause to 312/10,000 against a normal annual average of 15/10,000. The first two years of the war saw a significant rise in deaths from typhoid, but the spread of vaccination helped to curb this trend from 1916 onwards.

The debilitating effects of protracted warfare were starkly reflected in the infant mortality rates which, having been in decline since the turn of the century, rose from 118/1000 live births per annum in 1910-1914 to an average level of 128/1000 between 1915 and 1919. The largest increase took place from 1917, the result of inadequate levels of milk production and the employment of more and more women in the armaments factories as well, of course, as the influenza outbreak of the following year. If the same comparison is made, between pre-war and wartime infant mortality rates, for Britain and Germany, a very different picture emerges. In both countries the success achieved in reducing the incidence of infant deaths prior to 1914 was maintained throughout the war, largely because of the more effective social policy initiatives taken in respect of both general health care and services specifically for the welfare of mothers and infants. Overall, then, the excess of deaths over births, leaving aside military casualties, served to confirm France's demographic weakness when set against its main European competitors.

Migration and the 1914-1919 War

The war had important consequences, in both the short and the long term, for migration affecting the French population. During the war itself mobilisation, the

demand for labour in the munitions factories and the flight from the occupied zones together made for very substantial internal migration, on a scale indeed to which the French, unlike the British, had been totally unaccustomed. Urban growth and the growth of urban problems were just two of the outcomes of this upheaval. As far as immigration is concerned, the shortfall in the native population, to which the war made a significant contribution, furnished a demand for immigrant labour which was readily supplied by other European nations as well as by the French colonies.

Internal migration had taken place in France before 1914, but on nothing like the scale that had happened in other countries undergoing industrial development. Stone (1984) refers to "a flight from the land - perhaps 800,000 in the later 1870's and rather less than that in the later 1890's," but he also points out that the subdivision of land holdings throughout the nineteenth century had supplied the "republicans' dream" of a vigorous peasant economy consisting of small plots worked by farmers and their families. Between 1826 and 1881 the number of separate farming units increased from 10,290,000 to 14,300,000 and from 1882 to 1908 the amount of land in properties of forty or more hectares fell from 22,000,000 hectares to 16,300,000 as smaller units took over its ownership and management. Whereas in Britain, by 1908, half the country was owned by 2184 land proprietors, each possessing more than five thousand acres, in France 50,000 owners with 250 or more acres each owned no more than a quarter of the territory. For the most part, therefore, the French population was relatively immobile. By the outbreak of the war two Frenchmen in five lived directly from agriculture and a further one in five lived from supplying the needs of farmers. Only one person in every twenty lived outside

the department of his birth, compared with one in seven even in a quite backward country like Russia, and France had substantially less experience of the problems created by rapid urban development than a country such as Britain, for example.

In short, the French were ill-prepared for the massive disruption of the stability they had previously enjoyed.

Apart from the eight million drafted for military service, the most intimately affected by the war were those living in the ten departments occupied by the Germans and in the battle zones themselves. In the former case almost half the population had been lost through migration by the time of the Armistice. In the latter a process of almost total depopulation occurred, the 1,726,000 inhabitants recorded at the Census of 1911 being reduced to 240,000 by the end of hostilities. The repopulation of these areas took place only slowly after the war, as the refugees returned and immigrants both from other parts of France and from abroad began to arrive. The overall deficit in those areas which had been battle zones was still of the order of 166,000 by 1926 and many communes in la Meuse, la Marne and l'Aisne were left completely deserted.

If such areas were depressed as a result of substantial population loss, many of the larger urban centres, and particularly those where the munitions factories had grown up, attracted population and had, in the difficult circumstances of wartime, to respond to the social problems presented by migration. The urban populace in 1911 represented 44% of the total, but by 1921 this had risen to 46.4% of, it should be remembered, a rather smaller total population. Although statistically a small increase, this must be regarded as a significant one,

especially as it entailed the advent of a large new female contingent in the urban industrial workforce.

Between 1911 and 1918 the population of Lyons rose from 524,000 to 740,000; Bordeaux from 262,000 to 325,000; Toulouse and Saint-Etienne from 150,000 to 210,000 and Bourges, developed as a major arms manufacturing centre, from 40,000 to 130,000. (Guerrand & Rupp 1978) The total number of women employed in factories supplying military hardware grew from 135,873 in 1916 to 358,093 in the following year and peaked at 420,000 the year after. Women of child-bearing years, often with young children of their own, they worked shifts of at least ten hours, their housing conditions were very poor and at work there were no facilities provided either for themselves or for their children. A particular concern with the conditions of life and work of those to be responsible for restoring France's demographic fortunes after the war, allied to a more general desire to motivate the civilian workforce as a whole, led to a series of welfare measures which were to have long lasting consequences.

Just as the First World War helped to stimulate urban growth, so it also provided a spur to immigration into France. This was not a new phenomenon and throughout the nineteenth century, particularly from 1850 onwards, fairly substantial numbers of nationals of other countries settled in the country. They grew in total from about 100,000 in 1800 to 380,000 in 1851 and 1,113,000 by 1891, and in the years immediately prior to the war the annual rate of immigration was of the order of 30,000 people.

Immigrants were strongly represented in some important basic industries. In 'Le Travailleur Socialiste' (16/12/1911), for example, Marcel Cachin reported that in

Meurthe-et-Moselle, which produced approximately 80% of France's cast iron, rather less than 20% of the employees in that industry were of French extraction, the overwhelming majority of the men being Germans, Luxembourgeois, Bulgarians, Romanians and Italians. "Les hommes ont tous l'air de déracinés." Immigrants uprooted from a large number of other European countries provided grist to the industrial mill in Meurthe-et-Moselle as in many other areas experiencing the modernisation of production. What is incontestable is that immigrant industrial workers lived in extremely poor material conditions and that they were exposed to considerable hostility on the part of the host community. Serge Bonnet ("L'Homme de Fer" Nancy 1976) quotes the following comment made by the founder of a welfare agency for Italian migrants, l'Oeuvre d'assistance aux Italiens émigrés, in 1912:

"Dans les chambres où au maximum pourrait être mis deux lits, vivent accumulés 8, 9 et même 10 individus. A cette situation profondément triste s'ajoute, en Lorraine française, la haine de la population pour les Italiens, considérés comme des êtres inférieurs." [12]

Like other European countries, France made use of immigrant labour to make good the shortfall in its own labour supply and, this shortfall having been severely aggravated by the war of 1914-1919, the rate of immigration rose correspondingly. From 1921 to 1926 new arrivals, officially encouraged, entered France at an average of 200,000 persons per annum, with a predominance of Italians and Poles. Thereafter the rate declined and there was probably an actual net loss through migration with the economic crisis of the 1930's and the return home of many immigrants. Nonetheless, also like other

European nations, the French offered an ambivalent welcome only to those immigrants who came, and indeed attitudes towards minority groups in general have at times been extremely hostile, verging on the xenophobic. This, it will be recalled, was a factor in the fall of the oeuvre sociale.

This occurred in large measure as a result of the entrenched anti-semitism of the Catholic Church, which became a cause célèbre of the early twentieth century. An even more virulent anti-semitism provided part of the backcloth against which the family policy of the Vichy administration was carried through, and the post-war period has seen antipathy to North Africans reaching a peak at the time of the Algerian War, and towards all ethnic minorities during the period of growing unemployment from the mid-1970s onwards.

The necessary emergence of welfare agencies to protect and promote the interests of minority groups in the population has been a significant feature of twentieth century welfare provision. The organisation which has subsequently become most prominent in this field is the Service social d'aide aux étrangers (SSAE), which was founded in 1924. By 1980 this was represented in fifty French départements, some two thirds of its funding being supplied by the Ministère du Travail and much of its effort being focussed on the needs of black minority groups, the most prominent new arrivals in the period following the Second World War. Other agencies, such as the Service social familial nord-africain (SSFNA), which is active in the ten départements with the highest concentration of North African immigrants, have concentrated their efforts rather more. Laroque (1980) writes of some 180 organisations all told, operating at national, regional or local level and providing between

them services for around 500,000 members of ethnic minorities each year. He divides these bodies into two broad categories: those which provide services exclusively for immigrants and their dependants and those which serve whole neighbourhoods and have integration as their prime objective. In both categories youth clubs and social centres are typical activities, but in the former case home economics teaching, health education, information and advice giving and kindergartens figure prominently as services intended to meet the needs of minority groups.

The Visiteuses d'Hygiène

The work of the visiteuses developed very rapidly over the first forty years of the twentieth century. Although it would not be instantly recognised by British observers as social work, because of its marked orientation towards health care in both training and practice, it nonetheless provided one of the main growth points for social work practice during this period. Verdès-Leroux (1978), seeing the mutations in social work after 1918 in the context of confrontation between the middle class and a working class much weakened in the aftermath of the First World War, outlines the changes as she perceives them:

"Jusqu'en 1914, les résidentes attendaient que des volontaires de la classe ouvrière viennent se faire éduquer et moraliser dans des lieux qui lui étaient étrangers. En raison de la modification du rapport des forces, l'assistance sociale est entrée définitivement dans sa phase d'essor, d'implantation et de légitimation. "A la rencontre policée d'avant 1914 succède l'affrontement sans ménagements sur le terrain des dominés, l'usine ou la cité ouvrière. En quelques

années, le service social d'entreprise, celui des caisses de compensation de la région parisienne, celui des H.B.M. de la ville de Paris, celui de la caisse d'assurances sociales, etc., sont créés et la fonction d'assistante se diversifie: infirmière-visiteuse, surintendante d'usine, visiteuse-contrôleuse des assurances sociales, assistante polyvalente familiale. Cette multiplication des lieux d'intervention vise à permettre une emprise généralisée sur la vie quotidienne des classes populaires même si, dans les faits, l'emprise demeure très partielle." [13] (1978)

The emergence of social work into the community: its practice on the stamping grounds of a working class which had been decimated between 1914 and 1919 is incontestable. It is also the case that, with the exception of the short-lived Front Populaire of 1936, the governments of the inter-war years were more unequivocally right-wing and non-interventionist than reforming administrations had been in the pre-war period. The branches of social work referred to by Verdès-Leroux are, therefore, clearly susceptible to analysis within the parameters she proposes. The visiteuses d'hygiène differed from but at the same time complemented the surintendantes, in that the former constituted an essential part of a developing range of welfare services concerned first and foremost with monitoring standards of conduct and propriety in the home, the latter being more preoccupied with standards of compliance and productivity in the work place.

A major cause of concern in the early years of the twentieth century was the public health problem, tuberculosis in particular provoking anxiety, affecting as it did the badly housed and undernourished urban proletariat. Although an enactment in 1902 required that

communicable diseases be reported, tuberculosis was not included in its provisions and, therefore, went unchecked in the densely populated working class areas. The earliest responses to the problem were scattered and small in scale. A number of factors, however, contributed to a growing interest on the part of the State. Its funding of anti-tuberculosis initiatives, together with substantial American help during and after the First World War, led to a situation in which concern over this problem provided a major focus for the growth of social work between the wars, and for its acquisition of a medical orientation which was not shed until after 1945.

The first dispensary was opened by Dr Calmette in 1901. It was established in the city of Lille, where statistical records show that something of the order of 25% of all deaths at that time were attributable to tuberculosis, whilst approximately 6000 of its 220,000 population actually suffered from the disease.

Calmette realised that, in order to conduct in the workers' own homes the enquiries upon which a successful containment of the disease depended, it would be necessary to employ someone capable of relating to them on an equal footing. The former flax worker, a local man and a mutualist, chosen for the task largely on the basis of this ability, represented a rare exception to the general tendency at the time for comparable work to be undertaken by women of impeccable middle class origins.

Léonie Chaptal, however, conformed to the more normal pattern. Having decided at the age of twenty to dedicate herself to the well-being of working class families in the 14^{e} arrondissement of Paris, she opened the second dispensary there in 1903. In order to provide a more

effective service she underwent nursing training and, shocked by the inadequacy of the theoretical content of this formation as well as by the conditions in which nurses were expected to work, went on to establish her own centre of training, the maison-école d'infirmières privées, in 1905. Here the emphasis was on home visiting as opposed to nursing in an institutional setting, and her experience led Mademoiselle Chaptal to become the leading authority on the prevention and containment of tuberculosis, from which position she exercised considerable influence in the formulation of national policy decisions both during and after the First World War.

The need for the State to involve itself in anti-tuberculosis measures became evident from the early stages of the war, the trenches supplying even more favourable conditions for the spread of the disease than the slums, both urban and rural, from which the majority of the troops had been recruited. The creation of the Association des infirmières-visiteuses de France in February, 1914 provided a basis for the extension of the domiciliary nursing service and the legislation introduced by Léon Bourgeois in the same year and finally enacted in April, 1916, established the organisational context within which this extension could occur. The new statute, the drafting of which was contributed to by Léonie Chaptal in her capacity as a member of the Conseil supérieur de l'Assistance publique, required all départements to create dispensaries staffed by specialist nurses. It had been rendered particularly necessary by the introduction of a system of leave for the armed forces in 1915 and by the return of the men diagnosed as suffering from tuberculosis, both of these developments threatening to lead to further contamination of the civilian population.

In spite of efforts, under the gis of the Association des infirmières-visiteuses, to train the personnel needed by the dispensaires, the intervention of other agencies was required to provide the resources to undertake this task on a sufficiently large scale. Indeed, the already meagre nursing service to the civilian population had been severely depleted by the mobilisation of nurses to work in the military hospitals. American finance and other resources were supplied through the media of the American Field Service, from September 1914, the American Red Cross, from June 1917, and the Rockefeller Foundation, from 1918, the activities undertaken by all of these agencies having a cumulative effect which helped to shape public health policy and employment patterns in social work throughout the inter-war period.

The first intervention by the Americans in French health care consisted of the establishment of an ambulance service both in Paris and in the provinces. This was of significance in two ways: first, in that no previous attempt had been made to achieve anything resembling a coordinated service of this kind, and second, in that it paved the way for the installation of the other, similarly voluntary, American initiatives referred to. The American Red Cross, having established its headquarters in Paris, proceeded from June 1918 to create a central register of recipients of social aid, comparable to those which had already been in operation in the United States for some years. This move towards the unification and, as was its intention, the enhanced efficiency of social assistance echoed the aspirations of the Charity Organisation Society in Britain almost fifty years earlier. It also pointed the way towards the further rationalisation and more careful monitoring of aid and relief which came with the progressive bureaucratisation of welfare during the inter-war years.

The Rockefeller Foundation was perhaps the most important of the three agencies, providing the basis for the first nationally coordinated campaign against tuberculosis and financing training schemes which were inevitably to have enduring consequences. The Foundation established the Mission américaine de préservation contre la tuberculose which, between 1918 and 1923, conducted an intensive anti-tuberculosis campaign in two pilot areas: the nineteenth arrondissement of Paris and the département of l'Eure-et-Loir. Case records were maintained on all victims and a comprehensive health education programme was mounted, consisting of exhibitions, meetings and leafletting. It was the mission's contribution to the training of new personnel, however, which permitted the eventual fulfilment of the wartime government's commitment to the provision of a dispensary in each département. Its funding of the nursing schools throughout France permitted not only an increase in the number of qualified staff, but also an extension of the period of training to two years. In 1922, with the encouragement of Léonie Chaptal who had long been eager to see improvements in standards of nursing, the State decreed that this would be the norm for nursing studies, the first year being common to all students and the second spent either in a hospital or a community setting according to the career subsequently to be followed. The Rockefeller Foundation withdrew from France in the same year, handing over its work to the Comité national de défense contre la tuberculose. It had spent approximately two million dollars, achieved the creation of some five hundred clinics employing the same number of visiteuses and had seen the total student output increase very substantially. Whereas in 1918 only 45 infirmières-visiteuses received their diploma, by 1922 this had risen to 267, and by the following year the figure more than doubled to 559.

The problem of tuberculosis, although it provided the initial impetus for the development of the new service, was not by any manner of means the only problem of public health in the post-war years. A number of other factors contributed to a very high rate of child deaths, an issue which inevitably gave rise to much political concern, especially in view of the drive for population. The infant mortality rate was high overall and improving at a slower rate than that of either Germany or England.

Table 8

Birth, Death and Infant Mortality Rates (1910-1939)

	France	Germany	Eng./Wales	Scotland
1910-14:				
Birth Rate	18.8	28.2	24.2	25.9
Death Rate	18.2	16.6	13.8	15.3
I.M.R.	118.0	164.0	109.0	109.0
1915-19:				
Birth Rate	11.4	16.8	19.4	21.7
Death Rate	19.0	20.3	15.1	15.6
I.M.R.	128.0	148.0	97.0	106.0
1920-24:				
Birth Rate	19.8	23.2	21.4	24.3
Death Rate	17.2	13.9	12.2	14.0
I.M.R.	105.0	127.0	77.0	92.0
1925-29:				
Birth Rate	18.4	19.1	17.1	20.3
Death Rate	17.1	12.0	12.2	13.7
I.M.R.	96.0	98.0	71.0	87.0
1930-34:				
Birth Rate	17.0	16.3	15.3	18.6
Death Rate	15.7	11.0	12.0	13.2
I.M.R.	80.0	78.0	62.0	82.0
1935-39:				
Birth Rate	14.8	19.4	14.9	17.7
Death Rate	15.3	11.9	12.0	13.2
I.M.R.	70.0	72.0	56.0	76.0

(Compiled from data in Mitchell, 1974)

What is more, there was a very substantial variation by social class. In 1926 the global rate stood at 97.5/1000, but at 230.8/1000 for the children of families receiving poor relief. In the ten worst départements the figure for this latter group was 400/1000 or higher. One of the principal contributory factors was hereditary syphilis and a contemporary estimate set at 100,000 per annum the number of children under five who died as a result of this 'massacre des innocents'.

The Ligue contre la mortalité infantile of 1914-1918 and the Comité national de l'enfance, created in 1922, both sought to improve the health of mothers and children, the Seine office of the Comité employing forty visiteuses by 1933. Other initiatives taken after the First World War, with the encouragement of Dr Calmette, sought to install visiteuses in the schools with a view to linking medical inspection and home visiting. The spread of this service was somewhat uneven, however, and in 33 départements there had been no such development by 1927. None the less, the concern with the health of children did lead to the emergence of new settings and specialisms for the visiteuses, as well as leading them into areas of work in which the problems were at least as much social as medical. The sheer numbers of graduates produced by the newly-established écoles led to a situation in which most social workers in the inter-war years had started their careers as infirmières-visiteuses, training for this occupation providing the most readily available formally recognised qualification for those wishing to enter any form of employment akin to social work. Yvonne Kniebiehler (1980), commenting on the testimony of social workers of the period, upon which her book is based, says,

"En grande majorité les assistantes sociales de l'entre-

deux-guerres ont été d'abord infirmières-visiteuses. Le passage d'un métier à l'autre était facile. La jeune infirmière-visiteuse était parfois étroitement spécialisée à ses débuts: elle était visiteuse de la tuberculose ou de l'enfance (la spécialisation en vénérologie a été tardive, et rare); mais souvent aussi, elle s'était pourvue des deux spécialités, tuberculose et mortalité infantile: elle était alors polyvalente . Ses visites dans les familles lui révélaient bien vite que la maladie a presque toujours la misère pour origine, et que les cas médicaux sont en réalité des cas sociaux. Elle était donc conduite vers des tâches d'assistance. Elle recherchait alors une formation complémentaire, et le diplôme d'assistante sociale." [14]

Although, therefore, it was not until 1938 that a common diploma for social workers and health visitors provided a formal recognition of the links between the two areas of practice, the relationship between them had its origins some twenty years earlier, with the training initiative of the Rockefeller Foundation. Girard-Buttoz suggests, "Le passage par le diplôme d'infirmière reste le témoin des origines de la profession." [15](1982)

Translations

8. "For such groups the central issue was that of setting their offspring up in life, acquiring a capital stake in agriculture or commerce for the boys, marriage and dowry for the girls. In this 'strategy' of social ascent, it helped not to have too many children."

9. "It is neither ideology nor fashion which places family policy firmly in the forefront at the

present time, it is the demographic situation. Even if this policy has broader objectives, since it is concerned with all families and takes account of specific circumstances - such as those of families in distress or single parents - an examination of causes of the fall in the birth rate must be the point of departure both of our reflections and of the improvements which, as a matter of urgency, must be implemented in our system of assistance to families."

10. "A worrying state of affairs"

11. "The worrying situation that France has been aware of for several years arises primarily out of the perceptible fall in fertility, to a rate below that required to maintain population at its present level. But perhaps the most disturbing fact is that this decline affects the birth rate at all social levels and that it coincides with the ending of immigration and the ageing of the population."

12. "In rooms which could accommodate two beds at the most, 8, 9 or even 10 people are crowded together. To this profoundly disturbing situation must be added, in French Lorraine, the hatred felt for the Italians by the native population, who consider them to be inferior beings."

13. "Until 1914, the residents waited for representatives of the working class to volunteer themselves for education or moral instruction on premises which were alien to them. Because of the change in the balance of power, welfare work entered definitively into a period of expansion, establishment and legitimisation.

The civilised encounter of the pre-1914 years gave way to the unceremonious confrontation on the

territory of the underdogs, the factory or the workers' housing scheme. In the space of a few years social welfare schemes were established within industry, the compensation fund in the Paris region, the subsidised housing schemes in the city of Paris, the social insurance funds etc., and the function of the welfare worker became more diversified: health visitor, factory welfare officer, social insurance visiting officer, generic family worker. This proliferation of fields of intervention was intended to permit the exercise of a general influence over the daily lives of the working classes even though, in the event, this influence remained very incomplete."

14. "The great majority of social workers of the inter-war years were health visitors to begin with. The transition from the one profession to the other was straightforward. When starting out, the young health visitor was sometimes a narrow specialist: she worked with tuberculosis sufferers or children (specialisation in venereal diseases was slow to develop, and rare); but it was also quite common for her to be equipped to work in the two specialisms, tuberculosis and infant mortality: she was, therefore, multi-disciplinary . Her visits to families taught her very quickly that illness almost always stems from poverty, and that medical cases in reality are social cases. Consequently she found herself being guided towards social work tasks. She then sought supplementary training, and the social work diploma."

15. "A progression by way of the nursing diploma remains as witness to the origins of the profession."

CHAPTER 3: Economic Development

An assumption commonly made by observers of the French economy is that until the post 1945 period its rate of growth and industrial expansion were substantially less rapid than was the case in Britain. Indeed, according to the conventional indices of industrial development, this view seems to be borne out.

In Britain, for example, by 1911 49.4% of the economically active population were employed in either the manufacturing or construction industries, whereas the comparable figure for France was 34.4%. The equivalent figure for agriculture, forestry and fishing were 8.7% and 40.2% respectively. (Mitchell 1974) Magraw (1983) refers, as do many other writers, to the tendency of the French peasant to "cling to the land" and points out that the rural population declined at a very slow rate between the middle and the end of the nineteenth century - from 75% of the total population in 1846 to 59% in 1901. The rate of migration to the towns, far from accelerating, was at its lowest in the period 1880-1914, at some 143,000 per annum on average. These and a host of other statistics suggest strongly that France was ill-placed at the beginning of the twentieth century to compete in the modern world and to participate in the benefits of industrialisation, these latter including the social services, insurance-related income maintenance schemes and the other components of welfare capitalism which have accompanied the rationalisation and modernisation of production in Western European nations. They might also seem to suggest that the French were less likely to experience the transitional social problems attendant upon industrialisation in countries such as Britain which stimulated the growth of welfare programmes in the first

place.

Bergeron (1979), however, contests what he sees as the rather crude picture painted by such statistical data and asserts that the progress of industrial development in France does not stand to be compared directly with the British model. Indeed, he implies strongly, there is too great a readiness to assume, as in Tables 9 and 10, that measuring the credentials of another country's Industrial Revolution by reference to the hallmark supplied by the British standard format of industrialisation is a valid and worthwhile exercise.

Table 9

Some Indices of Industrial Development
France & Britain (1910-1939)

Industry	1910/14	1915/19	1920/24	1925/29	1930/34	1935/39
Pig Iron[1]						
(Fr)	4.30	1.40	5.00	9.50	7.20	6.70
(GB)	9.60	8.80	6.20	6.10	4.80	7.60
Steel[1]						
(Fr)	3.80	1.80	4.40	8.70	7.10	7.00
(GB)	7.30	9.10	7.20	7.80	6.80	11.80
Electricity[2]						
(Fr)	1.50	1.80	7.54	13.20	16.12	19.78
(GB)	1.40	2.60	9.55	14.39	20.00	31.26
Cotton[3]						
(Fr)	223.00	207.00	229.00	332.00	280.00	274.00
(GB)	900.00	792.00	629.00	698.00	546.00	590.00
Synthetic Fibres[4]						
(Fr)	2.90		6.00	11.00	24.00	32.00
(GB)	5.20		10.00	16.00	31.00	64.00

1. figures in million metric tons
2. figures in milliard kilowatt hours
3. raw cotton consumption in thousand metric tons
4. figures in thousand metric tons (1913, 1924, 1925/29, 1930/34, 1935/39)

Table 10

Economically Active Population by Sector (in '000s)

Sector		1911	1921
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	(Fr)	8572	9023
	(GB)	1606	1372
Extractive Industries	(Fr)	323	328
	(GB)	1210	1410
Manufacturing & Construction Industries	(Fr)	6685	6043
	(GB)	8263	7795
Commerce, Finance, etc.	(Fr)	2053	1803
	(GB)	896	2565
Transport & Communications	(Fr)	717	1185
	(GB)	1609	1570
Others Occupied	(Fr)	2659	3335
	(GB)	4760	4647

(Both tables compiled from data in Mitchell, 1974)

Bergeron supports his argument that the process of industrialisation may take different forms by drawing our attention to the fact that developing French industry relied to a far smaller extent than was the case in Britain on the device of concentrating its labour force into factories. Systems of work comparable to the cottage industry which was widespread in Britain in the

eighteenth and early nineteenth century persisted well into the twentieth century in France, and much industrial production which might otherwise have taken place in factories in the towns was carried out in rural locations in private homes or small workshops with a workforce of ten or fewer people. Those working in such circumstances would frequently depend in part on the exploitation of peasant smallholdings and would rely exclusively on such exploitation for subsistence during times of industrial recession. Consequently, for the purposes of official statistics, they would often be classified as agricultural rather than industrial workers. To this extent, Bergeron suggests, the impression created by official data on the distribution of the labour force may be somewhat misleading if taken as an indicator of the level of industrial development. The same point can equally be made, of course, in respect of the relative size of the rural and urban populations, the balance between which has reflected less sensitively in France than in Britain the balance between agricultural and industrial economic activity.

The conventional view that France simply lagged behind Britain in the development and application of new industrial techniques has also to be qualified if one considers the relative importance of different kinds and levels of industrial technology. Newer technologies, such as those involved in the chemical and automobile industries, enjoyed considerable success in France at an earlier stage than was the case in Britain. The chemical industry grew at an average rate of 5.9% between 1896 and the First World War and the production of automobiles, at 45,000 per annum in 1911-1912, was more than twice the British output and second only to the United States. In fact, since the French automobile manufacturers produced high quality models, "aimed at bourgeois markets" (Magraw

1983), the total value of their exports exceeded that of the American product. The Renault plant at Billancourt employed some 4000 workers at this time, but was very much among the minority of manufacturing enterprises, only 12% of the industrial workforce being employed in plants of 1000 or more workers. Although some centralisation of production did occur in French industry prior to the First World War, it was relatively limited: small firms without the resources to invest in new technology formed joint stock companies; some firms benefited directly from the armaments race; cartels were formed in basic industries like iron and steel, engineering and coal. It remained common practice to operate a dual structure in industry, not altogether unlike that which has characterised the Japanese economy, with large firms contracting out substantial parts of the production process to quite small workshops. Such a system, as Lévy-Leboyer points out (Mouvement Social 1974), made for adaptability and flexibility in response to changes in the market. Peugeot, for instance, made a rapid transition from textile production to bicycles and thence into automobile manufacturing, and, although France's participation in the first Industrial Revolution had been somewhat slow and spasmodic, the second wave of development saw her, by 1914, firmly established as one of the world's leading industrial powers.

For some purposes, therefore, the crude comparative measurements of the above tables may have to be interpreted with a degree of caution. They do, nonetheless, provide a basis upon which certain broad inferences may be drawn. In Britain, for example, by 1911 49.4% of the economically active population were employed in either the manufacturing or construction industries, whereas the comparable figure for France was 34.4%. The equivalent figure for agriculture, forestry

and fishing were 8.7% and 40.2% respectively. (Mitchell 1974) Magraw (1983) refers, as do many other writers, to the tendency of the French peasant to "cling to the land" and points out that the rural population declined at a very slow rate between the middle and the end of the nineteenth century - from 75% of the total population in 1846 to 59% in 1901. The rate of migration to the towns, far from accelerating, was at its lowest in the period 1880-1914, at some 143,000 per annum on average. These and a host of other statistics suggest strongly that France was ill-placed at the beginning of the twentieth century to compete in the modern world and to participate in the benefits of industrialisation, these latter including the social services, insurance-related income maintenance schemes and the other components of welfare capitalism which have accompanied the rationalisation and modernisation of production in Western European nations. They might also seem to suggest that the French were less likely to experience those transitional social problems, attendant upon industrialisation in countries such as Britain, which stimulated the growth of welfare programmes in the first place.

That the particular route taken to this destination did not conform precisely to the British model is, for the purposes of this paper, of little importance. What matters more is that the social problems created in the process differed rather in character from those experienced in Britain. The durability of the system of industrie en chambre implied the persistence of acute problems of exploitation amongst workers ill-placed to assert any claim to improved conditions and remuneration. Bergeron estimates that even by 1936 as many as a million women were still employed in small workshops, working in an unsatisfactory environment and receiving very low rates of pay. These latter in many ways stood in

greater need of the protection afforded by social policy than the workers in large enterprises where managements had in the quarter of a century or so prior to 1914 already begun to improve the terms of employment of the workforce. Insurance cover, retirement pensions and a range of other benefits for factory employees and their families were embarked upon before the State itself became involved directly in the promotion and regulation of such schemes. Martin (1983) suggests, à propos of the company insurance programmes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, that one of their principal purposes was to impose a measure of control and discipline on workers who, although skilled, may be unreliable and therefore disruptive to the work process, whilst exercising a corrupting influence over the more staid and dependable employees. He quotes from a piece by Fayard, published in La Réforme Sociale in April 1885, in which it is asserted,

"il s'agit ici de reconnaître moins l'habileté que le zèle, l'exactitude, le dévouement, la permanence. L'ouvrier habile est souvent indiscipliné et animé d'un mauvais esprit. C'est parfois la plaie de l'atelier." [16]

If the problem for the employer was to induct the skilled but potentially subversive worker into a moral order of discipline and regularity necessary for the smooth operation of the factory system, schemes of insurance came to be seen as a solution which might prove effective,

"Lentement, les libéraux vont entrevoir une solution: que les pauvres se constituent un droit et on sortira de ce système qui nourrit la pauvreté sans

l'éteindre; l'éducation et la morale sont des remèdes importants mais insuffisants. L'efficacité - mais aussi un nouveau rationalisme qui s'invente derrière les murs des usines - commande et impose d'autres solutions. Ainsi vont naître les systèmes assurantiels; en cotisant, tout homme qui travaille s'ouvrira des droits....." [17]

The opening up of rights through the medium of contributions would also, it was hoped, open up the way to a new conscientiousness among the work force in the factories where the example of fellow workers was of particular importance. Example, however, was of lesser consequence in work operations smaller in scale. What is more, the smaller the enterprise was, the more restricted were the resources it had available to establish insurance and related welfare programmes. The isolated, albeit numerous, travailleurs en chambre remained the least well provided for of all.

The general point might be made in this connection that, even if the needs of the French population in the throes of industrial development were not the same as those of their British counterparts because of the somewhat different form this development took, the needs of the emergent class of industrial entrepreneurs were very similar. Uppermost in their minds was the need for a disciplined and cooperative work force in those places where indiscipline and non-cooperation were likely to be most threatening to growth and profit: the factories.

If most of the rhetoric of social welfare prior to the First World War is concerned with the squalor and precariousness of the lives of the urban industrial working class, it must be remembered that a substantial majority of the economically active population did not in

fact belong to that class. The agricultural labourers and the widely dispersed body of home and sweatshop workers had their own problems of deprivation and exploitation to contend with, and the enlightened self-interest of employers in industry was of no particular relevance to their concerns. It was not until the advent of the Vichy administration in 1940 that, at least in the domain of social work, thought began to be given seriously and specifically to services for those who were not part of urban industrial society. Moreover, as will be seen in Chapters 7 and 8, this was more for ideological than for humanitarian reasons.

Of the structural changes in the French economy prior to 1914 and their implications for social policy then and in later years, the most important dimensions may perhaps be summarised briefly in the following terms. First, the foundations were being laid for a lasting partnership between the State and the leaders of industry in the funding and administration of social welfare schemes for industrial workers. A rationale for this partnership and its objectives was provided by the doctrine of solidarisme which comprised a fusion of moral and purely pragmatic considerations in the service, ultimately, of industrial and social harmony and progress. From the early experimental schemes of worker protection, embarked upon by isolated employers, more extensive coverage was gradually established under the stimulus of State intervention until eventually even the smaller enterprises were integrated into the system of social insurance and associated benefits. Representatives of the trade unions were involved in the administration of the funds, to complete the corporatist approach which has remained fundamental to French social policy ever since. Secondly, because of the particular blend of large and small scale enterprise on the one hand, and agricultural

and industrial types of economic activity on the other, social policy makers in France have been considerably less preoccupied with the problem of unemployment than have their British counterparts. Even during periods of acute depression in trade and industry the official unemployment statistics have remained low largely because of the tendency of workers in both artisanal and industrial sectors of the economy to withdraw into the agricultural hinterland of the peasant smallholding. It was not, in fact, until the oil crisis of the 1970's that unemployment came to be recognised as a structural problem in the French economy and effective measures began to be devised to come to grips with the social and material problems it provoked. In the meantime policy makers manifested a far greater concern over the feared shortfall in manpower due to slow population growth than over any failure in demand for labour.

The First World War itself had a number of very far reaching consequences in demographic, political and economic terms. The catastrophic death toll, helping to place population issues and populationist policies in the forefront of subsequent social policy, has already been discussed, as has the view of some observers (cf Guerrand & Rupp 1978) that the loss of working class lives contributed to a significant shift in the balance of power towards the State and away from organised labour. The means used by the State to secure greater control over economy and workforce in pursuance of the war effort itself will be outlined and commented on in the next section on the surintendantes d'usine. Each of these was to have an impact on the structure and practice of social work both during the war itself and in the years to follow. Two effects of the conflict on the economy of France which will be dealt with briefly here, however, are the damage directly inflicted on French industry and

the lack of vision and foresight of those responsible for the reconstruction process in the post-war period.

The index of industrial production in France stood at 99 in 1913, but had declined to 56 by 1919 (1937 = 100), according to Mitchell (1974). This stands to be contrasted with the relatively minor fall from 61 to 55 in the United Kingdom and, of course, reflects the fact that many major battlefields of the war were not only in French territory but, moreover, in those areas of the country close to the Belgian and German borders which were of particular importance for their industrial production. Between 1913 and 1915 alone, because of the invasion by German troops, steel production fell from 4.6 million tonnes to 1.1 million. The destruction of productive capacity was of greater significance than the loss of access and, in spite of wartime efforts to increase steel manufacturing in previously undeveloped areas, by the end of the war output was still below two million tonnes, less than half the 1913 level. Iron ore production, to take another example, even by 1921 had been restored to no more than 50% of the 1913 tonnage. In all, some 9300 factories were destroyed or damaged between 1913 and 1919 (Bouju & Dubois 1980) and a very extensive programme of reconstruction was necessary to replace lost industrial capacity as well as to make good housing shortages and restore agricultural land ravaged by the war.

As Fohlen points out (1976) the French response to the immense damage inflicted by the First World War was to attempt to reconstruct industry and the industrial infrastructure in the mould of the pre-war years, without reference to the changing needs of the country, nor to the demands of the new international economic climate. "The factories were rebuilt where they had stood before,

the collieries of the North were put back into production and new houses replaced the ones that had been destroyed.....the past served as a model for the future." As Alfred Sauvy put it, "By putting in new things in the old style, France in fact grew older overnight."

Increases in productivity occurred but the producers themselves, whether in coal, steel or textiles, were sheltered from the knowledge that these increases were not always to their advantage nor that of the economy in the long term by the use of tariff barriers insulating them both from the assault and from the growing problems of the world economy. If, for example, the official statistics are to be relied on to any degree, and some reservations have already been entered about this question, the mass unemployment which afflicted countries like Britain in the 1920's barely affected France. Inflation, however, did, but this was tolerated on the grounds that the very considerable post-war reparations payable by Germany could be relied on to compensate for its effects - an assumption that proved to be unwarranted.

The index of industrial production, having risen from 56 in 1919 to 123 in 1929, fell back throughout the 1930's as the global crisis finally began to impinge on the French economy from the spring of 1931. A valuable opportunity to remodel industry in the aftermath of the First World War had been lost and the net effect of developments in the inter-war years was that by the mid-1930's, when other nations were beginning to show signs of emerging from the depression, France managed only a very partial and rather artificial recovery. The country was ill-equipped to resist a second German assault. Moreover, the demoralisation of economic stagnation

helped to prepare the ground for the widespread adoption of extreme right-wing politics among those sections of the population, including notably the petit bourgeois, who had been among the principal victims of inflation. A basis was created in the 1930's for the populist appeal for a moral regeneration of French political, economic and social life which was advanced by the Vichy régime, and social work theoreticians and practitioners were to find themselves caught up, and actively participating, in the restoration of the country's national honour, guided by Maréchal Pétain and the values of Travail-Famille-Patrie. This theme will be elaborated on in a later chapter, but the essential point to be made here is that there had been complacency and lack of thought for the future on the part of successive governments, from that of Clémenceau until the arrival of the Front Populaire in May, 1936. Their failure to address fundamental economic problems helped to create a climate of opinion in which extreme nationalism was able to thrive, one in which the rather diffuse and insecure profession of social work was open to enlistment in support of a caricature of the broad ideals of home, family and social responsibility which had been central to the ideology of social service since its earliest days.

In the immediate post-war period, with industrial production reduced to less than half its 1938 level (Mitchell 1974), the French economy was in a weaker state than that of any of the defeated powers, let alone those of the other Allies. The sheer scale of the problems to be surmounted and the public concern over economic issues, heightened by the failures of the inter-war years, created a climate favourable to an extension of State control of the economy and a degree of protection for the economically vulnerable sections of the community. A series of nationalisations brought the

power industry, parts of the banking and insurance sector and manufacturing interests, including Renault, under State control. Although this was a partial nationalisation programme only and was informed, at least in part, by the degree to which firms had profited from their collaboration with the German occupying forces (Fohlen 1976), it conformed to the thinking of the Planistes who had already been arguing in the pre-war years for a more rational approach to economic policy. In the 1930's their case for an abandonment of the piecemeal and ad hoc decision making which had contributed to the problems of the time had been largely rejected by both left and right of the political spectrum as having potentially totalitarian implications. Now, however, planning was accepted by those of most political persuasions as an essential prerequisite of the reconstruction of the French economic and social institutions which had suffered from a decade and a half of war and economic crisis.

Since 1945 eight national plans have been produced, essentially different from those adopted in socialist economies in that they have never sought to be other than indicative and flexible, rather than prescriptive. Production targets, for instance, have not been laid down in anything more than very general terms, the tendency instead having been to promote change in the infrastructure in order to secure growth or adaptation in selected areas of the economy. The importance of the private sector in the economy was acknowledged from the start, as was the political unacceptability of detailed State direction of this sector, and the various commissions responsible for undertaking the preparatory work for the plans have consisted of employer, trade union and government representatives, emphasising the corporate nature of the exercise.

The major concerns of the planners have changed over the past four decades (Laroque 1980). The First Plan (1947-1952) was naturally preoccupied with targets for the reconstruction of France's basic industries. Unlike the reconstruction of the 1920's, however, it sought not merely to replace that which had been before, but rather to modernise and re-equip the coal, electricity, iron and steel, cement and transport industries. Subsequent plans have been increasingly concerned with social as well as with economic goals, regarding the pursuit of the former as an essential prerequisite of social stability and the consumer-led revival of the economy itself. The Second, Third and Fourth Plans (1952-1957, 1958-1961, 1962-1967) laid emphasis respectively on housing, education and training, and improving the economic position of the elderly and the economically deprived. Providing the latter with a stake in the emerging consumer society came to represent a significant part in the overall post-war economic strategy.

As Guéguen-Baslé and Baslé have pointed out,

"la politique sociale devient indispensable au capitalisme parce que outre le souci de redistribution dont elle fait preuve, elle permet l'accroissement des possibilités de consommation à une époque où les marchés intérieurs jouent un rôle moteur dans la croissance. Elle est indispensable et supportable, parce que son coût n'est pas trop lourd pour les entreprises dès le moment où elles accroissent leur efficacité.....**La politique sociale, en répondant à un souci de justice, élargit aussi les possibilités de consommation.**" (1981) [18]

Other writers have also discussed post-war efforts to alter the distribution of purchasing power through the medium of social policy:

"Il est clair que si cette distribution s'arrête aux personnes qui peuvent tirer un revenu de leur travail, elle ne couvrira que quelque 40 ou 45% de la population totale. Les autres, parce que trop jeunes, trop vieux, malades ou inadaptés, ne percevront directement aucun revenu et dépendront des premiers pour leur subsistance. Dans ce cas, qui était encore le plus fréquent au début de ce siècle, leurs besoins risquent d'être mesurés au plus juste et la demande correspondante sera limitée. Si au contraire ces personnes inactives deviennent titulaires d'un revenu qui leur sera attribué spécialement par la collectivité, elles (ou dans le cas des enfants ceux qui agissent en leur nom) seront en mesure d'exprimer plus largement leurs besoins, et la demande globale s'en trouvera stimulée." (Fournier & Questiaux 1979) [19]

Social investment, in schools, hospitals, town planning and other areas which form the infrastructure of a modern society and economy, was given a particularly privileged position in the Fifth Plan (1967-1972). The overall picture which emerges from the post-war planning effort has been of a clear evolution from preoccupation with narrowly focussed economic objectives to a concern to promote as broad a base as possible for economic growth, as well as to provide for access to and widespread participation in the consumer society. Substantial evidence that this strategy has proved successful is provided by Tables 11 and 12.

Table 11a

Industrial Production: Growth Rates Compared (1937=100)

	1946	1949	1954	1959	1964	1969
France	76	112	147	193	262	341
United Kingdom	100	121	148	165	201	230

(Compiled from data in Mitchell, 1974)

Table 11b

Average Annual Increase in Manufacturing Wages (Percentages 1950-1970)

	1950/55	1955/60	1960/65	1965/70
France	14.8	9.7	8.7	11.0
United Kingdom	8.7	5.2	4.9	7.7

(ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1950-1955; OECD Main Economic Indicators, 1955-1970)

Table 12

Average Annual Growth Rates of Real GDP, Consumption and Government Expenditure

	GDP		Private Consumption		Public Consumption	
	1950/60	1960/70	1950/60	1960/70	1950/60	1960/70
France	4.6	5.8	4.3	5.6	3.7	3.5
U.K.	2.7	2.8	2.4	2.4	1.6	2.1
Europe*	4.8	4.9	4.2	4.8	3.7	3.9

* OECD Average

(Maddison, A. Economic Policy and Performance in Europe 1913-1970 [in Cipolla 1976]; OECD: National Accounts of OECD Countries 1950-1968; OECD: National Accounts of OECD Countries 1960-1971)

The documentation for the Eighth Plan devotes an entire section to the development of social services to families, including the various social work services involved. The report of the commission responsible for this part of the Plan is couched in terms which reveal that the authors perceive the whole network of social services and transfer payments as having another kind of rôle in relation to the economic well-being of the country than that of permitting the poor to become consumers, or indeed those who are vulnerable because of age, infirmity or for any other reason. This is that they can provide employment for a not inconsiderable part of the total workforce and thereby act as a useful buffer against economic crisis.

"En fait l'exercice proposé à la commission a été placé sur le plan économique: le prélèvement social freine-t-il la base même sur laquelle il a pris son essor, c'est-à-dire la production? La réponse n'est pas évidente. Les activités sanitaires et sociales sont parties intégrantes de l'activité économique et de la croissance; elles font tourner des 'entreprises' employant 1,300,000 salariés, fournissent du travail à 150,000 autres personnes (médecins, pharmaciens, professions para-médicales), font vivre des industries de pointe dans l'électronique ou la chimie, industries qui ont un fort potentiel de recherche, qui investissent et exportent.

Au plan national comme au plan local, les transferts sociaux sont de remarquables amortisseurs de crise: ils ont permis que l'économie ne s'effondre pas dans la période récente, en maintenant un certain niveau de soutien de la demande; ils évitent le démarrage de cycles d'involution dans les zones touchées massivement par le chômage." (Protection Sociale et Famille 1980) [20]

The Surintendantes d'Usine

The origins of social work in factory settings are to be found in the First World War, with the rapid expansion of the female work force in munitions production and the problems of individual welfare and of management that that process entailed. Since that time industry has provided a focal point for the development of one of the principal areas of social work practice, requiring a degree of special expertise and, currently, a rigorous post-qualifying training.

At the outbreak of the war women represented less than 5% of the total work force in armaments-related industries, but by 1917 this proportion had grown to almost a quarter. In that year 358,093 women were employed in production contributing directly to the war effort, rising to 420,000 in 1918. As in Britain, women took the jobs vacated by the men conscripted into the forces, and the tasks they performed were generally the most menial and hazardous. Posts requiring skill and carrying a measure of responsibility continued to be filled by males, reflecting the inferior social position of women in general and, more specifically, the lack of real educational opportunity for the overwhelming majority of women.

"Les femmes ne pouvaient suppléer les hommes dans les emplois élevés puisqu'elles n'avaient accès à l'enseignement secondaire que depuis 1880.....et que son programme ne débouchait pas normalement sur le baccalauréat. Les lycées de jeunes filles au début du XX^{e} siècle sont toujours des établissements de formation ménagère." [21] (Guerrand & Rupp 1978)

The problems associated with this sudden and unplanned

increase in the female industrial work force during wartime were many, and were perceived in a variety of ways according to the standpoint and the interests of those concerned.

From the point of view of the workers themselves the particular health risks of such areas of work as shell filling using tri-nitro-toluene amplified the more generalised threat to health and well-being posed by factories which were ill-adapted to the needs of women. Sanitary facilities such as toilets, washrooms and showers, were in very short supply and no arrangements had been made for crèche or other child care provisions. Moreover, no thought had been given to the housing conditions of the employees and their children. That their work, publicly extolled for its national importance, was carried out against the backdrop of a legal system which gave them virtually the same status as minors also helps to explain their discontent and their readiness to engage, ultimately, in strike action. Clearly, from the perspective of the French State, the overriding problem of the armaments factories was that of removing any obstacles to the attainment of the highest possible levels of productivity. A third concern, however, was that of the middle class women who had figured prominently amongst the pioneers of social service. This had to do with the moral decline felt to be the inevitable corollary of female participation in the predominantly male province of factory work. Looking back on the experience of the war, the first Bulletin de l'Association des surintendantes de France (April 1920) asked,

"Faut-il rappeler les risques auxquels ces pauvres créatures se trouvaient exposées dans certains immenses centres industriels, où elles logeaient dans des

baraquements en voisinage quelquefois immédiat avec les Africains et les Chinois?" [22]

This kind of moral concern proved subsequently to be a major influence shaping both the organisation and the delivery of social service to workers in industry. It was reinforced, moreover, by the first strikes of women workers in the war industries, which took place in July 1916, and which were followed fairly swiftly by investigation of the alternative means available to prevent any recurrence.

In October of the same year the Under Secretary of State for Munitions sent two senior army medical officers, Médecins-Majors Loisel and Klotz, to study the welfare services which had been introduced in British industry, and particularly the system of Lady Welfare Supervisors/Lady Superintendents which operated in all Royal Ordnance factories and in a number of private sector establishments. Their report was published early in 1917 and noted that Vickers in Birmingham, for example, employed seven superintendents for a work force of 4500 men and 6500 women, whilst the Leeds company of Greenwood had thirteen superintendents for its 2500 male and 3000 female employees. In these and other such companies the health of employees, the organisation of work, the nutritional standards of canteen meals and housing issues were all part of the remit of the welfare service. By way of preparation for the rôle, an intensive course of training, of less than two months, was provided by the universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Bristol and Leeds, as well as London.

The report met with an enthusiastic response from the Comité du travail féminin, the Académie de médecine and other interested parties and a meeting convened by

Mademoiselle de Montfort, secretary of the Association des infirmières-visiteuses de France, in March 1917 resulted two months later in the creation of l'École Technique de Surintendantes d'usines et de services sociaux in Paris. The school was provided with accommodation by the duchesse d'Uzès, who had been one of the leading figures of the Boulangistes, an anti-republican and somewhat xenophobic movement of the late nineteenth century; it was financed in part by American funding, in part by donations from industrialists; and it had the support of all the leading female figures of the day in the domain of social service. Two government ministers, Léon Bourgeois and Albert Thomas, offered their patronage, but, at the outset and subsequently, the school remained in the private sector, independent of State funding.

Of the students themselves Jeannine Verdès-Leroux (1978) observes,

"De nombreux textes soulignent la sévérité de la sélection à l'entrée: pour les trois premières sessions, 80 demandes sur 600 ont été retenues, ce que, dans un rapport à la section Travail du Conseil national des femmes françaises (publié dans l'Action féminine, en 1918), Cécile Brunschvicg justifie par la nécessité d'avoir un personnel capable et de haute valeur morale . Outre une excellente culture générale, au moins égale à celle du baccalauréat , l'École - comme toutes les autres écoles de service social - exigeait de ses élèves deux lettres de référence morales ..... On ne trouve rien de plus objectif qui permettrait de préciser les critères de recrutement." 23

Their course of study covered such topics as morality in the workplace, the struggle against Malthusianism,

working class life, industrial health, labour legislation, general health, social insurance legislation and book-keeping, all of which was intended to prepare them for the task specified officially, albeit somewhat belatedly, in a circular published in the Bulletin des usines de guerre in November 1918. According to the circular, the surintendantes were to discharge their responsibility for the physical and moral well-being of working women in a number of ways: by taking part in job interviews, providing advice and assistance to workers, transmitting to management any of the workers' demands which pertained to their health or their physical or moral welfare, monitoring the shop floor for health risks and generally supervising the living accommodation of the women employees.

The students were exclusively of bourgeois origins, the absence, until 1938, of financial aid in the form of student grants serving to ensure that they were recruited from the more comfortable sections of the community, and the emphasis on high standards of bourgeois morality in both students and the professional task for which they were preparing remained throughout the 1920's and 1930's.

Thus, looking back at the formative years of the profession, the published account of the Assemblée générale de l'Association des surintendantes held in 1935 was able to say,

"Notre oeuvre à son début a jailli, certes, de nos coeurs étreints par les souffrances matérielles de nos soeurs les ouvrières des usines de guerre, mais plus encore de nos esprits effrayés par l'immense ébranlement que leur exode de la vie traditionnelle et abritée du foyer vers le travail extérieur allait apporter à leur vie morale ..... Notre oeuvre fut donc une oeuvre plus morale que

matérielle." 24

Although the period of training was to be six months, the first graduates had received only six weeks of instruction before starting work, and only a hundred surintendantes were in post by the time of the Armistice, none of them having completed the full course of study. The First World War had provided the stimulus for a new development in social work, but this latter was to make no significant contribution to the war effort itself. Indeed, the very problem of securing the welfare, moral or otherwise, of women in industry was brusquely disposed of after November 1918, when a tacit agreement between employers and trade unions led to the sacking of the 'munitionnettes' without, for the most part, any severance payment. The enactment in 1920 of strict legislation not only forbidding abortion but also imposing strict penalties for the use or advocacy of any form of contraception lent further substance to the prevailing view that the place of peasant and working class women was in the home, attempting to replace the population lost during the war.

In these circumstances, the responsibilities of the surintendantes began more expressly to encompass the welfare of male employees and they became established in a wide variety of industrial settings.

The contribution they made to efficiency and the avoidance of industrial conflict came to be acknowledged by employers themselves and, indeed, by other powerful figures in French society. In 1925 the Académie française awarded a special prize to the Association des surintendantes de France in recognition of the service they rendered, the secretary to the Académie describing them in the following terms,

"Ni religieuse, ni ouvrière, ni femme du monde, ou peut-être tout cela ensemble, elle est, entre la classe ouvrière et la nôtre, le meilleur agent de liaison, la marraine élue de la paix sociale." [25]

Aux Chefs d'Entreprises de France, Économie et Progrès, a promotional brochure addressed to leaders of industry in 1933, contained testimonials supplied by employers who had used the services of surintendantes for some time. They comment, variously, "C'est ce rôle magnifique qui vous est dévolu, Mesdames, faire naître la confiance réciproque. Grâce à l'esprit de collaboration, le rendement industriel est chaque jour plus élevé"; "Il a été constaté une amélioration dans la qualité du personnel au point de vue santé et moralité et par conséquent dans le travail"; and "Le service social est un service qui paie". [26]

Unlike personnel managers in Britain and other countries, the surintendantes have remained integrated with the mainstream of social work in France. Indeed, in 1932, when the first national social work diploma was introduced, the Ecole de Surintendantes d'usine was one of the five schools recognised as competent to submit students for the examination. As the above citations indicate, the surintendantes enjoyed some success in creating conditions of industrial calm and increases in productivity.

This fact, taken together with the reappearance of a female work force in industry during the Second World War, laid the foundations for a further expansion of this particular category of social work. In 1942 the Vichy government of Maréchal Pétain made compulsory the provision of a social service in all enterprises employing more than 250 workers. Since the Liberation

social service in industry and commerce has come to employ some 3000 assistantes sociales as well as the conseillères du travail and the surintendantes d'usine and is now a small, but politically and professionally very significant element in the French social work services.

Translations

16. "what is of greater importance is not skill, but rather enthusiasm, punctiliousness, loyalty, reliability. The skilful worker often lacks discipline and is a disruptive influence. He sometimes proves to be the scourge of the workshop."

17. "Slowly but surely the liberals will come to perceive a solution: let the poor establish their own rights and a way will be found out of this system which feeds poverty without eliminating it; education and moral standards are important remedies but not enough in themselves. Efficiency - but also the new rationalism emerging behind the factory walls - requires and imposes other solutions. Thus will be born the schemes of insurance; by contributing, all working men will open up entitlements for themselves."

18. "social policy becomes necessary to the capitalist system because, quite apart from its proven concern with the redistribution of resources, it allows for a higher level of consumption at a time when domestic markets have an important rôle to play in the stimulation of economic growth. It is necessary and affordable, because its cost is not excessive for industry to bear once increases in efficiency are achieved.....**Social**

policy, responding as it does to a concern for justice, also serves to enlarge the possibility of consumerism."

19. "It is evident that if this distribution restricts itself to those capable of deriving an income from work, it will only cover some 40% to 45% of the total population. The others, who are too young, too old, sick or incapable, will receive no income directly and will depend for their subsistence on the former. In such circumstances, which were the norm at the beginning of this century, their needs are liable to be assessed in a very stringent way and their purchasing power will, accordingly, be strictly limited. If, on the other hand, the economically inactive acquire a right to an income expressly set aside for them by the community, they (or, in the case of children, those who act on their behalf) will be able to give fuller expression to their needs and overall demand will be stimulated as a result."

20. "In fact, the exercise the commission was asked to undertake was presented in economic terms: does taxation for social ends impose limitations on the very source from which it has been raised, in other words industrial production? The answer is not entirely straightforward. Activities in the domain of health and social service are part and parcel of all economic activity and of economic growth; they maintain 'companies' employing 1,300,000 workers, provide employment for 150,000 other people (doctors, pharmacists, members of paramedical professions), support leading industries in electronics and pharmaceuticals, industries which have a great potential for research, and which have a good record in investment and export.

On a national as well as a local level, social spending is remarkably effective in cushioning the shock of economic crisis: it has protected the economy

from total collapse in recent years by maintaining a certain level of demand and has deflected what might otherwise have been the progressive degeneration of areas heavily afflicted by unemployment."

21. "Women could not take the place of men in the more senior posts as they had had access to secondary education since 1880 only....and their curriculum did not normally lead to the baccalauréat. Girls' schools in the early twentieth century were invariably establishments for domestic training."

22. "Do we need to remind ourselves of the risks to which these poor creatures found themselves exposed in some of the immense centres of industry, where they lived in huts, sometimes in the immediate vicinity of Africans and Chinese?"

23. "Numerous documents testify to the severity of the selection procedures: for the first three sessions 80 applications were accepted out of 600, a fact which, in a report to the Work section of the Conseil national des femmes françaises (published in 1918 in l'Action féminine), Cécile Brunschwicg accounts for by reference to the need for personnel of high competence and moral worth . Over and above an excellent general education, at least the equivalent of the baccalauréat , the school - like all the other schools of social work - demands of its students two moral references .....No data are available which would permit a more precise statement of the criteria for selection."

24. "In the beginning our work certainly sprang from hearts overwhelmed by the material sufferings of our sisters working in the war industries but, more than that, from our alarm over the disturbance to their moral

lives caused by their transition from the traditional and sheltered life of hearth and home to work in the outside world.....Our work was, then, more moral than material in its concerns."

25. "Neither a member of a religious order, nor a factory worker, nor a society woman, or perhaps all of these at once, she represents, between the working class and our own, the best liaison officer, the chosen godmother of social peace."

26. "This is the magnificent rôle which has fallen to you, Mesdames, assuring the birth of mutual confidence. Thanks to the spirit of collaboration, industrial output rises every day"; "A clear improvement has been noted in the quality of the staff in respect of their health and moral standards and consequently in their work"; "Social service is a service that pays".

CHAPTER 4: The Rôle of the State

A recurrent theme in the literature of social work in recent years has been the relationship between the interests and needs of the profession itself and of its clients on the one hand, and those of the State within whose apparatus social work is practised on the other. Radical observers of social work, notably the Marxists, have been especially preoccupied by this relationship, which they see as uneasy and problematic, even conflict-ridden. The more fatalistic, their analysis based on a presumption of monolithic and overwhelming State power, argue that the State, whilst providing employment for many if not most social work practitioners, is primarily concerned with the issue of social control and the reproduction of social relations appropriate to the maintenance of a capitalist economy. To this end it uses a variety of devices to ensure that social workers' clients, by and large those farthest removed from access to State power, are denied the possibility of mounting an effective challenge to the status quo. Social workers themselves, whether wittingly and willingly or not, act in the rôle of one such device by promulgating the values of the State and by providing such minimal comfort as they can to the literally uncomfortable. They have, therefore, no prospect of assisting their clients in the achievement of anything approaching real self-determination and a more equitable share of society's material goods.

"Given this sort of approach, social work must be seen as an institution of the State which exists to perpetuate an unworkable and undesirable system. Moreover, as its primary function is to 'rehabilitate' some of those elements in society which are not

'integrated', social work performs part of the invaluable task of legitimating the existing structure." (Pritchard and Taylor 1978)

One French social worker, making the same essential point, says,

"En théorie, l'aide sociale et le système économique capitaliste sont incompatibles - si du moins on entend par aide autre chose que le contrôle social ou que le discours de la bienfaisance. Incompatibles, car il n'y a pas d'exception à la loi du profit, pas d'entorse à la vérité dominante de l'interêt. Dans la dureté des rapports sociaux, les pratiques altruistes sont, commes les autres, impitoyables." (Geng 1977) [27]

Even more pithily Mury (in Dutrénit 1980) puts the following proposition:

"... on conviendra facilement que les institutions officielles n'ont jamais payé quelqu'un sans attendre de lui qu'il contribue au maintien de l'ordre, que ce soit en maniant la matraque, les principes de la morale bourgeoise ou des méthodes plus subtiles de séduction. La classe dominante - qui se fait pudiquement appeler 'la société' - exige de tout un chacun qu'il se comporte en flic, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit des fonctionnaires ou assimilés, chargés d'empêcher le scandale." [28]

Some of the conclusions, however, that this type of broad perspective might lead us to do less than full justice to the potential of social work and its scope for manoeuvre. The implicit assumption, moreover, that one can extrapolate from the experience of one society characterised by an industrial capitalist economic

system, representative democratic institutions and a highly developed State apparatus to reach conclusions about all societies exhibiting these features is unhelpful unless the only concern is to produce hypotheses of a very general and tentative nature.

In many respects, therefore, I would suggest that the past concerns of French governments can be compared in only a fairly superficial way with those of their contemporary British counterparts.

It requires no more than a fairly cursory glance at the major historical events in France during the century or so prior to the beginnings of a disciplined form of social service in the 1880's and 1890's to come to this conclusion. Not only this, but the very structure of the French State has, for historical reasons, taken on a different form from that which emerged in Britain. Between the 1780's and 1880's France enjoyed none of the relative political calm and stability which was the British experience over the same period, undergoing instead a dramatic series of political upheavals of which the Revolution of 1789 was only the first. This, the violent overthrow of an autocratic monarchy heavily dependent on the authority of the Catholic Church, served to institutionalise a persistent republican and revolutionary spirit which manifested itself again in two further revolutions in 1830 and 1848, and indeed in the Paris Commune of 1871. The period in question also saw a number of coups d'état and the restoration of the monarchy in 1815, although this time subject to a degree of constitutional control. The humiliation of the final defeat of Napoléon in 1815 and of the defeat and invasion by Prussia in 1870 should also be referred to in passing as events which left their mark on this turbulent era.

Each of the above occurrences in its own way served to reinforce the political and religious divisions in French society at the same time as strengthening the determination of successive governments to assert the power of the central State and limit the expression of ideological diversity and social conflict.

The basic framework within which this objective could be pursued had been established by Napoléon through the legislation of February 17th, 1800, during the time of the Gouvernement Consulaire. The essence of this legislation was to establish a system of local administration under the direct and detailed control of central government. The system itself was a three-tiered one consisting of the départements, the arrondissements, and the communes, in descending order of scale and areas of jurisdiction. The three tiers were to be under the control, respectively, of the Préfet, the Sous-Préfet and the Maire, each of these functionaries being appointed at the level of national government. A structure was created thereby which permitted uniformity of administration throughout France and which facilitated centralised planning. In most of its essential features it was to endure, although appointment was to give way to local election in the case of the office of Maire before the end of the nineteenth century. It was not, however, until the 1980's that a similar concession to local democracy was made in respect of the powers previously exercised by the Préfets.

That the administrative structure introduced in 1800 and applied by succeeding régimes was not sufficient in itself to secure national unity and the maintenance of the status quo is evidenced by the catalogue of political upheavals of the nineteenth century. Donzelot (1984) argues that what was needed to allow the effective

government of a society which had become virtually ungovernable was an ideology which appeared to respond to the material interests of all sections in French society. The ideology which began taking shape from the 1870's was that of 'solidarité' or 'solidarisme'.

Donzelot suggests that solidarisme, promulgated vigorously by those most intimately concerned with the integrity of centralised State power during the Third Republic, contributed substantially to the displacement of passionate political convictions and action by a more moderate insistence on the reforms and adjustments needed to promote social cohesion. As a precondition of the survival of democracy and the installation of a rational modern State, he regards this as an indispensable process. To a considerable extent social work and social welfare strategies in general may be understood as an integral part of the attempt to build national unity on the foundations of social solidarity, a task in which earlier Catholic and revolutionary ideologies had met with little success. Donzelot summarises his central thesis in the following terms:

"A quoi tient cette lente extinction des passions politiques dans notre société, ce détachement vis-à-vis des grands idéaux du siècle dernier au profit de formes de plus en plus assagies d'investissement de nos énergies dans 'le social', dans les enjeux de la vie quotidienne, dans la bonification du système immédiat de nos relations personnelles et sociales? Sinon précisément à la montée progressive du social, ce genre hybride qui s'est bâti à l'intersection du civil et du politique, associant ces deux registres dans un souci de neutralisation du contraste violent qui opposait l'imaginaire politique moderne aux réalités de la société civile et marchande? L'affirmation de la souveraineté

égale de tous, l'exaltation de la fraternité volontaire, qui avait fait la force des révolutionnaires, se sont vu substituer une morale de la solidarité - qui s'autorise de la nécessité de maintenir la cohésion des rapports sociaux plus que du rêve républicain d'une société volontaire, érigée sur les décombres de la fatalité où l'Ancien Régime prétendait enserrer les liens des hommes entre eux. Nous ne luttons plus au nom du droit, pour le droit, mais pour nos droits, nos droits sociaux, en tant qu'ils définissent les privilèges spécifiques ou les compensations locales accordés à telle ou telle catégorie de la société, en raison des préjudices singuliers qu'elle est censée subir du fait de la division sociale du travail. L'exigence absolue de justice s'est effacée au profit de querelles sur la relativité des chances dont bénéficient les uns, des risques qu'encourent les autres. En même temps, la notion de responsabilité disparaissait lentement au profit d'une socialisation des risques de la vie considérés comme de simples aléas, socialisation qui n'impute plus à quiconque le malheur des autres, n'exige plus de quiconque leur bonheur." [29]

The formulation of the ideal of solidarisme and responsibility for all the conceptual problems associated with it are most frequently linked with the name of Léon Bourgeois. Bourgeois was several times a Minister of State under the Third Republic which, after the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune, particularly needed an apparently coherent political philosophy to ease the processes of social reconciliation and assist in the restoration of national confidence.

The ideas of Bourgeois, whose radical socialist party Donzelot describes as noteworthy "for its capacity for producing quite staggering doctrinal cocktails which might have been designed expressly to disgust all those

whose minds were focussed on extremist certainties", found their fullest expression in his book 'Solidarité' (1896). A series of further works was published in collaboration with his followers between 1902 and 1904 elaborating a framework of ideas which bear more than a passing resemblance to those of T. H. Green and the Oxford Idealists, even, in many respects, to those of the Webbs and the Fabian Socialists. All were engaged in the search for social harmony with the State ultimately cast in the rôle of arbitrator between conflicting interests.

The following extract from Bourgeois' writing shows how he drew upon a form of humanism to supply his argument with additional persuasive force:

"la connaissance des lois de la solidarité n'a pas seulement détruit l'isolement de l'homme dans le monde où il vit, elle a détruit du même coup son isolement dans la durée. L'homme ne devient pas seulement au cours de sa vie le débiteur de ses contemporains; dès le jour de sa naissance il est un obligé. L'homme naît débiteur de l'association humaine .....Et de ce legs, chaque génération qui passe ne peut se considérér que comme usufruitière." [30] (1896)

The doctrine of solidarisme, then, sought to render obsolete all the antagonisms which had previously riven French society by asserting the overriding importance of the historical debt owed by the living to those who had preceded them as well as to those who would succeed them. All citizens should give the settling of their social debt priority over the assertion of their social rights, this being not only a matter of morality, but also a sine qua non of social progress, which could not occur without the sound and responsible management of society and the careful husbandry of all the resources at its disposal.

The emphasis on the preconditions for progress was designed to defuse the Marxist case, whilst the argument that debts had to be paid in order to secure the rights of others was directed at the liberals, always concerned with questions of proper accounting as well as with any possible erosion of individual rights.

Taken as a whole the philosophy harmonised well with the early manifestations of a form of 'Etat-providence' at around the turn of the century.

The course charted for the State was to be one mid-way between that proposed by the socialists: detailed and direct intervention in the major areas of economic and social life, and that advocated by the liberals: interference only in those areas of social and economic activity not deemed susceptible to spontaneous self-regulation. In real terms this implied, on the one hand, facilitating the creation of the kind of institutional framework which would permit the expression of solidarity whilst, on the other hand, trying to anticipate future social problems and hazards and engaging in planning to mitigate their effects.

As far as the first of these is concerned an important, albeit, as it proved, a difficult step was taken with the passage of la loi sur les associations in 1901. It was difficult because it represented a direct challenge to the Catholic Church, seeking to put an end once and for all to the power exercised by its orders and communities - les congrégations religieuses - as well as providing for the confiscation of land and other property belonging to the congrégations. This latter proved to be especially problematic compared to the similar assault made on the church a century earlier by the Constituante because steps had been taken to conceal the true

ownership of its wealth by the falsification of deeds of title and other such devices (Petit, Allain & Ganem 1930).

The particular importance of the legislation, however, resided in the fact that for the first time the freedom of association was guaranteed to the French people for lay or secular purposes. Religious bodies were not recognised as associations under the new law, hence their vehement opposition to its provisions. Thereafter religious purposes had to be fulfilled through the medium of organisations established with ostensibly secular objectives.

Many lay bodies in the field of social work and other forms of social provision subsequently drew their statutory authority from the 1901 legislation. Amongst others, l'Association Nationale des Assistantes de Service Social, the nearest French equivalent to the British Association of Social Workers, and the Comité d'Entente des Ecoles de Service Social, the organisation undertaking the coordination of approaches to social work education, are registered under the terms of this law. This is also the case with some two thirds of the centres offering training for basic grade social work. All such agencies contribute to the vision of Bourgeois when he wrote of his quasi contrat social, the contract to be fulfilled by organisations whose autonomy is curtailed principally by the need to seek ministerial approval before making their own contribution to constructing the edifice of social solidarity.

The rôle of the State in anticipating and making provision for the risks attendant upon life in an industrial society was given expression through a series of statutes which dealt with such matters as the length

of the working day, the nature of work deemed appropriate for women and children, mechanisms whereby compensation should be paid in the event of industrial accident or disease and the introduction of pensions for some over 70's. (Appendix 1).

This quasi contrat social was enacted at approximately the same time as the British reforms implemented between the 1870's and the First World War. Indeed, many of the provisions begin to resemble those included in the Liberal Reforms, although they were somewhat less ambitious by and large.

Solidarisme introduced a new and more explicit pragmatism to the process of government in France and the legislation at the turn of the century was followed by a consolidation of le social - welfare policies - in the years that followed. However, the degree of autonomy enjoyed by the caisses which were given responsibility for administering the schemes of social insurance that grew inexorably prior to the Second World War led to a situation in which certain categories of workers came to acquire far better protection than others. The hybrid doctrine fashioned by Bourgeois was a response to a particular set of historical imperatives. It purported to supply a viable alternative to the extreme social inequalities and conflicts which resulted from the division of labour as well as to the political and religious divisions of a nation emerging into the industrial era. It proved, however, to have taken too little account of the inclination of the more economically powerful groups to place less emphasis on their social debt than on the rights they could secure for themselves within the relatively lax system of controls deployed by the State.

The system of indicative planning engaged in by successive governments since 1946 - the eighth such plan having been launched in 1981 - might reasonably be interpreted as constituting latter-day evidence of the persistence of the Bourgeois formula in as far as it has concerned itself with the identification of current and prospective problems by the State, whilst suggesting the broad parameters within which those bodies concerned with social and economic affairs should focus their activities. One of the fourteen committees providing research evidence and documentation in the preparation of the eighth plan was the Commission de la Protection Sociale et de la Famille. In its report, Protection Sociale et Famille (Documentation Française July 1980), much attention is paid not only to the structure of services and transfer payments of various kinds designed to support the family and to compensate individuals for loss of earning capacity, but also to the contemporary and future rôle of social work and kindred activites. To the extent that the report tends to discuss social problems and concerns in the context of a much more serious preoccupation with the difficulties experienced in a hostile international economic climate, it may be held to reflect an overriding determination to achieve the efficient and rational management of one nation's resources at a given point in time. The general tenor of the report tends to support the conclusion that solidarisme, the ideology designed to extinguish ideology in the nineteenth century, has progressed from mere pragmatism to provide a basis for the sophisticated corporatist style of government characteristic of France by the 1980's.

The assistante sociale

The broad picture of contemporary French social work and personal social services is a complex one, with a range of job titles and areas of generic and specialist intervention. At the core is the assistante sociale polyvalente de secteur, occupying a position which, in functional terms, is broadly comparable to that of the local authority generic social worker in Britain. Alongside this rôle are to be found the assistante sociale de catégorie, employed to provide a general social work service in a particular enterprise or industry to employees and their families, and the assistante spécialisée, working with children, the mentally ill, offenders or other specific client groups. According to Anne Placier (1983) 2000 students enter training establishments each year and there are approximately 29,000 assistantes in post. Half of them are employed in the public sector, about 4000 in semi-public organisations such as the caisses de Sécurité sociale and the caisses d'Allocations familiales, some 3000 work for private enterprise firms, and the remainder in private charitable organisations concerned with such issues as child or immigrant welfare.

In spite of the sheer range of tasks, settings and clients involved, the assistante sociale has come to represent the essence of French social work, and it is of particular importance to chart the professional development of this group and its relations with the State, which has been quite closely implicated in the construction of a common core of knowledge and areas and styles of intervention.

Prior to the 1930s some isolated and diverse employment opportunities had emerged, assistantes sociales being

appointed to work in the administration of social security and family allowance funds, and a variety of other areas. There existed, however, no real basis for the growth of an overall sense of professional identity and unity comparable to that achieved by the surintendantes d'usine, who, within the broad domain of social service activities were a particularly self-conscious group with a marked sense of purpose. To a degree, the advent of a clear awareness of the social basis of ill health and, in its wake, a pronounced social orientation among the nursing profession (infirmières-visiteuses/visiteuses d'hygiène) provided a rallying point and an impetus for the separate development of a medically oriented variety of social work practice. This was relatively slow in coming, in part because the visiteuses themselves were widely dispersed in clinics, sanatoria, primary schools and other agencies. It was not, in fact, until ten years after the introduction, in June 1922, of a State diploma for nurses with a health visitor option, that a similar diploma was established for the assistante sociale.

In the meantime, many practitioners doing the work of an assistante sociale had received their training in one of the health visitor schools and substantial links between the two professions had, therefore, developed at the level of education. The intimacy of these links was accentuated by the fact that these schools were fairly small institutions, and much of the history of French social work revolves around the structure of training and the way in which successive reforms of social work education have led to an alternation between overlap and divergence of the two professions and their respective diplomas from the 1930s onwards.

The sequence of events which led to the granting of an

official diploma included a number which are of especial significance in terms of the internal professional organisation and public standing of social work. Of considerable importance among these were the establishment in 1922 of the Association des Travailleuses Sociales, the prototype professional association for social workers, which has since become the Confédération Française des Professions Sociales, and the coming together of the five social work schools in 1927 to form the Comité d'Entente des Ecoles Françaises de Service Social. This latter event implied, over and above a shared commitment to the promotion of social work and social work training, a harmonisation of their training courses, which later was to facilitate the process of obtaining a diplôme d'Etat.

The décret of January 12th, 1932, the first of a total of six which have provided a statutory basis for the award of the diploma, was the outcome of a campaign for the official recognition of social work which had its origins in 1922 with the creation of the Association. In 1924 Paul Strauss, Ministre du Travail, de l'Hygiène, de l'Assistance et de la Prévoyance sociales, presented to the conseil supérieur de l'Assistance publique a paper in which the introduction of a national social work diploma was proposed. This would take the place of the diplomas issued by individual schools of social service and provide for a standardisation of the training of workers. The project was turned down by the council at its meeting in June, 1924 on the grounds that the functions of the assistante de service social were too vague and ill-defined, if not impossible to define. One council member asserted that the assistante sociales were no more than "infirmières morales" - moral nurses. Others commented that what was really required was a corps of workers with a background in constitutional law:

"'C'est le diplôme de licencié en droit qui est le véritable diplôme d'études sociales,' dit un membre du Conseil.

'Les meilleures assistantes sociales sont celles qui sont instruites en droit constitutionnel,' renchérit l'autre." [31] (Guerrand & Rupp, 1978)

Pressure exerted by the Comité d'Entente, the creation of pasteur Doumergue, and Juliette Delagrange, surintendante à la Ministère de la Santé Publique, led in 1930 to the establishment of a committee of inquiry by the new Ministre de la Santé Publique, Louis Loucheur. This "commission pour l'étude des conditions dans lesquelles pourrait être créé un brevet de capacité professionnelle de service social permettant de porter le titre d'assistante sociale diplômée de l'Etat français" was announced in the Journal Officiel of October 3rd, 1930. It was to consist of equal numbers of members, seven from each side, appointed by the Comité d'Entente and by the commission d'études pour l'aide sociale. Among the former group were included some of the most prominent pioneers of social service in France, notably Andrée Butillard, principal of the Ecole Normale Sociale from its foundation in 1911 and Doumergue himself, founder of the protestant equivalent, the Ecole Pratique du Service Social, in 1913.

Léonie Chaptal, whose apprenticeship had been served both in the maison sociale movement and in the early days of the tuberculosis dispensaries, served on the committee, as did Cécile Brunschvicg, president of the section du service social (also, previously, le section travail) du conseil national des femmes françaises, and one of the small group instrumental in setting up the Ecole technique des surintendantes d'usine in May, 1917. Its remit was to undertake an examination of appropriate

modes of training for social work as a basis for the diplôme d'Etat, and to report on its findings to the Ministre de la Santé Publique. The fact that the qualification was introduced quite rapidly thereafter, in January, 1932 is probably attributable in no small measure to the fact that in the same year new measures were introduced as part of a broad assault on the problem of family poverty and child deprivation. These included an extension of the previously fragmented and inconsistent system of family allowances and the introduction of a maternity and child welfare service in the Paris area which was subsequently to spread to many other départements (O.P.M.E.S.: Office Public pour les Mères et Enfants de la Seine, soon after renamed O.P.M.I.: Office Public Maternel et Infantile). The consolidation and extension of social work is fully consistent with the adoption of such a programme and, if nothing else, could be regarded as the prudent establishment of an officially sanctioned group of State functionaries. In 1938, for example, the importance of this became clear with the first involvement of social workers in the task of monitoring the use to which the new family allowances were actually put by the beneficiaries.

The minister's brief report which served as preface to the décret summed up in glowing terms the official view of social work, its achievements to date and its perceived needs and potential,

"Le comité d'entente des écoles de service social, ainsi que le Comité d'étude des services sociaux de la région parisienne, ont saisi simultanément mon Ministère d'une demande de création d'un diplôme d'Etat d'assistante de service social.

Au cours de ces dernières années, les

services sociaux, dans la grande industrie, dans le haut commerce, dans les administrations, dans les institutions de prévoyance sociale, se sont multipliés et développés dans de telles proportions qu'il importe de garantir, de sanctionner, la formation professionnelle des collaborateurs et des collaboratrices de ces services dont le rendement intéresse au plus haut point mon Département.

Ces services sociaux, par le moyen de leurs assistantes, contribuent avec succès au relèvement du niveau social des familles de leur ressort, en faisant oeuvre d'éducation et de préservation dans les domaines de l'assistance, de l'hygiène, de la santé et de la vie sociale en général.....

Les dispositions de ce décret...seront...la preuve manifeste de l'intérêt porté par l'Etat aux écoles de service social; elles constitueront enfin une garantie légitime professionnelle pour les Français et les Françaises qui consacrent leur vie à une tâche dont les résultats sont particulièrement féconds pour le progrès social." [32] (J.O. 3/2/32)

The décret itself was in fact something of a compromise between the State and the schools of social work, and represented rather less than the degree of control over the pattern and standards of training that was to be ushered in by subsequent reforms. In principle, and to a substantial degree in reality, the schools were to remain responsible for the length and the nature of the theoretical and practical education they provided. They also had freedom in the selection of both teaching staff and students and full control in respect of internal discipline and general administrative matters, including the appointment of governing bodies.

However, they were required to maintain clear procedures

in each of the above areas and to satisfy the minister responsible of their adequacy (Article 1.1 and Article 2), and only those schools which had a minimum of two years' experience in this area of education were permitted to prepare students for the diploma. Furthermore, there was a requirement that they demonstrate to him that they either had organic links with a social service organisation or had adequate arrangements to guarantee proper placement and other educational opportunities for their students (Article 2).

The ultimate guarantee of the maintenance of standards was furnished by two particular provisions of the décret. The final examination for the award of the diploma was to be set by ministerial arrêté and conducted by a jury in Paris, consisting of delegates from the schools, social service agencies and the ministries represented on the new conseil de perfectionnement together with one or more practising social workers (Article 3). The second measure, the conseil de perfectionnement itself, was to consist of thirty members in all, twenty one to be nominated by the ministre de la santé and the remaining nine to secure permanent representation for other concerned ministries. The conseil was intended to act in an advisory capacity and was to be consulted in respect of "toutes les questions techniques et professionnelles concernant l'enseignement des écoles de service social, les examens d'Etat et la délivrance du brevet de capacité professionnelle permettant de porter le titre d'assistant ou d'assistante de service social diplômé de l'Etat français".[33] Its opinion was to be sought on all matters concerning the broad changes that might be necessary in teaching programmes, specific theoretical and practical elements in such programmes and the validation of schools, without which they would be unable to present students for the State examinations (Articles 4 and 5).

The apparent freedom of the schools to continue to construct their own projets pédagogiques and make other arrangements as they saw fit was, in fact, hedged around with quite substantial constraints, broadly comparable as they were to those imposed on the écoles d'infirmières professionnelles by Strauss in his décret of 1922.

The official acknowledgment of the rôle of the assistante sociale largely as a result of the perceived need for the visiteuses d'hygiène to broaden the range and scope of their activities, marked a very significant turning point in the evolution of French social work. In one sense, albeit a rather limited one, it could be argued that this development represented the true beginning of professional social work, in contradistinction to the prototype social service activities which preceded it. It should, however, be noted that the separation of health care and social welfare work was by no means finally accomplished in 1932. This separation was not a smooth and uninterrupted process, but rather one which continued erratically and over a number of years. Indeed, in one sense it could be argued that a complete disjunction has still not been achieved in that the latest diplôme, introduced in 1980, devotes one of the five 160 hour curriculum units to issues in health and the medical profession is represented on the jury for the final examinations. To think, then, in terms of the appearance of social work as a distinct and discrete area of professional activity prior to the Second World War is to over-simplify a complex situation. In the shorter term de Bousquet (1971) sums up the situation tersely in the following terms:

"C'est en 1938 seulement que cessera le chevauchement entre les premières écoles de service social, devenues 12, et les 30 écoles d'infirmières

visiteuses. Une formation unique sera sanctionnée par le diplôme de service social, qui a trait désormais à la santé et à la protection sociale. Ainsi entendra-t-on désormais en France, par service social, le service assuré par les assistantes de service social." 34

Translations

27. "In principle, social assistance and the capitalist economic system are incompatible - if, at least, one understands by assistance anything other than social control or the rhetoric of charity. Incompatible because there can be no exception to the law of profit, no eluding the overriding reality of self-interest. Within the general harshness of social relations, altruism is as merciless as any other kind of behaviour."

28. "....one will readily agree that official institutions have never paid anyone without expecting of him that he contribute to the maintenance of order, whether this be by wielding a truncheon or the principles of bourgeois morality, or by more subtle and seductive methods. The dominant class - which adopts the discreet mantle of 'society' - demands of all such that they act as policemen, especially when they are State officials or the like, charged with the responsibility of preventing scandal."

29. "What is responsible for this slow extinction of political passion in our society, this indifference towards the grand ideals of the last century, in favour of the increasingly timorous expenditure of our energies in the prosecution of welfare

matters and issues in daily life: the attempt to make our immediate personal and social relations more wholesome? This trend can only be attributed to a steady growth in emphasis on the 'social', a hybrid area constructed at the interface of civil and political affairs, one which brings together these two domains with the intention of neutralising the clash between a purely hypothetical political agenda for the modern world and the objective realities of civil and commercial society. Social solidarity now supplies our moral code, replacing the assertion of equality, sovereignty and voluntary fraternity which had been the driving force of the revolutionaries, deriving its authority from the need to ensure social cohesion rather than from the republican dream of a voluntary society, and erected on the ruins of the predestination invoked by the Ancien Régime as the creator of bonds between men. Our struggles are no longer conducted in the name of the law, for the law itself, but rather for our own legal rights, our social rights, in as far as they define the specific privileges accorded to one social category or another by way of compensation for the ills imposed upon it by the social division of labour. An unqualified demand for justice has given way to arguments about the benefits enjoyed by some and the hazards endured by others. At the same time the concept of personal accountability has been slowly extinguished in a process whereby the risks run by certain members of society come to be regarded as nothing more than the products of chance, attributable to society itself, no one being considered personally accountable for either the misery or the happiness of others."

30. "awareness of the laws of solidarité has not only destroyed the isolation of man in the world in which

he lives, it has simultaneously destroyed his isolation in time. Man not only becomes the debtor of his contemporaries in the course of his lifetime; he is indebted from the day of his birth. Man is born in debt to human society.....And each succeeding generation can not but consider itself the beneficiary of this inherited indebtedness."

31. "'The diploma held by a graduate in law is the true social studies diploma,' said one member of the Conseil.

'The best social workers are those educated in constitutional law,' added another."

32. "The comité d'entente des écoles de service social as well as the comité d'étude des services sociaux de la région parisienne have simultaneously approached my Ministry with a request that a State diploma in social work be established.

"During the last few years social services in large industrial and commercial settings, in public administration, in the institutions concerned with social insurance, have multiplied and developed to such a degree that it has now become important to guarantee and ratify the professional training of the workers within these services, in the effectiveness of whose work my Department takes the highest interest.

"These social services, through the medium of the social workers they employ, contribute successfully to improving the social conditions of the families within their compass, by undertaking educational and support work in the fields of income maintenance, hygiene, health and general social functioning.....

"The provisions of this decree ... will ...

demonstrate clearly the interest taken by the State in the schools of social work; they will represent a sound professional guarantee for the French men and women who devote their lives to a task the results of which are particularly fruitful in terms of social progress."

33. "All technical and professional questions bearing on the teaching provided by social work training centres, the State examinations and the award of the official diploma permitting the bearer to adopt the official title of social worker recognised by the French State."

34. "It was not until 1938 that there was an end to the separation between the first schools of social work, by that time 12 in number, and the 30 schools of health visitor training. A single programme was sanctioned by the diploma in social service, which thereafter was concerned with both health and social protection. Thus, from that time onwards in France, social service was synonymous with the service offered by the assistantes de service social."

CHAPTER 5: The Popular Front and the Rationalisation of Social Work

In 1936, four years after the creation of the first national diploma in social work, the Front Populaire government was elected, ushering in a short period in French politics which has attracted the attention of many who have written on the development of the class structure, social and economic policy and, indeed, social work itself. As far as the latter is concerned, the main developments to be analysed in this chapter are threefold. In view of the reforming and democratising intentions of the Front Populaire government, the hostile reaction of the surintendantes d'usine is of some interest. As a category of social workers concerned rather more with the promotion of harmony in industry than with social justice, their situation was threatened by new schemes of worker participation, in response to which they sought to safeguard their moral authority in the work place by adopting a rhetoric of scientific detachment and professional neutrality. Secondly, the Front Populaire also saw significant developments in the coherence and integration of social work, encouraged by the Socialist Minister of Health, Henri Sellier. Thirdly, and related to each of these points, social work education was reformed in such a way as to give particular emphasis to the need for some harmonisation of an extremely heterogeneous range of activities and philosophies.

The Advent of the Popular Front

It has frequently been argued that the circumstances surrounding this event, in May 1936, revealed with particular clarity the existing structure of class

relations in France, and that the policies adopted by the Front Populaire represented a profoundly significant challenge to the broad pattern of political and economic relations that had characterised French society in the first part of the twentieth century. Although the administration lasted some two and a half years only, in some respects its approach to the problems of France in the 1930s had an influence on the political life of the country which has endured until the present day.

In general terms, the polarisation of French society in the 1930s provided the context within which the Front Populaire came to power, as an unstable and short-lived coalition of the Socialist and Communist left. The reality, however, on closer inspection, seems more complex than a simple confrontation between cohesive forces on the left and right, leading to a temporary victory for the former. Cobban (1965) places particular stress on the rôle played by a long experience of economic stagnation, exacerbated by the delayed onset of large scale unemployment in the early 1930s. These factors, together with the evident inability of governments of the centre and right to address the problems in the economy, contributed in no small measure, he proposes, to the emergence of a rather more radical government of the left than had previously been seen. Moreover, there was a resurrection, primarily by a proliferation of extreme right wing, royalist and overtly fascist groups, of an old tradition of extra-parliamentary organisation and activity. The most dramatic event of a turbulent period was the attempted coup of February 6th, 1934 against the Radical administration of Daladier, in which the prime movers were an assortment of these extreme organisations and over two hundred demonstrators were either killed or injured seriously enough to be hospitalised.

Realising that there were considerable weaknesses and divisions in its right wing opposition and that political advantages were to be secured from such expressions of frustration on the part of the ultra-right, the left was encouraged to present itself as a force for stable, responsible and constitutional government. The two years following the abortive coup were spent rebuilding the Cartel des Gauches, which had previously formed brief governments in 1924 and 1932. This time, however, the Communists, having spent years engaging in bitter attacks on the Socialists and Radicals, were included in the Cartel alongside these groupings and, with their appeal for "une France libre, forte et heureuse", proved to be the most successful of the parties of the Front Populaire in the elections of April/May 1936. The alliance was a fragile one, in part because the commitment of the Radicals was weakened by their own lack of success in the elections, in part because of the very real economic and social problems the coalition was confronted by and the different approaches to them advocated by the parties. Marwick (1980) suggests, as another factor, that support for the Front Populaire amongst the people themselves was, at least initially, relatively inchoate and unorganised. Reporting the work of Prost, Lefranc and Prouteau on the mass strikes which occurred during the month following the 1936 elections, he says,

> "What is at once very clear is the lack of political or ideological motivation and direction in these strikes - strike activity was greatest where union organisation and communist or socialist party influence was least."

Moreover, although some two million workers took part in the strike action,

> "Far from there being a plan to overthrow

the state, or to take over the factories, or even to make precise demands in regard to wages and conditions, most strikers had few ideas as to what exactly they were striking for....As observers noted, the strikes had the atmosphere of a fête, of a holiday. Strikers confided that shortly they expected to go back to much the same sort of life as before." (ibid)

Marwick's view is that, although a rather diffuse working class awareness and pride existed, these were not to be equated with a real working class consciousness, and that a strategy of class conflict was played out more at the level of party leadership than that of the shop floor. Indeed, Val Lorwin (The French Labor Movement, Cambridge Mass. 1954) highlights, amongst other factors, the intransigence of French employers and the divisions in the union movement as major contributors to the failure of the unions to make significant progress in mobilising the industrial working class. In 1933 only 7.5% of workers in industry and commerce were covered by collective agreements.

The Matignon Agreement, resulting from negotiations between Léon Blum, who had taken over as prime minister during the 1936 wave of strikes, and the employers' leaders, achieved a considerable shift in the balance of power within industry. The principal elements in the agreement were that the main employers agreed to collective bargaining, the forty hour week was implemented, paid holidays were introduced and there was an average increase in wages of twelve per cent. In consequence, there was a surge in trade union membership with the Communist led Confédération Générale du Travail achieving 5.3 million members within a year, this being its highest level of membership since the Charter of Amiens marked its real beginnings in 1906.

The surintendantes and the democratisation of industry

This brief outline of events leading up to June 1936 would be of little relevance if it did not bear fairly directly upon the interests and values of the surintendantes d'usine, as the most unified and articulate group of social work practitioners yet to emerge. The new order in industry represented a threat not only to their employers, but also, in a number of ways, to their own position. It will be argued later that the 1938 reform of social work education constituted moreover an effective diminution, albeit not a lasting one, of their influence on the development of social service in general.

First, the considerations which had originally inspired the employment and training of the surintendantes, and their general approbation by the employers leave us in no doubt about the objective reality of their position as moral tutors of the workers as well as guardians of their welfare. Prost, in his discussion of the significance of the strikes of 1936, makes his own perspective on bourgeois attitudes to the working class perfectly clear when he refers to the breaking of well-established social taboos:

> "Je veux dire qu'un certain nombre d'images qu'il était convenu de respecter, qu'un certain nombre de relations que l'on s'accordait à honorer, sont délibérément violées." [35]

In the narrow confines of the work place, any questioning of the absolute authority of the employer was taboo. The occupation of factories and refusal of access to employers was the ultimate challenge to this authority:

> "C'est le fait de l'occupation elle-même

qui signifie que le patron n'est pas le seul maître de l'usine. Ce sont les réactions à l'égard de la maîtrise, les ouvriers obligeant la maîtrise, éventuellement même le directeur de l'usine, à demander l'autorisation au comité de grève pour entrer et sortir de l'usine." [36]

The extension of this challenge to the world beyond work was brought about by the growth of a new defiance, but also facilitated by the granting of a shorter working week and holidays with pay, both of which brought the industrial worker into territory which had previously been the sole preserve of the bourgeoisie:

"Cette violation des tabous est extrêmement importante parce que c'est elle qui déclanche la réaction patronale. Le problème, pour le patronat et pour les classes dirigeantes, n'est pas de gegner plus d'argent ou d'éviter d'en donner trop aux ouvriers, c'est de conserver un pouvoir, c'est-à-dire un ensemble de privilèges sociaux comme le fait, par exemple, d'être salué dans la rue quand on passe, d'être tranquille sur la plage, d'avoir son espace à soi, et c'est net, dès le début du Front populaire." [37]

Prost quotes a number of contemporary observers at widely different points on the political spectrum and including representatives of the employers themselves, in support of the view that what was at issue was not so much the economic concessions made to the workers, but rather the affront to the owners and managers of industry.

In these circumstances the surintendantes, as an integral and important part of management, felt the power they exercised in performing that occupational rôle to be threatened. The new measures resulting from the Accords Matignon sought to give working people more control over

their own lives through restriction of the working week and the provision of paid holidays, and over their own work through participation in the new system of comités d'entreprise. The surintendantes forged their own response, which is revealed in the debates and the reports presented at their assemblées générales of 1937, 1938 and 1939, as well as in other contemporary documents. For example, in a report of 1938, 'Débuts d'une surintendante dans un centre de province inter-entreprises', quoted by Verdès-Leroux, the fear is expressed that the new délégués, workers' representatives on the comités d'entreprise, were invading territory which properly belonged to the surintendantes themselves:

"Les délégués 'nous portent un très grand tort, car ils agissent sur des terrains qui devraient nous être réservés: hygiène des ateliers, amélioration des conditions de travail.' Ce conflit qui parcourt l'histoire du service social de l'entreprise, assistantes affrontées aux délégués, aux comités d'entreprise, aux syndicats, traduit le refus d'admettre l'ouvrier comme individu majeur." [38]

What is evident from the accounts of the assemblées is that, in its response to this encroachment, the profession attached especial importance to the initiative taken by Léon Blum in July 1936.

He created a sous-secrétariat d'Etat chargé des sports et des loisirs, under the direction of Léo Lagrange, the new department being responsible, in liaison with other relevant ministries, for the development of all forms of leisure activity from sport and tourism to instrumental music and cinematography. (Journal Officiel 23/7/1936 p.7715) The considerable enthusiasm shown by the surintendantes is taken by Verdès-Leroux to indicate the

wish to undermine the power base achieved for the workers by trying to divert the energies of the comités d'entreprise into the promotion of such anodyne matters as arrangements for leisure activities and educational and other self-improvement facilities, rather than issues affecting working conditions more fundamentally. At the 1937 and 1938 assemblées appeals were made for the development of sporting activities, "instrument magnifique de compréhension" (Lagrange, 1937) between young people of different social class backgrounds, educational libraries, since "il faut donner le goût du meilleur qui rend l'effort joyeux", choral activities, on the basis that the worker "qui chante ne pense pas à mal", not to mention the improving entertainments and Saturday conferences also advocated by assemblée delegates.

A kindred anxiety which brought forth an extension of this arguably diversionary response was that not only the power but also the moral authority exercised by the surintendantes was at risk. After all, if the workers in industry and commerce were to be admitted to decision making processes in their place of work, this implied a reassessment of the relative moral stature of management and labour. In answer to this the doctrine of neutrality began to be articulated, the surintendantes henceforth to operate in a non-partisan, apolitical domain, "en dehors et au-dessus de toutes querelles, dans la sereine région où ne pénètrent pas les passions partisanes et d'où rien ne peut les faire descendre." [39] (Rapport moral, Assemblée générale des surintendantes, 1937)

Similarly, in the Rapport moral of the following year's assemblée, there is an impassioned plea for the exclusion of political influence from everything concerned with the relief of human suffering: "un service social est en ceci

rigoureusement comparable à un service médical, il n'y a pas de nuance politique dans le diagnostic d'une infection quelconque." [40] In a sense the moral authority of the surintendantes was to be overlaid with a new professional authority couched in terminology suggestive of the kind of scientific objectivity and apparently value-free approach conventionally associated with medicine. In this way problems which had previously been deplored as manifestations of moral weakness came to be debated at the annual conferences as social problems which could the more easily be associated with the broad process of political change taking place during the Front Populaire. Working class alcoholism, for example, attracted particular attention at the assemblée of 1937, when grave disquiet was expressed about the likely effect of the forty hour week on the incidence of what was assumed to be a widespread social disease amongst working people at the time. It was also taken for granted that the prognosis was likely to be the poorer for the popular euphoria and lack of discipline during the strikes. The widening of the scope of social work to encompass social and recreational activities not only had the effect of diluting the new found power of the working class, but also that of demonstrating a concern to protect them from a social scourge, the dangers of alcohol abuse. Verdès-Leroux, in her typically emphatic way, describes the social work response to the changed conditions in the following terms:

"...le Front populaire, en inversant, pour un temps court, le rapport entre les classes, et en modifiant plus durablement les représentations collectives, produit un renouvellement de ce qui se dit sur les classes populaires. L'assistance sociale forge là, irréversiblement, un des éléments important de son idéologie spécifique: la notion de neutralité, qui la

place au-dessus des classes, au service de l'Homme.....La force qu'ils sont amenés à reconnaître aux dominés contraint à nouveau les dominants à modérer leur discours mais, à la différence du début du siècle, il s'agit cette fois, non d'une simple atténuation, mais d'un travestissement; l'opinion s'exprime de manière indirecte à travers un langage s'efforçant de convaincre de son objectivité." [41]

One should remind oneself briefly perhaps of one further point about the impact of the Accords Matignon on social work in private enterprise or, indeed, in any other setting at this time. That is that social work was an exclusively female activity in a society in which women were not to have the right to vote, nor to stand for election, until the constitution of October 1946, a tiny minority of women were able to undertake higher education and employment for most women who worked at all was confined to the more menial of occupations, primary teaching and social work being the only significant exceptions. Yvonne Kniebiehler says of women in social work,

"Le 'social' était comme un défaut de la cuirasse masculine; elles s'y sont glissées, elles ont fait leur place, de plus en plus large, à côté des hiérarchies en place.

"A l'école on leur avait enseigné le dévouement à autrui, la modestie, la patience. A ces qualités, elles ont ajouté l'intelligence, l'énergie, l'ambition. Elles ont su démontrer, à leur place, que le sexe faible était capable d'initiative, de responsabilité, d'organisation, de persévérance." [42]

In short, in the new situation, they responded to three different but related factors which menaced their situation: the threat to their authority, and indeed to

authority in general, in the work place; the threat to their own claim to exclusive professional competence in the domain of welfare at work; and the threat to the remarkable bridgehead they had established as women in a fairly influential sector in the labour market.

During the Vichy years the administration was to legislate in a number of ways to reinforce the position of the surintendantes, more openly acknowledging their rôle as agents of industrial discipline, but, in the meantime developments were taking place in other areas of social work under the Front Populaire, notably those prompted by Henri Sellier.

The movement towards rationalisation in social work

The foundations of generic social work in the public sector had been laid after the First World War, but were extended quite significantly during the Front Populaire administration. The pioneers of French social work, as has already been acknowledged, were not exclusively the moral entrepreneurs of the Catholic Church and private enterprise, but also included those who saw social work as capable of contributing to a broad programme of social reform and the prevention of social ills. Henri Sellier, who, as Mayor of Suresnes, had already experimented with the municipal assistante sociale polyvalente, took steps to extend the scheme during his term of office at the Ministère de la Santé Publique, starting in 1936.

Sellier had envisaged the extensive use of municipal medico-social workers early in his political career, and had included a health visiting service for mothers and young children as part of his election programme when he stood for the position of Mayor of Suresnes in 1919. By

1928, according to a municipal circular, there were twelve workers in this service, together with a number of other employees carrying out a wide variety of tasks, an early example of the idea of polyvalence.

"Toute demande d'emploi, de service, de grâce ou d'allocation adressée à la municipalité est instruite par la visiteuse du quartier qui, prenant connaissance de la situation de la famille, est en mesure de placer, au moment opportun, le conseil ou l'avis qui peuvent être justifiés." 43(quoted in Guerrand & Rupp, 1978)

Before this, in 1918, Sellier had founded the Office public d'hygiène sociale de la Seine under the aegis of the Préfecture. Within its forty two tuberculosis dispensaries were employed the largest number of specialised health visitors of any such organisation, a total of 170 by 1926, and the service itself provided in many respects a model which was adopted by by others which followed.

His wide experience in the administration of welfare services led him to be especially concerned with problems of coordination when he entered the Ministry of Health. These problems were considerable, given the fact that a great deal of welfare work was carried out in the 1930s by private charitable bodies, often highly specialist and quite small in scale. They are stated succinctly by one of the anonymous informants of Yvonne Kniebiehler, working in a relatively small town just before the Sellier measures for coordination were introduced:

"La législation sociale et les services publics étant loin de couvrir tous les besoins, de nombreuses oeuvres privées étaient nées, animées par des

gens de bonne volonté, des 'bénévoles'.

"Dans une ville de 90,000 habitants, il était assez facile de les connaître tous, mais comment les amener à se concerter entre eux et avec les services publics? Ayant à ma disposition le fichier du 'Bureau d'Assistance et de Bienfaisance' de la Mairie, je pensais partir de ce fichier pour essayer de promouvoir une véritable coordination. La municipalité, animée par un maire avocat, de nuance radical-socialiste, accepta de déplacer ce fichier vers un rez-de-chaussée accessible, et de le mettre à la disposition des professionnels et des bénévoles, tout en préservant la discrétion indispensable. Il y avait certainement là une amorce de ce qui devait aboutir plus tard à l'organisation de la coordination des services sociaux - et la reconnaissance de ce besoin par une municipalité ouverte et dynamique." [44] (Kniebiehler 1980)

Sellier was one of the many twentieth century French socialists who saw social and medical welfare work as an instrument of social progress, and the proper organisation of such efforts as a valuable stage in the evolution of a socialist society. He perceived a need to go beyond such ad hoc individual initiatives taken to this end, and sought as a matter of urgency to introduce a uniform system of coordination. His intention in so doing was, however, to impose a number of constraints on the work of voluntary charitable bodies at the same time, largely in the interests of rationalisation, and this met with considerable opposition from this sector. The initial proposals were modified as a result of the persuasion of Léonie Gillet, daughter of one rich industrialist and widow of another, who had spent her life in charitable works. She suggested to Sellier the creation of a Union des Institutions Privées, the function of which would be to provide a channel of

communication between the charities and the State, monitoring changes in the laws and regulations affecting such bodies and representing their interests to government.

The proposal was taken up by Sellier and a structure for coordination was established for the first time in the domain of private sector welfare work, apart from the Secours National created in response to the exceptional circumstances of the First World War. The way in which this was achieved indicates the influence of the organisations engaged in this work, for, whilst enabling the minister to secure the basic reform he sought, they also contrived to preserve their own autonomy to a considerable degree and, through affiliation, to increase their strength.

The Union des Institutions Privées itself was established at a specially convened meeting on October 16th, 1936, whilst, between August 26th and the month of November, a series of circulars was issued to each département ordering that a commission départementale de coordination sanitaire et sociale be established on which both public, semi-public and private organisations would be represented. All charitable organisations were to be obliged to subscribe to the new union if they wished to benefit from the recognition and support of the public authorities.

It was, however, the Paris region that appears to have derived most from the trend towards coordination. The Prefect of the Seine implemented the terms of the ministerial circulars before the end of the year, his comité de coordination bringing together thirty six representatives of each of the three sectors. Over and above this a broader type of liaison occurred, albeit at

a less formal level, and one which considerably facilitated the task of the new committee. This resulted from the success of Léonie Gillet in securing the rent-free use of an office block belonging to an industrial concern in Paris: 6 rue de Berri. The office of the comité de coordination was installed, together with those of some ten other social service organisations. Chief among them were three bodies whose primary concern was with the question of coordination: le Comité Français de Service Social, presided over by Professor Parisot and administered by Madeleine Hurtado; l'Office Public pour les Mères et Enfants de la Seine, the coordinating body for family workers directed by Ysabel de Hurtado; and the aforementioned Union des Institutions Privées, led by Gillet herself, which had received 775 applications for affiliation fron the Seine département alone in its first year of existence.

Just as shared headquarters accommodation eased the process of coordination, so also did the overlapping leadership of the agencies mentioned: Madeleine Hardouin, Ysabel de Hurtado and Léonie Gillet were leading members of all three bodies, and thus were closely involved in the decision making of each of them. It goes without saying that this cohabitation also increased the scope and the degree of potential influence of the organisations and their leaders, social work becoming in the process a more effective political force.

In 1937 Parisot gave especial emphasis to the issue of integration of social work when he addressed an audience of a thousand social workers gathered in Paris. The occasion was the first national convocation of French social workers called by Parisot's own organisation, the Comité Français. He seized the opportunity to develop ideas about efficiency and coordination in social work

that he had expressed many times before at both national and international gatherings. The message was essentially the same as has been repeated in the British context from the time of the Charity Organisation Society through to the publication of the Seebohm Report: that personal social services working autonomously and in isolation create confusion not only for themselves, but also for the families they work with. For him the ultimate solution went beyond the simple coordination of administratively separate services, and resided in the substitution of the "polyvalente de secteur, appelée dorénavant assistante familiale" [45] for all the existing diverse categories of personal social service workers.

Also in that year, Paris took a further step towards the development of a fully articulated social work service to families, and in the general direction intimated by Parisot. In each of its twenty arrondissements and in the eighty communes of the suburbs, sections de coordination were established, offices concerned with coordination at local level, each one of which was led by a déléguée technique empowered to organise the family worker service.

Strauss and Loucheur had sought to facilitate the emergence of a degree of integration and a sense of common identity and purpose in social work. At the behest of social work leaders, they had used minimal State controls over social work education to pursue this end, and their aspirations had ultimately been satisfied by a monitoring and validating rôle for government, leaving much of the initiative with the schools. Now Sellier, although he had wished to exercise more control over the situation, found himself in much the same position. Having used his power as minister to pursue the goal of better administrative coordination, he saw

the realisation of this objective being pursued vigorously and quite effectively by the leadership of the non-governmental bodies whose growth had been actively encouraged by governments since the doctrine of solidarité had provided the rationale for this strategy at the turn of the century.

Translations

35. "What I mean to say is that certain images that it was conventional to respect, and certain relationships that were normally honoured, were deliberately violated."

36. "It was the fact of occupation itself which intimated that the employer was not sole master of the factory. Such were the reactions of the workers towards management, the former compelling the latter, ultimately even the director of the factory, to ask the strike committee's permission to enter or to leave the works."

37. "This flouting of taboos is extremely important because it was this which provoked the reaction of the employers. The problem for the latter and the ruling classes generally was not that of making more money, nor that of avoiding handing too much of it over to the workers, it was rather that of preserving their position of power, that is to say a collection of social privileges such as being greeted respectfully in the street, being left in peace on the beach, having ample personal space. This problem was presented with particular clarity from the very beginning of the Popular Front."

38. "The workers' representatives 'are doing us a great wrong, because they are taking action in domains which should be ours alone: standards of health and hygiene on the shop floor, improvements in working conditions.' This conflict which spans the history of industrial social service, assistantes confronting workers' representatives, works committees, trade unions, makes manifest the refusal to accept the worker himself as a responsible adult."

39. "outwith and above all disputes, in that serene domain into which partisan passions may not intrude and from which nothing may oblige them to descend."

40. "a social service is in this respect strictly comparable to a medical service, there are no political nuances in the diagnosis of any infection."

41. "...the Popular Front, by overturning for a short time the relationship between the classes and, in the longer term, by modifying the structure of collective representation, served to generate a new kind of discourse concerning the working classes. Here social work created irreversibly one of the important aspects of its own particular ideology: the notion of neutrality, placing it above class and in the service of mankind at large..... The power of the dominated class, which they had been forced to acknowledge, once again obliged the dominant to change the style of their rhetoric, but in a different way from the early years of the century, this time it was not simply a matter of attenuation, but rather of dissimulation; opinion was expressed indirectly through the medium of language which went out of its way to convince of its objectivity."

42. "Social welfare was to be likened to a flaw in the masculine armour, by way of which they entered stealthily and established an increasingly substantial position for themselves alongside the already established hierarchies.

"In school they had been taught devotion to others, modesty and patience. To these qualities they added intelligence, energy and ambition. They knew how to demonstrate, in their own position in the scheme of things, that the weaker sex was capable of initiative, responsibility, organisation and pertinacity."

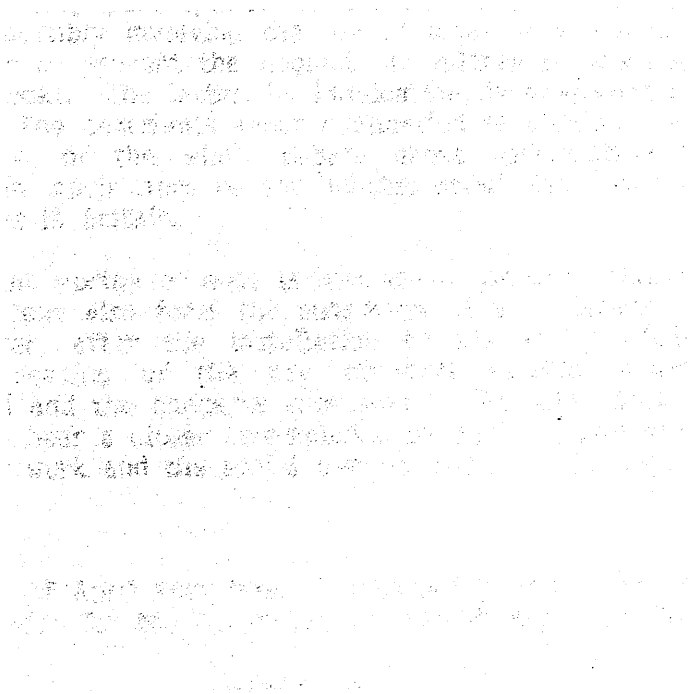
43. "Any request for employment, services, grants or benefits addressed to the municipality is the subject of a report by the visitor for the area in question who, taking account of the situation of the family, is in a position to provide at the opportune moment whatever advice or judgment seems most appropriate."

44. "Social legislation and the public services being far from able to deal with all need, numerous private charitable organisations had come into being, staffed by people of good will, volunteers.

"In a town of 90,000 inhabitants, it was an easy task to get to know them, but how could they be brought to cooperate with each other and with the public services? As I had at my disposal the filing system of the public assistance and welfare office at the town hall, I decided to use this as a basis and attempt to encourage real cooperation. The municipality, led by a mayor who was a radical socialist barrister, agreed to locate this filing system in an accessible position on the ground floor and to place it at the disposal of both professional and volunteer workers, at the same time maintaining the necessary conditions of confidentiality.

This was certainly a first step in the direction of what was later to become organised social service coordination - and the acknowledgment by a receptive and dynamic municipality of the need for this."

45. "non-specialist area worker, henceforth to be known as a family worker."



DOCUMENT 1

The Ministerial Circular of April 16th 1940 was addressed to the Prefect of each département and is reproduced in translation at this point for two main reasons. On the one hand it illustrates a particular development of the theme of much of the last chapter - that of coordination, which began to be discussed seriously at national level in the late 1930s. In this instance the concern, consonant with the drive for population, is the articulation of properly integrated personal health care services for mothers and their children. On the other hand it shows clearly some of the problems, exacerbated by a situation of national crisis, which arose out of a strategy relying heavily on a variety of services outside the direct control of the public authorities. The need to limit the cost to the public purse is stressed, but so are other needs, such as ensuring that conditions of employment are fairly uniform from one sector to another, and that all workers and agencies observe the rules governing their sphere of intervention. Of particular interest are the observations which make a clear distinction between two aspects of social work. The one is based upon the voluntary participation of the client, the other implies a power relationship, possibly involving the use of legal or administrative sanctions by the worker to prevent the neglect of children or the possible abuse of family allowances. The latter, by implication, is somewhat less than 'true' social work. The comments about duplication of visiting are familiar, both in the context of the whole debate about coordination of services in France, and in much more recent debates about the rational use of social work resources in Britain.

A further point worthy of note is that much the same themes as are dealt with in this text also form the substance of a ministerial circular issued one year later, after the installation of the Vichy administration. A comparative reading of the two circulars reveals, however, that the language used and the concerns expressed in the later document (appended to Chapter 7) bear a closer resemblance to more modern debates about the rôle of social work and the social worker/client relationship.

Circular of April 16th 1940. Organisation of the Départemental Service for the Protection of Mothers and their Children

(Cabinet du Ministre)

In view of the approaching meeting of the regional councils, I thought it would be useful to draw your attention once again to the organisation of the Service départemental de la protection de la maternité et de l'enfance, and to the draft regulations approved by the joint ministerial arrêté of February 7th 1940.

The joint ministerial circular of March 1st and the note from the Council of State which is reproduced therein have already made you aware, in terms of which I can only approve, in what spirit and according to what directives you were required to alter or to complete the services already in existence - rather than undertaking the creation of new services - in order to conform to the programme outlined in the draft regulations. In

relation to this, however, I must insist that the regulations adopted by your Département in particular, which must in the terms of article 1 of the decree of November 3rd 1939 be submitted for the approval of the government and the Council of State, should not necessarily involve the addition to your départemental budget of any excessive additional expenditure, as the Council of State considers it unnecessary to spend more than the minimum required for the functioning of the new service.

What is more, you will no doubt, when it comes to determining the number of districts and the corresponding number of social workers to be allocated to them, conform in broad outline to the recommendation included in note 2, article 9 of the draft regulations, that is to say the attachment to the new service of one social worker per 10,000 inhabitants. The current situation, however, might certainly justify waiving this rule on at least a temporary basis, the difficulty of recruitment needing to be taken into consideration as well as the financial implications, especially in the case of social service in rural areas. What is of overriding importance is the establishment of a comprehensive plan adequate to meet needs, even if it may have to be phased in progressively.

The salaries and allowances to be paid to the social workers will constitute, without doubt, one of the most substantial items of expenditure necessitated by the new service. It would, from all points of view, be extremely problematical if, between employees in different départements, there were to be significant differences in levels of remuneration which were not due to local circumstances. I intend in the very near future to convey to you all the information and directions necessary for the determination of normal rates of payment, thereby ensuring that any striking variations are avoided.

I can not overemphasise the importance of the dispositions of articles 13 and 15 of the draft regulations which provide for various forms of collaboration between public bodies and private initiatives. Your efforts must be directed in the broadest possible way towards the achievement of this coordination which conforms so clearly to both the letter and the spirit of the draft regulations and one of the most advantageous consequences of which must be seen as the reduction of the burden on the départemental budget.

Thus a number of the unjustified criticisms and groundless fears that arose after the publication of the draft regulations in the Journal Officiel collapse of their own accord.

Amongst these criticisms, however, there is one which warrants closer attention; it is that which relates to the restriction contained in the latter part of the penultimate paragraph of article 1, removing from the purview and control of social workers in the voluntary sector the application of the law relating to social assistance and social welfare, an area in which social workers will henceforth be called upon to involve themselves very extensively (cf article 10 of the draft regulations).

It goes without saying that there is a not inconsiderable difference between true social work, offered to but not imposed upon those families for whose benefit it was brought into being, and the control exercised by

social workers in applying social assistance laws and related legislation; such control can not be effective if beneficiaries are allowed complete freedom to accept or refuse the visits of the social workers who are accountable representatives of the public services. It is clearly essential that this latter function be performed with caution and discretion and, in brief, with the impartiality which is strictly demanded of all agents directly employed by public authorities and departments.

Having said this, one should not exaggerate anxieties about the possible failure of workers in those voluntary organisation which are accredited by the public authorities to observe as fully the regulations in question. It is also impossible, on the other hand, to ignore the difficulties which may present themselves in practice as a result of this restrictive clause.

As far as maternity and child protection are concerned, true social work and the monitoring of the application of social assistance laws are very closely linked; it is, therefore, very difficult to separate them, to involve a particular category of social workers in the one whilst excluding them from the other. What is more, repeated visits by several social workers to the same household - this fact has all too frequently been brought to my attention in Paris as in many provincial centres - are nowadays almost unanimously considered to be extremely undesirable. Nothing is more contrary to the spirit of coordination and 'setting the house in order' that should be stimulated by the establishment of this new service.

In conclusion, if the préfecture does not have in respect of the social workers employed by local non-public services the powers it disposes of with regard to its own agents all necessary precautions can and should be taken in the prefectoral arrêté authorising such a service to ensure that any regrettable action or attitude, any departure from the discretion and impartiality to which I referred earlier, will be followed by the immediate and effective application of sanctions. Placed under governmental control, private institutions and their workers must scrupulously observe all the obligations placed upon them by their close collaboration in the operations of a great public service.

If it should appear to you that, in view of the above considerations, there would be real merit in modifying or perceptibly tempering, in the regulations concerning the organisation of the new service, the limiting prescription contained in the last five lines of the penultimate paragraph of the draft regulations, you have only to inform me of your proposals to that end. I will study them and if I think it appropriate to submit them to the Council of State, the Haute Assemblée, called in the last resort to deliver its verdict, will not refuse to examine carefully the case advanced in favour of any proposed amendment to the draft regulations. Its flexibility is too well known to leave anyone in any doubt on this matter.

Le Ministre,
Marcel Héraud

CHAPTER 6: Social work education: The 1938 Reform

The reform of training for social service in 1938 could be said to be a further manifestation of the movement towards integration in social work. The situation between 1922 and 1932 was that health visitor, or community nursing, training represented the basis for social work practice for many, the qualifications issued by schools of social work training having no formal recognition by the State; from 1932 onwards separate State diplomas in social work and hospital and community based nursing were available on successful completion of any of a range of diverse courses in separate institutions; from 1938 the two types of training were to converge, and the école mixte came into being, offering both courses with a considerable element of common teaching.

This réform of social work training was of particular importance in two principal ways. First, as shown by Table 13, it created a substantially larger pool than had previously existed of educational establishments with an investment in social work training. Moreover, and of at least equal significance, it was based on assumptions about the nature, rôle and societal functions of social work that, in spite of the changes the Vichy administration sought to introduce in the early 1940s, were to endure well into the post-war period. For writers like de Robertis (1981) the 1938 reform is perceived as representing a diversion, in that it substituted a medical focus for the distinctive casework orientation that a substantial minority of social workers had adopted and developed throughout the late 1920s and 1930s. She also sees the decree of 1938 in terms of a

considerable movement towards the State control and bureaucratisation of social work, in view of the close links established with the health workers who were largely employed in public and semi-public institutions.

Table 13

Schools of Social Work in France and Overseas Territories (1924-1948)

Year	Paris	Provinces/Algeria
1924[a]	4	1
1938[b]	7	4
1938[c]	14	29
1948[d]	17	48

a. Report of the Conseil Supérieur de l'Assistance Publique, June 1924
b. & c. Cécile Braquehais, (Archives Hospitalières N° 16, 1940). The figures refer to the situation immediately before [b.] and after [c.] the décret of 17/2/38, which increased the numbers of training centres sharply by virtually unifying social work and health visitor training.
d. Comité d'Entente des Ecoles parisiennes de service social, 29/1/48

Those provisions of the new décret which impinged directly on the development of social work as a profession must, however, be understood as having relatively little significance in the broader context of the policy problems which confronted the Front Populaire government in its latter stages.

The opposition of the right remained strong on a number of fronts. Their profound distaste for the Accords

Matignon with their paid holidays and forty hour week for workers was based primarily on the assault on the privileges of the propertied classes and employers which it represented. It was rationalised, however, by reference to France's continuing poor economic performance: low productivity, continuing unemployment and a failure to emulate the industrial achievements of other countries, notably Germany and Italy. The overwhelmingly right wing press, over and above their assault on the economic policies of the government and its modernisation of industrial relations, gave virulent expression to the anti-semitism which had long been firmly established in French society. Léon Blum himself was the particular target of journals such as l'Action française and Gringoire in which, as Bodin and Touchard (1961) point out, personal calumny took priority over political discussion. His government, having as it did a considerable number of Jewish members, was also portrayed in large sections of the press as a Jewish conspiracy against democracy and the national character. The Spanish Civil War not only split French society between support for Franco and support for the Spanish government, but also divided the Front Populaire itself on the question of military support to its Spanish counterpart. However, the issue that brought down the Blum administration was that of the management of the economy, particularly the exchange controls he attempted to introduce in 1937 to stem the flight of capital which had been gathering momentum since the previous year.

Léon Blum's resignation was tendered on June 22nd 1937 and Lebrun, as President, called on Camille Chautemps, a Radical of the moderate right, to lead a new government. Although the ministerial composition of the new government differed only slightly from that which it replaced, the initial reforming zeal of the Front

Populaire had been irretrievably lost and the period until its final collapse in late October 1938 was marked by caution and moderation. In particular, Henri Sellier lost his post at the Ministère de la Santé Publique. His replacement, Marc Rucart, did not have his extensive experience of administration in social service and social work, nor did he share the commitment to the development of social service per se. The emphasis, rather, in the decree of 1938 was on the theme of public health, which continued to excite great public and political concern. In the period 1935-1937 the infant mortality rate, as already noted, was high, standing at 71.4:1000 (Données Sociales, 1981) and the death rate from diseases related to poor environmental conditions remained a cause of alarm. What is more, the rate of population growth in the inter-war years was remarkably slow, the period 1935-1937 seeing an actual decline in population of 0.03%. France's poor demographic performance compared with that of its European neighbours occasioned increasing alarm and, as the territorial ambitions of these neighbours began to gain ground, the full implications of the 'génération creuse' of 1914-1919 were realised in France. Measures such as the family allowances which had been introduced voluntarily by many employers and subsequently legislated for in 1932, the system being extended to agricultural workers in 1938, were part of the policy response to this problem, but other more thoroughgoing measures were manifestly required.

Armengaud (1977) expresses the view that this period, immediately prior to the Second World War, saw the establishment, for the first time, of something resembling a consistent and coherent demographic policy in France. Previous measures had been piecemeal but now, at least partly in response to the opposition debate on the subject in the same month as the decree on nursing

and social work training, serious action to encourage the growth of population began to unfold. Over and above the simple extension of family allowances already referred to, the system of payment was adjusted to favour the larger family. Policy in this area led, after the final collapse of the Front Populaire in 1938, to the creation of the Haut Comité consultatif de la Population, and culminated, just over a month before the outbreak of the war, with the décret-loi of July 29th 1939, known as the Code de la Famille. This measure sought to encompass and harmonise all existing family law relating to such matters as inheritance, taxation and benefits, whilst also strengthening the law against abortion.

The 1938 legislation can be said, therefore, to be the product of a number of varied factors. Although, in the short term, the process was initiated by the desire of Sellier to integrate and rationalise a range of heterogeneous social service activities which was becoming increasingly significant in the life of the nation, other considerations came into play and influenced the final shape and political import of the reform.

The decree itself is reproduced in translation as Document 2, together with the brief report of the Minister of Health which precedes it in the Journal Officiel. The ministerial orders which detailed the manner of its implementation are also included (Documents 3, 4 and 5) to illustrate the degree of control the State wished to exercise over the minutiae of training . The main features of the report and décret may, however, be summarised as follows:

- the first paragraph of the report refers to the "personnel auxiliaire appelé à seconder le médecin

dans le domaine curatif et préventif" [46], thereby establishing unequivocally the central concern of the decree with public health matters, and the principal future rôle of qualified social workers as auxiliaries to the medical profession. That the Ministry of Public Health piloted the reform and retained overall responsibility for the administration of all aspects of both training and examinations emphasises this paramedical aspect of social work, as does the fact that the first year of training was to be common to social work and nursing students;

- access to and progress through the training courses was made subject to strict conditions. Entrance to the schools was available to those of French nationality only, who also satisfied the specified criteria of age and educational qualifications. The Ministry exercised control over the content of entrance, sessional and final examinations, appointed the examination boards to preside over their administration and nominated the university towns in which they were to take place. Exemption from the admission examination was available only to those who had obtained the baccalauréat or other school leaving qualifications, and all students had to pass end of session examinations in order to proceed to the next year of training;

- teaching programmes, outlined in ministerial order no. 3, were established by the Minister of Health and supplied in greater detail in other documentation from the ministry, and teaching appointments and placement selection were made subject to ministerial approval, as were all the schools wishing to offer training. The principle of government inspection was applied to both schools and placement agencies;

- assessment of students was based on performance in practice and on written and oral examinations of theoretical and practical aspects of social work tasks;

- the principle that equal time should be devoted to academic study and practice placements was borrowed from earlier models of nursing training and applied to social work. There is no evidence that this pattern has been seriously questioned, even with the separation of social work and nursing education in more recent years;

- provision was made for the establishment of a higher diploma for qualified social workers who satisfied certain conditions of age and relevant work experience and underwent additional training. The outbreak of the Second World War prevented the first cohort of students on this course from completing their studies and it was not until the post-war period that the idea of higher training for social workers was reintroduced;

- for the first time grants were introduced for students of social work. This, in an important sense, democratised social work by opening up new opportunities for girls of a working class or peasant background in an occupation which had formerly been reserved for those of comfortable middle class origins.

The statutes governing social work education in 1938 supplied a model which has been adhered to by succeeding governments and, although the content of social work courses has changed in the intervening years, the latest reform of training, introduced in 1980, bears a remarkable resemblance to the framework of control

established at that time. Although the décret of 1932 may have represented the first formal recognition of social work by the State, the origins of contemporary social work education in France are to be found in 1938.

Translation

46. "auxiliary personnel called upon to assist the doctor in the areas of both cure and prevention."

DOCUMENT 2

Report and Decree of 18/2/1938

MINISTERE DE LA SANTE PUBLIQUE

Introduction of Ordinary and Higher State Diplomas
in District or Hospital Nursing and in Social Work

REPORT
to the President of the French Republic

Paris, February 17th, 1938

Monsieur le Président,

The need for the technical education of auxiliary personnel aiding the medical profession in the domain of both cure and prevention has led to various decrees establishing a certificate of professional competence which confers on the holder the French State Diploma in Nursing, and the setting out the criteria for official recognition of schools of nursing.
These decrees will allow for improved conditions of recruitment in our country of a body of professional workers without which care of the sick and the prevention of social scourges would be endangered; however, the work begun required to be perfected, and it has become evident that the considerable growth of the various services in the field of public hygiene and social protection has led inexorably towards a revision of the conditions for the award of these diplomas and a complete reorganisation of professional training for both hospital and community based work.
This broad reform has been undertaken after consultation with the conseil de perfectionnement des écoles d'infirmières which presented us with its unanimous proposals. These, in the main, we have accepted, whilst feeling an equal obligation to take account of the suggestions presented to us by Senate, on the one hand, on the occasion of the Act passed by the House relative to the status of medical auxiliaries and the deliberations of the commission d'hygiène de la haute Assemblée, and, on the other hand, by the confédération générale du travail.
In practice, the new regulations begin by quashing the various specialisms in health visitor training which had originally been anticipated and, henceforth, provides for the award of a single diploma in social work alongside the diploma in hospital nursing.
It has been necessary to introduce some modifications into the programmes currently in force in all the schools and, in particular, to secure a greater degree of interpenetration in the early stages of study, common first year teaching being required by both future nurses and future social workers.
These measures needed, however, to be implemented without any extension of the period of training, so as not to prejudice the young women and girls wishing to enter this career: we have, therefore, retained a training period of two years for hospital nursing whilst all candidates for the social work diploma will receive the three years of training which certain categories only were previously obliged to undertake; experience has, in fact, made it quite clear that only in this lapse of time can social workers acquire the necessary practical expertise and prepare themselves fully for the rôle they will later have to assume.

We also felt it necessary to give consideration to the establishment of a higher diploma to be awarded on the basis of additional studies carried out in specialist schools. Priority would be given to holders of this diploma in the selection of supervisory staff for hospitals and publicly financed health organisations. It is also to this selected body of nurses that would be entrusted the training of new personnel and their instruction in the use of new techniques.
The various professional schools preparing students for both standard and higher diplomas will, of course, be subject to common rules and to the control of the State.
Finally, since the hospitals are currently experiencing great difficulties in recruiting personnel of a sufficiently high professional standard, there is a need, on a temporary basis at least, to facilitate, in those establishments which have sufficient means, the establishment of schools intended expressly for the professional training of their own staff, on the basis of the provisions of the décret of October 6th, 1926 relative to administrative personnel of the assistance publique in Paris.
We request, therefore, your approval of this décret.

Veuillez agréer, monsieur le Président, l'hommage de mon respectueux dévouement.

Le ministre de la santé publique,

Marc Rucart

The President of the French Republic,

Following the report of the Minister of Public Health,

In view of the decree of June 27th 1922, modified by the decrees of February 2nd 1923, July 18th 1924, February 7th 1929, March 6th 1929, January 12th 1932, August 28th 1936,

Decrees:

PART ONE

STATE DIPLOMA FOR HOSPITAL NURSES - STATE DIPLOMA FOR SOCIAL WORKERS

Composition of the Diplomas

Art. 1 - State nursing and social work diplomas are hereby established.

Art. 2 - The nursing and social work diplomas will be awarded to candidates of French nationality who have undergone the training and have been successful in the examinations prescribed by this decree.

The Training

Art. 3 - The period of training for the above-mentioned diplomas is two years in the case of nursing and three years in the case of social work.

In exceptional circumstances, and in respect of individual cases, exemptions from study may be granted by the Minister of Public Health subject to the approval of the conseil supérieur d'hygiène sociale.

An order issued by the Minister of Public Health will establish the exemptions granted to holders of the nursing diploma wishing to obtain the social work diploma and to holders of the social work diploma wishing to obtain the diploma in nursing.

Art. 4 - To qualify for admission to the first year of the course students will be required successfully to undertake a preliminary examination the form of which will be determined by order of the Minister of Public Health.

Candidates in possession of the baccalauréat, the brevet supérieur or the diplôme de fin d'études secondaires will, however, be exempted from this requirement.

Art. 5 - To qualify for admission to the second year of the course candidates must successfully complete the assessment procedure at the end of the first year of training and, in the case of social work students, to qualify for admission to the third year of the course candidates must satisfy the examiners at the end of the second year of study.

The assessment boards must include a representative of the Minister of Public Health.

Art. 6 - The studies leading to the award of the diplomas established by this decree include theoretical and practical training and periods of placement.

Art. 7 - The teaching staff must be approved by the Minister of Public Health in consultation with:

1. the medical faculties, in those matters which are of concern to them;
2. the conseil supérieur d'hygiène sociale.

Art. 8 - The teaching programme for the first year will be the same for all students.

The second year teaching will differ as between social work and nursing students.

Art. 9 - The conditions in which schools will be approved to train students for the State diplomas established in article 1, and the teaching programmes and organisation of studies will be laid down by order of the Minister of Public Health.

The schools will be subject to monitoring and control by the Minister of Public Health.

Art. 10 - The general organisation of placements will be established by order of the Minister of Public Health.

These placements may take place only in those establishments, whether private or public, which have been approved by the Minister of Public Health in consultation with the conseil supérieur d'hygiène sociale.

They will be subject to inspection by the Minister of Public Health.

Art. 11 - The arrangements for the diploma examinations which will occur at the end of the second year of study for nursing students and at the end of the third year of study for social work students, as well as the composition of the assessment boards and the programme of examinations will be determined by order of the Minister of Public Health.

These examinations will be held in towns in which there is either a university or a faculty or school of medicine, selected by the Minister of Public Health in consultation with the conseil supérieur d'hygiène sociale.

They will comprise written, oral and practical assessments.

The organisation and content of the examinations will be the same for all assessment boards.

Student Grants and Approved Training Centres

Art. 12 - Within the limits of the budget made available for this purpose, the Minister of Public Health will allocate grants to students registered for study in an approved school of nursing or social work training.

Conditions for the award and maintenance of grants will be laid down by the Minister of Public Health on the basis of proposals by the conseil supérieur d'hygiène sociale.

Rights Conferred by the Diplomas

Art. 13 - The diplomas in hospital nursing and social work will be required of all nurses or social workers practising in any public establishment or in any private establishment or institution deriving all or part of its funding from public sources, or from private sources where the support or authorisation of the public authorities is involved.

In the case of the hospital service, the social work diploma will not be accepted in place of the nursing diploma, and in the case of social work services, the nursing diploma will not be accepted in place of the social work diploma.

The rights accorded by the nursing diploma will be the same no matter which of the specialist options available it refers to.

Similarly, the rights accorded by the social work diploma will be the same for all its holders, regardless of any specialism mentioned.

The specialisms alluded to will be entered on the diplomas according to guidelines established by order of the Minister of Public Health.

PART TWO

THE STATE HIGHER DIPLOMAS IN NURSING AND SOCIAL WORK

Foundations of the Higher Diploma

Art. 14 - A higher diploma in nursing and social work is to be established.

Art. 15 - The diploma provided for in the preceding article will be awarded to hospital nurses and social workers admitted by competitive entrance examination to schools to be known as "Ecoles supérieures de service hospitalier et social" and having undergone in such schools one year of study followed by success in the examination provided for in article 18 of this decree.

Participation in the entrance examination will be restricted to those nurses and social workers who have held the State diploma for more than five years, have been employed in a relevant service for a minimum of three years, and are over thirty years of age, after consultation with previous or current employers.

The form of the competitive entrance examination will be established by order of the Minister of Public Health.

For an interim period exemptions from study will be granted to those nurses and social workers who, at the date of publication of this decree, have been exercising their profession for at least ten years.

Art. 16 - A future decree will lay down conditions for the organisation and operation of the écoles supérieures de service hospitalier et social.

Art. 17 - The organisation, nature and syllabus of teaching offered in the écoles supérieures de service hospitalier et social will be established by order of the Minister of Public Health.

Examinations

Art. 18 - The diploma introduced by article 14 of this decree will be awarded by a State examining board which will sit in Paris. Its structure will be determined by order of the Minister of Public Health. Its members will be nominated by the same process.

Grants

Art. 19 - Grants will be awarded by the Minister of Public Health, within the limits imposed by the budget available, to nurses and social workers admitted to training in the écoles supérieures de service hospitalier et social following the competitive examination. The number of places in these schools will be limited to the number of grants available.

Rights conferred by the diplomas

Art. 20 - All nurses or social workers occupying the position of director, inspector or other comparable senior positions in any public establishment, or in any private establishment which is financed entirely or in part by funds raised with the participation or sanction of the public authorities must, as a matter of priority, be in possession of the higher diploma.

The social work diploma will not be accepted in place of the nursing diploma in the case of nursing services, nor will the nursing diploma be accepted in place of the social work diploma in the case of social work services.

PART THREE

GENERAL PROVISIONS

Art. 21 - The diplomas created in this decree will give their holders the right to wear a special insignia arrangements for which will be subject to further ministerial order.

Art. 22 - The French Red Cross, because of the special mission which it undertakes within the terms of international agreements such as the Geneva Convention of 1864 and article 25 of the League of Nations convention, maintains, over and above the right to prepare candidates for the State diplomas in nursing and social work in those of its schools which have been approved for the purpose in the terms of this decree, the right also to award, after completed study and examination in all of its schools, certificates or diplomas of Red Cross Nurse which will give their holders the right to bear that title.

These certificates or diplomas remain distinct from the diplomas which are the subject of this decree. They give their holders the right to practise their profession in the context of their association both in time of peace and in time of war, not in a professional capacity but with the possibility of indemnification equal to the costs incurred.

PART FOUR

TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

Art. 23 - Those in employment as nurses and social workers who are not holders of the State diplomas provided for in this decree, but are in possession of the certificates of professional competence recognised in the decree of June 27th 1922, as modified by the decrees of February 19th 1923, July 18th 1924, February 7th and March 6th 1929, and in the decrees of January 12th 1932, July 30th 1932, April 27th 1933, January 20th 1934 and September 28th 1934, are hereby accorded the same rights as nurses and social workers.

Art. 24 - The rules to be applied in the case of nurses and social workers who are not holders of certificates of professional competence provided for by the decrees of February 19th 1923, July 18th 1924, February 7th and March 6th 1929, January 12th 1932, July 30th 1932, April 27th 1933, January 20th 1934 and September 28th 1934, nor of the diplomas established by this decree, but who have practised in a professional capacity for more than ten years at the time of its publication or, on the same date, have occupied for at least two years one of the senior positions referred to in article 20, will be established by order of the Minister of Public Health.

Art. 25 - Those public hospitals, established on a permanent footing, which have more than 100 medical and surgical beds will be authorised, after consultation with the conseil supérieur d'hygiène sociale, and on a transitional basis and for a period of no more than ten years, to create schools, reserved for their own permanent staff, which will prepare

applicants for the basic State diploma in nursing.

Art. 26 - The general provisions of this decree will apply to schools established within the terms of article 25.

However, the instruction given in such schools in the first year of study will include, over and above the periods of practical work, the classes in theory provided for in the basic model syllabus to be established in conformity with this decree.

This first year of study will culminate in a theory examination in which students must be successful in order to proceed through the course. The examination will be undertaken before an board of examiners established for the purpose by the Minister of Public Health.

Candidates who are successful in this examination will, over a period of four years, carry out periods of practice in both surgical and medical specialisms, and with both adults and children.

At the end of this period they will be eligible to present themselves for a final practical examination conducted by a State examination board selected by the Minister of Public Health, and the successful candidates will be awarded the State diploma in nursing.

Art. 27 - The details of implementation of the transitional arrangements referred to in articles 25 and 26 will be established by order of the Minister of Public Health.

Art. 28 - The Minister of Public Health is charged with the enforcement of this decree, which will be published in the Journal Officiel.

Fait à Paris, le 18 février 1938.
Albert Lebrun.
Par le Président de la République:
Le ministre de la santé publique,
Marc Rucart.

DOCUMENT 3

Arrêté of June 13th 1938 - Ministerial Order N° 1

State Diploma in Nursing and Social Work

(Journal Officiel, June 16th 1938)

The Minister of Public Health,
With reference to the decree of February 18th 1938;
On the basis of proposals submitted by the Conseiller d'Etat, directeur général de l'Hygiène et de l'Assistance;
The Conseil supérieur d'Hygiène sociale being in agreement,

HEREBY ORDERS:

Art. 1 Candidates for either the social work or the nursing diploma must be of French nationality and must undergo, for the nursing diploma, two years of study, and, for the social work diploma, three years of study, in both theoretical and practical subjects in training centres approved by the Minister of Public Health.

Art. 2 Students not of French nationality who are registered in a school approved for the purposes of the State diploma are not to be eligible for receipt of the diploma. They will, nonetheless, be permitted, subject to the same conditions as French students, to undertake the course of study provided for by this arrêté and to undergo the final examinations set by the State examination board. If successful, this fact will be noted on the personal file to which they will be entitled by virtue of article 7 of this arrêté.

Art. 3 Students will be permitted to register for study for the State diploma in an approved establishment only if they have successfully undergone a medical examination as prescribed in the following article as well as an entrance examination the form to be taken by which is set out in article 5 of this arrêté. Candidates in possession of the baccalauréat, the brevet supérieur or a diplôme de fin d'études secondaires, who are exmpted from this entrance examination by article 4 of the decree of February 18th 1938 must still, however, successfully undergo the medical examination.

Art. 4 Students must produce, at the time of registering in their school:

1. A medical certificate indicating their state of health;
2. A vaccination certificate less than three months old;
3. An x-ray of the thorax.

These documents will be submitted to the school's medical practitioner who, assisted by a doctor selected by the Prefect and any medical specialist whose presence is considered necessary, will conduct a medical examination of the student.
A report conforming to the model appended to this arrêté will be compiled when the applicant is finally admitted as a student. It will remain strictly confidential, will not be removed from the student's

file and will be surrendered to the student at the end of the course. Students registered in schools approved for study leading to the State diplomas will receive, before their course of study begins, anti-diphtheria and anti-typhoid vaccinations and will undergo a skin test for tuberculosis.

Art. 5 The entrance examinations provided for in article 4 of the decree of February 18th 1938 comprise a written composition as a basis for the assessment of the general knowledge of the student, and a test in arithmetic. The selection committee will draw lots to determine the subject of the composition, from a range of topics submitted by the Minister of Public Health to the Prefect. The members of the selection committee will be designated by the Minister of Public Health on the basis of recommendations made by the Prefect.
The composition of the selection committee will be:

A representative of the Prefect;
The inspector of education or his representative;
The inspector of public health for the département;
A representative of higher education;
The principal of a school of nursing or social work training;
A teacher in such a school.

The entrance examinations will take place during the first fortnight of October in centres designated by the Prefect. A maximum of thirty marks will be awarded for the composition, spelling being taken into consideration, and twenty marks for the test in arithmetic. A total of thirty five marks must be obtained for admission.

Art. 6 The minimum age for admission will be nineteen, and the maximum age thirty five on December 31st of the year in which admission is sought. In exceptional cases, however, the Minister may waive this regulation.

Art. 7 No student may be presented for the final State examination unless he or she has regularly followed the prescribed course of study in an approved training establishment. An official academic file must be maintained by each school for each student, covering both theoretical and practical aspects of the course.

Art. 8 The teaching programme offered by the approved establishments to those studying for the State diplomas must be that which is appended to this order.
This programme, which comprises theoretical and practical instruction as well as placements, will be set out in greater detail in the form of model teaching plans.
These teaching summaries will be revised periodically by the Commission des infirmières et des assistantes of the Conseil supérieur d'hygiène sociale.

Art. 9 The length of the academic year for students preparing for either diploma will be eleven months. However, the length of the academic year may be reduced to ten months from the second year onwards for those studying for the diploma in social work.

Art. 10 The placements must be undertaken under the direction of the head of the service in question, and must be monitored by a placement supervisor. They must conform to the conditions laid down in article 10 of the decree of February 18th 1938, and conform to the programme appended to this order.

Art. 11 Those in possession of the nursing diploma who wish to obtain the social work diploma must undergo a year and a half of additional study. Those with the social work diploma wishing to obtain the nursing diploma must engage in a year of study for the latter diploma.

Art. 12 Staff responsible for teaching on the diploma in nursing and social work courses must be approved by the Minister of Public Health in conformity with the conditions laid down in article 7 of the decree of February 18th 1938.

Art. 13 The Conseiller d'Etat, directeur général de l'Hygiène et de l'Assistance, is charged with the execution of this order.

Paris, June 13th 1938 Marc Rucart

DOCUMENT 4

Arrêté of June 13th 1938 - Ministerial Order N° 2

Schools of Nursing and Social Work Training

(Journal Officiel, June 16th 1938)

The Minister of Public Health,
With reference to the decree of February 18th 1938;
On the basis of proposals submitted by the Conseiller d'Etat, directeur général de l'Hygiène et de l'Assistance;
The Conseil supérieur d'Hygiène sociale being in agreement,

HEREBY ORDERS:

Art. 1 Schools of nursing and social work training must be approved for the teaching of students for the State diploma by the Minister of Public Health, advised by the Conseil supérieur d'Hygiène sociale.
These schools must be run by public institutions or by associations declared or recognised as being in the public interest.

Art. 2 Schools seeking approval must approach the Minister of Public Health, and furnish the following documents:

a. The association's constitution, where appropriate;

b. Membership list of the establishment's governing body;

c. A list of the names of the directors and student supervisors in the services to be used for placements, together with the nursing and social work diplomas they hold;

d. A list of the names of teaching staff, together with their titles and qualifications;

e. Information about the resources available (accommodation allocated for teaching purposes, student use and support services);

f. A list of the hospital and social services in which placements will be provided, together with details of each establishment and the organisation it comes under (in the case of a hospital service, the number of beds should be cited);

g. The number of students the school can accommodate;

h. A set of regulations conforming to the model appended to this order;

i. The financial accounts of the school.

The documentation should be submitted through the intermediary of the Prefect and should include, in addition, a report by the inspecteur d'hygiène on the running of the school and his own evaluation of the application for approval.

Art. 3 Schools run by the Red Cross should submit their applications accompanied by a report from their central committee;

Art. 4 Any change in the organisation or the composition of the teaching staff must be approved by the Minister of Public Health, in consultation with the Conseil supérieur d'hygiène sociale.

Art. 5 Monitoring of the approved training establishments is to be

carried out by the technical inspectors of the Ministry of Public Health and the Service central des infirmières.
The Minister may also designate health inspectors from the département and public assistance inspectors to take part in monitoring.

Art. 6 At the end of each year the schools must present a report on their work to the Minister of Public Health.

Art. 7 Approval may be withdrawn, after consultation with the Conseil supérieur d'hygiène sociale, from any school which fails to meet the necessary criteria or whose work is shown to be deficient.

Art. 8 The Conseiller d'Etat. directeur général, is charged with the execution of this order.

Paris, June 13th 1938

Minister of Public Health
Marc Rucart

MODEL REGULATIONS
For schools of nursing and social work training

Ecole de.....(name)
Situated at.....(address)

Art. 1 The purpose of the Ecole de..... is to offer professional training to those intending to adopt nursing or social work as a career.

Art. 2 The school is under the management of a governing body.

Art. 3 The governing body is assisted in its deliberations by a technical committee on all matters concerned with teaching.

Art. 4 The placement director and supervisors attached to the school are nominated by the governing body after consultation with the technical committee.
They must hold diplomas in nursing or social work.

Art. 5 The teaching staff are selected by the technical committee in agreement with the governing body.
They must be approved by the Minister of Public Health.

Art. 6 A committee consisting of teachers selected by the governing body, the principal, and one or practice teachers, will be responsible for discipline.
This committee must be consulted in any case involving the withdrawal of a State grant from any student in receipt of one.

Art. 7 The membership list of the governing body and the technical committee, and a list of the management personnel and teaching staff, with their qualifications, are appended to these regulations.

Any alteration to these lists will be notified to the Minister of Public Health.

Art. 8 To be eligible for admission to the theory and practice tuition offered by the school, applicants must fulfil the following conditions:

a. They must be at least 19 years of age and at the most 35 years of age on December 31st in the year of admission;

b. They must hold the baccalauréat, the brevet supérieur or the certificat de fin d'études secondaires or, failing this, be successful in the entrance examination;

c. They must satisfy the requirements of the compulsory medical examination.

Art. 9 In making application for admission, candidates should furnish the school with:

1. an application form which must, in the case of minors, be sanctioned by parents or guardians;
2. A certificate of residence and nationality;
3. A copy of their birth certificate;
4. A copy of their police record;
5. Details of their general education and copies of their university diplomas, where appropriate;
6. The documentation needed to establish the obligatory medical records;
7. If the case arises, details of previous employment.

Over and above this, the school reserves the right to gather information relating to the moral standing of applicants.

Art. 10 Students will not be considered to have been admitted definitively until the end of the first academic term (to be known as the probationary period).

Art. 11 The total length of the course is ..... (2 years or 3 years). In the case of a student making application to enter during the course, the school will verify that he/she has regularly been following a course of study in another school approved for preparation for the State diploma.

Art. 12 No student will be exempted from the requirement to complete the full course unless such an exemption has been granted in advance by the Minister of Public Health.

Art. 13 The length of the academic year is ..... (11 months or 10 months), it begins on ..... (date in the first half of October), and finishes on ..... (date in the latter half of July or August).

Art. 14 The students are on vacation for ..... (1 month or 2 months) each year.

Art. 15 The theoretical and practical instruction is that outlined in the model teaching programme (insert here the programme of studies and placements which figures in the annexe to the order of June 13th 1938).

Art. 16 The practice placements take place in the hospital services (or

public health/social services) which are listed in the annexe to these regulations, together with the names and capacities of the practice teachers responsible for supervision.
Any alteration to this list will be notified to the Minister of Public Health.

Art. 17 Where, for sound and serious reasons, a placement is interrupted for a period of more than a week, students must make up the time lost at the end of the placement period. Requests for postponement of a placement must be addressed to the Minister of Public Health for authorisation.

Art. 18 An official academic record is held by the principal of the school.
It comprises details of work undertaken in the school itself and on placement.
The notes will be entered by the principal after consultation with teachers and supervisors.
The record will be annotated and signed by the principal and by a member of the governing body.

Art. 19 The school is ..... (residential or non-residential, or both).
Fees of ..... per annum are payable by residential students and ..... by non-residential students.
Charges for residential students include: study fees, lodging, food, laundry, heating, lighting (delete where inapplicable).
Grants may be awarded by the State according to criteria which will be the subject of a further order.

Art. 20 A medical practitioner is attached to the school. He examines the medical records submitted by students on entry and undertakes the medical examination provided for in the order of June 13th 1938.
He maintains the health records of all students admitted and administers the obligatory vaccinations. At least once a year he gives all students a medical examination and submits a report to the principal.

Art. 21 Students must observe all the regulations of the school and follow scrupulously all instructions given by directors, or their representatives, and supervisors in the agencies in which they carry out their placements.

Art. 22 The nursing uniform must be worn throughout all placements.

Art. 23 Any student refusing to conform to a regulation, failing to fulfil requirements, or whose work is deemed to be inadequate will, after one or two warnings, be summoned by the principal to appear before the disciplinary committee, which will take whatever action is considered appropriate.

Annexe to the arrêté of June 13th 1938.

Paris, June 13th 1938

The Minister,
Marc Rucart

DOCUMENT 5

APPENDIX TO MINISTERIAL ORDER OF JUNE 13th 1938

The organisation of study and placements, and the teaching programme for candidates for the State diploma in nursing or social work.

.....

COURSE PROGRAMME[1]

1. FIRST YEAR

(Common programme for students on either course)

[To be timetabled over 10 months]

The course will begin with a probationary period, the first month of which will be devoted entirely to practical exercises to be completed either in the school itself or in one of the medical establishments referred to in article 10 of the arrêté, under the authority of the school in which the student is registered.

A. - Theoretical Teaching

Part One

[to be timetabled over 2 months, complementing the first month, which is used exclusively for practical work (placements).]

General introduction to anatomy and physiology.
Hygiene in the home.
Nutrition and the sick.
Contagion and contagious diseases.
General care of the sick and conventional therapeutic methods.
Introduction to pharmacy.
Introduction to professional ethics.
Introduction to hospital administration: organisation of hospitals, residential homes and asylums of varying types, categories of patients in such institutions.
Historical introduction to the nursing and social work professions.

Part Two
[to be timetabled over 7 months]

General medicine:

Diseases and the acute and chronic sick;
Diseases of the organs: symptoms (review of the General introduction to anatomy and physiology);
Contagious diseases;
Social diseases.

General surgery:

Minor and major surgical operations;
General infections;
Surgical tuberculosis;
Chronic conditions and surgery.

General hygiene and prophylactic measures:

Hygiene in the home;
Hygiene and food;
Personal hygiene;
Prophylactic measures and contagious diseases.

The fight against infant mortality:

Hygiene and pregnancy, childbirth, the new-born baby; the social protection of women in pregnancy and childbirth;
P diatric nursing, the social protection of infants;
Illnesses in the first, second and third stages of infancy.

Pharmacology:

Medicinal substances.

Social legislation (general principles):

The rôle of public bodies;
General introduction to the various public services and public assistance institutions;
The law relating to: children in need, women in childbirth, large families, the sick, the old, children, the incurable (law of 1851);
Organisations in the fight against social diseases;
The main private welfare institutions concerned with children, adults and the old;
Collaboration between public and private sectors in social assistance;
Overall coordination of welfare, health and anti-poverty activities;
Public health measures: legislation and controls.

Professional ethics in relation to course content.

B. - Practical Teaching

Household tasks, to foster students' understanding of hygiene in the home during the probationary period.
Methods of work, relative to study of academic subjects (use of card index, classification by subject matter, letter writing, report writing).
Study groups: discussion groups for study and revision.
Visits to medical establishments, public health inspectors, social insurance offices.

C. - Placements

First month: observation, techniques of nursing	1 month
Adult and child surgery	2 months
Dispensary consultations (specialist)	1 month
Medical (adult)	2 months
Medical (child)	2 months
Contagious diseases	1 month
Maternity	1 month
P diatric services	1 month
Total	11 months

2. SECOND YEAR

(social work diploma)

A. - Theoretical Teaching

[To be timetabled over 10 months]

1. Physical health:
   a. General hygiene, industrial health, occupational health, urban and rural health;
   b. Disease in the colonies;
   c. The fight aganist social diseases (individual and social causation, effects, remedies);
   d. Contemporary health care organisation.

2. Life in society: general introduction:
   Demography.
   Sociology and law (relative to social service, notably basic ideas in sociology and in constitutional and administrative law, and in civil and penal law).

3. Mental and moral well-being:
   Concepts in psychology, psychiatry, pedagogy and education, their relevance to social service.

4. Legislation:
   Statutory measures, institutions, social and public hygiene.
   Social assistance (complementary to First Year course).
   Anti-poverty measures and the work of national solidarity.

5. Professional ethics in relation to course content.

B. - Practical Teaching
[To be timetabled over 10 months]

Methods of work in relation to the academic subjects studied, review of methods taught in First Year:

- statistics;
- accounts;
- information gathering;
- reading matter;
- library;
- propaganda and publicity.

Exercises in research, observation and analysis.

Study groups: discussion groups for study and revision.

Visits to institutions.

C. - Placements

[To be spread over 10 months]

Infant health and welfare, crèches, kindergartens, preventive placements, family placements, maternity and child welfare clinics, domiciliary care	3 months
Sanatorium	1 month
Tuberculosis clinics	3-4 months
Syphilis/dermatology	1 month
Sexually transmitted diseases service	2 months
Total	10-11 months

3. - THIRD YEAR

(social work diploma)

A. - Theoretical Teaching

[To be timetabled over 10 months]

1. Economics: concepts in political and social economics in relation to social service, notably:
a. technical and economic factors in production, salaries and other revenues, trade union action;
b. consumption: standards of living, budgeting, food, housing, cooperatives;

c. financial planning: savings, credit, insurance;
d. leisure activities.

2. Legislation and working conditions: health and safety at work.

3. Social services and their operation:
a. History of social assistance and social service, the contemporary conception of social assistance and social service;
b. Types of administrative and management system, financial management.

4. Professional ethics.

B. - Practical Teaching

[To be timetabled over 10 months]

Review and consolidation of work methods taught in First and Second Year. Exercises, study groups and discussion groups.

C. - Placements

[To be spread over 10 or 11 months]

Education service	2 months
Family social service: child welfare, hospital social work, mental health, subsidised housing schemes, railway employees, social insurance funds etc.	6 months
Group work: organisation of recreational activities, kindergartens, community centres, libraries, social clubs, mutual aid offices, factory social work etc.	2-3 months
Total	10-11 months

To be appended to the arrêté of June 13th 1938,

The Minister,
Marc Rucart

Paris, June 13th 1938.

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1. This programme is set out in more detail in the "model teaching plans" for which provision is made in article 8 of the ministerial order of June 13th 1938, and which will indicate the timetable of lectures (theoretical studies), exercises to be undertaken (practical studies) and work to be accomplished (placements).

CHAPTER 7: Vichy and Family Policy

Discussion of any aspect of the Second World War and its impact on French institutions and society is almost inevitably permeated with contradictions. French attitudes to the rise of Germany in the inter-war years had already been a mixture of apprehension and abhorrence, on the one hand, and envy and a desire to emulate that country's singleness of purpose and economic success on the other. Similarly, the response to the invasion and the fall of Paris on June 14th 1940 encompassed national shame, bitterness and a sense of betrayal as well as urgent appeals to the nation, and especially to its working class, to learn from the experience and redeem itself through hard work and commitment to the values of discipline, family life and nationalism. The same extreme social and political divisions that had characterised French society in the inter-war period led that society and its political leaders of left and right to adopt less ambivalent positions than had often been the case in the past and identify clearly with one of three principal stances: either support for the resistance, or direct collaboration with the German occupying forces, or, for those living under its jurisdiction, support for the collaborationist régime of Vichy, under Maréchal Pétain.

The social policy of the latter and the rôle envisaged for social work within that framework are interesting from a number of perspectives, and not least because they are given cursory treatment only in the mainstream publications dealing with the historical development of social policy and social work. Titmuss (1963) cites with approval the criticism of historians "for bringing their histories to a stop when the guns started firing, and ... opening a new chapter only with the return of peace" and,

although this criticism has largely been answered in Britain, where it is generally recognised that no understanding of the Welfare State of the 1940s can be reached without reference to the events of 1939-1945, French commentaries on social policy, by and large, pay relatively little attention to the period.

On a quite different level, perhaps, the Vichy period could be said to hold interest for the fact that, in many important respects, it represented continuity with the past and the assertion of values that have never been far from the surface in debates about the proper rôle of France in the world and the duties and responsibilities of the citizen in France. Not only did firm foundations exist for many of the policies of the Vichy régime prior to 1940, but equally many of its statutes remained unrepealed until well into the post-war period. In the former case, the family and population policy given expression through the medium of family allowances, the extension of medico-social work and the introduction of the Code de la famille in 1939 provided a sound basis for the policies pursued by the succession of Vichy ministries which included the word Famille in their titles; the development in the 1920s and 1930s of social work in the service of industrial and commercial enterprises was built upon by the statutory requirement that such work be enlarged in the pursuit of increased productivity and working class quiescence. As far as the persistence of Vichy policies is concerned, the steps taken to provide for the mobilisation and political representation of families and the tighter controls introduced, for eugenic reasons, over couples wishing to marry and the proper observance of preventive health measures during pregnancy are among a number of policy items that have not been brought seriously into question during the post-war period.

Brief accounts of the installation and character of the Vichy régime and of the background of Pétain himself are perhaps necessary before proceeding any further, if the factors contributing to social policy under the régime are to be adequately accounted for, and social work developments in the early 1940s explained.

Resistance to the invasion of France, which had been poorly resourced and militarily ineffectual, came to an end on June 14th 1940 when the German troops entered Paris. On the same date the French government moved to Bordeaux, although the Council of Ministers had already left the capital some five days before. In the confusion which accompanied these events, the pressure grew for a separate peace with Germany and Reynaud, who had replaced Daladier as head of the government on March 21st, yielded to the pressure to resign on June 16th. Six days later the armistice was signed, amongst its terms being the division of France into Occupied and Unoccupied Zones. The former included the entire Atlantic and Channel coast lines as well as the most productive areas in the north, west and east of France, not to mention Paris, which remained the capital city. The latter, on the other hand, although the writ of its government in Vichy technically ran across both zones, encompassed the poorer regions of France and, what is more, was also obliged to meet the full costs of the army of occupation. This fact, apart from all its other implications, imposed severe limits on the extent to which social policy could be implemented by the Vichy government. Moreover, the extensive interpenetration of the German administration in Paris and the French administration in Vichy left the latter with little room for manoeuvre and justifies in large measure the description of puppet government which is frequently attached to it.

Philippe Pétain was Reynaud's replacement as head of the government, a post he held, albeit with fluctuating authority, throughout the Vichy period. He was already eighty four years old in 1940 and, for this reason alone, it is not altogether surprising that he was perceived as a kind of father figure with some of the qualities necessary to see the country through a traumatic period in its history. His other principal claim to leadership derived from the fact that he had emerged as one of the main architects of the defeat of Germany in the First World War, playing the leading rôle in the Verdun campaign in 1916 and being given responsibility for the preparation of the final offensives in August and September of 1918. Because of his relatively humane treatment of the French forces during that war, particularly at the time of the mutinies of May and June 1917, he had acquired a further measure of popularity. His origins also commended him to large sections of the French population, as well as helping to account for his own political and social philosophy. He was born to a peasant family in the Artois and thus inherited not only the values and attitudes associated with peasant farming, but also a very long tradition of exposure to and resistance against foreign aggression. His biographer, Jean Plumyène (1964) writes of "Le monde rural, terrien, patriarcal d'où Pétain est issu", and comments also, "L'histoire de l'Artois est celle des invasions, qui, depuis toujours, y déferlent. Goths, Vandales, Francs Saliens, Suèves, Burgondes s'y succèdent; pendant les quatre siècles de paix romaine, les 'hordes germaniques' sont tant bien que mal contenues." [47] He goes on to depict Cauchy-à-la-Tour, Pétain's home town, as continuously on the front line right up until 1940 and the German invasion of France. Apart, then, from Pétain's firm attachment to the unrefined, patriarchal principles which governed French peasant life, we can

also understand something of his commitment to meritocracy, given his own rise to eminence from fairly obscure origins.

A series of official appointments in the inter-war years provided Pétain with the credentials and experience that were required for him to be a serious contender for leadership in 1940. In 1922 he added the post of inspecteur général de l'Armée to the office he already held as vice-president of the Conseil supérieur de la Guerre, and from this position began the campaign for the defensive fortifications which were eventually to become the Maginot Line. Election to the Académie française in 1931 was followed three years later by his appointment as Minister of War in the Doumergue government, following the rioting of February 6th 1934 in the French capital. A further major public appointment was as ambassador to the Franco régime, to which he presented his credentials in Burgos in March 1939.

Not only had this series of governmental and public appointments kept Pétain in the public eye, but he also preserved a strong basis of popular support among the anciens combattants, whose associations contained some six million members throughout France and whose organisation into the Légion française des Combattants in the autumn of 1940 was to provide Pétain with a disciplined and loyal body of right wing support.

Furthermore, 1940 was not the first time that the possibility of Pétain as head of the government had been raised. In its edition of November 30th 1935, for example, the periodical Vu had expressed the conviction that he would be the first person to whom the President of the Republic would turn at a time of crisis, and said of him, "Son prestige sur les officiers est considérable.

Il ne l'est pas moins dans le public...La parfaite loyauté du Maréchal, son absolue indépendance politique en feraient l'homme de la situation." 48

Pétain was well placed, then, to assume the leadership of the New France and, with the dissolution of Parliament and his acquisition of full powers, he also felt well placed to attempt the reshaping of French society. The relationship between the broad philosophy which guided his régime, the social policy measures it introduced and the organisation and orientation of social work to this end will be taken up in the following discussion.

La France Nouvelle

Henri Michel (1980) sums up in the following terms the social and political ideas which motivated Pétain and his followers, and which provided a platform for the national revolution he sought to achieve:

"La Révolution nationale s'inspire des idées de la 'réaction française', celle qui n'a pas accepté la Révolution de 1789 et ses principes, coupables de substituer la notion d'un homme abstrait, et par suite un individualisme desséchant, aux réalités sociales. De là son hostilité à l'égard de tout ce qui n'était pas 'français', hommes et idées. Le nouveau régime se méfiait aussi des appétits dévorant de l'Etat, bien que, en fait, il ait dû augmenter considérablement le nombre de fonctionnaires et s'engager, en raison des circonstances, dans une économie dirigée. Il condamnait la centralisation jacobine et napoléonienne. Une autre conviction était la nécessité d'une société hiérarchisée, avec des élites dirigeantes. Il arrivait que la doctrine demeurât obscure; Pétain avait parlé de 'volonté de

renaître', 'd'ardente résolution'. Mais le fond était clair: l'individu devait être remis à sa place, dans ses cadres naturels, famille, métier et patrie. C'est pourquoi le slogan 'Travail, Famille, Patrie' remplaça 'Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité'." 49

As has already been noted, the name of Pétain, indeed what had become the cult of the Maréchal, represented an extremely potent appeal to the French, and certainly the strongest force working in favour of the Vichy régime. As Cobban (1965) points out, he was welcomed by the country as a saviour (Le Temps, December 1940), and by the Archbishop of Lyon as 'the incarnation of suffering France'. It is certainly true, however, as Michel suggests, that his political philosophy and the mode of its implementation were full of contradictions and inconsistencies. The mistrust Michel refers to of the central power of the State, for example, is essentially in conflict with his use of a highly bureaucratised State machine to prosecute his policies and pursue the goal of effective control of Vichy France. The slogan 'Travail, Famille, Patrie', on the other hand, has at least the virtue of simplicity and directness, and is expanded on in equally unsophisticated terms in Pétain's Principes de la Communauté (DOCUMENT 6), published in 1941, and his appeals and messages to the French people, diffused at intervals in 1940 and 1941. The Principes are remarkable for their brevity as well as the clarity with which they convey the pétainiste vision of the right ordering of man's relationship with society. In essence, they comprise a corporatist view of social and political relations which differs in tone only slightly from the solidariste philosophy of Léon Bourgeois some forty years earlier. The unifying themes are the primacy of duties to family, profession and nation over both self interest and the pursuit of sectional or socially divisive

ambitions; the rôle of the State as guarantor of security, prosperity and opportunity, and the corresponding overriding duty of the citizen to sustain the State, even by sacrificing his life if necessary; the importance of education, and especially the school as an extension of the family, in inducting young people into a moral order founded on French nationalism and religious belief; and the need for acquiescence in an hierarchical social structure based on merit rather than privilege.

The need for a moral regeneration of the French people is given emphasis in Pétain's first appeal to them on June 20th 1940. In it he points out that France had gone to war not only poorly equipped, but also with 500,000 fewer soldiers under arms than it had had in May 1917. The moral, military and demographic lessons to be learned are implicitly linked, and at least as much stress is laid on the first of these as on the others:

"Nous tirerons la leçon des batailles perdues. Depuis la victoire, l'esprit de jouissance l'a emporté sur l'esprit de sacrifice. On a revendiqué plus qu'on a servi. On a voulu épargner l'effort; on rencontre aujourd'hui le malheur." [50]

His brief statement issued five days later on the armistices signed with Germany and Italy, elaborates on this theme and draws heavily on his familiar imagery of agriculture and the land:

"Votre vie sera dure. Ce n'est pas moi qui vous bernerai par des paroles trompeuses. Je hais les mensonges qui vous ont fait tant de mal.

La terre, elle, ne ment pas. Elle demeure votre recours. Elle est la patrie elle-même. Un champ qui tombe en friche, c'est une portion de France qui

meurt. Une jachère de nouveau emblavée, c'est une portion de France qui renaît.

N'esperez pas trop de l'Etat. Il ne peut donner que ce qu'il reçoit. Comptez, pour le présent, sur vous-mêmes et, pour l'avenir, sur les enfants que vous aurez élevés dans le sentiment du devoir.....

Notre défaite est venue de nos relâchements. L'esprit de jouissance détruit ce que l'esprit de sacrifice a édifié.

C'est à un redressement intellectuel et moral que, d'abord, je vous convie.

Français, vous l'accomplirez et vous verrez, je vous le jure, une France neuve surgir de votre ferveur." 51

Moral regeneration depended then on suffering, self-denial, discipline and hard work and in reality the building of the New France was to be attempted in circumstances very different from those envisaged by Pétain in 1940. His belief that the non-occupied zone would remain a kind of oasis of peace, free from German interference, was proved quickly to have been ill-founded, and much of the history of the period 1940-1944 is concerned with the attempts of Pétain to preserve the separate identity and viability of Vichy France, whilst resisting the efforts of other members of his administration to achieve a closer rapport with the German authorities.

To this extent, therefore, it may well be argued that the political and social philosophy of pétainisme and the policies it engendered are a matter of academic interest only. For the reasons outlined earlier, however, some key aspects of the social policy of the time are discussed here.

Pétain and Family Policy

The broad structure of administration adopted by the Pétain régime was set out by Pétain himself in his message to the French people of July 11th 1940 (Pétain 1941). He announced that the Assemblée had voted him full executive power and proclaimed the intention to create "une France organisée où la discipline des subordonnés réponde à l'autorité des chefs."[52] His ministers would work with the assistance of a team of secrétaires généraux, each of whom had responsibility for one of the main State services. Below this policy was to be implemented by the Préfet within each département. The pre-existent structures of government were thus preserved, at least superficially. However, the elected conseils généraux which had represented the voters at the level of the département, together with all other elements of local democracy, were suppressed by the law of October 12th 1940 and replaced by commissions administratives. The members of these bodies, between seven and nine in number, were appointed by the Secrétaire d'Etat à l'intérieur and convened only when required by the Préfet, himself also a central government appointee. By this means Pétain not only disposed of the last vestiges of Popular Front representation in the départements by substituting 'apolitiques' for its councillors, but also achieved a very substantial shift in the balance between central control and local autonomy by destroying a system of democratic participation which had been introduced by the Popular Front itself. His only gesture to freedom from strict central control, and it remained in reality no more than a gesture, was his assertion that government officials would be less trammelled by prescriptive rules and regulations than their predecessors had been; they would be freer and able

to act more promptly but would, as he stated repeatedly, be held strictly accountable for their actions, and especially their mistakes.

This hierarchical and monolithic framework of government and administration was not, therefore, entirely dissimilar to that created by Napoléon almost a century and a half earlier. It was, however, to be harnessed to ideas about the rôle and goals of government closely related to those of the other national socialist régimes of the time.

Typical of such régimes was the emphasis on the family as the basis of social life, national culture and national power: "Votre famille aura le respect et la protection de la nation. La France rajeunie veut que l'enfant remplisse vos coeurs de l'espoir qui vivifie et non plus de la crainte qui dessèche. Elle vous rendra, pour son éducation et son avenir, la confiance que vous aviez perdue. Les familles françaises restent les dépositaires d'un long passé d'honneur. Elles ont le devoir de maintenir, à travers les générations, les antiques vertus qui font les peuples forts. Les disciplines familiales sont sauvegardées." [53](Pétain 1941)

This concern, rather more for the welfare of the family as an institution than for the well-being of families, was given expression by the creation of a succession of government ministries with an overall responsibility for family policy which was made explicit in their titles:

June 15th, 1940	Ministère de la Famille Française
July 12th, 1940	Secrétariat d'Etat à la Famille et à la Jeunesse
September 6th, 1940	Secrétariat général à la Famille et à la Santé

December 13th, 1940	Secrétariat d'Etat à la Famille et à la Santé
April 18th, 1942	Secrétariat d'Etat à la Santé et à la Famille

The word Famille had made its first tentative appearance in the title of a French ministry only in the month prior to Pétain's acquisition of full powers and in September 1944, after the liberation, the Ministère de la Santé Publique took up once again the responsibility for family services. In post-war administrations a concern for population issues was expressed in the titles of a succession of ministries, but there was no further reference of this kind to the family until 1978 when, under Giscard d'Estaing, a Ministère de la Santé et de la Famille was created to give political prominence once again to family matters.

Much legislative attention was paid to the family during wartime and a wide variety of specific family policies were adopted. The approach was multifaceted, promoting an archaic and patriarchal view of family relationships, but providing for enhanced services and benefits in support of the family and creating enduring structures for family representation in the political life of the nation.

That family policy was not always entirely consistent can be explained by reference to its sources. Chief amongst these was the Commissariat général à la famille, a team of civil servants appointed in September 1941 under the leadership of Philippe Renaudin to take responsibility for the drafting of policy in this area. Renaudin was successful in keeping his team of officials almost intact

throughout the war, in itself a significant achievement, and tended by and large to adopt a pragmatic approach, identifying and responding to needs as they were perceived rather than allowing himself to be guided by the dogma of the régime. When, together with others suspected of wartime collaboration, he was investigated by the commission d'épuration after the liberation, he and his colleagues were deemed to have acted disinterestedly and for the good of families in general. What is more, thus exonerated from close identification with the underlying principles of the Pétain régime, Renaudin continued to occupy official positions in the post-war period.

As well as initiating policy, however, the commissariat also had to concern itself with the implementation of those aspects of policy which were introduced by other departments but which, nonetheless, had implications for the family. An instance of this is the Charte du Travail, to which as an item of policy Pétain himself was particularly attached. This involved the introduction of new forms of social service coordination as part of the corporatist strategy in industry, an enterprise to which Renaudin and his colleagues would have been unlikely to give a high priority if they had been left to their own devices. An example of direct intervention by Pétain in family policy, albeit on a rather smaller scale, came to be known as the loi du jardinier. This was legislation passed on September 14th 1941 which was intended to regularise the legal position of illegitimate children, and was so called because it was inspired by Pétain's concern for the standing of his own gardener, himself born out of wedlock. The measure was opposed not only by the commissaire à la Famille but also by the Secrétaire d'Etat à la Santé et à la Famille, who refused to sign the statute on the grounds that it flagrantly violated

the régime's defence of the legitimate family. It became law nonetheless, and illustrates on a more general plane that the making of social policy may on occasion be guided by criteria other than high principle.

The Position of Women and Relationships in the Family

After ten months in power, Pétain produced what is perhaps his most succinct statement of the rôle of women in French society. This was on the occasion of Mothers' Day (La Fête des Mères), May 25th 1941. In his message he reiterates one of his favourite themes, that of the family as the "cellule initiale de la société", but goes on to talk more explicitly of the nature of the relationships which go to make up this cellule:

"Pour que la France vive, il lui faut d'abord des foyers. Le foyer, c'est la maison où l'on se réunit, c'est le refuge où les affections se fortifient. C'est cette communauté spirituelle qui sauve l'homme de l'égoïsme et qui lui apprend à s'oublier pour se donner à ceux qui l'entourent." 54

The home is seen then as the medium through which man, and the use of the masculine is significant here, learns to shed his selfish instincts and express affection, finding there a sanctuary from a harsh outside world. The task of the wife and mother is to construct this refuge:

"Maîtresse du foyer, la mère, par son affection, par son tact, par sa patience, confère à la vie de chaque jour sa quiétude et sa douceur. Par la générosité de son coeur, elle fait rayonner autour d'elle l'amour qui permet d'accepter les plus rudes épreuves

avec un courage inébranlable.....

Vous êtes, avant l'Etat, les dispensatrices de l'éducation. Vous seules savez donner à tous ce goût du travail, ce sens de la discipline, de la modestie, du respect qui fait les hommes sains et les peuples forts. Vous êtes les inspiratrices de notre civilisation chrétienne." 55

That this was becoming an increasingly anachronistic view, of homes held together by the practice of women's traditional domestic virtues, exercising a calming influence on their menfolk and producing a steady supply of disciplined children eager to work and serve the State, does not seem fully to have occurred to Pétain. He refers in passing only to the women left with sole responsibility for running peasant smallholdings as well as rearing their children, often in circumstances of acute hardship. The fact remains, however, that by the second half of 1943 approximately 605,000 French men had been forcibly removed from their homes, constituting about a quarter of all foreigners engaged in compulsory labour in Germany. This alone crippled the French family at precisely the time that Pétain was seeking to model it to conform with his own vision, an aspect of the 'Vichy romanticism' to which Kedward refers (1985).

The deportation of Jews to Germany, which began in July 1942, was another kind of assault on families. When it was first demanded by the Germans the programme was at least consistent with the nationalist pretensions of Vichy, since only Jews of non-French origins were to be included, but the study of Marrus and Paxton (1981) shows that this criterion was not rigorously applied by any means, and that over 70,000 Jews of all ages, French and non-French, were subject to deportation in spite of the protestions that French Jews were being protected. The

Italian authorities, incidentally, in those parts of France they occupied, successfully resisted German pressure to take part in any such programme.

In spite of all this, there were many attempts to make real the image of secure and stable homes built on the labour and care of women. From as early as the autumn of 1940 measures began to be taken to prevent married women from going out to work: on July 7th, just before Pétain was granted full powers by the Assemblée, he instructed all Prefects to encourage employers to sack the wives of demobilised soldiers, this even when the husband was unemployed and his wife's was the sole income. Discrimination against all women workers escalated thereafter. From October 8th 1940 the Préfets were required by law to specify a fixed minimum proportion of jobs to be reserved for married men with three or more dependent children. Three days afterwards complementary legislation forbade the employment of married women in the public services. There were a few minor exceptions only to this, as, for example, in the case of women who had gained entry to such employment by competition prior to the enactment, or those whose husbands were not in a position to keep them. The law of October 11th also intimated the introduction of quotas of female employees, married or single, and a limited scheme of compensation for women renouncing their right to employment. Women who remained in paid work saw their wages falling steadily further behind those of their male counterparts. Furthermore, within the education system, examiners were instructed to allow fewer girls than boys to achieve passes in the baccalauréat.

The introduction in 1942 of l'enseignement ménager, domestic science, as a compulsory subject of study for all girls throughout the school system was a natural

extension of this strategy. Moreover, in the following year a government inspectorate was established to monitor the teaching of the subject. This demonstrated that it was being taken seriously, although it did not prove possible to fine sufficient teachers of the subject to enable the programme to be fully implemented. At the same time, incidentally, the inspectorate added to the central State control and bureaucracy that Pétain had claimed to be anxious to reduce.

In marriage and the home the freedom of choice of women was also curtailed to a greater degree than that of men by a series of enactments dealing with the marital relationship, divorce and the control of reproduction. Divorce was made generally more difficult to obtain by the legislation of April 2nd 1941, and impossible for couples married less than three years. Increased penalties were introduced on October 15th 1941 for those involved in abortions and the 1920 legislation forbidding both the use and the advocacy of contraception was also strengthened.

On the other hand, encouragement was given to the development of aid and services to mothers at home. Higher family allowances were an important aspect of this and helped to compensate women for their loss of work outside the home. Improvements were also brought about in the ante- and post-natal services available, and some observers sympathetic to the Vichy régime have suggested that the upward trend in fertility which occurred in 1943 (Table 14) was in part the result of this fact. Others, perhaps more realistically, have suggested that factors as diverse as the unaccustomed social recognition of the importance of motherhood, childbirth as a symbol of hope for the future, and even the frequent curfews, might have had a rôle to play in the demographic reversal.

Table 14

Births in France: 1928-1946

YEAR	TOTAL NUMBER OF BIRTHS
1928-1932	735,000*
1935-1936	630,000*
1937-1938	618,000*
1939	612,000
1940	559,000
1941	520,000
1942	573,000
1943	613,000
1944	627,000
1945	643,000
1946	840,000

* = average figure

Institut de la Statistique (in Braquehais, C., "La Revue Française de Service Social" [no. 118, 1978])

The development under the régime of the Associations populaires d'aide familiale was another interesting feature of family policy. These bodies can trace their origins to May 1920, when an association called l'Aide aux Mères de Famille was established by Mme Viollet. As well as being one of the founders of the school for surintendantes d'usine, she was also concerned to introduce measures to encourage fertility by relieving working class mothers of some of the burdens of a large

family. The organisation of family aides, on a voluntary basis, to assist mothers in household tasks and to take their place in the home in the event of sickness was accompanied by more or less subtle pressures on the women to refrain from the use of contraception. The aides themselves were recruited from catholic milieux. In 1942, in Roubaix and Lyon, and afterwards in a number of other towns, such associations grew rapidly as part of the Fédération nationale des associations populaires d'aide familiale. The subsequent professional development of the function from 1949 onwards led to the emergence in the post-war years of one of the professions sociales, the travailleuses familiales, regulated by the State and entered by way of a State diploma. In the early 1940s, however, as Taisne indicates in "Sciences de l'homme et professions sociales" (Crapuchet, 1974), sound common sense and Catholic values were a sufficient qualification.

The restoration of Catholicism as a force in social policy is one of the key features of the Vichy period, and represents a marked reversal of the attempts to marginalise its influence in the earlier part of the century. Pétain, although not a practising Catholic in his earlier life, attended Mass regularly, as already noted invoked the faith as a cornerstone of France's national identity in his addresses to the French people, and was welcomed as head of state by prominent Catholics. The legislation reinforcing the anti-abortion law which had existed since 1920, and making divorce more difficult than it had previously been, reflected the renewed authority of the Church as well as serving the purpose of the family and population policy of the period.

Les Associations de Famille and the Representation of Families

It was entirely consistent with the corporatist approach of the Vichy régime that steps should be taken to secure the political organisation of families and the inclusion of their representatives in decision making at all levels. The family and not the individual, after all, was the basic unit of society and one of the fundamental tenets of pétainisme was that the excessive individualism of the Third Republic had been socially divisive and damaging. What is more, in the light of the drive for population, large families should have a greater entitlement to influence policy making. These two considerations were reflected in a number of measures intended to ensure that a family lobby was heard, both locally and nationally.

A first, albeit limited, step in this direction was taken with the law of November 16th 1940, which introduced the principle that municipal councils should include at least one father of a large family. The impact of this provision was restricted by a number of factors. It applied only to towns of 200,000 or more inhabitants; following the law of October 12th in the same year the councils were no longer democratically elected, and, most important of all, according to Coutrot (in FNSP 1972) there was sporadic implementation only of the law in this matter. Nonetheless the principle was established that family representation should become a formal and routine part of the process of policy making and administration, going beyond the pressure group activity which had previously been commonplace.

This principle was extended further when, in July 1942, a complex family franchise system was legislated for within

the corporation paysanne, the peasant equivalent of the corporations of professions in industry and commerce. At national level, representation of families on the Conseil national was made obligatory in February 1943, this appointed body having been created by Pétain on January 22nd 1941 to take the place of the dissolved Assemblée Nationale.

Of more lasting consequence was the series of statutes relating to the Associations de familles, chief among which was the loi Gounot of December 29th 1942. These organisations had developed from the early years of the twentieth century to defend the interests of families, their membership being drawn from a particular locality, religious faith or occupational grouping. They were seen by the Pétain administration as providing a ready made basis for the more systematic organisation of families and the loi Gounot was the basic text in the process of organisation. It was named after the chairman of the working party established by the commissariat à la Famille, a barrister from Lyons leading a team of jurists, militant Catholics and others who had long experience of involvement in family questions. In structural terms the new law created an association de familles in each locality to represent all families. In the départements and regions a second tier of representation was to be created, une union familiale, and at national level the fédération nationale des familles. At each level in this pyramidal structure certain rights and obligations were defined. The associations were given the general responsibility of cultivating a commitment to the family through education and propaganda, campaigning against immorality and threats to family life, and encouraging and administering family support services, this latter to include the running of services placed under their control by the

public authorities. The representation of families' interests to government departments, nomination of members to serve on policy formulating bodies and the initiation of new policy proposals formed part of their innovative rôle in this interpenetration of public administration and private action.

The desire of the State to retain ultimate control of this structure of popular consultation and participation is reflected in a number of the provisions of the 1942 legislation. Each area was to be represented by one association only in place of the sectional groupings which had previously existed. Other family organisations might continue to operate under the terms of article 11 of the new law, if approved by the commissaire général à la Famille, but would not enjoy the power and privileges of the associations. The internal elections and the constitution of the associations were also subject to approval at départemental and national level, ensuring that as an exercise in popular democracy this innovation would be kept under close scrutiny. Moreover, women were, for the most part, excluded from the associations. The head of the family for the purposes of the new system was the father, and the mother could attend meetings as an official family representative only as his delegate or, in her own right, only if the father were absent for whatever reason.

The law was slow of implementation, mainly because of lengthy arguments concerning the precise method of its enforcement. One such argument centred, for example, on whether or not membership of the associations familiales should be compulsory for all families. It was decided finally that it should not, but such debates delayed the appearance of detailed administrative arrangements and draft regulations until December 3rd 1943. By the time

of the Liberation only three unions départementales had been established. The greatest interest of this whole episode lies, however, in the fact that the basic concept was taken up and developed in the post-war period. The loi Gounot was adopted in principle by the government of Liberation in October 1944 and an amended version was passed on March 3rd 1945, laying the basis for the creation of l'Union nationale des associations familiales in November the same year. By 1980 UNAF represented some 530,000 families and had similar rights of representation to those which had been envisaged for Gounot's fédération nationale, with formal participation in the work of some eighty departments and agencies of government, at both national and local levels, and in the management of social security funds. On one level, therefore, the significance of this fairly detailed account is that it illustrates that the origins of a modern style of corporatism are to be found in the Vichy era. It also shows that, in its concern to pursue its corporatist strategy well beyond the bounds of economic organisation and into intimate areas of social life, the Vichy administration brought together the twin themes of representation and control. Participation in the discussion, planning and administration of policy was made available to families, but only on terms which narrowly circumscribed the debate by excluding the contribution of most women and within a framework of controls and regulations which could be manipulated by the State to achieve the consensus it desired.

Translations

47. "The rural, earthy, patriarchal world out of which Pétain emerged."

"The history of Artois is that of the

invasions which, from time immemorial, have swept over it. Goths, Vandals, Francs Saliens, Suèves, Burgundians followed each other, wave upon wave; during the pax romana the germanic hordes were only more or less kept at bay."

48. "His prestige among the officer class is considerable. It is no less so among the public at large..... The total loyalty of the Marshal, his complete political independence, make him the man for the situation."

49. "The national revolution was inspired by the ideas of the 'réaction française', which had never accepted the Revolution of 1789 and the principles on which it was based, principles which were held responsible for substituting the notion of man as an abstraction and, therefore, a form of arid individualism, for the realities of the social world. Hence its antipathy to anything that was not 'French', both men and ideas. The new régime was also mistrustful of the voracious appetites of the State although, in reality, it was obliged to increase substantially the number of civil servants and, because of the circumstances it found itself in, to engage in direct control of the economy. It condemned Jacobinic and Napoleonic forms of centralisation. Another conviction was that of the need for an hierarchical form of social organisation with controlling élites. In the event, the doctrine remained obscure; Pétain had spoken of the 'desire for rebirth', 'impassioned resolve'. But the basic principle was clear: the individual had to be put back in his place, in his natural settings of the family, job and nation. This is why the slogan 'Work, Family, Fatherland' replaced 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'."

50. "We will learn from the lost battles. Since the victory the spirit of self-indulgence has driven out the spirit of self-sacrifice. Service has taken second place to demands. Effort has been spared; today we are confronted by the unhappy consequences."

51. "Your life will be hard. I will not be the one to hoodwink you with lying words. I hate the lies which have brought you so much hardship.

"The soil itself does not tell lies. It remains your last resort. It is the fatherland itself. A field which is left to lie fallow is a part of France which dies. A fallow field which is resown is a part of France which is reborn.

"Do not hope for too much from the State. It can give only that which it receives. For the moment rely upon yourselves and, for the future, upon your children whom you will have reared to have a sense of duty.....

"Our defeat arose out of our laxity. The spirit of self-indulgence destroys that which has been built out of a spirit of self-sacrifice.

"As a first step I urge you to engage in intellectual and moral reform.

"People of France, you will attain this end and, I swear, you will see a new France well forth from your own ardour."

52. "an organised France in which the discipline of the subordinates corresponds to the authority of their superiors."

53. "Your family will have the respect and the protection of the nation. The rejuvenated France desires that children should fill your hearts with the hope that vitalises and no longer the fear that enervates. It will

return to you the confidence that you have lost, for their education and their future. French families remain the repositories of a long and honourable past. They have a duty to maintain across the generations the ancient virtues of which strong peoples are made. The disciplines of the family are safeguarded."

54. "For France to live it must have homes. The home is where people come together, the retreat in which affections grow stronger. It is this spiritual community that saves man from selfishness and teaches him to efface himself in order to give of himself to those around him."

55. "Mistress of the home, the mother, through her love, her tact and her patience, brings tranquility and gentleness to everyday life. Through the unselfishness of her heart she radiates around her the love which makes it possible to tolerate the harshest of trials with unwavering courage.....

"You, before the State, are the providers of education. You alone know how to impart to all the appetite for work, the sense of discipline, modesty and respect which make for sound men and strong peoples. You are the inspiration of our Christian civilisation."

DOCUMENT 6

PRINCIPES DE LA COMMUNAUTE

I L'homme tient de la nature ses droits fondamentaux. Mais ils ne lui sont garantis que par les communautés qui l'entourent: la Famille qui l'élève, la Profession qui le nourrit, la Nation qui le protège.

Man is endowed by nature with his fundamental rights. But only the communities which enfold him can guarantee these rights: the Family which rears him, the Profession which gives him sustenance, the Nation which affords him protection.

II Reconnaître à l'homme des droits sans lui imposer des devoirs, c'est le corrompre. Lui imposer des devoirs sans lui reconnaître des droits, c'est l'avilir.

The recognition of man's rights without the enforcement of his duties corrupts him. The enforcement of duties without the recognition of rights degrades him.

III La liberté et la justice sont des conquêtes. Elles ne se maintiennent que par les vertus qui les ont engendrées: le travail et le courage, la discipline et l'obéissance aux lois.

Liberty and justice are obtained by conquest. They may be preserved only by the exercise of those virtues which secured them: work and courage, discipline and observance of the law.

IV Les citoyens doivent travailler à rendre la société toujours meilleure. Ils ne doivent pas s'indigner qu'elle soit encore imparfaite.

Citizens must work for the constant improvement of society. They must not give way to indignation because it is not yet perfect.

V L'esprit de revendication retarde les progrès que l'esprit de collaboration réalise.

A selfish and importunate attitude holds back the progress which may be achieved through a spirit of collaboration.

VI Tout citoyen qui cherche son bien propre hors de l'intérêt commun, va contre la raison et contre son intérêt même.

Any citizen who seeks his own benefit apart from the common good, goes against reason and against his own interest.

VII Les citoyens doivent â la Patrie leur travail, leurs ressources et leur vie même. Aucune conviction politique, aucune préférence doctrinale ne les dispensent de ces obligations.

Citizens owe their Fatherland their work, their resources and even their life. No political belief or doctrine can exonerate them from

these obligations.

VIII Toute communauté requiert un chef.
Tout chef, étant responsable, doit être honoré et servi. Il n'est plus digne d'être un chef dès qu'il devient oppresseur.

Any community requires a leader.
Any leader, being accountable, must be held in high esteem and served. He is no longer worthy to be a leader the moment he becomes an oppressor.

IX L'Etat a pour fins la sécurité, le bonheur et la prospérité de la Nation.
Il doit au criminel le châtiment, à l'innocent la protection, à tous la souveraineté des lois.
Ces hauts devoirs définissent sa mission. Il ne l'accomplit qu'en exerçant l'autorité dans la justice.

The objectives of the State are the safety, the happiness and the prosperity of the Nation.
It owes punishment to the criminal, protection to the innocent, and the rule of law to all.
These high duties define its purpose. It fulfils this purpose only through the just exercise of its authority.

X L'Etat doit être indépendant et fort.
Aucun groupement ne peut être toléré, qui oppose les citoyens les uns aux autres, et tend à ruiner l'autorité de l'Etat.
Toute féodalité met en péril l'unité de la Nation. L'Etat se doit de la briser.

The State must be independent and strong.
No grouping may be tolerated, which sets citizens against each other and aims to undermine the authority of the State.
Any system of fiefdom threatens the unity of the Nation. The State has a duty to destroy any such system.

XI L'Etat demande aux citoyens l'égalité des sacrifices: il leur assure, en retour, l'égalité des chances.

The State demands equal sacrifices from all citizens. In return it guarantees equal opportunities to all.

XII L'Ecole est le prolongement de la Famille.
Elle doit faire comprendre à l'enfant les bienfaits de l'ordre humain qui l'encadre et le soutient. Elle doit le rendre sensible à la beauté, à la grandeur, à la continuité de la Patrie. Elle doit lui enseigner le respect des croyances morales et religieuses, en particulier de celle que la France professe depuis les origines de son existence nationale.

The School is an extension of the Family.
It must instill in all children an understanding of the benefits of the social order which enfolds and nurtures them. It must make them

aware of the beauty, the grandeur, the constancy of the Fatherland. It must teach him respect for moral and religious beliefs, in particular that which France has adhered to from the earliest days of its existence as a nation.

XIII Ni la naissance ni la fortune ne confèrent le droit au commandement.
La vraie hiérarchie est celle du talent et du mérite.

Neither birth nor wealth confers a right to leadership.
The only true hierarchy is that of talent and of merit.

XIV L'économie d'un pays n'est saine que dans la mesure où la prospérité des entreprises privées concourt au bien général de la Communauté.

The economy of a country is healthy only to the degree that the prosperity of its private concerns is attuned to the general welfare of the community.

XV La fortune n'a pas seulement des droits; elle a aussi des devoirs proportionnés aux pouvoirs qu'elle confère.

Wealth does not imply rights only; it also entails duties proportional to the power it bestows.

XVI L'Etat délègue à ses fonctionnaires une part de son autorité et leur fait confiance pour l'exercer en son nom; mais pour cette raison même, il punit leurs défaillances avec une sévérité exemplaire.

The State delegates to its officials a portion of its authority and entrusts them with the exercise of that authority in its name; but for this very reason, their shortcomings are punished with exemplary severity.

CHAPTER 8: Social Work During the Vichy Period

As far as social work itself is concerned, a substantial number of official texts were produced in the period 1940-1944. For the most part these texts originated in the commissariat général à la famille although certain of them, including the obligatory establishment of social services and employment of social workers in the larger industrial and commercial enterprises, were the result of a broad policy thrust involving a number of ministries concerned primarily with other areas of policy. The main purposes of the statutory instruments concerned with social work may briefly be summarised as defining areas of responsibility more clearly than had been done before, redirecting both social work training and practice and, to some extent, redefining social work itself. All of this, as already noted, was undertaken in the context not only of harsh economic circumstances, but also of a particularly acute anxiety about the moral comportment, viability and future of the French family. At least in these respects it could well be argued that the government in Vichy was attempting in the 1940s a task comparable to that which has been attempted piecemeal in Britain from the 1960s onwards.

Appendix 2 gives an indication, if little more than that, of the sheer number and range of the statutory instruments, circulars and other official documents that were generated during the period in question, and it may seem strange at first sight that a wartime government with many preoccupations should devote its energies to such an apparently marginal activity as social work. The fact that it did, however, may reasonably be accounted for on a number of levels. First, one should bear in mind, of course, the importance attached by Marshal

Pétain to the family as source and guardian of France's traditional values and virtues, as well as the cornerstone of the new France. Secondly, policy in the domain of support for the family prior to the Occupation and the advent of the Vichy government had already shifted to some degree away from the emphasis on financial help and towards the provision of services: this was perceived as a more cost-effective way of using resources and was developed from 1940 onwards. A third, linked, factor was that social work did not need to be an expensive service as far as the State was concerned. Historically much, if not most, activity in the general field of social service had been and continued to be conducted under the auspices of voluntary, self-funding bodies or by private enterprise. When, indeed, on October 19th, 1939, the Secours National was resurrected to coordinate fund raising and provision of these services during wartime, the extent of the resources and enthusiasm available for the work was demonstrated by the list of members of the Comité de Patronage published in the Journal Officiel (17/12/39). Well over a hundred names were listed, most of them representative of social service organisations with a national sphere of influence. This, in turn, is closely related to a fourth factor, that social work was already well developed in both State and private sectors and, because of the existence of officially recognised and controlled training programmes, had acquired a certain credibility. The work of various kinds that was already being undertaken with families could, therefore, quite easily be harnessed by the State to accomplish new ends.

A final point is that, as has already been seen, much social work prior to the Second World War had been as much concerned to bring about the same kind of moral regeneration of the French people as was being sought by

Pétain himself. Some prominent French social work writers and educators, both before and, more vociferously, after the defeat of 1940, expressed concern about the moral debilitation of the population in terms remarkably similar to those used by the Marshal himself in his Appels et Messages and other publications. Thus, Pierre Armand-Delille, in his Traité de Service Social, wrote of the need to have recourse to social work to "faire comprendre le sens, la valeur et la noblesse de la nouvelle devise de l'Etat français: Travail-Famille-Patrie" [56]. Similarly, M. Delbrel, in "Aux Travailleuses Sociales", expressed the opinion that, "La nation entière souffre et chacun de nous en elle. Et bénie soit cette souffrance. Elle est notre meilleur gage de guérison."[57]

Jeannine Verdès-Leroux suggests that every measure taken by the Vichy government, from the stricter laws on divorce, abortion and alcoholism to legislation excluding women from most paid employment, had been advocated in social work circles during the inter-war years. Social work, she argues, was presented by the new order with the possibility of fulfilment and could now be practised aggressively and without inhibition: "il n'a pas eu à se censurer, il a pu exprimer ses obsessions sans détours et jusqu'à l'extrême. Le langage de la vocation, de l'auto-exaltation a pu s'épanouir sans limites." [58] However, this rather jaundiced view of social work, whilst recognising quite properly that the Vichy régime did not represent a total break with previous philosophies and practice, fails to acknowledge the progressive measures that were taken in the early 1940s in such fields as adoption, children with handicaps and the rights of women within the family. Nor does it take account of the reluctance with which many voluntary organisations viewed such initiatives as those concerned with the coordination and control of social work. In these latter areas

Verdès-Leroux's evocation of harmony between State and social services around a cluster of themes and objectives derived from a fundamentally reactionary dogma needs to be modified. The fact remains, nonetheless, that there existed a certain congruity of concerns and interests between some leaders of social work thinking and planning and a government which saw itself as revolutionary in its attempts to transform French society.

The extent of State intervention in the domain of social service and social work was, then, quite considerable. Although it can not be discussed in its entirety here, the major themes which dominated the process of intervention and redirection will be identified and commented on. I would suggest that these themes, apart from the overarching concern with morality and social order, are those of economy and efficiency in social work delivery, and the relevance of social work to the perceived real needs of society and economy.

Morality and Social Order

The assault on the moral laxity of the French people during the inter-war years was, as one would expect, conducted on two fronts: home and family on the one hand and the workplace on the other. These were the two areas targeted by social policy in the early 1940s. The involvement of social workers in the process of moral reform was not always, however, automatic and overt. As already indicated, where the Commissariat à la Famille was the initiator of new laws a certain pragmatism prevailed more often than not, and care was taken to avoid excessive political interference in the making of family policy in general. By and large, personal social services were not openly harnessed to any goal more

ideologically charged than the maintenance of health and acceptable social functioning on the part of families. In the broad sphere of social policy and social problems, however, it can sometimes be difficult to differentiate between the moral and the rational response. A case in point is the creation of the déléguées à la tutelle aux prestations sociales in 1942. This system is one in which agents were appointed to monitor the use to which family benefits were put and, in the case of persistent abuse, to take over their disbursement. It might, therefore, be seen alternatively as a measure to ensure the efficient use of resources or as an attempt to impose a particular conception of the morally correct management of family and household. The scheme, which is discussed in rather more detail in the next section, initially involved social workers in a reporting rôle rather than that of déléguée, although this latter became a specialist area of social work in the post-war period.

The Charte du Travail, a wide ranging law dealing with the structure, organisation and discipline of the work force, its representation and its rights vis à vis the employers, was an example of legislation which had repercussions for social work, but which was promulgated by ministries having no direct interest in social work matters. The Charte became law on October 4th 1941, countersigned by the entire Conseil des Ministres, and was followed on July 28th 1942 by a further piece of legislation dealing in more detail with the provision of social and medical services within the broad context of industrial relations installed by the Charte du Travail itself.

The ostensible purpose of the new structure was outlined in the report to Marshal Pétain which preceded the legislation in 1941: "le détermination de rapports

harmonieux et justes entre les patrons, les ouvriers, les techniciens, les artisans" [59], and throughout the text the image of the family is invoked to lend a surface credibility to the notion of industrial enterprise as a system of mutually accountable groups, the interests of the individual, the work group, the firm and ultimately the State being indistinguishable. However, just as the father was head and decision maker in the family, so the legislation strictly preserves the right of management in industry to manage without hindrance. The key elements in the Charte du Travail were the organisation of the workers into professional unions by level and type of activity; the obligatory creation of comités sociaux in all enterprises of a hundred or more employees, their purpose being to provide for collaboration in social as well as industrial matters between the chef d'entreprise and representatives of employees in all categories; the suppression of the right to strike. This should not be, and indeed was not at the time, regarded as a definitive text and the full attainment of Pétain's corporatist ideal. It did, however, represent the outcome of a gestation period of some fifteen months since the granting of pleins pouvoirs, and was an important stage in the evolution of a corporatist society. The authors of the law averred that, "Elle servira ainsi de base à la création des futurs corporations qui restent le grand espoir de l'avenir français", but "L'interpénétration de l'économique et du social est une oeuvre de longue haleine" [60], not to be achieved in the short term.

That the search for "paix sociale" through a form of corporatism was nothing new is clear from the work already undertaken by the surintendantes before the war. Jacques Julliard ("Le Gouvernement de Vichy 1940-1942") observes also that in the 1930s there had been advocacy from all points on the political spectrum of an

industrial strategy closely resembling that of Pétain. What was known as the "troisième voie" between capitalism and socialism had been urged not only by the new right but also by the Fédération nationale catholique, amongst sections of the employers, and by the advocates of planning, who made their appearance in France as in Britain in the 1930s - within, in fact, most of the significant mainstream political groupings in French society. Once again the theme of continuity appears at least as important to an understanding of French policy during the Vichy régime as those of historical aberration or discontinuity preferred by some historians of the period within which it fell. That the Charte du Travail represented a significant step towards fascism or nazism, whilst nonetheless stopping short of the German or Italian models of industrial organisation, was recognised by the Pariser Zeitung of October 31st 1941: "La Charte du travail peut être considérée comme une synthèse du système fasciste des corporations et de l'organisation allemande du Front du travail. Mais elle ne sera véritablement la clef de voûte de l'organisation sociale et économique française que lorsque l'unité française sera englobée dans un seul parti réellement populaire qui servira de base à la constitution d'une Charte du travail définitivement efficace et juste." [61] What the Charte certainly did was to respond to the anxieties of the patronat and, more relevantly in this context, those of the surintendantes d'usine during the Popular Front, by removing from workers the right to take industrial action, the weapon which in 1938 had won them the Accords Matignon and access to real participation in both the social and economic management of their enterprises.

It was in this frame of reference that the law of July 28th, 1942 was placed on the statute book. This text is of interest from two points of view primarily. First, it

represented a part of the means whereby "la paix sociale" was to be achieved. The paternalism characteristic of French industry, which had prompted the pre-war growth of enterprise- and industry-based social services was now to be made compulsory. Article 9 of the new law required that all enterprises normally employing 250 or more workers engage the services of a social worker for at least three half days a week for every group of 250 in the work force. The service was to be concerned with monitoring the personal lives and problems of the employees, concentrating particularly on work with women, young people and those with a degree of mental handicap in overcoming their problems. Although based in the work place, social workers were also required by article 10 of the same law to collaborate with family workers in the community.

Thus the new legislation provided for development of the welfare network, integrating services at home and work, but did so within a framework which was hardly conducive to the workers' real interests, the main concern being to suppress any possibility of challenge to the authority of the employers. Indeed, Julliard (1972) suggests that the entire text of the Charte du Travail and the industrial relations strategy that it set in train might have been summed up by the simple formula: "A partir du 26 octobre 1941, la lutte des classes est abrogée en France." 61 Social work was to play its part in that abrogation, and its standing with industrial management was to be enhanced, again by article 9 of the law of July 28th 1942, which held out the promise of a new formal qualification in social work: that of conseiller(ère) social(e) du travail, already proposed as a possibility in earlier legislation of March the same year. A social work specialism which had in reality existed for some time already was now to be ratified by the State through

the medium of a new training programme and certificate of competence, both of which are available to social work students in the 1980s.

A second feature of the law of July 28th 1942 which is of interest in the context of Vichy's perception of the rôle and purpose of social work is the separate treatment of medical and social services at work, each having its own section in the statute. The provisions and general organisation of the former are dealt with under Titre I of the text, the latter under Titre II. Liaison between the two services was required by article 10 of the law, but they were to be organisationally distinct. This reflects the desire, apparent in many texts of the period, to progress beyond the use of social workers in the service of medicine, which is where the emphasis had very strongly been placed in the legislation on social work education of February 1938. A distinctive rôle for social work was being sought in the general sphere of the management of moral and social comportment, as opposed to the fight against the fléaux sociaux which had been predominant in thinking about social problems and social policy in 1938.

Economy and Efficiency

The efficient operation of the personal social services had been a concern of reformers, notably Henri Sellier, before the Second World War, and the measures taken by himself and others during the Popular Front have already been discussed. Even before that it might be suggested that the very fact of State regulation of social work education, from 1932 onwards, reflected a concern that the services employing social workers should be able to operate at a certain level of competence and

productivity. During the Vichy period these sorts of consideration were apparent in a number of aspects of social policy making relative to social work organisation and practice.

In one area in particular, that of maternity and child welfare, there are very distinct lines of continuity linking the provisions made by Pétain's administration to those initiated under the Third Republic immediately before and after the outbreak of the war. On July 29th and November 3rd 1939, the basis was laid by decree for the establishment in each département of medical and social services for the protection of mothers and children of school age. Each département, divided for the purpose into smaller units, circonscriptions, was to provide a service conforming broadly to the guidelines given in the Projet de Règlement-Type published on February 7th 1940 (referred to in Document 1), which latter outlined the objectives of the new dispositions as follows:

Art. 1er - There is hereby established in the département, in fulfilment of the requirements of article 1 of the decree of November 3rd 1939, a medico-social service within the general structure of the département's health services which is expressly concerned with the protection of motherhood and of children from birth until the end of compulsory education (or apprenticeship, if so desired).

The functions of this service will include:

1. The application of public health law relative to protection in maternity and childhood, notably that relating to medical examinations and compulsory vaccinations;
2. The instruction in health matters of both

mother and child, supervision in family, school and work settings of standards of hygiene and investigation of communicable diseases;

3. Ascertaining the necessary measures to ensure or facilitate admission to nurseries, maternity beds, crèches and wet nursing centres, placements for family supervision, children's holiday camps, centres for children at risk from communicable diseases, sanatoria and convalescence homes, hospitals etc., for pregnant women, mothers or children in need thereof;

4. The arrangement with local or regional health and public assistance services of provision for free consultations and medical supplies for pregnant women, mothers and children without the necessary resources;

5. The monitoring of organisations involved in maternity and child welfare which have been placed by law under the supervision of the civil authorities, or which receive grants or any form of material support from the State, the départements, the communes or any public body."

An arrêté published by the Prefect of each département was to establish the methods of liaison and coordination between this service and those others, notably education, which had an interest in the welfare of mothers and children. The operation of the service was to be effected by the doctor attached to each circonscription, medical specialists upon whom he could call, midwives, and social workers in possession of the State diploma, these last inevitably having a large share of responsibility for unearthing family problems and monitoring the progress of mothers and their children.

The statute was fairly comprehensive in the measures it introduced for protection in childbirth and thereafter,

and thus reflects once again the concern with population issues which has become particularly apparent in France during time of war or threatened war. It was, however, because of the war itself and the Occupation that the development of these measures was left to the Vichy régime, which took up and responded to an especial concern expressed in the ministerial circular of March 14th 1940 about the above decree and Projet de Règlement-Type. This concern was summed up in the concluding paragraph in which the wisdom of previous policy was seriously called into question. The strategy which had allocated most of the available funds to direct financial help for families rather than the provision of services, did not of itself guarantee that the funds so allocated would yield an improvement in child health and well-being.

"....il s'agit de donner une nouvelle orientation à la politique budgétaire départementale en matière sanitaire et sociale, c'est à dire de diriger largement vers l'hygiène et la médecine préventive, vers l'organisation du service social, un effort financier presque exclusivement appliqué jusqu'ici à la distribution de secours pécuniaires, distribution d'une efficacité limitée et qui se trouve nécessairement entachée parfois d'erreurs ou d'abus." 63

This inefficiency of financial support to families, and the potential for abuse of the system were the underlying themes of the law of November 18th 1942, which extended the provisions of the July 29th 1939 legislation and supplied a response to the concern about the possible misapplication of family benefits. The burden of the legislation was the new system of tuteurs aux allocations familiales. The structure established was one in which social workers would be responsible for reporting those

families in which family benefits were being used for purposes other than that of meeting the needs of children, whereupon a tuteur could be designated to take over the management of such benefits, either by sequestrating all or part of them and paying bills directly or by devising some other arrangement which involved the head of the family and encouraged a sense of family responsibility. The tuteurs were to be drawn from a list compiled by a commission established by the Prefect of each département and could be representatives of either public or private welfare organisations or private citizens known for their "esprit charitable" and "dévouement aux oeuvres de l'enfance". They were to be unpaid, only the expenses incurred in the fulfilment of this particular duty being met out of public funds. Social workers involved with the families in question were not to be involved in this service, it being conceded that their function was that of advising and gaining the confidence of families rather than exercising such overt control. There is a strong implication in the circular of May 7th 1943 on the implementation of the law that the proper professional function of the social worker would be substantially jeopardised by inclusion in the scheme:

"Les assistantes sociales et les visiteuses familiales, qui seront particulièrement indiquées pour rechercher une solution amiable dans la phase préparatoire, ne devront pas, en principe, être désignées comme tuteurs. Il est préférable en tout cas que celles des caisses de compensation soient exclues; elles doivent garder leur rôle de conseillers des familles." 64

Whereas this law was concerned with the efficient management of just one, albeit important, resource for the maintenance and protection of families, the law on

maternity and child welfare services of December 16th 1942 had a much broader compass. Its intention was to provide for more stringent controls than those envisaged by the decree of July 1939 and, thereby, to render more effective the general protection of children and specifically the attack on perinatal and child mortality. The report prefacing the law proclaims: "Pour la première fois apparaît dans la législation française une mesure d'eugénisme." [65] Eugenic considerations dictated that a medical certificate be supplied by each of the parties before a marriage could be contracted, not as a potential barrier to marriage, but rather to "placer les futurs conjoints en face de leur conscience et de leur responsabilité" [66], although this provision was seen as "un premier stade", which might subsequently be reviewed and extended in the light of experience. The requirement, incidentally, remains in force today.

A similar measure, at least to the degree that it provided for greater control by the State over the process of reproduction, was the stipulation that to be eligible for family allowances all pregnant women must undergo two medical examinations conducted by approved doctors. Both of these obligations reflected the imperative stated in the opening sentence of the report, to ensure "la sauvegarde physique et morale de la race".67

The report argues for a diminution in the part played by the medical authorities and a commensurate expansion of the rôle of the social services: "Les expériences des services sociaux ont, en effet, donné d'excellents résultats tant au point de vue sanitaire que social et moral."68 As in previous documents, it is noted, however, that the latter were still understaffed and badly organised: "les assistantes sociales.....sont

insuffisantes, éparses et trop souvent anarchiques. Il est indispensable de les coordonner et de les généraliser sous l'autorité du préfet régional".[69] Most of the text of the law itself is concerned with the organisation of a blend of administrative provisions for coordination (Titre I); medical checks for couples marrying and for pregnant women (Titres II & III); controls over the conditions in which children were reared (Titre IV); arrangements for the establishment of maternity and child welfare centres to supply a range of medical and paramedical skills, and for the monitoring of standards in all settings in which children were cared for (Titre V); and the creation of a new benefit for women without resources during pregnancy and in the period immediately after birth, a supplement to be available, incidentally, for those who elected and were able to breast feed (Titre VI). As suggested above, the general tenor of the text is far more rigorous and controlling than in any previous legislation of its kind. For example, a system of fines is provided for throughout for those officials who fail to enforce the regulations, as well as for all who offer child care services without conforming to the statutory requirements. The activities of social workers, required to focus their attentions particularly on children reared outwith the family home, and those whose parents are dependent on benefits or have been convicted of begging or drunkenness, were brought more strictly under public control. The frequency of social work visits, for instance, was to be determined by the Directeur régional de la Santé et de l'Assistance, and social workers were obliged to compile monthly reports on their visits. Moreover, as far as the new benefit was concerned: les allocations journalières aux femmes en couche, the breast feeding supplement was to be payable solely to those mothers who observed the necessary health precautions outlined in article 23 of the law. The visiting social

worker was given the responsibility of enlarging on these requirements, her prescriptions for good hygienic practices carrying the same legal weight as those contained in the law itself.

These are the minutiae of control but, as suggested earlier, the introductory report to Pétain himself is perhaps of the greatest interest in that it sets the legislation in the context of a clear philosophy of welfare. Conspicuously, in operating the services, the need is stressed for "étroit contact avec les organisations professionnelles et notamment avec les comités sociaux de la charte du Travail."[70] Thus the new law conformed to Pétain's vision of the corporate society based in large measure on the "interpénétration de l'économique et du social", the linking of home, work and community in an enfolding network of discipline and paternalistic welfare. Above all, there is a marked difference in tone between the concluding paragraph of the circular of April 14th 1940 (DOCUMENT 1, Chapter 5), which suggests that some discretion might be exercised in the application of the 1939 law, and the somewhat draconian tone of the 1942 legislation, which allows for no divergence from the strict letter of the text.

From a purely pragmatic point of view, however, the law is about the avoidance of waste and inefficiency first and foremost. Infant lives had been wasted by the failure to devise adequate methods for combating the high infant mortality rate, resources were assumed, perhaps reasonably, to have been wasted by families because of the failure properly to control the family benefits that had been available, and trained and experienced personnel had been wasted because, in spite of previous administrative initiatives, there was still much duplication of effort, a lack of proper lines of

communication between services and generally poor control, coordination and liaison. Indeed, although other factors are clearly involved, the dramatic improvement in the infant mortality rate in France since the 1940s has often been attributed to the effectiveness of the kinds of measures pioneered under the Vichy régime.

Relevance

In some respects the Vichy government had its own distinctive view of the value of social work and the form it might most appropriately take. Two major themes stand out in discussion of this view. One has to do with the nature and purposes of social work in general, a subject touched on in broad terms in the Conclusion and one which exercised the minds of the Commissariat à la Famille. The circular of May 9th 1941 on the organisation of social services (DOCUMENT 7) provides a brief résumé of official thinking on this matter, and can be linked with certain of the changes in the structure of social work education introduced during the Vichy régime. The other is more related to the particular targets which had been selected for social policy and social work intervention up to and including the beginning of the Second World War. Broadly speaking, the notion that the most pressing of social issues were those which arose in the emergent cities and that social policy should concern itself first and foremost with the resolution of urban and industrial problems was one which had strongly influenced successive governments. Table 15 shows clearly the slow pace of urban growth in the first half of the century and implies strongly that there existed a case for reassessing past priorities.

Little attention had been paid to the needs of the

peasantry, artisans, small shopkeepers and others in rural areas and in the towns in which most people's livelihoods depended on agricultural production. This was particularly incongruous in an economy which was still largely geared to the exploitation of peasant smallholdings, a fact which led to a further reorientation of social work training and the introduction of courses specialising in rural social work. That Pétain himself clung to the vision of a new society arising from the soil of France may also be linked to this latter development.

Table 15

	Popn. in Urban Areas[a]		Popn. in Rural Areas	
	('000s)	%	('000s)	%
1911[b]	17,509	44.2%	22,096	55.8%
1921[b]	17,381	46.3%	20,119	53.7%
1921[c]	18,206	46.4%	21,004	53.6%
1931	21,421	51.2%	20,414	48.8%
1936	21,567	52.0%	19,935	48.0%
1946	21,552	53.2%	18,951	46.8%
1954	23,947	56.0%	18,830	44.0%
1962	28,486	61.6%	17,757	38.4%
1968	33,633	66.2%	17,207	33.8%
1975[d]	36,749	68.8%	16,654	31.2%

a. using the standard French definition of population centres of 2000+
b. based on the 87 French Départements prior to 1919
c. based on the full 90 Départements after 1919
d. omitting Corsica

(Compiled from tables in Armengaud, 1977)

As far as the first of these general themes is concerned, the legislation of 1938 had, of course, knit social work

and health visitor training closely together, thereby confirming the connection already established by the visiteuses d'hygiène in the 1920s and early 1930s. The only social workers in training, therefore, in France in the early 1940s were students for whom the primacy of public and family health matters was confirmed by their close association in training with the visiteuses. Other individual and family problems were liable to be perceived as, if not quite incidental, at least secondary to the principal social work task.

The ministerial circular of May 9th 1941, however, saw social work in a rather different light and attempted, albeit briefly, to analyse the main functions and purposes of social workers in the light of the policy concerns of the new government. In this respect it might be considered something of a rarity among official documents, most of which tend to take somewhat for granted the rôle of social work and pay little attention to the possibility of a number of different dimensions to this rôle. The circular identified three main aspects: the uncovering of health problems and participation in providing programmes of treatment; ensuring that families received both the material and the moral assistance that the law provided for; and a function of social education. These were presented as being conceptually distinct, and the circular was concerned that a greater degree of prominence than hitherto should be given to the last two, whilst recognising the continuing importance of the first. After all, a concern about problems of public health had provided a considerable driving force behind the development of personal social service, and it was very frequently problems of health within a given family that provided social workers with initial access and the possibility of further work with that family.

The importance, however, of going beyond health issues and cultivating family work of a more general nature is asserted as part of the broad family policy favoured by the administration. It is interesting to notice, in passing, the emphasis placed in the circular on the encouragement and maintenance of family autonomy and responsibility, one of the basic moral tenets both of social work and of the régime of the time.

The circular promised new legislation relating to the organisation of the profession, and it is against this background that two new statutes appeared on November 12th 1941, concerning social work education and training. On that date were introduced new diplômes d'Etat: the diplôme d'assistant ou d'assistante médico-social and the diplôme d'assistante ou d'assistant social. The former, as its title indicates, placed more emphasis on the social dimension of their health care function than the older diploma for the visiteuses d'hygiène and provided more explicitly than in the past for an occupational rôle which would link health and social care. The same décret, in establishing a separate diploma for placement supervisors, demonstrated the importance attached to the maintenance of training standards. Other controls, similar to those in previous statutes, were also designed to achieve this end, notably provision for the appointment of a conseil de perfectionnement with its own permanent staff to monitor the work of the approved écoles and decide on such issues as exemption from certain areas of study in the case of specific students. The second of the two décrets established, within the same broad framework, a quite distinct diploma in social work. It made no reference to special training or certification for student supervisors, but this was an issue to be taken up in subsequent legislation in July the following year. In the meantime, the arrêté of

November 20th 1941 created within the conseil de prefectionnement a commission de surveillance with very extensive powers to investigate training practice. It was to meet at least once a month during the academic year and to present reports to both the conseil itself and the Secrétaire général de la Santé. This measure intensified the by no means new control exercised by the State over the training process and illustrates the seriousness with which the quality and relevance of social work education were regarded by the Vichy government. The commission's powers extended to all three of the new diplomas.

Still in the domain of social work education, an arrêté of July 6th 1942 acknowledged and responded to the past failure to recognise the particular needs of rural communities in the preparation of social workers. Article 8 of the decree of November 12th had made provision for the teaching of specialist options in the diplôme d'assistante médico-sociale and now advantage was taken of this provision to include a rural social work option. Although the arrêté itself is not reproduced in translation here, some of its features are of sufficient interest to warrant brief summary. The specialist option comprised both theoretical and practical components and was inserted as a complete programme in itself from the beginning of the second year of training. It was based on the notion that, to undertake effective social work practice in rural settings, social workers needed to understand the economics and techniques of agriculture, as well as the elements of law which were of particular relevance and the ways in which social and health problems manifested themselves in agricultural communities. Also prominent in the syllabus is teaching about peasant psychology and social and family structure. Placements on farms and in dairies and agricultural

colleges were included in the programme alongside more conventional placements in rural social service organisations. Participation in the daily life and tasks of a rural community was considered important if the credibility of social workers in such settings was to be properly established. Also worthy of note are the arrangements for validation of courses and other matters germane to the maintenance of acceptable standards and relevance in training. Schools wishing to offer the rural social work course were to be subject to a special validation by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, as well as that arranged by the Secrétaire d'Etat à la Santé. What is more, when, on March 14th 1944, a special post-qualifying certificat rural pour les assistantes sociales was added, the examination board was to be presided over by a representative of the syndic régional de la corporation paysanne, the certificate itself delivered by the equivalent national organisation and signed either by the Minister of Agriculture himself or one of his officials.

Such measures as these, imposing a particular conception of relevance and particular procedures to enforce it, may be seen in various different lights. On the one hand, as already suggested, there had been a degree of neglect of rural social problems quite surprising in a country whose economy was largely oriented towards agricultural production and in which industry, although well established, was highly localised and far from dominant as a means of production. From a purely pragmatic point of view, therefore, the rural specialism was clearly appropriate to the welfare of the population. From another standpoint, however, a combination of welfare services in support of the rural family and the recurrent emphasis in Vichy social service documents on the autonomy and self-determination of families under a

strong patriarchal head reflects very closely indeed that part of Pétain's own atavistic conception of morality and national resurgence which used the soil of France and the families who worked it as interlocking foundation stones. It has been suggested that this tendency of Pétain to look to the past rather than the future is what differentiates his régime from that of the nations in which nazism or fascism was more fully embraced.

It is somewhat ironic that, given the desire of the régime to create a form of social work which had a professional standing independent of health care, another perspective on the above developments might emphasise trends making for the deprofessionalisation of the métier, especially the participation of non-specialists and consumers of service in the validation and examination procedures of social work training.

In introducing the first diploma in social work in 1932 the State had contented itself with the ratification of training and examination procedures worked out by the schools themselves. Now, by way of the 1938 reform with its much stricter controls, a considerable distance had been travelled, the Vichy régime taking much further the corporatist tendencies already apparent in the pre-war legislators by implicating in decision making about social work a considerably wider range of constituencies and interests than its own appointed experts. Those without specialist knowledge of what social work potentially had to offer were to be participants in the process of determining what social work should be, what it could offer that was of relevance to its consumers and who should be allowed to practise it.

Translations

56. "to make clear the meaning, the merit and the nobility of the new slogan of the French State: Work-Family-Fatherland"

57. "The nation in its entirety is suffering, and each one of us within it. And let this suffering be blessed. It is our best guarantee of recovery."

58. "it had no need to exercise self-censorship, but could give voice to its obsessions without circumlocution and without limits. The language of vocation and self-glorification was able to spread unhindered."

59. "the establishment of amicable and fair relations between employers, workers, technicians and craftsmen"

60. "It will thus serve as a basis for establishment of the corporations to come, which remain the great hope for the future of France"
"The interpenetration of economic and social affairs is a long and exacting task"

61. "The Charte du travail may be regarded as a synthesis of the fascist system of corporations and the German system of the workers' Front. But it will never really represent the keystone of social and economic organisation in France until the unity of the French people is encapsulated in a single party, genuinely one of the people, which will provide a base for the creation of a fully efficacious and just Charte du travail."

62. "As of October 26th 1941, the class war in

France is abolished."

63. "...a new direction needs to be given to départemental budgetary policy as far as health and social matters are concerned, that is to say a substantial redirection towards hygiene, preventive medicine and the organisation of personal social services, of financial resources hitherto almost exclusively employed in the distribution of financial aid, the effectiveness of which is limited and which sometimes is marred by mistakes or abuses."

64. "The social and family workers, who will be particularly suited to the search for an agreeable solution in the preliminary stage, must not as a rule be appointed as tuteurs. In any event it is preferable that those attached to the insurance funds should be excluded; they should keep their rôle as family counsellors."

65. "For the first time eugenic measures are introduced into French legislation."

66. "to bring the future spouses face to face with their conscience and their responsibilities"

67. "the physical and moral protection of the race"

68. "Experience has shown that the social services have, in fact, produced excellent results, as much from the health as from the social and moral point of view."

69. "the social workers are too small in number, too scattered and too frequently disorganised. It is essential that they be coordinated and that their service

be made generally available under the authority of the regional Prefect."

70. "close contact with the professional organisations and notably with the social committees established by the Charte du travail."

DOCUMENT 7

SECRETARIAT D'ETAT DE LA FAMILLE ET DE LA SANTE

Circular No 51 of May 9th 1941

Social Service

By the law of September 10th 1940 the Secrétariat général à la Santé et à la Famille, all of the functions of which were transferred to my Department by the law of April 12th 1941, was given responsibility for "establishing programmes of social assistance and coordinating the activities of social assistance personnel". The law of October 15th 1940 conferred upon you the post of "regional head of the social assistance services". You will find in this circular my instructions, of which notification was given in my note of April 2nd 1941, as to the way in which you should approach your rôle in this domain.

1

Social service must fulfil three main functions:

1. That of detecting and monitoring health problems;
2. That of supplying both material and moral sustenance, social workers bringing within the reach of families the application of social legislation and helping them in the difficulties they might encounter;
3. That of educating.

The first of these, which was the original task of social work, remains the basic function; it is often, moreover, at the time of illness that the social worker enters into families and into their secrets, and it is after having uncovered the ailments and weaknesses which threaten the life of the family unit that she is prompted to alert the competent social agencies and to offer advice. However, at a time when the Government of Marshal PETAIN proposes to adopt a more intensive family policy, it is proper to give a greater emphasis to the family aspect of social service. From this perspective its work will only be truly fruitful if it does not treat families as dependants to whom protection should be offered, but rather aims, through the educational task that it undertakes and through the spirit in which help is offered, to allow families to become increasingly aware of their responsibilities and to enable them to become more and more capable of meeting their own needs.

Studies recently carried out have revealed that there is an inadequate number of qualified social workers. Our present need to recruit more vigorously must not lead to a lowering of standards: I would remind you that there exists a social work diploma awarded by the State on completion of a rigorous course of study, and that it is, moreover, part of my intentions that this should be strengthened and amended; if social service does have to have recourse to auxiliary workers, it is of great importance that the title of social worker should be reserved for those in possession of the diplôme d'Etat.

I consider it essential that social work retain its character as a private profession. Without doubt social service may be organised by the public authorities, but it is important that it should be organised by private initiatives also and that, in any event, it should not become a State monopoly any more than medicine should. On this condition only will social work be able to overcome all prejudices and make its full contribution to reaping the benefits provided by all the various initiatives, which in turn are stimulated by the desire to emulate each other.

Emulation does not, however, mean competition. Since July 1940 we have seen in certain regions a veritable explosion of social services, with a doubling or tripling of employment, the consequence of which has been the wasteful use of qualified personnel and the duplication of visits which has been unpleasant for families and has sometimes given them the bad habit of scrounging. On the other hand, in many places, and notably in rural areas, virtually nothing exists as yet. It is important that we put an end to this anarchic situation as soon as possible, without at the same time restricting freedom, by means of coordination, the management of which falls to you.

II

In order to achieve this coordination a threefold task must be undertaken:

1. The organisation of the profession;
2. The commitment of the various organisations concerned to an agreement covering, in general terms, the division of tasks between them and the forms to be taken by their cooperation;
3. The establishment in each département of a central office capable of providing for all necessary liaison on a day-to-day basis.

1. The organisation of the profession presupposes a statutory framework which is already in preparation. The texts will be made available to you in good time. In the meantime, please encourage the joint work already being undertaken by social workers, in order to strengthen the ties which exist between them and to prepare the ground for the creation of the national Union, which will be indispensable.

2. In order to ensure the necessary understanding and especially the division of tasks between the various bodies concerned, please convene in each département a meeting of all organisations employing social workers, under the aegis of a liaison committee. This committee of liaison, which you will ask the Prefect to preside over, will comprise, apart from yourself or your representative, the délégué régional à la Famille or his representative, a representative of the Associations familiales whom you will ask the délégué régional à la Famille to nominate in consultation with the Centres de coordination, a social worker, and a limited number of representatives of the bodies employing social workers, selected with their agreement. The committee must make every effort to achieve an amicable agreement between the various bodies.
The agreement will not necessarily consist of a geographical division of the social services into sectors. If, in the countryside, such a division is, in

the nature of things, unavoidable, in the towns on the other hand several services may very well operate in the same district. What is of great importance is that they should not become involved in multiple visiting to the same families. The central office to be created will take care of this.
It will be necessary, moreover, to distinguish between two types of social service: that which is devoted to the achievement of a clearly defined goal, either medical (the fight against tuberculosis or venereal disease, etc) or other (rehabilitation of a juvenile delinquent, for example), and that whose objective is to undertake regular visiting to families for a variety of purposes rather than taking on such a clearly specialist task. The relationship between these two kinds of service is, mutatis mutandis, analogous to that which exists between general and specialist medicine: the family social worker approaches the specialist worker every time the need arises; the latter, for her part, works in liaison with the family social workers.
The liaison committees will also be required both to ensure that the laying off of social workers is avoided, a practice which is all too often engaged in by the organisations concerned to the detriment of the latter, and to reach agreements about the levels of salary offered.

3. The central office, set up under the aegis of the liaison committee, will have as its central task that of ensuring permanent coordination between the various social workers operating within the same sector, at the same time as monitoring the sector as a whole for all matters relating to sanitary and social protection, and taking care of all families who do not come under any social service. It is important that one or more qualified social workers should be in charge of this office. There is much to be gained, however, by relieving these social workers of purely administrative tasks by the employment of secretarial staff.
The essential equipment of the central office will be the card index system. There is no question of the card index containing detailed information on each of the families visited: it is sufficient for it to consist of an index of referrals, containing the list of families visited with a note of the social worker visiting.
During this transitional period of perfecting the system it would be unwise to try to ensure that all central offices conform to a predetermined model. It will be more appropriate to proceed in each place according to the possibilities offered by local circumstances. Thus, the office may either be established directly by the liaison committee with the assistance of all participating bodies and under its management, or, as has already begun to occur in some départements, it may be entrusted to a body specially constituted for the purpose. What must be avoided, lest any untoward incident occur, is that the office be entrusted to one of the bodies using its services.
Various methods may equally be used to raise the funding required for the operation of the office, especially for the salaries of the social workers responsible for coordination. If it is run by an autonomous body, this will have its own sources of finance. If it is directly administered by the liaison committee, this will be funded by the subscriptions paid by the diverse organisations. In any event, it will be necessary to call for contributions from the family allowance funds, social security funds and from the Secours National, as well as from the public authorities.
Please infom me, as they arise, of any problems encountered in the

application of these instructions and, in any case, by July 1st at the latest, supply me with a report of the results already achieved in your region, together with any proposals or suggestions you consider to be of value. You should enclose with your report a special report from the Délégué régional à la Famille on the implications for the family of the organisation established.

No definitive regulations are to be decreed before I have studied these reports.

In general it is imperative that, in the establishment of this service, you should constantly seek the participation of the délégué régional à la famille, and act in full agreement with him. Two copies of this circular are addressed to you so that you may forward a copy to him.

I am also sending a copy, for information, to the Prefects.

All correspondence relative to the problem of social work should be addressed to me in triplicate, to Paris for the occupied zone and to Vichy for the free zone.

structural factors in shaping social work and thus can provide limited insight only into what social work is about in a given country at a given time.

What is required is a different, and a less inward looking perspective. Such a viewpoint must, of course accept that the primary motivation for social work on the part of its practitioners will often be sentiments of altruism, nurtured and moulded by long Christian or other religious traditions. It will also accept that a range of more or less specific techniques and skills is required if effective expression is to be given to these sentiments. Beyond this, however, rather than confining itself to issues of professional organisation and control of altruism, the professional elevation of altruism, or the demarcation of professional boundaries, such a viewpoint seeks to go somewhat further. It tries to locate and understand social work in the context of particular historical societies and attaches overriding importance to determining the distinctive functions performed by social work in relation to their major institutions. International and historical comparisons are a central component of this approach which would suggest that, although the discussion and identification of common social work values is of considerable worth in itself, of at least equal importance is the study of the sometimes substantial cross-national variations in the ways in which social work theory is promulgated, interpreted and applied.

Butrym's proposition has been taken, therefore, as a guiding theme in this analysis of the early growth of French social work, the main purpose of which is to throw some light on the social problems which have been experienced in one country, the way in which certain perceptions and definitions of these problems have

structural factors in shaping social work and thus can provide limited insight only into what social work is about in a given country at a given time.

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emerged, and the impact of these phenomena on the course of development of social work.

The second reason is closely related, but has more to do with the professional interests of social workers than with the academic study of the métier, in as far as these can or should be separated. As suggested already in the Introduction, relatively little attention has been paid by social workers in Britain to the development and configuration of social work in other European countries. Where an international consciousness has grown, this has been constructed primarily around the links established with the United States. Even American texts, however, which still supply much of the material for the teaching of social work theory and practice, often contain little reference to the historical context within which their ideas about social work grew and took hold. In this way, certain abstractions have become reified, at least in the sense that their transferability has been taken for granted, and a foundation for the professional development of social work in Britain has been laid the relevance of which is seldom sufficiently challenged or tested. At a time when national boundaries, especially within Europe, may well become a less significant obstacle to mutual understanding than in the past, social workers might appropriately seek a more secure footing for their professional identity by seeking an understanding of the different historical experiences of their counterparts in other European countries.

In the light of these concerns, the discussion that follows will begin by identifying some of the broad areas of shared and divergent historical experience between France and Britain in the fields of social policy and social work. A brief commentary on approaches to the conceptualisation of social work is also included, this

having been treated throughout the text so far as virtually non-problematical and self-defining, and some consideration is also given to social work settings and objectives, the control of social work and participation in social work.

Britain and France: Some Historical Comparisons and Contrasts

Titmuss (Problems of Social Policy, 1950) suggests that it was the crisis of the Second World War that led to official recognition of the value of social work in Britain. He is by no means alone in expressing the view that it was the participation of social workers in evacuation programmes, with their disruption of family life and a host of attendant problems, that brought them for the first time into the domain of statutory planning and administration. Thus a basis was created for the emergence of an official view of the utility of social work which in turn laid a foundation for the development of social work in statutory settings, as a local authority responsibility, in the latter 1940s. In 1940, on the other hand, when the French wartime government of Marshal Pétain took over the Secours National welfare scheme and embarked on its programme of reform and reorientation of social work and social policy, it was able to call on a substantial body of social workers who were already not only established and experienced but also in a great many cases in possession of a standard professional qualification sanctioned by the State

One of the major historical differences between the two countries is, then, in the time span over which the State came to acknowledge the potential of social work and provide it with statutory frameworks for training and

practice. Possible reasons for this discrepancy are suggested by some of the writers with an interest in the history of British social work. For example, in his discussion of the status of British social work in the inter-war years, Philip Seed (1973) supplies a partial explanation of the difference when he suggests that it was undergoing an uncomfortable and rather erratic process of transition. He refers, with apparent regret, to the virtual eclipse of "social work as a movement" and goes on to speak of it as,

"a pale shadow of the old movement at the end of the nineteenth century, with its vast claim then as a formula for social advance.....The hopes of those who wished to see a better society turned to political movements. By 1939 social work as a movement was eclipsed, as a profession fragmented and as practice uninspired."

Penelope Hall (1960), although rather more sanguine about the achievements and potential of social work in the inter-war years, quotes with apparent approval an explanation offered by Barbara Rodgers for its slow incorporation into the mainstream of social welfare provision and belated subjection to State control. The fact that social work remained to a considerable degree officially unacknowledged, and largely outside the statutory social services until after the Second World War is, she suggests, to be accounted for in the following terms:

"The failure to incorporate the developing skills and understanding of social work into the statutory services, which were being created and expanded during the years before and after the First World War, was a real loss both to the services and to the profession, but it was understandable. The emphasis

in these growing and developing services, as seen for example in the establishment of labour exchanges and juvenile employment bureaux, the introduction of health and unemployment insurance, and the medical inspection and treatment of schoolchildren, was on helping normal people cope with the normal contingencies of life, and so avoid serious family or social breakdown, and 'social work was peripheral, not central to this scheme of prevention' (Barbara Rodgers: 'The Administrative Setting of Social Service; Some Practical Implications', Case Conference, Vol.1, No. 3, July 1954, p.9)."

Hall also remarks that, in her view, the progressive dismantling of the Poor Law, accompanied by the fragmentation of the previously all-purpose rôle of the relieving officer represented a barrier to the emergence of a broad twentieth century view of social work as an integrated function. No conception of statutory social work as a coherent body of practice was able to emerge, because of the distribution of the relieving officer's responsibilities among the functionaries of the newly created departments and agencies of government.

Whether or not these factors are considered to provide a sufficient explanation of the slowness of the British State to recognise social work as having a valuable contribution to make to the development of social policy, one of the major themes of this study has been the relative alacrity with which the French and their governments have been prepared to acknowledge its potential contribution. In a variety of ways, social work has been adopted as a part of the overall strategies used by various agencies, primarily the French State itself, to contend with problems deemed serious enough to warrant large scale and disciplined social intervention. In some respects the problems involved have been

universally associated with the process of capitalist industrial development, regardless of the society in which it occurs, in others they were firmly rooted in a particular historical society with a very distinctive political, economic and demographic legacy. Overt political conflict involving both secular and religious interests, an entrenched and politically powerful peasantry and artisanat, and virtual demographic stagnation were an important part of this legacy and major elements in the background against which French social policy generally diverged from broad lines of development which otherwise appear at first glance to have corresponded quite closely to those followed in Britain. How superficially close the parallels are between the two nations in terms of the social problems identified and addressed, and often indeed the methods employed, is shown in the time chart in Appendix 1, although, of course, it should not necessarily be inferred from a simple parallel listing of dates and enactments that the action taken in the two countries was always equally determined or equally effective.

It should be noted in passing that, if there are certain marked similarities between social policy developments in France and Britain this, for a number of reasons, should hardly occasion surprise. On a very general level, in spite of structural differences between the two societies and economies, many of which have been referred to in this thesis,the two States have shared such problems as social and political control, national power and security, and industrial productivity in an increasingly competitive and hostile international environment. In the literature of the subject, social policy has frequently been portrayed as having a 'handmaiden' rôle, in that it has been used in an attempt to resolve those problems which have tended to impede economic development

and inhibit national power. The analysis of social policy in such terms has become a prominent feature of the literature on both sides of the Channel. When, for example, Bernard Lory writes (1974) of "le statut politique inférieur de l'action sociale",[71] he is referring to the tendency to subordinate the concerns and interests of social policy to such other, and higher, imperatives.

If this approach suggests a basis for parallel development, the sheer geographical proximity of the two countries and, in spite of a certain historical antipathy, the extent of mutual influence, have helped to build on this foundation. Thus the maisons sociales drew their inspiration from the first English settlements in the East End of London, early examples of French social work in the service of industry and factory workers were modelled on developments in the British munitions factories during the First World War, and the French government exiled in London in the early 1940's, later to become the government of liberation, was influenced by the social security proposals set out in the Beveridge Report.

The fact that both countries have been exposed to external influences has also served to foster common lines of evolution in social policy. Just as Lloyd George and Churchill had both been impressed by the potential of Bismarck's system of social insurance before the First World War, so the French learned by the same example. In the latter case, however, since the German scheme was already in operation in the territories of Alsace and Lorraine, which were only restored to France in 1919, the lesson was even harder to ignore than for the British Liberal politicians. These départements, in spite of the vigour with which central government has

attempted to impose universal standards in social provision, have retained some of the characteristics of the schemes introduced during the period of occupation by the young German State. Schemes operating in the border départements of Alsace and Lorraine have remained more generous than those in the rest of France, providing a reminder of their origins.

More specifically in the field of social work, the vigorous proselytism of the philosophy and techniques of social casework in the United States made a substantial impact in France as in Britain from the nineteen-fifties onwards. Psychoanalysis, however, and the personalisation of social problems, without which the casework method could never have matured, were paving the way as an influence on social work practice long before this, and de Robertis (1981) speaks of "la redécouverte du case work" in the period 1955-1960. In her view the publication of Mary Richmond's writings in France from 1926, coupled with the success she enjoyed at the first international congress of social work in Paris two years later, ensured that many if not most French teachers and practitioners were both familiar with and persuaded of the utility of her casework method well before the Second World War.

The basis suggested thus far for parallel developments in British and French social work and policy, if one discards for the moment the fact of common exposure to foreign example, is primarily one in which the latter has been influenced by the former. Given that Britain had been exposed to the problems of urban poverty and squalor at an earlier stage and on a far larger scale, and given also that the pragmatism and empiricism associated with detailed social research and the tradition of nineteenth century 'blue book' sociology were well established by

the middle of that century, this sort of relationship was perhaps to be expected. It might be proposed that in more recent times the apparent imbalance has been somewhat corrected by a reverse flow of theoretical formulations, models and approaches to an understanding of the rôle of social work. Foucault, with Histoire de la Folie (1961) and Donzelot, with La Police des Familles (1977) are two writers whose critical perspectives on issues central to the practice of social work have been both widely read and influential in British social work circles. To a degree, a form of mutuality could be said to have evolved, in which practical experience and example have been answered by academic insights which have been reflected in our own thinking and literature.

The Concept of Social Work

It has not been my purpose in this study to add to the already considerable volume of literature about the content and process of social work as an emergent or established profession, but rather to look at some aspects of the growth and developing practice of what one country generally recognised as social work up to and including the early 1940s. It is perhaps important, however, at least to acknowledge the existence of uncertainty or, rather, conflicting certainties about the nature of social work, if for no reason other than to provide possible criteria by which to evaluate the French experience.

In any discussion of social work the most difficult problem encountered is, of course, that of definition. What philosophical principles social work is founded upon, whom social workers serve and what kinds of activities constitute the essential core of social work

are questions which have been frequently discussed in the literature of social work and social administration, by social workers themselves and by the public at large. Breakwell and Rowett (1982) are not alone in suggesting that if nothing resembling a real consensus has been arrived at it is because, basically, "general agreement has not been reached amongst social workers themselves about what they should be doing and how they should be doing it: their goals and techniques. There are a number of factions within social work expressing very different and at times completely contradictory views of these issues." What is more, "social workers are largely without readily understandable techniques and operate in areas where there is usually little or no agreement over what constitutes the complaint." (ibid.)
Much the same point of view was expressed by the National Association of Local Government Officers when, in its comments to the Barclay committee, it opposed the creation of a General Social Work Council because, in its view there does not exist: "'a generally recognised core of knowledge and practice necessary for, and appropriate to, social work.' The definition of a social worker is not clear in the public mind." (National Institute for Social Work, 1982)

A number of specific factors, of course, influence the vigour with which the guiding principles of any profession may be asserted and, in this context, affect the balance between professional and other forms of control and direction of social work itself. Of prime importance amongst these, as far as social work itself is concerned, is its relative novelty as an organised and disciplined activity. Philip Seed (1973), among others, has pointed out that it was not until the latter years of the nineteenth century that the term 'social work' itself first came to be used in Britain, although activities

which bore something of its cachet had been developed and undertaken on a piecemeal basis prior to that. As far as France is concerned, Bodart (1983) states that it was only from the late nineteen fifties onwards that 'le travail social', as a direct translation of the English, began to be widely accepted and used by both practitioners and general public alike. It is, however, perhaps somewhat misleading to dwell at too much length on the use of terms, particularly in the French context, since a great deal of the work currently done by the 'travailleurs sociaux' was previously designated 'service social', and, in fact, the time span over which modern social work practice has been developed in France is not substantially different from that which saw its emergence and growth in Britain.

A period of about a century is a relatively short time for the establishment of a consensus around a coherent and patently relevant set of guiding principles for the practice of any professional group.

Adopting, as I have done, an historical approach spontaneously suggests two major themes: those of continuity, consolidation and development on the one hand, and change and transition on the other. It might be held that by the 1940s French social work was the outcome of little more than an extension of the values and practices of the early pioneers of social service, or that at some point, or over a period of time, a change of orientation occurred of sufficient proportions to permit the assertion that it represented a starting point for recognisably contemporary, professional social work. The relevance of each of these perspectives to an understanding of the rôle of contemporary French social work can in some measure be judged only on the basis of an attempt to isolate the criteria by which professional

social work itself may be identified and differentiated not only from the mainstream of social service, but also from other occupations, such as medicine, the law and teaching, which have made use of the counselling, advocacy and other techniques associated with social work

In broad outline, some perspectives on social work tend to emphasise the universal, unvarying features of the métier whilst others see these as having limited worth only in reaching a full understanding of social work as a phenomenon, and would make reference to the structural context of practice as a factor of very considerable importance in influencing the way in which core values and ideals actually find execution and expression. In the former case attention is drawn to the rôle of social work as an organised and disciplined expression of the universal sentiment of altruism, or to the particular combination of technical skills and personal qualities which are distinctive to social work. In other words, social work is portrayed as an activity which, reduced to its bare essentials, is likely to vary little from one society to another. What is of importance is the shared pool of values, theory and technique which unites workers practising in diverse material contexts; what is of lesser consequence, if any, is the particular conjuncture of political, economic and cultural factors in any society at any given point in time which leads to the harnessing of these elements by a variety of means to such alternative ends as, for instance, social control, social amelioration or political activism.

One attempt to characterise social work along these lines is that made by the United Nations (1958):

"Le service social en tant que profession est apparu depuis peu, bien qu'il doive son origine à

l'impulsion d'ordre religieux ou humanitaire 'à réconforter et aider ceux qui ont perdu courage, à relever ceux qui tombent...., à apporter secours, aide et réconfort à tous ceux qui sont en danger, dans le besoin ou dans l'affliction'. Comme la médecine et l'enseignement, il trouve son inspiration profonde dans des sentiments religieux de charité et d'amour pour le prochain, ou dans une foi politique ou humanitaire qu'anime le désir de voir l'humanité accéder à une vie meilleure et plus libre. En fait, quelques uns des concepts fondamentaux du service social se sont exprimés au cours des siècles dans diverses cultures et religions à travers le monde entier." 72

Much less grandiosely, but still within the same general perspective of social work as a universal social activity, Barbara Wootton (1959) says, rather dismissively, that the essential requirements of the social worker are, "good manners, ability and willingness to listen, and efficient methods of record keeping". Combined with a sound working knowledge of the social services these fairly modest attributes seem, in her view, to be sufficient for the performance of social work as a more or less technical and unproblematical function.

In a more rigorous way the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work, in the course of discussions about the content and orientation of social work education in 1977, identified a number of fundamental social work activities, and an implicit value system, as a key unifying force:

"...it is suggested that the main cluster of those (activities) which are distinctive to social work are:

(a) Differential diagnosis and workload management.
(b) Client protection, control, containment and some forms of purposive support.
(c) Improvement or enhancement of capacity, and therapeutic intervention and the creation of institutional environments to this end.
(d) Advocacy and intermediacy on behalf of clients.
(e) Some aspects of prevention (through earlier intervention).
(f) Some aspects of active care and of advice and information giving.

No claim is being made to the uniqueness of each single activity to social work, but they constitute a cluster of tasks and skills associated with them, which if carried out at a sufficient level of sophistication, is distinctive." (CCETSW 1977)

To the extent that this list, or "cluster of activities" includes an acknowledgment of the need for some form of assistance to the weak and vulnerable, a basic belief in the intrinsic worth of the individual, and a recognition of the uniqueness of each individual's difficulties, it echoes the implied assumptions of the United Nations statement about shared human qualities and humanitarian activities which transcend cultures, political systems and periods in history.

It is worthy of note that the same document lists a more extensive "range of personal social service activities" within which the above "cluster" is located. Amongst these reference is made to management and policy making functions which are absent from the social work list:

"...for the purposes of this paper a simplified categorisation of activities, which the

provision of social services involves, is assumed - these are:

(a) Policy development - the management of resources and organisation at various levels; the oversight of policy implementation.
(b) Staff supervision, consultation, monitoring and evaluation.
(c) Problem definition, the determination of priorities in response to them and workload management.
(d) ....." (ibid.)

If, as CCETSW subsequently stated, the responses received from social work practitioners, professional organisations and agencies to their consultative document suggested broad agreement with the content of the two lists of activities, something of a consensus might be said to exist that involvement in decision making, policy formation and development, and priority setting, except within the limits of an individual workload, are not an integral and indispensable part of the social work function. The earliest forms of social service, or, in the French context, service social, organised in the private as opposed to the State sector, necessarily implied a greater degree of responsibility for the establishment of objectives, the development of an organisational framework and the varieties of work undertaken than modern social work, or travail social. As the latter has become increasingly subject to State control, the CCETSW criteria might be felt to provide a prima facie basis, albeit one which would doubtless be disputed hotly by many contemporary social workers, for distinguishing between the two terms, social service and social work, often associated with different stages in the historical development of the calling.

Settings and Client Groups

To take the above discussion a little further requires perhaps that a somewhat closer look be taken at such matters as the settings within which social workers are employed, and how their function is differentiated from that of other groups of workers. The former is clearly an important issue, because inevitably in judging what constitutes social work elsewhere the British observer will tend to use the experience of social work in his own country as something of a yardstick. Thus there might well be a predisposition to dismiss such groups as the surintendantes d'usine, because they were employed in the private sector by organisations whose foremost concern was to encourage profitability and efficiency in production and because their function has been performed in Britain under the general rubric of personnel management rather than social work. Similarly, because of the marked medical orientation of French social work in the past, especially in view of the 1938 reform of social work education and the historical links with the visiteuses d'hygiène, there may be a disinclination to regard it as belonging properly in the social work tradition. In Britain, after all, health visitors have performed the function of monitoring health standards in the home and striving for their improvement. Two categories of professional activity which contributed much to the development of French social work might easily be disregarded if this rather ethnocentric approach is applied.

The division and sub-division of all areas of professional activity, which an extensive literature has documented as one of the salient features of work in modern societies, can not, however, be expected necessarily to conform to the same pattern in all

countries. It is certainly arguable that nothing more than a different pattern of rather arbitrary partition, specialisation and labelling creates the difficulties of recognition and acknowledgment that occur. In Britain the personnel management function, the employee welfare part of which the surintendantes were employed to supply, followed a course of development separate from that of social work, and this may be a matter of mere historical accident. However, one might look for part of the explanation of this difference in the social position of the women who worked as surintendantes. They might not have remained locked in the sphere of le social if they had acquired the right to participate in the political life of the country at the same time as their British counterparts, rather than being confined to concerns of family, home and the facilitating of harmonious social relationships. In short, those without formal, institutionalised power may exercise some influence over the structure and conditions of the work they do, but they do not by and large have the ability to establish new professions.

The visiteuses are a different case, as are those who carried their concern with health through into the practice of social work. In Britain, their health visitor counterparts have not formed part of the social work tradition since the nineteenth century and the pioneer work of the sanitary associations in the voluntary sector, whereas by 1938 the visiteuses were making a very substantial contribution to the content and practice of social work in France. A combination of factors accounts for this difference. For one thing, the high rates of infant mortality and social and contagious diseases were regarded as serious problems in a country whose leaders were constantly preoccupied with the problem of under-population and its consequences. What

is more they were seen as predominantly social and moral issues susceptible to intervention on a social and moral plane, a fact which is not altogether surprising, given the high incidence of venereal disease, the recurrent theme of alcohol abuse among the working class and peasantry, and a general tendency to rely on the moral deficiencies of the poor as a sufficient explanation of the country's problems. In an important sense the Oeuvre Sociale of the late nineteenth century had established a moral agenda which, taken together with the perceptive realisation of the importance of social factors in health, provided a solid foundation for the link between social work and community health care.

To approach the question from a slightly different perspective, it should be recalled that the full title of the French social worker is assistant(e) de service social, although this is most frequently abbreviated to assistant(e) social(e). Translated directly this gives 'social service assistant', although it should be noted that assistant in this context has connotations of facilitating or animating rather than simply helping. This serves once again as a reminder that the process which culminates in the practice of social work is essentially one in which social problems are perceived and defined by those with the necessary political power or moral authority, social services are created in the light of their perceptions and definitions, and social workers, or social service assistants, are employed to ensure that these services are carried directly to their intended recipients. They are first and foremost facilitators or animators of an administratively defined utility working with populations of clients who have been targeted largely on the basis of particular interpretations of social problems. From this standpoint it does not necessarily matter a great deal what the

institutional settings were in which social work took hold and developed, nor what particular goals were served. In Britain, probation and hospital based social work are usually acknowledged as the first fruitful instances of paid social work on a significant scale, carried out outside the purely charitable or voluntary domain. In France it happened to be in the fields of community health care and industrial welfare that this development took place, the two areas that excited most concern and in which it was felt that social work had some contribution to make to the achievement of national economic and political objectives. Thus, in Britain, social workers were aligned with the law and the administration of institutional health care, in France with community health services and industrial and commercial management. There is no prima facie argument to suggest that this state of affairs should lead to the dismissal of nascent French social work as something less than real social work.

Control and Participation

The studies of early prototype social work in France were intended, amongst other things, to draw attention to precisely those institutional factors which created a distinctive environment for the growth of French social work. One of these, dealt with in Chapter 1, was the power of the Catholic Church and the struggle for control of social work between Church and State in the early years. In the British context there is no real tradition of analysing the contribution expected of social service and social work in furtherance of the political ambitions of religious congregations as opposed to the secular authorities of government. Certainly, Kathleen Heasman in Evangelicals in Action (1962)

discusses the religious and reforming inspiration behind much pioneering social work practice in Britain. However, the close, long-standing identification and integration of the Church of England with the secular institutions of government and the minority status of other churches have effectively removed any basis for the kind of political struggle between Church and State which has been extensively discussed in much of the French literature of the historical development of social service.

The State won this struggle, on its own legislative ground, with a series of laws at the turn of the century attacking the Catholic Church and its congregations. This may well be seen as no more than a pyrrhic victory, however, as the Church's influence in the field of social service remained considerable. Given that there was no financial assistance provided by the State for students of social work until the legislation of 1938, the vast majority of students came from comfortable middle class backgrounds, in other words from a social milieu in which any challenge to Catholic orthodoxy was unlikely. What is more, the strict moral standards expected of social work students were likely to be equated with Catholic values, especially by those schools which were themselves inspired by these values. Apart from the widespread loyalty to the basic doctrines of the Church amongst the rank and file of social work, many of the influential figures in its development in the inter-war years had served their apprenticeship in the maisons sociales. The ideals which had fired their enthusiasm in the late nineteenth century were tempered only slightly by the collapse of the oeuvre sociale, and these ideals, coupled with their determination to succeed as women in a world still dominated by men, made them a redoubtable force.

Marie-Jeanne Bassot, for example, continued to work in the development of community-based services, organising Centres sociaux which, although more modest in their ambitions than the oeuvre sociale, nevertheless sought to promote the same virtues. In the process she supplied a model for the community centres which were to be constructed on a large scale after 1961, in response to criticism of the alienating features of the new post-war housing developments. What is more, the latter developments were also to provide a setting for the activities of a new category of personal social service worker, the conseillère en économie familiale et sociale, whose function is to provide counselling for housewives on questions of household and family management.

Léonie Chaptal and Appoline de Gourlet were other examples of pioneers of the maisons sociales who continued to be influential figures. The former achieved eminence as early as 1914, when she was involved in drafting the law on the provision of public health clinics. She also became a member of the Conseil supérieur de l'Assistance publique and, incidentally, went on to represent the French government at the League of Nations. The latter went on to complete a career of fifty years in social service, occupying a series of important positions.

The list could be extended almost indefinitely to illustrate the extent of the Church's continuing influence even after the severe curtailment of its overt and formal participation in the organisation of welfare services. The arrangements for coordination initiated by Henri Sellier during the Popular Front were negotiated with leaders of the voluntary sector who stemmed from this same tradition, and the organisations that Pétain's government brought into partnership in the prosecution of

his family policy were largely led and staffed by those in a direct line of descent from the early pioneers. That the Popular Front, representing as it did a resurgence of the spirit of lay republicanism, tried to build social work around a core of health workers increasingly employed in the public sector is not really surprising. Nor is it surprising that the Vichy administration, with its emphasis on Catholic values, should have sought to give formal recognition to other views of social work, founded on moral reform as much as on practical and worldly concerns such as health. Similar debates and conflicting conceptions of social work have certainly manifested themselves in Britain, but not as a facet of any comparable contest between Church and State for the hearts and minds of the people.

Another area in which a sharp distinction may be made between France and Britain is that which concerns the very different processes whereby social work has been recognised and validated by the State, and formally incorporated into the fabric of State welfare policy. In Britain, at least until recently, the State has been quite content to confine itself to the creation or regulation of administrative settings for social work and to specifying the duties of social workers in respect of their employing organisations and of specified client groups. The professional development of social work has been left largely in the hands of fairly autonomous educational establishments and of the workers themselves. In France, however, from tentative beginnings as far back as the 1920s, quite detailed central governmental control has extended to the content and structure of social work education as well as, increasingly, to the monitoring and regulation of standards in social work practice. A brief résumé of the difference might begin by referring to the fact that, whereas the first State social work diploma

was introduced in France in 1932, it was not until 1962 that a general framework was established for an overall State monitoring and control of social work education in Britain. Even then, nine years were to pass before that part of the Health Visiting and Social Work (Training) Act of 1962 which provided for the establishment of the Central Council For Education and Training in Social Work was actually to be implemented. It might further be added that the extent of State control of content, modes and standards of social work education has remained limited in Britain, even since the Council came into being, when compared with that exercised by the State in France since 1932.

One important reason for this is that the French, since the time of Napoléon, have applied the Roman system of law. This system is based upon a detailed and elaborate codification of law by various kinds of statute. This fact, taken together with the lois sur les associations at the beginning of this century, means that no public institution has legal status or recognition unless it conforms to the general requirements of the relevant ordinances or is itself the subject of specific statutory controls: "Nous savons qu'en France, pays marqué entre tous par le droit romain, une institution n'a d'existence réelle que le jour où celle-ci est consacrée par les textes." 73(de Bousquet, 1971)

Clearly, within such a structure, central government will give close attention to the nature and regulation of all institutions which come within its purview. In a system like our own, on the other hand, provision has traditionally been made for substantial areas of discretion and interpretation within a much looser framework of administrative law. Governments have normally relied on indirect control, sometimes achieved

by the granting or withholding of financial aid, or the application by the civil courts of a body of law established by precedent, rather than on enforcing directly a canon of regulations supplied by statute. It is only recently, within the last eight years or so, that in such areas as social security, housing and education the administrative discretion previously normal has been either suppressed or marginalised, a period, incidentally, in which decentralisation and diffusion of power have become the new bywords in French administration.

One advantage of the traditional French approach is that, either explicitly or implicitly, it provides definitions of those areas of social life that it specifically seeks to control. For example, the official view of service social is provided in E. Rain's "Répertoire de droit social et du travail" (Dalloz, 1961):

"Sont considérés comme services sociaux tous les services, relevant d'organismes publics ou privés, à titre principal ou accessoire, qui exercent une activité sociale auprès des individus, des familles ou des collectivités, par l'intermédiaire des assistants, assistantes ou auxiliaires de service social."[74]

This perception broadly conforms to the view expressed earlier, that the social worker is the intermediary between a social service and the individuals, families or communities to whom it seeks to direct its own particular form of social action. Conversely, a social service is defined by its engagement in social action and by its employment of social workers, a social worker, in turn, being defined by possession of the State diploma. The two are inextricably bound up together in this brief résumé of their position in French law as it stood by the

early 1960s.

The many laws, decrees and arrêtés relating to social work, some of which are appended and others quoted from in the text, supply a variety of more focussed official elaborations on this rather bald statement. These official views have been legally enforceable, especially those on social work education, over which the State has been able to exercise more direct and easier control than over most other social work matters. Since 1932, what is more, they have been capable of implementation through the steady exclusion from legitimate social work practice of non-holders of the State diploma, a process which was completed by the legislation of April 8th 1946. Thus a useful reference point has been provided over the years for anyone seeking official definitions of social work and interpretations of the social work task, as has an increasingly rigorous guarantee of standardisation in training and basic modes of practice: the kind of guarantee that CCETSW hopes to achieve through the reform of British social work education after 1991. Even this latest reform seems, however, unlikely to introduce a system comparable to that which was reaffirmed in France in 1946, that of training as an obligatory precondition of social work practice.

Of the many general observations that could clearly be made about the implications of national differences in the degree of State control of social work and social work education, two are perhaps of particular relevance here. First, in as far as State recognition and control implies for any occupational group a degree of consistency in standards of training and qualification, not to mention its acquisition of an exclusive right to practice legitimately, both longstanding hallmarks of professional status, French social workers could well be

argued to have achieved professional status in advance of their British counterparts. A second point is one which in many respects runs counter to some of the more conventional views of professionalism, which emphasise autonomy and neutrality as amongst its defining characteristics. This is that the control of the State by ideologically diverse French governments has also implied a series of changes, mainly through the manipulation of patterns and content of education, in the style, orientation and purposes of social work. This is most clearly and dramatically illustrated by the various reforms imposed by the Vichy government in the early 1940s when, by virtue of its direct access to the schools and their training programmes, the régime sought to adapt and utilise social work in pursuit of its own political objectives.

Translations

71. "the secondary political status of social action"

72. "It is only relatively recently that social work has emerged as a profession, although its origins can be traced to the religious or humanitarian urge 'to comfort and assist those who have lost hope, to raise those who have fallen....., to bring relief, assistance and comfort to all those who are in danger, in need or suffering'. Like medicine and education, its deep inspiration is to be found in the religious sentiments of charity and love for one's neighbour, or in a political or humanitarian faith impelled by the desire to see humanity achieve a better and freer life. In fact, a number of the concepts fundamental to social work have been given expression throughout the centuries in various cultures and religions in all parts of the world."

73. "We know that in France, a country known above all for its system of roman law, no institution has any real existence until this is established by law."

74. "All services are considered to be social services if they are either a main or a secondary responsibility of public or private organisations and carry out social action with individuals, families or groups, through the agency of social workers or social work auxiliaries.

APPENDIX 1: Selected Dates in Social Policy in France and Britain (1841-1939)

FRANCE		BRITAIN	
1841	Act prohibiting factory work for children under eight		
		1844 & 1847	Factory Acts restricting working day for women and children.
1848	First legislation limiting the length of the working day	1848	Public Health Act
1850	Legislation for the improvement of unfit housing		
1867	Schools obligatory in all communes of more than 800 inhabitants		
		1870 & 1872	Education Acts: universal elementary education
1874	Act prohibiting employment of children under 12	1874	Factory Act - 10 hour day
1880	Act protecting children in moral danger	1880	Education Act - compulsory school attendance for 5-10 year olds
1882	Introduction of free compulsory education.		
		1883	Settlement scheme first mooted by Canon Barnett (Oxford, 17/11/83)
		1885	Medical Relief (Disqualifications Removal) Act
1889	Act for the protection of neglected children (removal of paternal rights) - extended in 1898, 1902, 1921		
		1890	Housing of the Working Classes Act

FRANCE		BRITAIN	
1892	12 hour day introduced for women and under 18 year olds		
1893	Act introducing free medical assistance Health and safety at work legislation		
1894	Act establishing societies for the provision of cheap housing		
1896	Creation of l'Oeuvre Sociale, renamed La Maison Sociale in 1901.	1897	Workmen's Compensation Act
1898	Act providing for compensation for accidents at work		
1901	Establishment of Dr Calmette's anti-tuberculosis dispensary in Lille.	1902	Education Act
		1906/7	School meals/medical inspection
1908	Legislation on vagrancy and prostitution amongst minors	1908	Children Act Old Age Pensions Act
1910	Pension schemes introduced for industrial workers and peasants	1911	National Insurance Act - health & unemployment
1913	Family allowance scheme for large families in need.		

FRANCE		BRITAIN	
1916	Legislation establishing health/ T.B. prevention clinics	1918	Maternity and Child Welfare Act
		1919	Creation of Ministry of Health
1920	Creation of the Ministère de l'Hygiène, de l'Assistance et de la Prévoyance sociales.		Housing Act (subsidies)
1928	Introduction of compulsory social insurance (covering illness, maternity, death and disability)	1933	Children and Young Persons Act
1935	Legislation on services for neglected children		
1938	Décret-loi completing family allowance system by including agricultural workers		
1939	Code de la Famille		
		[1945	Family Allowances Act]

This juxtaposition of dates and social policy/social service initiatives is not intended to be comprehensive by any means. The items listed have been selected to indicate that, in a very broad way, the governments of the two nations were both sufficiently concerned with very similar social problems during this historical period to introduce policy measures to deal with them. Whether or not the actual strategies adopted were similar, or, indeed, particularly successful, is of little consequence in this context.

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS IN FRENCH SOCIAL WORK HISTORY

PRE-WAR STATUTES

27/6/1922 - Décret
Establishment of official nursing qualification (brevet de capacité d'infirmières professionnelles), including infirmière visiteuse option.
Ministre de l'Hygiène, de l'Assistance et de la Prévoyance sociales (Paul Strauss)

Journal officiel pages 6880-6881 (1/7/1922)

June 1924
Refusal by the Conseil Supérieur de l'Assistance Publique to agree to the introduction of a State social work diploma.

11/8/1930 - Arrêté
Creation of a study commission to investigate the establishment of an official social work qualification
Ministre de la Santé publique (Désiré Ferry)

Journal officiel page 11312 (3/10/1930)

12/1/1932 - Décret
Establishment of an official social work qualification (brevet de capacité professionnelle permettant de porter le titre d'assistant ou d'assistante de Service social diplômé de l'Etat français)
Ministre de la Santé publique (Camille Blaisot)

Journal officiel pages 1287-1288 (3/2/1932)

13/12/1932 & 17/3/1933 - Arrêtés
Rules governing the examination procedure for the diplôme d'Etat
Ministre de la Santé publique (Charles Daniélou)

Journal officiel page 5668 (31/5/1933)

18/2/1938 - Décret
Unification of nursing and social work diplomas (simple et supérieur), with hospital and social specialisms
Ministre de la Santé publique (Marc Rucart)

Journal officiel pages 2084-2086 (19/2/1938)

PRE-VICHY WARTIME STATUTES:

[3/9/1939 France declares war on Germany]

19/10/1939 - Report and Décret
Reconstitution of the Secours National: national organisation of voluntary and semi-public bodies first established in August 1914, and officially recognised by décret on September 29th 1915, to coordinate all social services during wartime. Statutes of the Secours National published in the Journal Officiel
Président du conseil, ministre de la défense nationale et de la guerre et des affaires étrangères (Edouard Daladier)
Ministre de l'intérieur (Albert Sarraut)

Journal officiel page 12642 (26/10/1939)

3/11/1939 - Décret
Creation of a national social work service for the armed forces ("the organisation of a social work service, on a temporary basis and to continue for no longer than three months after the cessation of hostilities") Terms and conditions of employment within this service fixed by joint arrêté of the ministers of finance and armaments.
Président du conseil, ministre de la défense nationale et de la guerre et des affaires étrangères (Edouard Daladier)
Ministre des finances (Paul Reynaud)
Ministre de l'armement (Raoul Dautry)

Journal officiel page 13026 (11/11/1939)

17/12/1939
Publication of the aims of the Secours national, an appeal for subscriptions to finance its work, and the list of members of its Comité de patronage.

Journal officiel pages 14012-14013 (17/12/1939)

16/4/1940 - Circulaire

Following an arrêté of 7/2/1940 and a circular of 1/3/1940 concerning urgent need for maternity and child welfare services. Deals with the organisation of the service at the level of the département. Emphasis on coordination and avoidance of duplication of service by different categories of social workers. Prefects urged to take special powers in the case of non-cooperation by voluntary and private social services.

Secrétariat d'Etat de la Famille et de la Santé, Textes officiels, pages 98-99 (1940)

VICHY STATUTES:

[22/6/1940 Armistice between France and Germany. Pétain's government left with responsibility for social policy in both Occupied and Unoccupied Zones

10/7/1940 Pétain voted full powers by the Assemblée]

9/5/1941 - Circulaire (no. 51)
Rôle and organisation of social work services in the départements, in the light of Maréchal Pétain's emphasis on family policy. Particular stress on the need for liaison and coordination between workers and services

Secrétariat d'Etat de la Famille et de la Santé, Textes officiels, pages 353-356 (1941)

5/6/1941 - Loi
Creation of a comité consultatif de la famille française, to take over the functions previously exercised by the conseil supérieur de la natalité and the haut comité de la population, and to work alongside the comité consultatif d'hygiène de France and the comité d'assistance de France

Secrétariat d'Etat de la Famille et de la Santé, Textes officiels, pages 357-358 (1941)

11/6/1941 - Décret
Establishment of a conseil de perfectionnement for schools of nursing and social work, to replace the conseil supérieur created by the 1938 reform. (N.B. list of members includes many very prominent names from pre-war social service education and organisation.)

Journal Officiel pages 2454-2455 (12/6/1941)

21/8/1941 - Circular No 101
Arrangements for the entrance examination for nursing and social work training: French composition (marks forfeited for poor spelling) and two arithmetic problems. Poor quality of recent entrants noted, as are the difficult circumstances for administration of the examination

Secrétariat d'Etat de la Famille et de la Santé, Textes officiels, page 356 (1941)

12/11/1941 - Décret No 1674
Introduction of Diplôme d'Etat for medico-social workers and medico-social work monitrices (supervisors). 2½ years' training for the former and three years' experience plus training for the latter, who must be at least 28 years old. New conseil de perfectionnement established for the schools involved in this and in

hospital nursing training
Secrétaire d'Etat à la Famille et à la Santé (Serge Huard)

Journal officiel pages 5218-5219 (3/12/1941)

12/11/1941 - Décret No 1675
Establishment of a new Diplôme d'Etat in social work and a conseil de perfectionnement for the schools involved.
Secrétaire d'Etat à la Famille et à la Santé (Serge Huard)

Journal officiel page 5219 (3/12/1941)

12/11/1941 - Décret No 1676
Creation of a standing committee to oversee and coordinate the work of the two conseils de perfectionnement (social and medico-social training).
Secrétaire d'Etat à la Famille et à la Santé (Serge Huard)

Journal officiel page 5220 (3/12/1941)

20/11/1941 - Arrêté
Creation of a commission de surveillance, to meet at least monthly during the academic session, and to monitor the training received by student nurses and social workers

Secrétariat d'Etat de la Famille et de la Santé, Textes officiels, pages 352-353 (1941)

19/12/1941 - Arrêté
Powers given to the commission de surveillance to inspect training establishments and receive reports from the délégués régionaux à la famille and other interested parties empowered to visit the schools. Representatives of the Secretary of State for agriculture on both bodies
Secrétaire d'Etat à la Famille et à la Santé (Serge Huard)

Journal Officiel page 5529 (24/12/1941)

6/7/1942 - Arrêté
Specialism in rural social work added to the provisions of the décret of 12/11/1941 a specialism in rural social work. Course outlines and placement provisions detailed

(Not published in the Journal Officiel)

11/7/1942 - Décret
Amendments to previous provisions relative to the Diplôme d'Etat d'assistantes et de monitrices, and the conseil de perfectionnement. Division between social work and

medico-social work rescinded, but Article 10 allowed for specialisation, and for social work services to request the addition of new specialisms in training
Secrétariat d'Etat à la Santé et à la Famille (Raymond Grasset)

Journal Officiel pages 2493-2494 (19/7/1942)

21/8/1942 - Circular
Conditions laid down for approval of schools of social work (rural social work specialism)

Secrétariat d'Etat à la Santé et à la Famille, Textes officiels, pages 153-154 (1942)

25/11/1942 - Arrêté
Details of the membership and permanent staff of the conseils de perfectionnement for nursing and social work training centres. Parisot, de Hurtado, Hardouin, all listed as members

Secrétariat d'Etat à la Santé et à la Famille, Textes officiels, pages 150-153 (1943)

10 & 25/3/1943 - Arrêtés
Establishment of a training centre for social work placement supervisors (the centre de préparation des monitrices de service social for which the décret of 11/7/1942 had made provision). General administration of the centre to be by representatives of schools of social work training within the law of July 1st, 1901.

Secrétariat d'Etat de la Famille et de la Santé, Textes officiels, pages 190-191 (1943)

14/3/1944 - Arrêté
Introduction of a new, post-qualifying rural social work diploma (based on the provisions of the décret of 11/7/42). One month each of theoretical and practical studies and four months of placement. Final assessment board to be presided over by the manager of the corporation paysanne, and to have substantial representation of peasant and agricultural interests
Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Agriculture et au Ravitaillement, et Secrétaire d'Etat à la Santé et à la Famille

Ministère de la Santé Publique, Textes Officiels, pages 139-140 (1944)

POST-WAR STATUTES:

4/3/1946 - Arrêté
Establishment of a Commission Consultative du Service Social to advise the Minister on social work and personal

social services. Relevant ministries, social workers, social service users (employing agencies, mothers of families etc) to be represented on the commission, which was to undertake studies of any aspect of social work
Ministre de la Santé Publique et de la Population (R Prigent)

Journal Officiel page 2026 (10/3/1946)

8/4/1946 - Loi

Regulation of the exercise of social work and nursing. Practice of social work restricted to those in possession of the Diplôme established in 1932, or a diploma provided for by later statutory instruments. Special insignia introduced for those eligible to practise. Transitional arrangements made for those in possession of other qualifications to be employed as auxiliaires. Fines and custodial sentences introduced for those passing themselves off as social workers. Those entering practice after January 1st 1941 required to sit a special examination. All qualified social workers required to register at the local préfecture within one month of qualifying.
Ministre de la Santé Publique et de la Population (R Prigent)

Journal Officiel pages 2958-2959 (9/4/1946)

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N.B. Some relatively minor statutory instruments are included to illustrate the curious mixture of sweeping policy changes and relatively minor administrative adjustments, to examination procedures etc. This reflects the state of administration in France, suspended between war, peace and occupation, and the attempt to conduct a Révolution Nationale at the same time as managing existing systems.

GLOSSARY (PART A: FRENCH TERMS AND INSTITUTIONS)

ACADEMIE DE MEDECINE (p. 82)
Founded in 1820 to inform and influence governments on all matters medical and relating to public health

ACADEMIE FRANCAISE (pp. 85, 166)
Established by Richelieu in 1635, the Académie has forty members who are elected for life. They publish a French dictionary and act as guardians of the French language, specifying correct usage in terms of orthography, vocabulary etc. The main preoccupation recently has been with the intrusion of anglicisms and americanisms, which have periodically been publicly condemned.

ACCORDS MATIGNON (pp. 117, 119, 123, 138/9, 200)
A series of agreements struck between the Confédération Générale du Travail and the employers' organisation, the Confédération Générale du Patronat on June 7th 1936 at the Hôtel Matignon. They dealt primarily with recognition by the employers of workers' representatives, the introduction of collective contracts of employment, reduction of the working week to forty hours, annual paid holidays. Legislation by the Front Populaire ministry of Léon Blum implemented these reforms, but many of them were eroded during the economic crisis of the late 1930s, and particularly when Reynaud became Minister of Finance in November 1938.

ACTION FRANCAISE (p. 139)
At the time of the Dreyfus affair, this name was taken by a committee of nationalists. A newspaper of the same name was launched in 1899, and the movement found a theoretician in Charles Maurras ("Enquête sur la Monarchie", 1901) who argued a monarchist, anti-parliamentarian and anti-centralist case. The movement was condemned by Pope Pius XI in the latter 1920s, but this condemnation was lifted by Pius XII in 1939. L'Action française gave its full support to the Pétain régime.

AIDE AUX MERES DE FAMILLE
(See Associations Populaires d'Aide Familiale)

ALLOCATIONS JOURNALIERES AUX FEMMES EN COUCHE (p. 208)
Benefit payable to women during confinement/the period of childbirth.

ANCIENS COMBATTANTS (p. 169)
The veterans of the First World War, who represented a considerable political force in France in the inter-war years, and contributed to the proliferation of extra-parliamentary political organisations of the period. The

most ominous of the ex-servicemen's leagues was probably the Croix de Feu, an anti-internationalist, anti-socialist movement funded by obscure wealthy patrons and using many of the symbols and techniques associated with fascism - it had some 260,000 members in 1935. The Association Républicaine des Anciens Combattants, on the other hand, was a communist led organisation. In 1936 the Front Populaire government dissolved the leagues, but they reappeared in other forms (the Croix de Feu in parliamentarist guise as the Parti Social de France), and the appeal of Pétain to the anciens combattants led to their emergence as a strong force on his behalf.

ARRETE
An order dealing with the detailed administrative implementation of legislation. It may be issued by the Minister, Préfet or Mayor, at national, départemental or local level respectively. The arrêtés referred to in the text all emanate from the appropriate Ministry.

ARRONDISSEMENT (pp. 56, 94, 129)
An administrative subdivision of a département or a large town.

ASSEMBLEE (NATIONALE) (pp. 174, 180, 185)
Under the Constitutions of 1946 and 1958, the Assemblée Nationale referred to the elected Lower House of the French Parliament. During the Third Republic it was used with two, rather more restricted meanings, referring either to the assembly elected after the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune, which sat from 1871-1875, or to both Houses of Parliament (Sénat and Chambre des Députés) when they came together to elect a President. Between 1875 and 1940, the legislature was referred to simply as the Chambre des Députés.

ASSEMBLEE GENERALE (DE L'ASSOCIATION DES SURINTENDANTES) (pp. 84, 120, 121, 122)
The annual conference - reports of these meetings of the Association were published annually from 1920 onwards and provide a valuable source of information, extensively used by Jeannine Verdès-Leroux, about the attitudes and strategies adopted by the surintendantes.

ASSISTANTE MEDICO-SOCIALE (p. 213)
The medico-social worker was an ephemeral category of social worker, this innovation being withdrawn by the décret of July 11th 1942 which left social work training much the same as it had been after the reform of 1938. The division of social work into medical and non-medical streams was, however, indicative of the direction the Vichy régime would have liked to follow.

ASSISTANTE DE SERVICE SOCIAL (p. 242)
This designation reflects the official perception of the social worker, as the conveyor or facilitator of a social service - the work setting defines the rôle and, by extension, social work itself.

ASSISTANTE SOCIALE (pp. 5, 58, 87, 102-110, 207, 213)
To all intents and purposes this may be translated as social worker. Interpretations of the term vary, however, as much as those of social worker, some laying more emphasis on the techniques employed, while others are based on administrative criteria such as the fact of professional qualification or the nature and purposes of the employing service.

ASSISTANTE SOCIALE DE CATEGORIE (p. 102)
A social worker providing a service to a particular occupational group, such as postal workers or railway employees, or indeed those employed by any other large enterprise.

ASSISTANTE SOCIALE POLYVALENTE DE SECTEUR (p. 102)
All-purpose social worker serving the needs of the population in a given geographical area.

ASSISTANTE SPECIALISEE (p. 102)
Social worker to whom a polyvalente would refer problems requiring specialist skills, in work with children, alcohol or mental health problems etc.

ASSOCIATION (pp. 98-99)
The law of July 1st 1901 defined the associations as two or more persons combining their knowledge or activities on a permanent basis with an aim other than that of deriving personal profit. Trade unions and commercial organisations fell outwith this definition, as did the religious congregations and any organisation with a specifically religious purpose. Separate provision within the law was made for these latter, but the Vatican did not approve the setting up of religious associations within the laws of Separation until the 1920s.

ASSOCIATION DE FAMILLES (pp. 184-187)
Bodies intended by Pétain to represent the interests of families at all levels in the political process.

ASSOCIATION DES INFIRMIERES-VISITEUSES DE FRANCE (pp. 54, 55, 85)
The French association of health visitors, founded in 1914. Its declared aim was to take the struggle against tuberculosis into the homes of the people, using the approach pioneered by Dr Calmette.

ASSOCIATION NATIONALE DES ASSISTANTES DE SERVICE SOCIAL (p. 99)
The national association of social workers, which was established in December 1944 and held its first national congress in 1946. The Liberation in 1944 had forestalled an earlier attempt to create a national association within the framework of Vichy law on the corporative organisation of the professions. ANAS, still the principal professional organisation of social workers, gives as its aims:

a. to study professional questions with a view to enhancing the competence of its members and ensuring a better service to users;

b. to take part in the development of social policy better adapted to the needs of the population;

c. to bring together students and practitioners, establishing better links within the profession;

d. to represent the profession at départemental, regional, national and international levels;

e. to assist social workers in overcoming difficulties encountered in the exercise of their profession.

In 1984 ANAS had, according to their headquarters staff, a membership of some 2900, out of a total of just under 31000 qualified social workers in practice.

ASSOCIATIONS POPULAIRES D'AIDE FAMILIALE (p. 182)
Begun in 1920 by Mme Viollet as L'Aide aux Mères de Famille, these organisations provided services to encourage population growth by helping mothers of large families with household tasks.

ASSOCIATION DES SURINTENDANTES DE FRANCE (p. 85)
The second professional association of welfare employees to be formed in France, its first annual conference was held in 1920.

ASSOCIATION DES TRAVAILLEUSES SOCIALES (p. 104)
First officially registered on September 18th 1922, this association of social workers was intended to bring together all those practising social work on a regular basis, whether salaried or not. It sought to stimulate professional development by organising essay competitions and offering scholarships for foreign travel, and represented, by the outbreak of World War II, a bridging organisation between different branches of social work. In 1942 it undertook a census of all social workers in practice with a view to uniting with other professional associations to create a unified national organisation of social workers. The organisation that emerged ultimately was the Association Nationale des Assistantes de Service Social.

BACCALAUREAT (pp. 142, 180)
Secondary school examination giving university entrance qualification.

BONS ET MAUVAIS PAUVRES (p. 14)
This is roughly equivalent to the British categorisation of the poor into 'deserving' and 'undeserving'.

BOULANGISTES (p. 83)
Followers of Général Boulanger

BREVET SUPERIEUR (Document 2)
A fairly rigorous public examination (now obsolete) taken at the age of eighteen, comprising oral and written tests on subjects as diverse as French language and literature, foreign languages, history, mathematics, geography and the sciences. Holders of the brevet supérieur were qualified for admission to teacher training.

BULLETIN DE L'ASSOCIATION DES SURINTENDANTES DE FRANCE (p. 81)
Periodical produced by the Association from April 1920.

BULLETIN DES USINES DE GUERRE (p. 84)
Official publication dealing with statutory and administrative matters relating to the management of munitions factories during the First World War.

LES CAISSES D'ALLOCATIONS FAMILIALES (p. 102)
Funds established for the administration of the family allowance system.

LES CAISSES DE SECURITE SOCIALE (p. 100, 102)
Funds established for the administration of insurance-related social benefits: collection of contributions, investment, payment etc. Until 1946, when the régime général was established, these were specific to occupational categories.

CARTEL DES GAUCHES (p. 116)
Government of radicals and socialists elected with a slender majority in 1924, and united only by its anti-clericalism and its desire to oust the ex-Socialist President Millerand.

CENTRE DE COORDINATION (Document 7)
Central office or clearing house intended to provide for liaison between services employing social workers and to ensure the rationalisation of social work at local level, given the proliferation of public and private services in the 1940s. The issue of coordination remained an important concern into the post-war years, with further measures being introduced in 1950 (Loi n^{o} 50-905, 4/8/50), 1959 (Décret n^{o} 59-146, 7/1/59) and later, to

promote improvements in efficiency.

CERTIFICAT RURAL POUR LES ASSISTANTES SOCIALES (p. 215)
Specialist certificate for social workers practising in rural areas: first introduced in 1944 and persisting into the post-war years

CHAMBRE DES DEPUTES (p. 15)
The Lower House of the French Parliament.

CHARTE DU TRAVAIL (pp. 177, 198-201)
A wide-ranging statute (4/10/41) introducing quasi-fascist principles of organisation into French employment. (cf COMITES SOCIAUX)

CHEF D'ENTREPRISE (p. 199)
Head or manager of a company

CIRCONSCRIPTION (pp. 203, 204)
Administrative area, sub-division of a larger administrative unit.

CODE DE LA FAMILLE (pp. 141, 166)
Décret-loi of 29/7/1939, which is usually seen as the beginning of family policy as such in France. Inspired by the préoccupation nataliste of the time, its main provisions concerned the harmonisation of measures already introduced in the domain of taxation, benefits and the law of inheritance; the extension of family allowances for second and subsequent children to all employees, self-employed workers and farmers; the reinforcement of measures against abortion.

CODE NAPOLEON (p. 36)
The task of rationalisation of what had previously been a rather untidy and inconsistent body of French law was undertaken after the Revolution, with the introduction of a number of codes, each dealing with one particular area of the law. The Code Napoléon is the name given in 1807 and again in 1852 to the civil code, dealing with the law of property, its acquisition, inheritance etc.

COMITE DE COORDINATION (p. 128)
Coordinating committee

COMITE D'ENTENTE DES ECOLES DE SERVICE SOCIAL (pp. 99, 104, 105)
Established in 1927 as an association under the law of 1901 to coordinate and represent the schools of social work training. Currently it has 52 member schools with, between them, some 6000 students. Its objectives are stated as follows:
to act as a permanent link between members

to provide for the exploration of issues relating to the development and the general policy of the schools, and for the identification of a common programme for action;

to represent members' interests to the public authorities and to national and international organisations in the field of social action and research;

to contribute to the perfecting of training in social work through appropriate research into methodology;

to undertake all studies and actions favouring the development of the participating schools.

COMITE D'ENTREPRISE (pp. 120, 121)
A Work's Council

COMITE FRANCAIS DE SERVICE SOCIAL (p. 127)
The French Committee for Social Service, founded in 1927, and consistently one of the leading forces for proper coordination.

COMITE NATIONAL DE DEFENSE CONTRE LA TUBERCULOSE (p. 56)
The National Committee for Defence against Tuberculosis

COMITE NATIONAL DE L'ENFANCE (p. 58)
The National Children's Committee

COMITE DE PATRONAGE (p. 195)
Committee of Patrons/Sponsors

COMITES SOCIAUX (p. 199)
Articles 27-37 of the Charte du Travail deal with the composition, purposes and powers of these 'social committees', which were constituted on a tripartite basis, with equal representation of employers, employees and other categories. They were to be established at local, regional and national level with wide-ranging terms of reference, including the fixing of salaries, conditions of employment, training, the framework of rules for hiring and firing of personnel, and, more broadly, concerning themselves with the provision of services to the families of workers, recreational facilities, organising schemes of social insurance and social assistance. Close formal links were provided for between the comités and the public authorities.

COMITE DU TRAVAIL FEMININ (p. 82)
The Committee for Female Employment

COMMISSARIAT GENERAL A LA FAMILLE (pp. 176, 177, 185, 186, 194, 197, 210)
The commission for family affairs - principal source of social policy relating to the family during the Vichy period.

COMMISSION ADMINISTRATIVE (p. 174)
A management committee

COMMISSION DEPARTEMENTALE DE COORDINATION SANITAIRE ET SOCIALE (p. 127)
Health and Social Services Coordinating Committee.

COMMISSION D'ETUDES POUR L'AIDE SOCIALE (p. 105)
Social Assistance Study Commission

COMMISSION DES INFIRMIERES ET DES ASSISTANTES [du Conseil Supérieur d'hygiène sociale] (Document 3)
Nursing and Social Work Commission

COMMISSION DE LA PROTECTION SOCIALE ET DE LA FAMILLE (p. 38)
Commission for Social and Family Welfare

COMMISSION DE SURVEILLANCE (p. 214)
Monitoring Commission

COMMUNE (pp. 94, 129, 204)
The smallest administrative sub-division, administered by a mayor, his assistants and a council.

CONFEDERATION FRANCAISE DES PROFESSIONS SOCIALES (p. 104)
French confederation of social services professions - the successor to the Association des Travailleuses Sociales

CONFEDERATION GENERALE DU TRAVAIL (p. 117)
Founded in 1895 in Limoges, became the sole trade union voice in France by 1902. Before the First World War took a revolutionary stance, but after 1918 concentrated on consolidation in the work place. In 1921 the communists formed a separate union, but the two tendencies were reunited in 1936. The success of the CGT in securing the Accords Matignon led to a considerable increase in membership (5 million in 1938 compared with 2 million in 1918), but one of the first acts of the Vichy government was to dissolve the union.

la CONGREGATION (p. 15)
Congregation of the Blessed Virgin, founded in 1801, which grew rapidly during the Restoration (reigns of the Bourbon kings Louis XVIII and Charles X, 1814-1830) and was widely considered to have acquired too great a measure of political power.

CONGREGATIONS RELIGIEUSES (p. 98)
Conventionally, a community or assembly of priests, monks or nuns; more precisely, however, a religious association whose members take simple rather than solemn vows, or even enter into a form of engagement which stops short of the taking of vows. Examples include the Little Sisters

of the Poor and the Sisters of St Vincent de Paul.

CONSEIL GENERAL (p. 174)
An elected council dealing with the affairs of the département. Instituted in 1871, it met twice a year (Spring and Autumn), was forbidden by law to engage in explicitly political acts, and its budget was under the direct control of the Ministry of the Interior. Décrets-lois of 1926 enlarged its competence and autonomy. It was replaced by a non-elected body by the Vichy régime.

CONSEIL DES MINISTRES (p. 198)
Meeting of the ministers of a government in the presence of the President.

CONSEIL NATIONAL (p. 185)
An appointed assembly, convened by the Vichy régime to take the place of the disbanded Assemblée Nationale.

CONSEIL NATIONAL DES FEMMES FRANCAISES (p. 105)
National Council of Frenchwomen

CONSEIL DE PERFECTIONNEMENT (pp. 108, 213, 214)
Committee for (the) improvement (of) - a body established to monitor education and training and ensure the maintenance or improvement of standards.

CONSEIL SUPERIEUR DE L'ASSISTANCE PUBLIQUE (pp. 54, 104, 245)
Roughly equivalent to the old Poor Law Commission, supervising the administration of poor relief and associated services

CONSEIL SUPERIEUR DE LA GUERRE (p. 169)
Committee consisting of the Minister of War and senior army officers, monitoring and, where necessary, changing the structure and organisation of the armed forces.

CONSEIL SUPERIEUR D'HYGIENE SOCIALE
Public Health Commission

CONSEILLER D'ETAT
Member of the Conseil d'Etat, the supreme body in administrative law, having ultimate authority in areas such as electoral law, taxation law, pensions law etc. It was one of the most powerful institutions of the Third Republic, being able to overturn decisions of elected and appointed officers of the State where these ran counter to the law and to award damages to the victims of illegal decisions.

CONSEILLERE EN ECONOMIE FAMILIALE ET SOCIALE (p. 245)
Social worker concerned particularly with problems of management of the home and family: financial management,

health, diet, clothing, children's education etc. In a sense a fusion of social work and home economics skills, to be expected given the emphasis in French social policy on the health and welfare of children. The diploma is based on a three year course of study.

CONSEILLER(ERE) SOCIAL(E) DU TRAVAIL (p. 201)
Forerunner to the Conseiller(ère) du Travail (q.v.), a category of social worker still in existence.

CONSEILLERES DU TRAVAIL (p. 87)
Social worker dealing with all employees' problems in an enterprise, whether personal problems or those arising from working conditions, part of the remit being to secure improvements in noise levels, health and safety procedures etc. The diploma is based on a course of study of two years.

CONSTITUANTE (p. 98)
The Assemblée which, on July 9th 1789, substituted a constitutional monarchy for the previous absolute monarchy. Essentially bourgeois in character, it sought to rationalise the system of justice, taxation and local administration and to create an environment for the growth of economic liberalism.

CONTRAT SOCIAL (cf. quasi contrat social - p. 99)
Since the time of Rousseau, the concept of the social contract has undergone many mutations, but has come to imply an acknowledgment of the reciprocal rights and obligations of government, nation and individual, usually codified in law or other forms of regulations.

CORPORATION PAYSANNE (p. 185)
The corporative body Pétain's administration intended to organise and represent the interests of the peasants, perhaps the most difficult of all occupational groups to organise.

DECRET
Executive action taken by government within parameters set by the Constitution, without passing through the Assemblée.

DECRET-LOI
Decision taken by government which has the same force as a Loi or Act - usually based on special powers voted by the Assemblée during a period of political instability or crisis.

DELEGUES (p. 120)
Workers' representatives provided for by the Accords Matignon.

DELEGUE REGIONAL A LA FAMILLE (Document 7)
Representative of the Commissariat à la Famille at regional level, with responsibility for advice giving, monitoring and enforcement of central policy.

DELEGUE(E) TECHNIQUE (p. 129)
In this context, délégué means one charged with a specific function - here, the function of ensuring the application of a special theory or approach to the resolution of problems of coordination.

DELEGUEE A LA TUTELLE AUX PRESTATIONS SOCIALES (p. 198)
Supervisor of social benefits. The décret-loi (Code de la Famille) of 29/7/39 had already provided for the withdrawal of benefit in the case of abuse ("when children are brought up in conditions in which diet, housing or sanitary conditions are manifestly inadequate"). What was new about the Vichy legislation was the sequestration of benefit for management by a third party. Until 1950 the function was performed by volunteers; thereafter a special category of worker was established, recruited among social workers and home economists, and by 1968 salaried tuteurs outnumbered the volunteers (685:401). In 1966 the range of benefits subject to such provisions was widened, and a new emphasis was placed on the tuteur's educational rôle vis-à-vis clients.

DEPARTEMENT
One of the main administrative divisions of France. Currently there are 95 such divisions, but in the pre-war years, before pressure of population in the region of Paris necessitated the creation of new départements, there were 89.

DEPUTE
Elected member of the Lower House of the French Parliament.

DIPLOME D'ETAT
Diploma awarded on the basis of criteria established by statute, and giving access to a title and certain privileges in employment, also defined by statute.

DIPLOME DE FIN D'ETUDES SECONDAIRES (Document 2)
School-leaving certificate.

DIRECTEUR REGIONAL DE LA SANTE ET DE L'ASSISTANCE (p. 208)
Regional Director of Health and Social Assistance.

DISPENSAIRE
Clinic or dispensary providing free consultations and medication for the poor. In certain of them milk for

infants and meals for mothers were available. Although their main concern was with the prevention of disease and limiting its spread, they were often criticised for acting as a focal point for infection.

DREYFUSARD (p. 20)
A supporter of Dreyfus (q.v.)

ECOLE MIXTE (p. 137)
A school in which both social work and health visitor education were available, following the 1938 reform of social work training.

ECOLE NORMALE SOCIALE (pp. 26, 27, 105)
The Ecoles Normales are schools of teacher training, implying a setting of standards or the norm. One might infer from this choice of title an aspiration to establish the norm in social work education and practice.

ECOLES SUPERIEURES DE SERVICE HOSPITALIER ET SOCIAL (Document 2)
Schools designated to offer higher qualifications in hospital and community nursing and social work.

ECOLE TECHNIQUE DE SURINTENDANTES D'USINES ET DE SERVICES SOCIAUX (pp. 83, 86, 105)
The Ecole Technique is still in existence, the only training centre for surintendantes, but providing also the Diplôme d'Etat d'Assistante de Service Social.

ENSEIGNEMENT MENAGER (p. 180)
Domestic science teaching. The emphasis on the skills associated with home-making is to be seen in the work of the conseillères en économie sociale et familiale (q.v.)

ETAT-PROVIDENCE (p. 98)
Welfare State.

FEDERATION NATIONALE DES ASSOCIATIONS POPULAIRES D'AIDE FAMILIALE (p. 183)
The national federation of people's family aid associations. From 1945 parallel organisations - associations d'aide familiale rurale - began to develop, consisting of groups of families who came together to employ a travailleuse familiale. In 1954 the Fédération Nationale split into two organisations: the Fédération nationale des associations populaires de l'aide familiale and the Fédération nationale des associations d'aide familiale populaire.

FEDERATION NATIONALE CATHOLIQUE (p. 200)
Formed in 1924 under the chairmanship of Général de Castelnau, a prominent monarchist, the Fédération identified strongly with the right in French politics,

reinforcing the tradition which opposed left-wing anti-clericalism to right-wing Catholicism.

FEDERATION NATIONALE DES FAMILLES (pp. 185, 187)
The national body representing French families which was proposed by the Vichy administration. This was a precursor of the Union Nationale des Associations Familiales, now one of the major interest groups influencing social policy.

FETE DES MERES (p. 178)
Mothers' Day. This was linked to la Médaille de la Famille Française, first introduced in 1920 to reward French women who had successfully reared a family. Gold, silver and bronze medals were awarded, according to the number of children raised and the testimonials submitted. The fête was officially celebrated during the Vichy period, the authorities supplying decorated mothers with groceries, clothing etc. in proportion to their medal.

FLEAUX SOCIAUX (p. 202)
The social scourges, notably communicable diseases such as tuberculosis, syphilis, gonorrhoea etc, which motivated social policy makers, and particularly inspired the health care orientation of social work, in the inter-war years.

FRONT POPULAIRE
A coalition of radical, socialist and communist parties, formed in 1935 and voted into power the following year, it represented as much a defensive reaction against powerful right-wing forces as an assertion of socialist principles, although the Accords Matignon achieved substantial improvements in conditions at work. Léon Blum and Camille Chautemps each formed two short-lived ministries, but under the pressure of internal divisions and external problems, the Front Populaire collapsed and was replaced by the Daladier government in April 1938.

GENERATION CREUSE (p. 140)
The missing generation caused by plummeting rates of marriage and fertility in the wake of the First World War.

GOUVERNEMENT CONSULAIRE (p. 94)
Post-revolutionary government of 1799-1804 consisting of three consuls, Napoléon, as self-appointed First Consul, embodying centralised power and subject to no democratic control other than that exercised through the plebiscites organised periodically by Napoléon himself.

GRAND BUREAU DES PAUVRES (p. 14)
The high office of the poor founded by Français 1er in 1531 to administer the first national system of poor

relief.

HAUT COMITE CONSULTATIF DE LA POPULATION (p. 141)
Consultative committee on the population, established in 1939.

INDUSTRIE EN CHAMBRE (p. 67)
Cottage industry, outworking

L'INFIRMIERE-VISITEUSE (p. 56, 58, 59, 103)
District nurse/health visitor.

INSPECTEUR GENERAL DE L'ARMEE (p. 169)
The inspecteurs de l'armée, as members of the Conseil Supérieur de la Guerre, each had responsibility for an area of army organisation. The Inspecteur Général held overall responsibility for this service of inspection.

INVALIDES DE GUERRE (p. 41)
Disabled ex-servicemen.

JOURNAL OFFICIEL (de la République Française)
The government publication (gazette) giving details of laws and official announcements.

LEGION FRANCAISE DES COMBATTANTS (p. 169)
An association of ex-servicemen roughly comparable to the British Legion.

LIGUE CONTRE LA MORTALITE INFANTILE (p. 58)
League against child mortality.

LOI SUR LES ASSOCIATIONS (pp. 98, 247)
Law of 1901 defining and regulating non-profit making voluntary organisations.

LOIS SUR LES CONGREGATIONS (p. 19)
Series of statutes concentrated around the turn of the century. The loi sur les associations (1/7/1901), for example, required registration of all new congregations under terms which proved unacceptable to the Catholics, and the law of 30/7/1904 prohibited teaching by the congregations (q.v.).

MAIRE (p. 94)
Mayor (of a commune or, in Paris, an arrondissement).

MAISON-ECOLE D'INFIRMIERES PRIVEES (p. 54)
School of private nursing.

MAISON SOCIALE (pp. 22-25, 105, 231, 244)
French equivalent of the British settlement.

MEDECIN-MAJOR (p. 82)

Medical officer with the rank of major in the French army.

MISSION AMERICAINE DE PRESERVATION CONTRE LA TUBERCULOSE (p. 56)
American mission against tuberculosis in the years following the First World War.

MUNITIONNETTES (p. 85)
Familiar name given to the women workers in the munitions factories during the First World War.

MUTILES DE GUERRE (p. 41)
Disabled ex-servicemen.

L'OEUVRE D'ASSISTANCE AUX ITALIENS EMIGRES (p. 49)
Italian emigrant workers' welfare association

OEUVRE SOCIALE (pp. 21, 22, 242, 244)
Catholic charitable organisation responsible for the maisons sociales

OFFICE PUBLIC D'HYGIENE SOCIALE DE LA SEINE (p. 125)
Public health office of the Seine, founded 1918.

OFFICE PUBLIC MATERNEL ET INFANTILE (p. 106)
Public office for maternity and child welfare.

OFFICE PUBLIC POUR LES MERES ET ENFANTS DE LA SEINE (pp. 106, 128)
Public office for the mothers and children of the Seine, founded 1932 and renamed soon after the Office de Protection Maternelle et Infantile du département de la Seine. This, the first of a number of maternity and child welfare agencies created nationally in the following years, visited some 60,900 pregnant women and 126,000 nursing mothers in 1935, a further 30,000 women visiting its premises.

PAIX SOCIALE (p. 201)
Social peace/harmony - a concept referred to repeatedly by those involved in social work, industry and French right-wing and consensus politics from the nineteenth century through to the post-war years. The pioneers of the uvre Sociale, the surintendantes of the 1930s and the spokesmen for the Vichy régime all justified their activities in terms of the search for la paix sociale.

PETAINISME (pp. 173, 184)
The doctrine of Marshal Pétain, extolling responsibility, self-reliance and independence for individuals and families, together with the restoration of archaic values such as nationalism and hierarchical social organisation. Akin to Thatcherism in that it could not be considered

entirely coherent and consistent.

PLANISTES (p. 75)
The advocates of economic and social planning in pre-war France, where the idea of the planning of social and economic institutions began to take hold at about the same time as in Britain. Although, ultimately, the post-war schemes were fairly loose indicative plans, initially ideas about planning were largely polarised between the corporatist right and the socialist left.

PLEINS POUVOIRS (p. 199)
Full executive power, asked for at fairly frequent intervals by the leaders of French governments in the first half of the twentieth century, as they found themselves unable to manage divided and unstable Assemblées.

PREFET (pp. 94, 133, 174, 180)
Representative of central government at the head of each département (from Latin pr fectus: one in authority in the army or administration). Nominated by the Minister of the Interior, he enforced laws and ministerial orders in the département and could call upon the armed forces to maintain order if necessary. As representative of the département, he implemented the decisions of the conseil général. In 1982, as part of the process of decentralisation of administration, he was renamed the Commissaire de la République and his powers were restricted.

PRINCIPES DE LA COMMUNAUTE (p. 171, Document 6)
The publication in which Pétain set out his articles of faith (1941).

PROFESSIONS SOCIALES (p. 183)
Generic term for all those involved in social work or kindred activities.

PROJET PEDAGOGIQUE (p. 109)
A teaching plan or programme.

PROJET DE REGLEMENT-TYPE (pp. 203, 204)
Model rules or regulations

PROTECTION SOCIALE ET FAMILLE (p. 101)
Social and Family Welfare

RAPPORT MORAL (p. 121)
Report dealing with ethical or moral principles.

REFUS DE LA FAMILLE NOMBREUSE
Rejection of the large family.

SECOURS NATIONAL (pp. 127, 195, 227)
The Secours National was first established as a private foundation at the outbreak of the First World War to integrate all social service activities as part of the war effort, and was recognised as being of public utility by the decree of 29/9/1915. It was resurrected by the decree of 19/10/1939 and was presided over directly by Marshal Pétain when he came to power, over 6000 of the 9000 qualified social workers in France participating in the service.

SECTION DE COORDINATION (p. 129)
Coordination department

SERVICE SOCIAL
Social service or social work, depending on context - see discussion on pp 233-239, 246-250

SERVICE SOCIAL D'AIDE AUX ETRANGERS (p. 50)
Immigrants' welfare service

SERVICE SOCIAL FAMILIAL NORD-AFRICAIN (p. 50)
Welfare service for North African families

LE SOCIAL (pp. 95, 100, 241)
The use of social as an adjective is fairly consistent and unproblematical; as a substantive, however, its meaning varies according to context. Two main senses recur frequently. In one le social covers the whole territory of social life and relations but without reference to, indeed specifically excluding, the political and economic dimensions which contain the potential for disharmony and conflict. Le social carries connotations only of the potential for integration and consensus. The other sense encompasses all that is implied by social policy and social action, the institutionalised activities which seek to secure social integration.

SOLIDARISME (pp. 70, 95-101 passim, 171)
The doctrine of social solidarity expounded by Léon Bourgeois.

SOUS-PREFET (p. 94)
Official responsible for the administration of an arrondissement (sub-division of a département). Renamed Commissaire adjoint de la République in 1982.

SOUS-SECRETARIAT D'ETAT CHARGE DES SPORTS ET DES LOISIRS (p. 120)
Under Secretary of State for Sport and Leisure - governmental position first established during the Front Populaire.

STATISTIQUE MEDICALE DE L'ARMEE (pp. 40, 41)
Army statistical service.

STRATEGIE D'ASCENSION SOCIALE
Strategy of social ascent.

SURINTENDANTE D'USINE (pp. 4, 52, 71, 80-87, 103, 182, 240, 241)
Industrial welfare supervisor.

SYNDIC REGIONAL DE LA CORPORATION PAYSANNE (p. 216)
Regional agent of the Corporation Paysanne.

TRAVAIL-FAMILLE-PATRIE (pp. 74, 171)
Work-Family-Fatherland

TRAVAIL SOCIAL (p. 5, 235, 239)
Direct translation of social work, although the term is conventionally used to refer to personal social service workers, such as the travailleuses familiales, who would not always be acknowledged as social workers by those with a professional social work qualification.

TRAVAILLEUR(SE) SOCIAL(E)
Social worker - see previous entry

TRAVAILLEUSE FAMILIALE (p. 183)
Literally a family worker. Assists or takes the place of the mother of a family in the event of illness or any other factor preventing her from caring for her family. Often employed by the associations familiales. The travailleuses undertake an eight month course of training.

TROISIEME VOIE (p. 200)
The third way - a common euphemism for fascism in the 1930s, perceived as an alternative to socialism or capitalism.

TUTEURS AUX ALLOCATIONS FAMILIALES (pp. 205, 206)
Family allowance monitors, at first unpaid volunteers, but later a specialist category of social worker.

L'UNION DES INSTITUTIONS PRIVEES (p. 126)
Association of private welfare agencies, founded in 1936 as a basis for closer integration between such bodies.

UNION FAMILIALE (pp. 185, 187)
Organisation of associations de familles at regional level, established by the legislation of 29/12/1942.

VISITEUSE D'HYGIENE (pp. 51-59, 212, 213, 240, 241)
Health Visitor

GLOSSARY (PART B: BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARIES)

BASSOT, (Marie-) Jeanne [1878-1935] (pp. 23-25, 245)
One of the most militant members of l'Oeuvre Sociale and protagonist in the court case which contributed to its collapse in 1909; leading figure in development of community centres in the inter-war years.

de BEAUREGARD, Marquis [1835-1909] (p. 21)
Royalist and opponent of the Wallon amendment which introduced the Third Republic in 1875; published (1896) a pamphlet entitled "La Charité Sociale en Angleterre", describing the work of the university settlements; worked for the introduction of a comparable movement in France.

BLUM, Léon [1872-1950] (pp. 117, 120, 139)
Writer and politician; elected député in 1919; formed the Front Populaire government in 1938, as leader of the Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière (name of the French Socialist Party from 1905-1971)

BOULANGER, Georges [1837-1891] (p. 83)
General and politician; Minister of War in 1886, but dismissed from government the following year after introducing radical reforms in the army. Populist and patriotic, he alienated both the mainstream right and left, but political malcontents, the boulangistes, rallied to him. Almost carried out a coup d'état in 1889. Committed suicide shortly after. Came to symbolise opportunistic opposition to the State.
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BOURGEOIS, Léon [1851-1925] (pp. 17, 83, 96-101 passim, 171)
Held ministerial posts on 12 occasions between 1888 and 1917; Président du Conseil (equivalent to Prime Minister) in 1895-96; a promoter of the League of Nations; Nobel Peace Prize (1920); proponent of solidarisme.
Page 66, 76-79 [passim], 140

BRUNSCHVIG, Cécile (pp. 83, 105)
As a member of the Conseil des Femmes Françaises visited Britain in 1916 to study the work of the Lady Welfare Supervisors/Lady Superintendents, and participated in the planning of training for welfare work in the munitions factories (1917).

BUTILLARD, Andrée [1881-1955] (pp. 26, 105)
Founder and director of the first school of social work education, l'Ecole Normale Sociale, in 1911.

CALMETTE, Dr Albert [1863-1933] (p. 53)
Doctor and bacteriologist; discovered, with Camille

Guérin, the BCG vaccination against tuberculosis and opened in Lille the first anti-tuberculosis clinic in France in 1901.

CHAPTAL, Léonie [1873-1937] (pp. 53, 56, 105, 245)
Great granddaughter of the founder of the first national school of midwifery (Paris, 1802), qualified as a nurse herself and worked in the domain of nursing education and the containment of tuberculosis; held a number of senior posts in social service administration, including membership of le Conseil Supérieur de l'Assistance Publique (1913).

CHAUTEMPS, Camille [1885-1963] (p. 139)
Politician, elected radical-socialist député in 1919; became head of the Front Populaire (June 1937-January 1938, january 1938-March 1938) after the fall of each of Blum's governments and tried to ensure its survival by modifying its socialist policies. Participated in the governments of Reynaud and Pétain, from which latter he was the first to resign in July 1940.
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CLEMENCEAU, Georges [1841-1929] (p. 74)
Doctor, politician and writer in his later years; elected radical député in 1871, but joined extreme left in the Chambre from 1876; Dreyfusard. As Président du Conseil and Minister of the Interior in 1906, supported the policy of separation of Church and State; incurred the hostility of socialists after harsh suppression of miners' strike. Became head of government in 1917 and negotiated Treaty of Versailles
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COMBES, Emile [1835-1921] (pp. 19, 20. 23)
Doctor of theology, abandoned an intended career in the Church after studying medicine and entered politics. Best known for his anti-clerical stance and for steering through the law separating Church and State which led to the rupture between the republican government and the Holy See in 1904.

DALADIER, Edouard [1884-1970] (p. 115)
Historian and radical-socialist politician; held several ministerial posts from 1924 onwards; one of the prime movers of the Front Populaire, he took over leadership of its government from April 1938 to March 1940. Arrested by the Vichy régime and deported to Germany (1943-45), but re-elected député after the liberation.

DELAGRANGE, Juliette (p. 105)
One of the first surintendantes to be trained; shared responsibility for developing social work in the liberated départements at the end of World War 1; co-

founder of the Association des Travailleuses Sociales in 1922 and general secretary until her death in 1936.

DOUMERGUE, Gaston [1863-1937] (p. 169)
Advocate and judge; radical-socialist député and sénateur; occupied several ministerial posts between 1902 and 1917; President of the Republic after victory of the Cartel des Gauches in 1924. Left politics after his term of office in 1931, but was recalled to form government of national unity after the public disorder of February 1934. Obliged by left wing opposition to retire finally in November 1934.

DOUMERGUE, Paul (Pasteur) (pp. 26, 27, 105)
Protestant minister; organiser of a series of conferences at the turn of the century under the general title 'Foi et Vie'. Founder of the second school of social work training in France: l'Ecole Pratique de Service Social (l'Ecole Montparnasse) in Paris in 1912.

DREYFUS, Alfred [1859-1935] (pp. 19. 24)
A Jewish officer, Dreyfus was falsely accused and convicted of delivering military secrets to the Germans in 1894. The case polarised French society into dreyfusards, the intellectuals (socialists, republicans, radicals and anti-militarists) and anti-dreyfusards (nationalist, anti-semitic, clerical right wing elements). The case of Dreyfus was taken up by Zola in 1898, but he was not fully exonerated and reinstated in the army until 1906.

GAHERY, Marie [1867-1932] (p. 21)
Collaboratrice of the Marquis de Beauregard from 1894; pioneer and general secretary of the Oeuvre Sociale, having seen the settlement movement at first hand.

de GOURLET, Appoline [b. 1869] (p. 245)
Assistant to Mère Mercédès in l'Oeuvre Sociale; became later one of the leading figures in French social service; published "Cinquante Ans de Service Social" in 1947.

GREEN, T. H. [1836-1882] (p. 97)
Tutor, and later Professor of Philosophy at Oxford; engaged in the 'idealist revision of liberalism', which implied centrally recasting the liberal conception of freedom and building on the anxieties expressed by J. S. Mill about Benthamite principles by giving greater emphasis to collective guarantees of fulfilment and liberty.

HARDOUIN, Madeleine (p. 128)
Secretary of the Association des Travailleuses Sociales from 1936

HENRY, Colonel Hubert Joseph [1846-1898] (p. 20)
Officer in military intelligence who, convinced of the guilt of Dreyfus, forged a letter which helped convict him of espionage. This conviction was accompanied by an upsurge of anti-semitism in the French press, and provoked a political crisis. Henry committed suicide when the forgery was eventually revealed.
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de HURTADO, Madeleine (p. 128)
Director of the Office de protection maternelle et infantile in la Seine from its creation in 1932.

LAGRANGE, Léo [1900-1940] (p. 120)
Socialist député from 1932-1940; Under Secretary of State for Sport and Leisure, 1936-7 & 1938. Strong advocate of the development of sporting activities for the working class.

LEBRUN, Albert [1871-1950] (p. 139)
Elected as député in 1900, and served as member of the Sénat from 1920 to 1932 when he became President of the Republic, a post he held until the end of the Third Republic in 1940. Resigned when Pétain granted full powers in July 1940

LEO XIII [1810-1903] (p. 17)
254th Pope (1878-1903); author of a number of encyclicals dealing with questions of rights and social justice, of which Rerum Novarum was just one. Regretted the loss of temporal power by the Church and was implacably opposed to socialism. Came, nonetheless, to be known as the workers' Pope.

LOUCHEUR, Louis [1872-1931] (pp. 105, 129)
Député from 1919 to 1931, and occupied a number of ministerial positions. Best known for the Loi Loucheur: the introduction of subsidised housing (habitations à bon marché) in 1928, in response to the housing crisis at the time.

MERCEDES le FER de la MOTTE, Mère [1862-1933] (pp. 21, 22, 24)
Envoy to the uvre Sociale (November 1896) from the urban order of St. Pilippe de Néri in Rome; became the effective leader of the movement by 1900, assisted by Apolline de Gourlet.

PETAIN, Philippe [1856-1951] (see Chapter 7)

RENAUDIN, Philippe (p. 176)
(cf Commissariat Général à la Famille)

REYNAUD, Paul [1878-1966] (pp. 167, 168)
Député of the centre (1919-24 & 1928-1940). Because of his background in business and financial management, Reynaud was Minister of Finance on two occasions, most notably in November 1938 when, in response to the financial crisis, he introduced a package of measures - increased taxation, spending cuts, longer working week etc - which effectively undermined the gains of the Accords Matignon. Formed a precarious government on March 21st 1940 in the course of which, amongst other things, he introduced the first Ministère de la Famille française June 5th). Forced into resignation by Pétain and Weygand in June 1940.

RICHMOND, Mary (p. 232)
Founder of the School of Applied Philanthropy in New York, 1897 and significant contributor to an increasingly influential American literature about social work in the early twentieth century (eg. "Social Diagnosis", 1915). Her ideas about casework and the application of concepts such as diagnosis and treatment in respect of individual clients made a considerable impact among French social workers after the first French language publication of her work ("Les Méthodes Nouvelles d'Assistance: le Service Social des Cas Individuels", Paris, 1926)

SELLIER, Henri (see Chapter 5, pp. 124-130)

THOMAS, Albert [1878-1932] (p. 83)
Socialist deputé (1910); Minister for Armaments (1916-17). Sent fact-finding mission to Britain prior to introduction of welfare services into French munitions factories. Later organised and presided over (1920-1932) the Bureau International du Travail (International Labour Organisation).

WALDECK-ROUSSEAU, Pierre [1846-1904] (p. 20)
Successful barrister and député (from 1879); Minister of the Interior in 1881-81 and 1883-85. Left politics in 1889, but returned to lead the Ministry of 1899-1902 which sought to restore political stability after the Dreyfus crisis. Although an anti-collectivist, he presided over social reform measures such as reduction of the working day and the introduction of a Bill on retirement pensions which won some support among socialist députés. His inspiration was behind the loi sur les associations (July 1901), which Combes and his followers were to apply vigorously against the Catholic Church from 1902 onwards.

ZOLA, Emile [1840-1902] (p. 24)
Celebrated author and journalist; led to socialism by his studies of working class life, he took the defence of Dreyfus in 1898 with the article 'J'accuse', as a result

of which he was sentenced to a year of imprisonment.

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