

“Can French agricultural schools provide the leadership in local rural development ?”

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Reconsidering the role of professions in today’s “knowledge society”, the organisers of the conference have directly posed a question concerning innovation capabilities.

However, what sometimes looks like new knowledge or a new way to intervene in some professional situations is only what has been rediscovered.

Thus, some professional networks can be considered as guardians of knowledge and know-how. Questioning their members makes this obvious, but as can be seen in biology, the phenotype does not always express the genotype.

The explanation of this social phenomenon can be found in the mechanisms of linking a professional network to an institution. The criteria for evaluating individual cases may be quite different, depending on whether they are used by the institution, supposed to impulse extension, or by the volunteer networks that are leading community development.

This can quite easily be seen in the following case of a special teaching network, one that is young enough to be observed since its creation and old enough to have a real history, influenced by recent French rural survey and education policies.

Before getting into the analysis, consider some characteristics of the French education system linked to rural extension.

What will be called *lycée agricole* in the paper is a public or private school for boys and girls from age 14 to 22, under the control of the Ministry of Agriculture, but not part of the university system. The main diploma, usually given to students 18 years old, grants the permission to farm with autonomous status or to enter university, but most *lycées agricoles* offer a certificate equivalent to two years of study at university, called *brevet de technicien supérieur*. There are also certificates for levels lower than required by universities.

In the public system, there is about one *lycée agricole* for one department (French territorial division, representing about one hundredth of France’s land area). Each school is supposed to be involved in extension impulse services.

In recent years, the *lycées agricoles*, while continuing to prepare the dwindling numbers of future farmers for work, have also developed professional training for environmental or

service activities. In this way, new links have been created with the community development network. These new links in turn have generated new programs such as “institutions and regional development” to express the link between *lycée agricoles* and the surrounding area.

But even a short look at French rural areas would point out that these schools are not a driving force behind rural development and indeed are often considered as producers of modern farming methods, at a time when modern farming is suspected of seriously damaging the environment.

In spite of it all, these *lycées agricoles* employ people who are supposed to make the link between teaching and new cultural meanings given to living in rural areas; they are called sociocultural teacher-leaders

Roots and resurgence of rural community development or “animation”

Researchers studying rural development often compare what was called community development in English speaking countries and what was called *animation* and *participation* in the former French colonies.

Throughout the seventies, eighties and nineties, *animation* remained a part of rural and local French development, but fluctuated between low and high levels of activity¹.¹ François CLEMENT, 1979

In recent years, particularly when analyzing the effect of the LEADER (LEADER I and II) programs, France has been reproached by the European Union for not implementing enough interactive and participatory processes in local and especially rural, development. One of the consequences has been for the French authorities to talk a lot more about governance and *animation* and a new link being established between them.

But *animation* has officially remained a profession in agricultural education, which is a separate teaching system in France, as compared to the national public education system, or *Education Nationale*... Since 1964 there have been sociocultural education teachers in the agricultural schools, and whose mission mixes academic pursuits and rural development.

Indeed these sociocultural teachers appear to be a little outside the regular teaching body, and their network could be considered as a specific teaching organisation. This specificity has historical roots. First, the legitimacy of these new teachers was linked to the “*animation* wave” and these people were formerly called “sociocultural *animateurs*” or “leaders.” Today, the term has changed but the structure and culture of this particular profession have remained distinct. It can be seen in the curricula (less at university...), the affirmation of the importance of artistic sensitivity in relation to science, decentralised and democratic ways of collective decision-making when confronting academic authority. It can also be observed through the means of neutralising mutual contribution, including the use of new communication technology and also the reference to anthropological cultural relations.

Now, France is trying to participate more in the building of local plans of development. At the same time, the agricultural policy requiring professional accountability also requires young farmers and other decision-makers to re-orient their innovation and creation capabilities, in order to re-enforce the professional accountability mechanisms.

Could socio-cultural teachers or “teacher-leaders” be responsible for important changes in this direction ?

This paper integrates an analysis of what has been written in France about *animation* for community development from several points of view and an analysis of what 25 former socio-cultural *animateurs*, now called socio-cultural education teachers, working in agricultural schools all over France, have recounted.

The aim of the paper, which is at the beginning of a research-training project being conducted with these teachers, is to point out what could be solutions to the current French rural situation and to initiate international network thinking about comparable situations.

A brief history of French agricultural education and its turning points

First it must be pointed out that in France two parallel education systems exist. The agricultural education system, which in the beginning was designed for farmers' sons who would continue working on the family farm and now is also designed for about 180 000 persons who would like to work in all kinds of activities related to agriculture (services, protection of the environment,...) or food production (processing, trade,...). The 216 public *lycées agricoles* do not depend on the Ministry of National Education but on the Ministry of Agriculture, Fishing and Rural Affairs ². Thus, since 1960, when these schools became very accessible to the public, the evolution of their recruitment and their curricula is linked to French policy concerning agriculture and rural areas and also to the social evolution that sometimes controls policy.

Before 1968, top down deciding for rural spaces was politically correct. First, the countryside was far away from the Capital, and city life was considered the ideal future for young people. What could be better than being led by ideals ? For instance, after World War II, top down teaching was the only way to teach technical subjects and cultural ones as well. In the first case, it was called popularisation, the predecessor of extension. Then the second term officially replaced the first in 1966. In the second case, culture, the policy was established by Andre Malraux, a former communist and then De Gaulle's Minister of Culture, with the title of democratisation, a movement which brought the political left and right together. The first group was guided by the idea that all people could attain every work of culture and the second group was happy to see that the culture of the elite was the most enviable. Thirty years later, a few socio-cultural teacher-leaders still follow this way of thinking. Quite logically, in their professional environment the leftwing approach is the only way to be politically correct. In fact, after 1982, under the leftwing government for which Jack Lang was Minister of Culture, spreading culture again became the first objective.

In fact, just before the first political change mentioned above was made in 1964, a professional body of sociocultural *animateurs*,/teacher-leaders, surfing on what one writer has called the wave or the fever of *animation*³, an extension of what had been in France the Utopia of educating the People, was created.

Indeed, more than just a spectacular turning point, the 70s were the crossroads between an official recognition of a possible grass-roots movement for rural regions and the coming into being of normative ways of negotiating as strategic analysis. From then on, several *animateurs* changed their way of thinking and acting and have become artistic creators, have started teaching adults, often through the use of video⁴. Others have found work in regional development but were obliged to abandon the dimension of *animation* and have gone on working under the title of development organisers.

For the latter, the 80s were a period of recognition of their scale of action, for what was called in France the regional movement, or federation of communities. But the complexity of co-ordinating different development techniques, including the need to obtain European funding and to set up new training programmes for people involved in local development, moved the development organisers away from the essence of *animation*, which is to be in contact with everyone in a given area, including the ones who do not have a project, and who thus need "guiding."

² Current title since the elections in May 2002

³ Jean-François CHOSSON, 1990

⁴ id

At the beginning of the 90s, *animation* found a new way of thinking. It happened to be proposed again by politicians who declared : community development is mobilising inhabitants ⁵. This could be declared in a period when more and more people at the local level had the will to create a new solidarity.

At the end of the 90s, this deficiency was regretted by the European Union who was trying to evaluate the use of structural funding programmes and their effects on local development, especially LEADER I and II for rural areas. France was then reproached for not having favoured enough participation at the local level.

Just before this period, *animation* could be defined as education for groups and then *animateurs* working in *lycées agricoles* could have felt that they were in the right place. But some authors have asked the following question : can *animation* be done in groups that have not been assembled by a volunteer movement ? ⁶ Does the teacher-leader have to work in associations precisely defined by French law? There is then another problem with the size of the area involved. Studies from the 80s ⁷ have shown that rural areas from this time have mixed “rural natives”, people who have farmhouses as a second residence, but who have since moved to town, and city-dwellers who have decided to settle down in the country. How can the idea of a community exist in such a melting pot ?

Anyway, apart from *animation*, socioculture has invaded wide spaces in French society. Is it not especially linked to our leisure society? It is perhaps also due to the success of nondirective practices... ⁸ In fact, socioculture has gone in two directions. The first goes with a kind of consumption and another that has tried to give birth to something that is not exactly defined but should interest researchers : the social phenomenon that has not happened yet but that is happening.

These new ways of thinking sound like an echo to former reflexions. Just as something important is recognised as such, some have asked : is *animation* a way of intervening in social situations where communication is disrupted ⁹ ? It is important to add to what was written before: that the “wave of *animation*” began in urban areas where large blocks of flats were built. Immediately afterwards this way of intervening was accepted in the countryside. Does it mean that rural areas were in such a crisis of communication ?

Today in the French medias, we find this phenomenon more highlighted in big cities, especially where young people are numerous, especially in Educational Priority Areas. Then it is understood that teacher-leaders find themselves at the right place in a school for teenagers, if there is the least problem of communication.

But new education thought can also say the opposite of the professional credo. The ideology of hidden gift would have been the first guideline of community teaching. So how can we have it contribute in the same way to an education system that would like to give the same chance to every youngster ?

Let us come back to the question of community development. Writing about the current situation, some French authors studying rural issues pretend that even if the countryside seems to be absorbed by the urban areas, ways of resistance and adaptation, tricks and

⁵ in a speech of Jacques CHEREQUE, French Minister of Territory Survey, 1990

⁶ Geneviève POUJOL, 1989

⁷ for instance Michel MARIE & Jean VIARD, 1980

⁸ Jean-Claude GILET, 1995

⁹ Marcel DAVAINÉ, 1982

negotiation, reappropriation et renewal, grow ¹⁰. Behind this assessment, the sociological mainstream should normally find out who is or could be the right actor at the right place.

Crossing over with international ways of taking ‘animation’ and community development into account

Biologists know that crossing over create serious disruptions in genetic information but also produce transformations and perhaps evolution. Let us take that risk.

What follows now refers especially to Canada ¹¹. When the author felt first interested in community leading, during the years 1990-1993 as he used to work as a postman in the valleys of the Pyrénées mountains, he used to compare the situation of these isolated rural areas he worked in and the case of those more isolated territories in North America, Scandinavia or Australia... At the time he pointed out that in French rural areas, everywhere there had been a high density of inhabitants. The problem was then that as the population density decreased, the inhabitants did not adapt their sociability to counter their new isolation. In the second case, because of climate and vegetation, there always had been a low density of inhabitants, and there had been creation of special practices for communication, common work and decisions, community life in fact.

Ten years later, the author feels the two situations are less different. French rural areas are more and more described as melting pots and the problem of community decisions is linked to the confrontation of individual and cultural differences. Another common challenge is not only to encourage participative development but also sustainable development.

So the author should not be surprised to hear about a new Canadian rural experiment of development trying to be area centred, taking areas not bigger than 15000 inhabitants, trying to promote a participating process by organizing working groups not bigger than 30 people.

Nearly at the same time, he went back to a territory in the Corbières mountains where he had taken part in research on the community services. There he found a new wave of thinking that was presented as a come-back to *animation*. A lot of meetings were organised in villages at the right time and the right place to allow the biggest participation.

For those meetings, the aim was to put together the most different kinds of people, inviting them to leave their usual social positions and responsibilities behind.

Last but not least, in both cases, Canadian and French, an important purpose was not only the evaluation but the right step of the process when the evaluation can be done, and of course, self-assessment was considered to be the best way.

Career path “gallery”

Here begins a description of around ten socio-cultural education teachers interviewed in 2001. A small snapshot of some “animateurs”, to have an idea of their context seems necessary before looking at the analysis that will come later.

Some teachers might have had the minimum qualifications required but felt obliged to conform to an current way of considering this teaching body: being able to show that they have personal artistic experience.

¹⁰ Paul HOUÉE, 1996

¹¹ all that follows was remembered from Christopher R. Bryant, heard in a meeting in 1998

Others are more lucky if we take into account the study upon youngsters in rural areas¹² : nowadays the cultural outlook is nearly the same in the countryside and urban areas and music is the “must”.

So Julien’s class goes over well with his students, as he plays and sonorizes music...

Florence has rural origins even if her professional commitment seems to be closer to future community service workers than the wine-producing students of the school. Maybe because most of the first group are girls and most of the second are boys. In any case, when Florence speaks of her participation in “rural seminars” or her plans for cultural “animation,” she speaks more about cultural heritage than development.

Jeanne was involved in an ethnological activity, trying to link traditional patterns of culture with the “animation” of community events like festivals, etc. This was a new occupation in the 70s, and she decided to pick up and carry on in this activity during the 80s. Nowadays, she has gone back to a former way of considering rural culture from the town where she lives when she speaks about poor culturally isolated people.

Raoul, also an “old-timer”, went from general “animation” or teaching to a specific vehicle using videomaking. When he sums up his career, he only focuses on the creation of a picture culture in rural society as if all culture came from town.

A little younger but also coming from outside this teaching body, Yves has been working as a director of an Adult Training school. In this special professional training system led by the French Ministry of Agriculture, his official duties may involve more community communication than socio-culture teaching...

The extreme case is Paul’s, having been a pupil in a rural school, then looking after boarders as a student assistant – in these schools, most of youngsters are boarders- then as an “animateur” teacher without any real artistic talent but whose experience in sports has contributed to discovering the surrounding countryside.

As young as Paul but not coming from countryside (or not wishing to reveal her origins), Sylvie seems to be more sensitive to farming as a profession than to rural life as a whole. Through art courses and workshops, she renews with the agricultural “animation” of the 60s, but her references do not make any links with the countryside and rural living.

The association between art and agriculture has not always been so easy. Juliette studied sociology and art history at the Sorbonne but now she says that it is very difficult for her to work with farmers, more difficult than with the other manual workers, for instance those who work at the school.

After a very similar career, Claire is a special case. Perhaps it is because of her personality, maybe because of her job location, Corsica. As she explains, this island is yet another example of an “*exception culturelle*”. Her duties include managing a training course for obtaining a regional certificate, for becoming a local guide, (*guide de pays*). Her job is perhaps the closest to the traditional idea of local socio-cultural “animation.”

Pierre could be first a complete sportsman. One can understand that some authors declare they are surprised that the French Minister of agriculture and not the Minister of Youth and sports has created the socio-animators corps. By the physical practice Pierre is maybe one of those who lead more the youngsters to territory...

¹² Olivier GALLAND & Yves LAMBERT, 1993

On the opposite, coming from archeologia, Eric attests a great interest for heritage, local culture, landscape but where are local actors in what he says ?

One of the patchwork career is described by Josette. At the end, plans follow plans, making another kind of patchwork. Indeed, when she thinks about a metal sculpture in a field, she needs the flat landscape of Champagne and the emptiness caused by 2000 winter's tempest, and not a territory full of dynamics...

Apart from them, Marie works on personal development. First, one could think that it is a separated way. Some could also say that it is a way to prepare collective activities. In fact, in the training institution for those animators-teachers, personal development moduls takes a significant part of time and is sometimes presented as the time the most useful...

Analysis of these careers – is there a special habitus for sociocultural “animateurs”?

The following chapter will try to conceptualize the careers of socio-cultural education teachers, in terms of habitus and fields, as initiated by the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu¹³.

First of all, it is difficult not to confess that the socioculture is maybe too small to constitute an autonomous field and that a concept of professional habitus is difficult to imagine, as it is created more by an unconscious than a conscious process, when confronted with social, sexual, and cultural determinations.

But time is now on our side. After Bourdieu's death, it is maybe easier to associate his sociology and other elements coming from general system theory applied to sociology or some surveys upon life careers.

For instance, as a sub-field of education, sociocultural education can still be considered as a field, as a sub-system which can be surveyed then on the condition that it is replaced in the general framework by another step of the analysis.

Concerning the concept of habitus, many followers of Pierre Bourdieu, for example, Bernard Lahire¹⁴ who proposes to take habitus as a pathwork of predispositions for social behaviour, some linked to social origins, others to sex... Should professional identity, when it has been modeled by daily confrontations in a school and with external partners for years, be one part of habitus, as Lahire implies ?

So time was taken to find a better way to represent the careers, like those seen in the “galleries” above, the description of which was not efficient enough to continue analyzing.

A time line has been drawn, from past to present. The past starts in fact from a starting point, where rural and urban origins are clearly differentiated. What is implied is that some starting points are in a non determinated area between rural and urban, either because no such identity has really been declared by the person during the interview, or because the pre-beginning elements, linked with family career or the cycle of moving during childhood were too mixed up, which is a characteristic of many current links between people and the land.

The bottom to top of the representation tries to value the position in the field where the highest potential is linked to the deepest roots in rural identity, the biggest taking into account territory, the most frequent reference to “animation”, a way for the researcher to take into account the three dimensions implied in rural “animation”.

In this space, a career is represented by a line going in two directions. Why so few directions ? It is important to mention that the interviews were short, between twenty and thirty minutes.

¹³ for instance BOURDIEU, 1979

¹⁴ in the review of group MAGE, specially focused on Pierre Bourdieu, « domination masculine », 1998

So we are not dealing with a life history, but just a summary giving a few reference points. The different parts of the line are straight because the analysis does not pretend to have better knowledge of the phenomenon. Despite all of that, the diagram seems to be the best representation of career value, before collecting more data.

So the general shape of career is as in fig.1

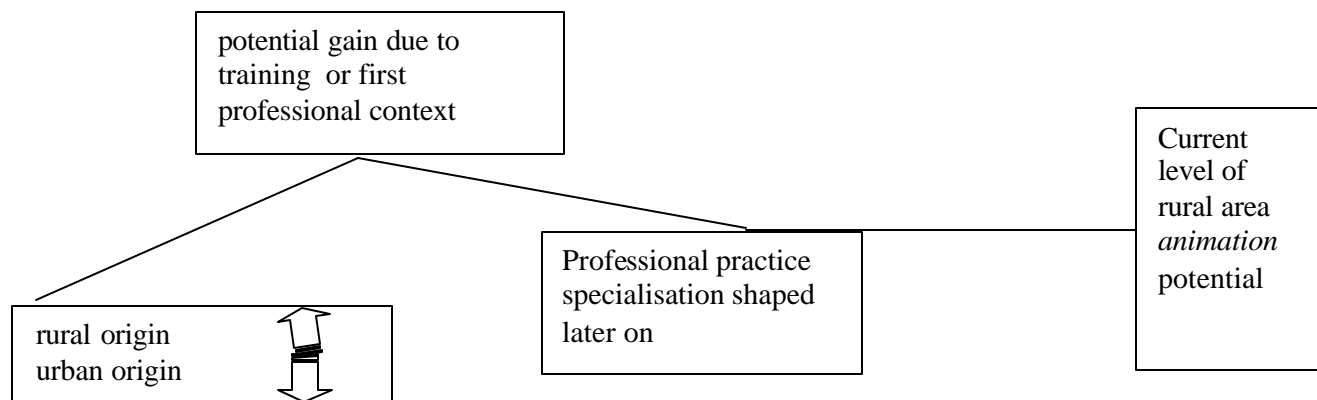


Fig.1 : pattern of ESC teachers' career representation (PhSahuc, ENFA, 2002)

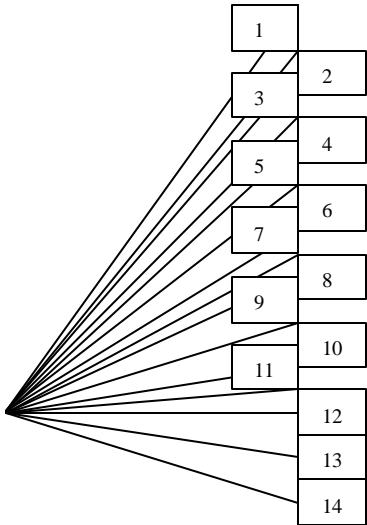
Important is to add at this point that the potential valuation is in fact interpretation of what actors as territory politic responsables, rural association network, etc, mean when they shape what could be a rural territory animating function.

For beginning points, there a balance then 10 persons declare rural origin, 8 let deduced more than declare an urban origin and for 7, the origin is not clear either mixed.

The first rising of the career is due to, classified in supposed less and less increasing potential : all own schooling in a territorialized school(5), first aim at appointment linked to territory(1), typical appointment as global *animateur*(2), early appointment when people education was still strong(3), international rural experience(4), early rural settlement(6), geographical formation(7), interest for cultural heritage(8), academic formation mixing art heritage or/and sociology(9), theater practice as a common tool for animation(10), sport practice as a common tool for people education(11), personal experience for culture mixing(12).

Some references have suggested descent of the line : first work for national television or as an urban social worker(13), journalist formation(14).

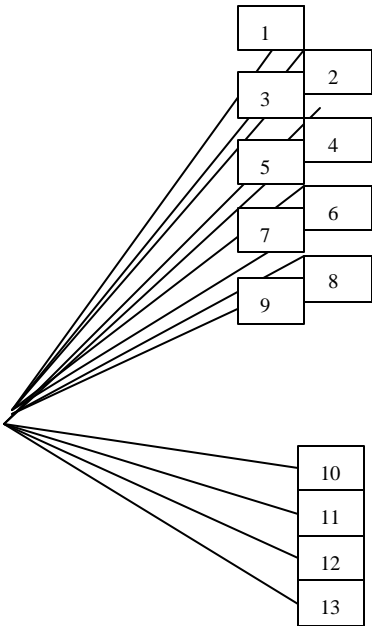
Fig.2 : calibration of ESC teachers' careers first step (Ph Sahuc, ENFA, 2002)



The following step is rising in following cases : global teaching about territory discovering(1), leading adult professional integration(2), cultural events organizing in rural spaces(3), work about art and landscape(4), work about sensitivity and agriculture(5), sport used as territory discovering(6), work on culture and identity(7), work about local cultural practice(8), knowledge exchange between youngsters encouragement(9).

Descending in following cases : more work on academical knowledge than particular practices(10), urban international experience(11), cultural work for global artistical heritage(12), artistical practice taking rural space as empty space(13).

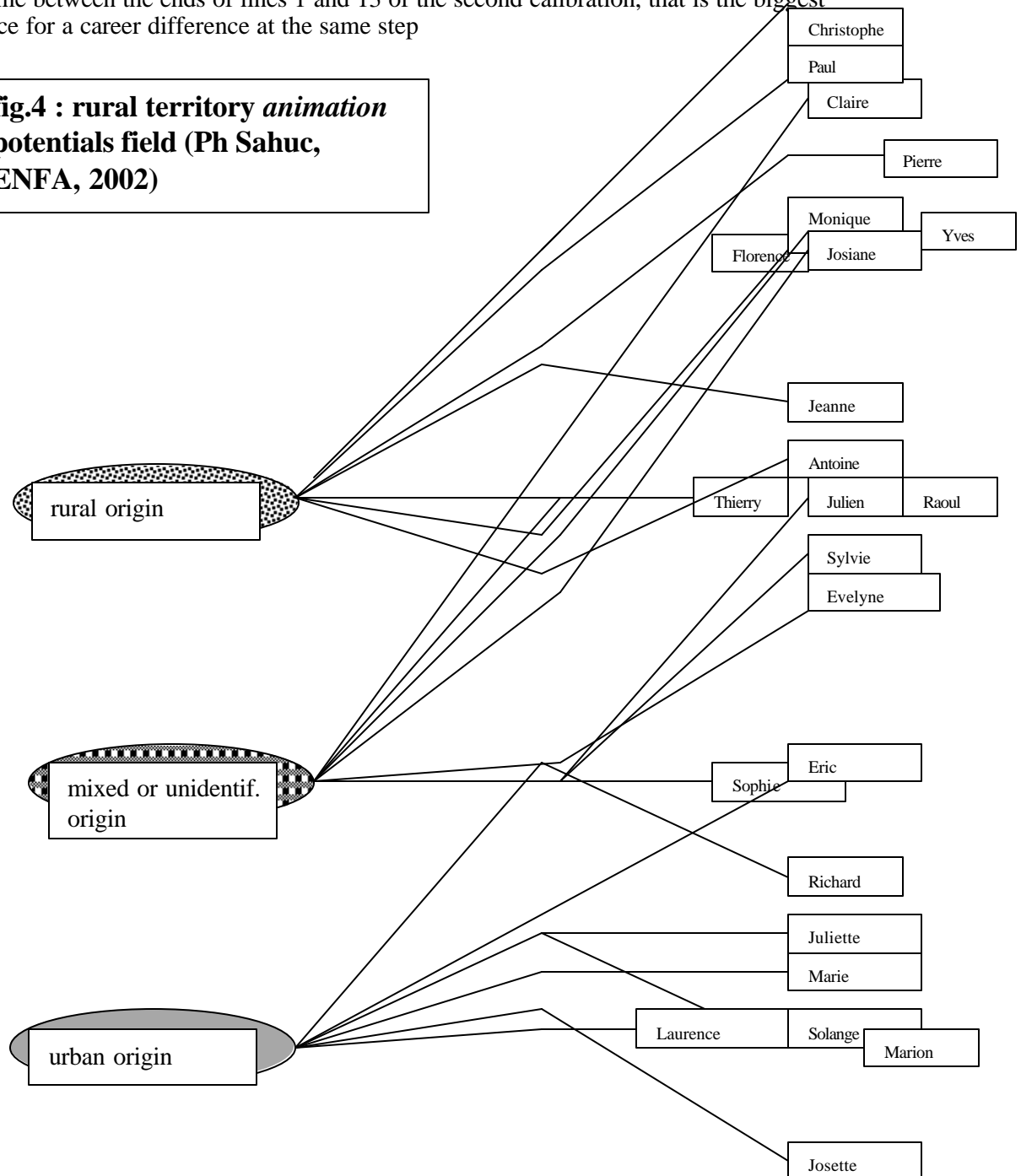
Fig.3 : calibration of ESC teachers' careers second step (Ph Sahuc, ENFA, 2002)



Thanks to computer's ability to copy lines with the same length and the same incline, we can now try to represent the 25 careers and the different potential levels suggested on the following page.

Precision before : the distance between the centres “rural origin” and “urban origin” is exactly the same between the ends of lines 1 and 13 of the second calibration, that is the biggest distance for a career difference at the same step

fig.4 : rural territory *animation* potentials field (Ph Sahuc, ENFA, 2002)



Reconsidering rural area animation demand

After trying to write as a sociologist very influenced by social determination theory, let us see more precisely what real social demand is for rural area *animation*, as empirical sociologists would do.

What has really been done with the classification of career step variants ? The author has done it as a kind of intuitive step in the analysis. Some could find it quite shocking as a step of scientific practice. In fact, about 15 years of frequent contacts with some networks may allow us to consider this ‘former intuition’ as a kind of summary of habits when evaluating people’s functions in community development. One of these networks has been organized by *Mairie-conseils*, which is an inner department of *Caisse des dépôts et consignations*, a national French bank, specialized in local authorities financial services. *Mairie-conseils* is particularly used to working with village authorities, in relationship with national networks like the national federation of regional parks where socio-cultural animators used to work when the parks were first created, from 1967 onwards. Another one is embodied in CELAVAR, a federation of rural associations. A lot of them are still influenced by People’s education ideology.

An extra step now would be to outline criteria of abilities evaluation, for instance through document collection and analysis, as these networks publish a lot and indeed do not seem to perish very often¹⁵...

With less ambition, let us try to critically read what has been written before.

- I already had a good reflex when putting “all own schooling in a territorialized school” at the fifth rank as I had put it at the first in a first time (by luck for the reader the first action was betrayed by the not enough cut-copy functions of computer or computer user...) : in fact I rolled from what heard sometimes from some rural actors to what heard from others. A few rural local responsables would still think that the longer is your career in rural society, the better animator you will be as networks would show very performing new inhabitants as animators... That makes think about the distance chosen between rural and urban origin. We shall see it later. The same could be written for “early rural settlement”...

- “first aim at appointment linked to territory” and “typical appointment as global animator” : here was done a abstraction growing work, like in a lot of networks publications. Indeed what was under the terms was as different as building a territory picture or animating a movies diffusion activity in rural space. Putting it at a first rank was maybe sociologically wright, thinking of communication and modernity importance for the networks (a proof would be a recent inventory made by *Mairie-conseils* of local authorities’ initiatives concerning culture, playtime and sport).
- “early appointment when people education was still strong” : should have been presented with a “?”... What is still nowadays the impact of People education ideology and methods (“theater practice as a common tool for animation”, “sport practice as a common tool for people education”) out of its own remaining network ?
- “international rural experience” should have been precised as experience in south and poor countries where community development as development in general is an evident need...
- “geographical formation”, “interest for cultural heritage”, “academic formation mixing art heritage or/and sociology” : group of criterions rested on hidden hypothesis,

¹⁵ even if a general survey has not be done, the criteria are mostly confirmed by the publication of six national community development networks, under the title of ARISTEE (1999 ?, 2001)

academic formations and spontaneous interested are universally valued. Maybe it is relieving to believe in it when working in a teaching school...

- personal experience for culture mixing : here we are in another ideas generation, a very current one...

Some references have suggested descent of the line but only 2 versus 12 : objective ratio or subjective difficulty to give birth to negative more than positive ?

- “first work for national television or as an urban social worker”, “journalist formation” : here are mixed what could seem different activities, just joined because they refer to programs, laws, news more linked to national or international than local... (sometimes the simple fact that it was done in towns was more influent...)

For the second step :

- “global teaching about territory discovering”, “leading adult professional integration”, “cultural events organizing in rural spaces” : here are unquestionable assets, with the old care of local employment and the “younger” care of culture
- “work about art and landscape”, “work about sensitivity and agriculture” could directly follow the general care of culture but those specific shapes would not find agreement to everybody’s and, sometimes “sport used as territory discovering”, “work on culture and identity”, “work about local cultural practice” should be more valued, as safe bets, less supposed to be able to shock traditional sensitivity.
- “knowledge exchange between youngsters encouragement” could also come from a teaching school ideology, the rebel one in this case...
- “more work on academical knowledge than particular practices” and “cultural work for global artistical heritage” are in the descending maybe for same reasons as what was just before...
- “urban international experience” and “artistical practice taking rural space as empty space” would meet discredit especially to local authorities’ (maybe the opposite for some supposed idealistic network participants), with a difference ok ranks due to difference of rural identity shocking ability.

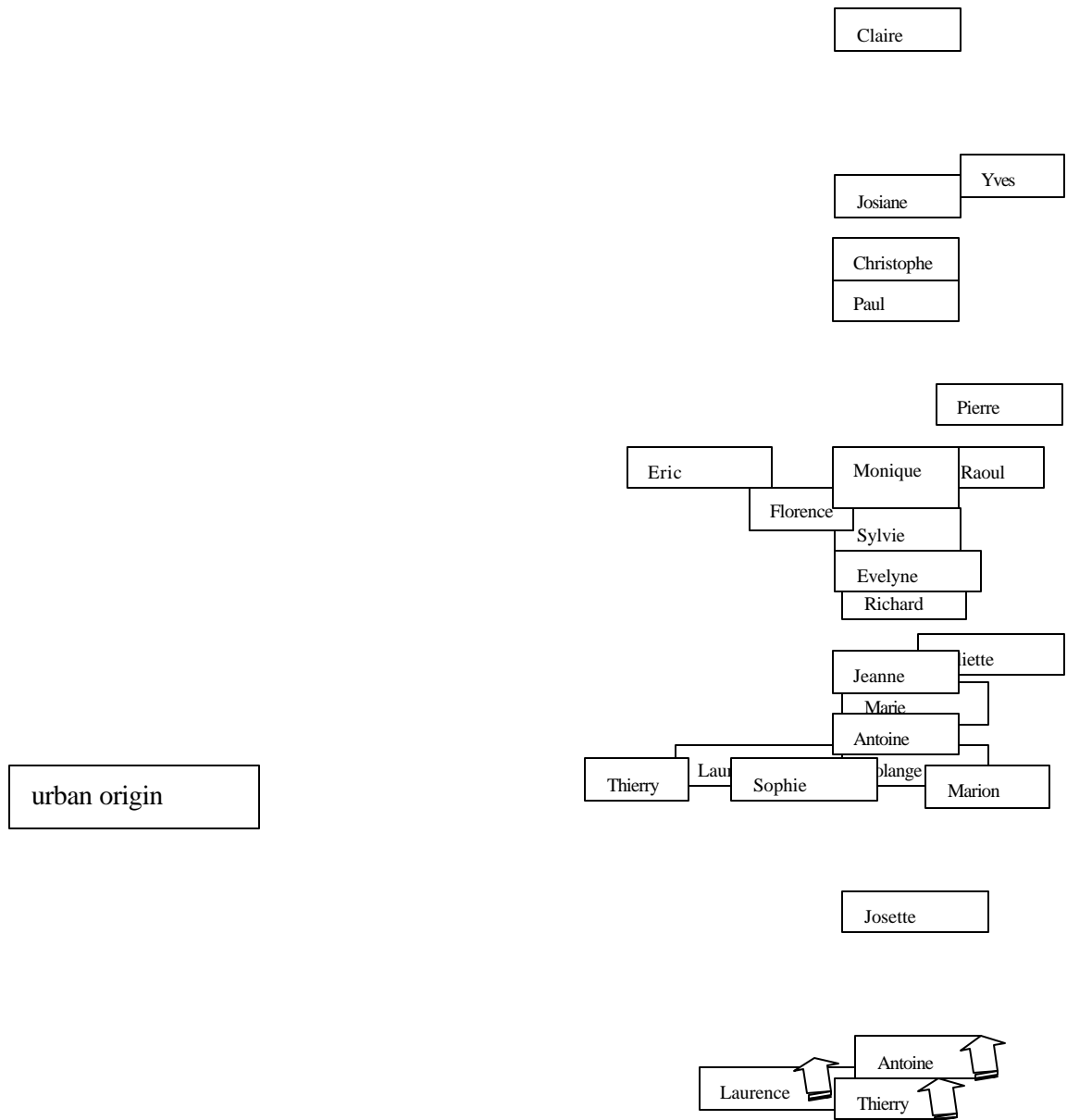
Let us consider now with a distant point of view the choice to distinguish rural and urban origins as different as the more discriminating other couple of criterions...

Using this way to represent, the most of rural originers kept their native advantage and the most of urban originers kept their handicap. But there were some unidentified originers persons (Claire, Yves) who could join the group led by Christophe and Paul.

On the other side of the schedule, with urban origins, only Eric could join the upper group and Josette seemed to have a terrible low potential.

But We could have tried a non origins taking in account representation, as in the following schedule. Thanks to computer’s ability, we just report the same inclines, but then from a same origin, as most of citizens’ organizations would be happy to see...

Fig.5 : territorial origin non considering representation of rural territory *animation* potentials (Ph Sahuc, ENFA, 2002)



Now, Claire and Yves seem to have the higher potential, as Christophe, Paul and Pierre keep a good position.

Both Claire and Yves take advantage thanks to adult formation participation, in a frame work where territorial possibilities of integration must be taken in account and also where formation creating seem to be a good way to extend integration possibilities. Claire is maybe in the upper position thanks to her geographical situation, in Corsica island where, as she says, territory and local cultural heritage taking in account is exacerbated. So, if this would be a sport race, we could say that she takes the most advantage of a carrier ground...

Christophe, Paul and Pierre were not only advantaged by their rural origin then they still have good potential. We should be careful all the way to point out whether the rural origin is not included in other criterions that give advantage to them... Remember that both Pierre and Paul use sport as a territory discovering ; a rural typical cultural characteristic ? Admitting it would let forgotten that if one was a child in a vineyards area in south of France, the other grew up in the countryside near Paris where the influence of the city is not the same.

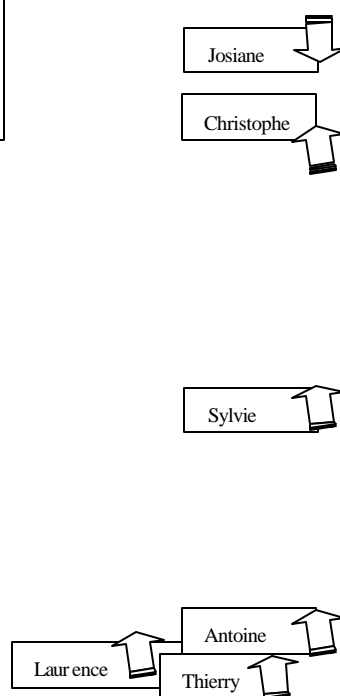
Other convergence, between Christophe, supposed rural and Yves, not especially supposed rural : first experience in a African rural territory...

Then, on the bottom of the schedule, Josette is still the last one, terribly handicapped by considering rural space as an empty one. Might the author have been to influenced by a few words describing artistical experience ? he must acknowledge that he sometimes saw rural territory responsables very proud of what happened on their territory even if the meaning of event was almost a negation of what their were usually very proud : the evil identity...

Going back to socio-cultural education teachers' potential and the will of institution

Working on this field, represented as a potentials scale finally, at a step of the research appeared some arrows to distinguish animators... Let us see them now. Explanation will follow but trying to guess first seems better. Was it not the intuitive method used by the author ?

Fig. 6 : potentials field extra-abilities (Ph Sahuc, ENFA, 2002)



At the previous representation, this one, for a few cases, adds future anticipation, as a moving possibility in the field not determined by the career itself but a special ability already but quickly mentioned in the text : the artistic main practice.

For Josiane, who seemed to have good potential till now, the absence of artistic main activity is a real descending risk, as for Christophe (Photograph) already well situated, Sylvie (modelling + theater) in a middle situation and Antoine (music), Thierry (music + sculpture) and Laurence (modern dance) the recognition of one or two main artistic activities gives climbing possibilities.

But possibilities what to do ? Even if expression and culture were linked to People education, a main artistic activity has never supposed to be a special ability in this field... Rural ? Local scale ? In one case, it seems to be unquestionable, the case of Christophe, making a link between photograph and rural landscape... For others, except very special initiatives as modelling agriculture emotion or musically animating rural lakes, this main artistic ability is apart from rural territory animation potential.

So, why this sudden arrows drawing ? Maybe it was an intuitive way to draw a hidden law, a kind of glass lift as researchers working on gender speak of a glass ceiling...

Nowadays, institution would prefer to take on teacher, what means rather good educationalist, plus main artistic activity practiser, what does not exactly mean artist...

To reinforce it, let us look at the competitive entrance examination that gave success to every socio-cultural education teacher described before. In fact, there were two examinations both passed by most of the candidates. One is the more prestigious, even if it is never said (implicit hierarchy), driving to general teaching. The other drives to professional teaching. The implicit hierarchy is consciously or unconsciously known by the candidates, as the three double successful persons have chosen the first one.

So, among the 5 climbing arrow persons, 3 were on the prestigious list and 1 at the third rank of the extralist of the same examination... as our descending arrow was at the second rank in the extralist of less prestigious examination...

Looking better at it, it seems as if on the one way, administration would prefer to take on main artistic practising people and on the other way would give advantage to academical formation in art history or social sciences (especially education sciences), that could give indirectly advantage to urban originated persons. That would be the reason why, Juliette, Marion, Laurence, quite badly situated in our rural territory animating field and Eric, with a medium position, would be better situated in the officially valued potential, that could be called socio-artistic education teaching potential.

Conclusion

Trying to represent a special field or sub-field has in fact brought us to new considerations about the construction of the professional part of an habitus, if we consider that implicit hierarchy of prestigious careers and skills associates not only impulses some choices at an individual level (working in general education or professional training, for instance), though it links the predisposition to feel that one is at the right place in one case and not in the opposite case, as researchers upon gender and society have shown. Whatever melting pots a professional body proposes through extra training, network exchanges etc, these predispositions should continue. The point is that sometimes (in most cases, according to data collected in the interviews), a person who feels good about his situation will be entreprising and self-confident thanks to his unconscious good position but sometimes will "rest on his laurels." And it is exactly the opposite behaviour in the opposite situation, the first reason

being exactly the opposite, the second linked with the miraculous fighting spirit of the former loser...

In fact, better knowledge of the bottom careers showed very interesting initiatives, that could be called area “*animation*” initiatives...

But the main fact to keep in mind is the hidden will at a Ministerial level to not favour rural *animation*. Is it only because other other skills have become more important, as part of new state priorities? The author was told that it was not the same in the 1990s for the teacher recruitment directives given to national examination boards...

If we had taken into account at the beginning of this paper a local demand for *animation* skills, the conclusion might seem very pessimistic. We announced the possible discovery of professional pool of human resources hidden in the rural schools; shall we conclude that the treasure does not exist ?

Let us indicate a hidden rising ‘arrow’ not yet mentioned. The very special case of C laire, working in Corsica, badly situated on the official roll but the best situated in our diagram, shows the possibility of inverting the evaluation, if there is a strong local power for impulsing regional professional diplomas so that, at the local level, they seem as important as general ones.

Coming back to the physical metaphor of circulating blood, bringing *animation* to its members, it is important to remember that first of all the heart must play its part as impulsor. Most of all, one must believe that it can be a real heart, just as a rural village could one day be a capital, even in the same state as Paris.

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