A SOCIOLOGICAL APPRAISAL
OF THE FRENCH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM
IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT REFORMS.

by

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ABSTRACT.

The thesis:

--- brings out the educational experience of the 800,000 French children who, at the age of about eleven, every year transfer from their primary school into secondary education;

--- follows the pupils for seven years when about one in three sits the Baccalaureate examination. Some 24 per cent. of the age group qualify, which entitles them to a university place;

--- consists of a sociological appraisal of the bureaucratic French educational system, with particular reference to the post-1959 reforms;

--- confirms that the educational reforms of the methods that France has devised to deal with the education of its children have been for some considerable time in turn contradictory, inconsistent, ineffective, and inefficient;

--- looks into the debate on the "relative homogenisation" theory, in an attempt to find out whether there is evidence to warrant the assumption that educational systems are becoming more alike.

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In PART I, we examine the development of French secondary education. As soon as we are familiarized with the educational scene (chapter 1), we shall then be able to figure out the importance given to "culture" in French Secondary education (chapter 2). Next we shall question the validity of some of the claims made in favour of "classical culture" (chapter 3). Chapter 4 provides a historical account of the far-reaching ideal of an "Ecole unique", a concept which caught the eye of the post-World War II reformers (chapter 5). PART I ends with a chapter on the teaching profession (chapter 6).

PART II, which deals with contemporary reforms, is divided into three sections. Section A is devoted to secondary education. The 1959 reform (chapter 7) was soon followed by complementary measures (chapter 8),
which imposed a strain on the government service with regard to their implementation (chapter 9).

Economic expansion is tied up with education (chapter 10) and in particular with an ever-growing percentage of people reaching a high Terminal Education Age (chapter 11). As this is influenced by social class (chapter 12), it has implications for the democratization of education (chapter 13).

In Section B, after being acquainted with the university faculties (chapter 14) and the student unrest (chapter 15), we shall see how the old structures were deftly replaced by new ones (chapter 16) and the set-up peculiar to Paris (chapter 17) with regard to the educational challenge (chapter 18).

In Section C, Chapter 19 brings out the reasons why further reforms are deemed necessary, whilst chapter 20 provides some indications of the value attached to "training throughout life" and how the French Government sets out to give "a second chance" to every French worker in the course of the nineteen seventies.

PART III starts by probing policy making on educational matters in France (chapter 21), which is followed by a critical appraisal of the efficiency of the government service with regard to the educational system (chapter 22).

Finally, the thesis ends on a discussion of the "convergence theory".
The French Revolution initiated by free-thinking philosophers led to political instability which impaired for some considerable time the development of a modern educational system. By the middle of the nineteenth century, several developing countries had established compulsory education. It is paradoxical that, having borrowed from the Free-Masons their principle of "égalité", post-revolutionary France should have continued to rely for so long upon the goodwill of the parents to send their children, if they so wished, to the municipal school.

It was left to strong-willed Jules Ferry to enact a comprehensive body of laws which, in the eighteen eighties, made primary education compulsory. This decision engaged France onto a track which would create its own demand for further educational facilities both through individual educationalists, such as Alfred Fouillé, at the end of the nineteenth century and Alain, the Radical Philosopher, in the inter-war period, and pressure groups with vested interests, i.e. "les Compagnons" at the time of the First World War.

1. Emphasis in original.

2. Or: "When it comes to assessing activities as gigantic as national education, no doubt, documents exist, but it is not easy to bring out a meaningful interpretation" (Hubert Brochier's "Préface" to Jean-Charles Asselain: Le Budget de l'Éducation nationale, Paris, 1969, p. VIII).


Educationalists realize that the reform of a particular stage of education leads within a few years to the reform of the stage into which it feeds the pupils it has formed. For example, primary education made compulsory in the early eighteen eighties led to the reforms of secondary education, which spread over the 1902-1909 period. More recently, the reforms of secondary education initiated in 1959 played no small part in fostering the 1968 Law of Orientation reforming the university structure.

Besides, an educational system generates its own growth as its expansion depends upon an ever-growing number of teachers. Clearly, decisions have to be made. Although most of us are prepared to voice an opinion on educational matters in such a way that we would never do in other fields, economics for example, it is by no means clear on precisely which ground decisions affecting the whole educational system are made, and by whom, whether the Head of State, or his Prime Minister, etc., or again, under pressures of what political groups. The answers are not necessarily obvious.

Other factors may have a long-term effect. For example, the French Constitution has been changed three times within a single-generation span, which saw the rise and fall of the Fourth Republic (1946-1958). We may also wonder why the French educational system has resisted changes for, as we shall see, a bureaucratic structure does help to carry out speedily the implementation of reforms once they have been decided.

One of our aims will consist of tracing the influence of the historical moments, step by step, as they unfolded in the course of this century, without losing sight of the decision makers' ideal which has been summed up in 1966 by Président de Gaulle. He stated that:

"C'est quelque chose, que d'avoir organisé l'éducation nationale de telle sorte que désormais tous les enfants de France aient leur chance complète dans les études, depuis le début jusqu'à la fin."

Isn't it great to have organized National Education in such a way that from now on every French child has his own opportunity to study from beginning to end."  

This "equality of opportunity" is not commensurate with the findings of contemporary sociologists. For example, in a study of "the impact of the educational system on technological change and modernization", Arnold Anderson has affirmed that:

"No nation, even today, has attained uniformly accessible, high-quality primary schooling for all its regions or communities, not to mention social strata."  

Such a view is not contrary to Durkheim's contention that:

"Pour trouver une éducation absolument homogène et égalitaire, il faudrait remonter jusqu'aux sociétés préhistoriques au sein desquelles il n'existe aucune différenciation". 

"To find an absolutely homogeneous and egalitarian education, it would be necessary to go back to prehistoric societies in the structure of which there is no differentiation." 

In sum, the thesis:-

-- brings out the educational experience of the 800,000 French children who, at the age of about eleven, every year transfer from their primary school into secondary education;

-- follows the pupils for seven years, when about one in three sits the Baccalaureate examinations. Some 24 per cent. of the age group qualify,

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which entitles them to a university place;

-- consists of a sociological appraisal of the bureaucratic French educational system, with particular reference to the post-1959 reforms;

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-- looks into the debate on the "relative homogenisation" theory, in an attempt to find out whether there is evidence to warrant the assumption that educational systems are becoming more alike.

PART I - PROLEGOMENA: AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM RESISTING CHANGE.

"Le monde change, et avec lui les hommes et la France elle-même. Seul l'enseignement français n'a pas encore changé. Cela revient à dire qu'on apprend aux enfants de ce pays à vivre et à penser dans un monde déjà disparu". 1
- Albert Camus, 1946.

Introduction to PART I.

"Citoyens, je vous en prie, réfléchissez-vous: est-ce qu'on apprend à penser comme on apprend à croire? Croire, c'est ce qu'il y a de plus facile, et penser, ce qu'il y a de plus difficile au monde." 2
- Ferdinand Buisson's speech, October 1903.

PART I consists of a preliminary discourse. First we examine the development of French secondary education, which appears to have been in constant need of reform in order to keep pace with the society it was supposed to educate. Not surprisingly, the factions with the traditional

1. Or: "The world changes, and so do its peoples and so does even France. However French education has not as yet changed. It therefore means that in this country children are taught how to live and think in a world which has already vanished" (cited in Joseph Majault: La Révolution de l'Enseignement, Paris, 1967, p. 12.

2. Or: "Fellow-countrymen, I beg of you, think about it: do we learn how to think as we learn to believe? To believe is the easiest thing, and to think is the most difficult thing to do on earth" (published in Parti républicain radical et radical socialiste: Troisième Congrès annuel, Paris, 1903, pp. 178-179.
outlook regularly opposed reforms in the name of "culture".

As soon as we are familiarized with the educational scene (chapter 1) in France, we shall then be able to figure out the importance given to "culture" in French secondary school education (chapter 2). This leads us naturally to question the validity of some of the claims made in favour of "classical culture" in general, and its basic subject, Latin, in particular (chapter 3). By the middle nineteen twenties Président Herriot ventured to say that:

"L'enseignement classique conservera sa valeur et son efficacité s'il n'est dispensé qu'à ceux qui auront le désir de le recevoir." 1

"Classical education will preserve its value and efficacy if it is only dispensed to those who will be eager to receive it." 1

Once the principle of Latin being an option was agreed upon, it opened the door to a reform and the ideal of an "Ecole unique", first suggested by "les Compagnons de l'université", 2 was becoming a possibility (chapter 4). In fact, this concept which dates back to the end of the First World War (subsection a), was taken up again seriously in the educational reforms formulated in the wake of World War II (subsection b).

In PART II of the thesis, we shall examine several themes, the first two being how successive reforms changed completely secondary education in the late nineteen fifties and higher education in the late nineteen sixties. But let us first look at the course of the nineteen fifties (chapter 5) and examine the status of the French "professeur" (chapter 6).


2. Les Compagnons: "L'Université nouvelle", in Les Cahiers de Probus, (Paris), No. 1, 1918.
Chapter 1. An Outline of the French Educational System.

"Le système d'éducation français peut être facilement qualifié de bureaucratique."
- Professeur Crozier, 1963.

For over half a century, French education has been based on the one and only comprehensive body of laws enacted in 1881, 1882, and 1886 by Jules Ferry, "a man of strong views and strong character (that) made him an admirable instrument of the Republican policy of 'laicity'." This comprehensive body of laws included the Law of 16 June 1881 on free primary education, the Law of 28 March 1882 on compulsory and secular primary education, and the Organic Law of 30 October 1886 on primary education.

Then, in the wake of World War II, French education conformed to the Law of 15 August 1941 for some fifteen years but, before 1938, on completion of their primary education, the pupils had a choice between two very different options. On the one hand, there were the "Higher primary schools" dispensing a short education of a concrete and practical type. These studies were sanctioned by the "Brevet élémentaire", or "Primary school certificate". However, in France, the "Higher primary schools" could be subdivided into two rather different types of institution.


They were EITHER the multilateral "Ecoles primaires supérieures", or "Higher primary schools" proper with a general education department and a technical one through which a limited number of pupils secured a "long" education culminating in, e.g. "Arts et Métiers" (vid inf., chapter 14, subsection b); OR the "Cours complémentaires" (a three-year extension of the primary education system) instituted in rural areas in accordance with the Organic Law of 1886 (vid supra, this chapter) with a view to train the "middle rank" executive for trade, industry, and agriculture. These studies led to the "Higher certificate" and it has been noted that, at the turn of the century, about 25 per cent. of the intake secured entrance into the "Ecoles normales d'instituteurs", or Teacher-Training colleges (vid inf., chapter 6).

On the other hand, there was also an education of a different type, that is to say secondary education (but from 1938 onwards, known as "Second degré", or "Second stage"), whose teaching methods relied on the abstract and theoretical approach, leading to the "Baccalauréat" or Baccalaureate, secures entrance to higher education.

The public at large had realized for some considerable time that secondary education was the preserve of the bourgeois classes. As a result, some suggestions of merging the "Primaire supérieur" with the

"Second degré" had been tentatively made. Undertaken by the Vichy government, the Carcopino Reform integrated the Higher primary schools into the "Second degré" (Law of 15 August 1941)\(^1\): Known as "Collèges modernes", their syllabi were a carbon copy of those drawn up for the Baccalaureate. From then on, it has been claimed that every child could obtain the "Brevet d'études du premier cycle". The "B.E.P.C.", which had replaced the old school certificate (Decree of 20 October 1947)\(^2\), has been since then superseded by the "Brevet d'enseignement général", the new intermediate school certificate, instituted by Decree No. 59-57 (Article 28).\(^3\)

In France then full secondary schooling is appraised by means of a final examination, i.e. the Baccalaureate, which also grants entrance to the university faculties (now reorganized in "Unités d'enseignement et de recherches"), for "every student who passes the 'Baccalauréat' is guaranteed a university place".\(^4\) Consequently, the Baccalaureate or, in common parlance, the "bachot", is at once a school-leaving certificate for "long" general education and the first university qualification, in accordance with a late nineteenth-century law.\(^5\)

By tradition, French secondary education requires a gift for orderly abstract reasoning. If its aim consists of imparting a "culture générale", which distinguishes French intellectuals, it used to impose a drastic

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selection. So, without counting those who were lost on the way, until the nineteen thirties, only about one third of the secondary pupils who entered, managed to pass the final examinations leading to the Baccalaureate. (cf. Table IX). Since then the rate of passes has improved gradually. In the nineteen fifties, there was a marked change. Aurélien Fabre, D.Sc., has shown that the proportion of "bacheliers" to the age group more than doubled. This evolution over a thirty-year period is confirmed by Raymond Poignant, who has tabulated both figures and percentages for selected years over half a century (cf. Table VII).

Apart from two early enquiries, the first sociological studies probing the factors which might play an important rôle in the democratization of French secondary education made their appearance on the scene in the early nineteen fifties. Their authors at once realized the extent to which the cost of secondary education, among other factors, affected families belonging to the lower "socio-economic groups". In an enquiry undertaken for the "Institut national d'études démographiques", or "I.N.E.D.", for example, Marcel Brésard showed an inverse relationship between size of family and length of education for children of all social classes (cf. Table XIX), except the upper middle class (5 per cent. of the


population, cf. Table XIII). Furthermore, Alain Girard, Director of the "I.N.E.D." research department, has found that, for the children whose families are in humble circumstances, the restriction on the size of the family was a prerequisite to afford secondary education in the first instance.¹

Reference has just been made to "socio-economic groups". It is necessary to point out at this early stage of the thesis that the technology pertaining to industrialism "calls for much the same occupational structure around the world (...). The occupational rôle of a man gives him a place in society. (...) The occupation takes the place of the class."² The French sociologists extensively refer to "socio-economic groups".

In all probability the democratization of higher education would be accelerated, it was believed, once the effects of the modernization of the "Lycée" permeated secondary education. As Roger Gal, the former Secretary of the Langevin-Wallon Commission aptly summed up:

"Attempts have been and are being made to modernize the 'lycée' to transform it into a more realistically orientated institution, to introduce new subjects, to involve the teachers in the activities of the school, to attract the children of the working classes, -3- and to give the school a more independent character. But in every instance it has been, and will continue to be, necessary to overcome the Napoleonic spirit (...). It is to Napoléon that we owe the centralized and uniform organization as we know it today (...). The 'lycée' continues to be the instrument for the recruitment of certain liberal professions."⁴

¹. Alain Girard: "Mobilité sociale et dimension de la famille", in Population, (Paris), No. 1 January 1951, p. 122.
³. Our emphasis.
In practice, the "Lycée" is also the avenue to university. When higher education remains the preserve of students whose selection for a "Lycée" education was largely due to their social background, the universities tend to perpetuate what Pierre Bourdieu has termed the "héritage culturel", \(^1\) or "cultural heritage", of the well-to-do middle class, and the number of students from the lower socio-economic classes continue to be small. But already in the first decades of the twentieth century, Alfred Binet surmised that:

"Le milieu scolaire et le milieu social se ressemblent assez; ils subissent les mêmes influences, et ceux qui parviennent à bien s'adapter au premier de ces milieux ont des chances de bien s'adapter aussi au second." \(^2\)

"The school environment and the social environment look almost like each other; they come under the same influences, and those who manage to adapt well to the former of these environments are likely to adapt also well to the latter."

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Chapter 2. The Unifying Effect of Culture Through Education.

"Je ne demande pas à un honnête homme de savoir le latin, il me suffit qu'il l'ait oublié." 1

Compulsory education is a relatively new phenomenon. It is not by accident that it was brought about at the time of the Industrial Revolution, which was going to rely so much on communication. This new mode of production would be enhanced by "good communication", based on a shared language spread by education, that is to say a form of education which would ensure

"entre tous les esprits, ceux d'une même génération comme ceux de toute une histoire, une homogénéité foncière qui rend plus facile la communication, la communion." 3

"(that) all the minds of one generation, and indeed of a whole historical period, has a fundamental homogeneity which makes communication and genuine communion easier." 3

As a team of British educationists remarked:

"Industrial mass production, as practised in the West, is the outcome of the functioning of a particular kind of society," 4

Besides, compulsory education would have the added advantage of fostering a single culture. So, the national system of education was going to be a remarkable instrument of acculturation, which would spread "the culture" to the different ethnic groups, whose languages or dialects are not always akin to the one that took precedence over the others in medieval times.

1. Or: "I do not expect a well-bred man to know Latin, it is enough that he should have forgotten it" (cited by Léon Bérard, in Pour la Réforme classique de l'Enseignement secondaire, Paris, 1923, p. 159).


If the dialect of the Ile-de-France was spoken at the brilliant court of Philippe-Auguste \(^1\) (1180) and soon became very popular, Professor Ritchie has pointed out that "a French language existed from the ninth century, exemplifying in itself the process of unification." \(^2\) In the middle ages Chaucer explained how the nun spoke French:

"After the scole of Stratford-atte-Bowe, For Frenssh of Parys was to hire unknowe." \(^3\)

In the course of the following centuries, English and Italian authors, i.e. Sir John Mandeville, Marco Polo (13th cent.), used to write in French. Indeed, in the preface to \emph{Li livres dou Tresor}, an encyclopaedia of knowledge, Brunetto Latini \(^4\) wrote:

"Se aucuns demandoit por quoi cist livres est escriz en romans, selonc le langage des Francois, puisque nos somes Ytaliens, je diroie que (...) la parleure est plus delitable et plus commune a toutes gens." \(^5\)

"If someone wondered why this book is written in French, the language of the French, as we are Italian, I would say that (...) the tongue is more delightful and more shared by all the people." \(^5\)

The dialect of the Ile-de-France became ultimately the "lingua franca" which spread over Europe as witnessed by Antoine de Rivarol's \emph{De l'Universalité de la langue française}, \(^6\) the latter having won for its author the highest honours from the Berlin Academy in 1783. \(^7\) At the close of the nineteenth century, a British author could write about the French language

\begin{itemize}
  \item[5.] Our emphasis.
  \item[6.] Antoine de Rivarol: \textit{De l'Universalité de la langue française}, (Paris, 1784).
\end{itemize}
that:

"The perfection of form, the lucidity and charm (...) has given it heretofore the first place among the languages of cultured peoples." 1

Since then, as Professor Wylie has expressed it:

"Certain people in the world embrace as the symbol of man's ability to rise above the chaos of matter - 'la civilisation française'. French art, architecture, music, literature, cuisine, étiquette, and fashion are woven into an image which over a long period of time has appealed to the need for refinement felt by a few people in many countries." 2

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Although, in France, the principle of equality of rights is the accepted ideal, this democratic country displays to some degree intolerance against different ethnic groups. To this day, such "delinquent" cultures have retained a certain identity. Some major ones were once the outlying provinces, e.g. Alsace, Flandres, Brittany, the Basque country, Provence and, above all, Languedoc, or "Occitanie". It has been estimated that there were three million Flemish-speaking people 3 in Flanders, and eight million people in Languedoc speak "Occitan", 4 that is to say "langue d'oc", the medieval French spoken South of the Loire. 5

Public Instruction became compulsory with the Law of 28 March 1882 and, twenty years later, secondary education was deeply reformed by

3. Article in Le Français dans le monde, (Paris: Hachette)
Ministre Leygue's Decree of 31 May 1902 and Ministre Chaumie's circular Letter of 19 July 1902. At the same time, competition for employment was fierce. For instance, Jean Jaures claimed that:

"La société affariée d'aujourd'hui, où tous les citoyens sont obligés de se disputer des débouchés qui tous les jours se resserrent, dans une société où l'on est incessamment contraint de lutter pour la vie et de se procurer, le plus tôt possible, les moyens de devancer les rivaux dans les carrières partout encombrées." 3

"To-day's busy society, in which every citizen is forced to fight for openings which become narrower every day, in a society in which we are increasingly forced to struggle for a living and to secure as soon as possible the means of pulling ahead of rivals for careers congested everywhere." 3

How accurate Jean Jaures's statement was, can be deduced from the contemporary statistics. For example, around 1896-1897, 1,955 men applied for seventy two teaching posts; 6,847 women applied for 115 posts! And 65,000 men sent in applications to the Police Force.4

With regard to the "struggle for a living" as seen in the wider context of culture, an anthropologist has explained that:

"It is in adulthood that the possibility of living in the moment is achieved. Not that this precludes much scheming and planning as far as careers or business advantage is concerned." 5

Throughout the nineteenth century secondary education was the preserve of the "Lycées" which were designed by Fourcroy (Law of 11 Floreal, 1. "Décret du 31 Mai 1902", in Bulletin administratif du Ministère de l'Instruction publique, (Paris), Vol. LXXI, No. 1522, 7 June 1902, pp. 705-23.


Year X, or 1 May 1802). As through a "Lyceé" education, it was claimed that "all men share the same treasury of admiration, patterns, rules and, above all, of examples, metaphors, images, words, a common idiom", it was hoped that France would be training the intelligentsia she required after the late eighteenth century civil strife. Consequently the "Lycees" have transmitted the essential values which formed an integral part of the French culture, the "values" as Salvador de Madariaga has ingeniously expressed it, which characterized the Frenchman, the civilized being, who attains self-realization through the knowledge he has acquired. The long-term effect has been somewhat summarized by Professor Hofstadter, who has acknowledged that:

"Intellectuals outside France still look to that country as an ideal instance of the prestige and influence of the intellectual."

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Chapter 3. The Old Classical Myth in Early Twentieth-Century Education.

"Ce diable de latin est tellement mêlé, par tant de fibres, à notre substance que nous ne pouvons nous en dépendre qu'au détriment de notre culture." 1
- Les Compagnons, July 1919.

Subsection a) Culture, its Aesthetic Connotation.

"L'un des drames de notre éducation est qu'elle a toujours voulu inculquer un modèle culturel figé." 2

To the sociologist, "culture" means "the patterns of behaviour that a society has to pass on to its new recruits". 3 Such is the anthropological sense. In this study however, "culture" takes on the aesthetic connotation which is looked into this section.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century "culture" was synonymous with instruction, with education, and both Octave Gréard and Louis Liard wrote of the acquisition of "classical culture" being related to the "Lycee" education (vid inf., this chapter). In other words, at the time, no clear distinction was made between "classical culture" and the "old classical education" which, in the nineteenth twenties, Monsieur Beaulavon equated with the "real culture" (vid inf. this chapter).

On the other hand, in the early nineteen twenties, the Commission which had been appointed by the "Comité d'entente universitaire", also

1. Or: "That wretched Latin is so entangled, by so many fibres, to our substance that we can free ourselves from it only at the cost of our culture" (Les Compagnons: "l'Université nouvelle", in Les Cahiers de Probus, Paris, No. 2, July 1919, p. 104.

2. Or: "One of our education's tragedies is that it has always aimed at inculcating a fossilized cultural model" (Olivier Guichard's speech, 22 June 1970, reported by Claude Gambiez, in Le Figaro (Paris, No. 8016, 24 June 1970, p. 11).


explained that:

"L'enseignement général des humanités doit être essentiellement un enseignement de culture." 1 

Such views show that Latin was still part and parcel of the education of the well brought up Frenchman, or "le Français bien élevé", 2 as opposed to what Ministre Guizot had termed a "parvenu" 3 from the standpoint of intelligence. But, Alfred Fouillee has shown how at the end of the nineteenth century, the "great national culture" 4 has been traditionally based on "Liberal studies", the "Etudes libérales" 5 which include Latin, for:

"Cet incomparable instrument de culture a le privilège de ne pouvoir directement servir, et pour les maîtres et pour les élèves, qu'à la culture même, et c'est pour cela que les esprits légers l'accusent de ne servir à rien." 6

"This unrivalled instrument of culture has the privilege of being only directly applicable, both by masters and pupils, to the culture itself; and that is the reason why small minds accuse it of being useless." 6

Once World War II was over, the Constituents of the Fourth Republic unanimously agreed to give in 1946 the same rights to every citizen whereby:

"La Nation garantit l'égal accès (...) à la culture." 7 

"The Nation secures equal access (...) to the culture." 7


5. Ibid., p. 1.

6. Ibid., p. 9.

In the late nineteen fifties, when a bill for educational reform was debated, the "Association Guillaume Budé" wanted:

"que la réforme de l'enseignement sauvegarde et développe la culture humaniste." 1

"the reform of education should safeguard and develop humanist culture." 1

Furthermore, the Association:

"condamne toute diminution réelle de la durée des études classiques." 2

"condemns any real shortening of the duration of Classical studies." 2

This request clarifies once more the position whereby Latin still had its faction of partisans.

However, by 1952, a Regional Conference organized in Paris by U.N.E.S.C.O. recognized that values had changed owing to the war. Conference spoke of a "verbal culture", a "liberal culture". 3

At the time, Jacques Ellul conceded that:

"La culture consiste à ingérer ce qui est nécessaire pour tenir un rôle positif dans une société technicienne." 4

"Culture consists in ingesting what is necessary if one is to play a positive rôle in a technical society." 4


2. Ibid., p. 10.


Subsection b) Traditional Education, the Elitist Culture.

-- "Du grec, ô Ciel! du grec!
Il sait du grec..."
-- "Du grec! quelle douceur!
-- Moliere, 1672. 1

A British writer has remarked that "114 years ago, (...) classicomania was at its height." 2 A reaction against classical education began around the time of the Franco-Prussian War and culminated in a Parliamentary Commission appointed on 12 December 1898. Presided by Alexandre Ribot, the Commission resolved that:

"Humanism, whether ancient or modern, no longer has sole possession of the "lycée" or college. It must make room for a companion, very humble but very exacting, whose very name is displeasing to refined ears -- 'utility', or, as the Germans say, realism. International competition, the struggle for existence, recalls to us the old adage in which common sense is expressed: 'First live, then philosophize'." 3

The quote is a translation of the Latin adage: "Primus vivere deinde philosophari".

The Ribot Commission came out in favour of greater flexibility by recommending to retain the Classical studies whilst also developing a Modern section. 4 Public opinion supported this "scientific spirit", which stemmed from the crisis in French thought caused by the crushing defeat of France in the 1870 Prussian War. 5 But, at the end of the nineteenth century, the denominational establishments had a school population


almost equal in number to the State "Lycées" (48 per cent. as opposed to 52 per cent.). The Jesuits saw the challenge. At the time, Père Burnichon claimed that:

"L'Eglise a sauvé l'esprit humain contre l'invasion de la barbarie ignorante; le moment vient où elle devra le protéger contre les progrès de la barbarie scientifique. C'est une mission que nous avons déjà remplie dans le passé et qui nous revient de droit." 2

"The Church has rescued human spirit from the encroachment of illiterate barbarity; the time is coming when She will have to protect it against the progress of scientific barbarity. It is a mission which we have already fulfilled in the past and which is ours by right." 2

Besides, this was the time when the struggle for control over education was going to reach its peak which, in 1905, would result in the split between Church and State. 3 For example, a British writer has remarked upon the fact that "during the early generations of the Third Republic, the State teachers' training colleges were the fountain-head of much Socialism and anti-clerical Republican Radicalism." 4

At the time, Georges Leygues, the then Minister of Public Instruction, established a Baccalaureate Section with a scientific slant, on a par with the Classical ones (Decree of 31 May 1902, Article 6). 5 Consequently Ministre Leygues was able:

"to retain the French loyalty to the classical spirit and to incorporate side by side with it, the scientific spirit." 6

2. Père Burnichon, in Etude religieuse, 20 April 1897.
After the first World War, Ministre Bérard could claim that over the previous twenty years, in spite of the fact that Latin was optional (a section without Latin, offering the study of Modern Languages and of the Sciences which led to the Baccalaureate had been instituted by the Decree of 31 May 1902, Article 6), 50 per cent. of secondary school pupils, both in State and in denominational schools, chose an option which offered Latin. Consequently Léon Bérard was determined to make Latin and Greek compulsory in "Lycées" and colleges - (the latter were local high schools financed and administered partly by the municipalities, partly by the State. Prior to the debate in the Chamber of Deputies, a report was compiled from the answers given to a questionnaire sent to the members of the "Conseil supérieur de l'Instruction publique". Monsieur Beaulavon concluded that:

"Les deux tiers estiment que la vieille éducation classique, à base de langues anciennes, pourvu qu'on réussisse à y faire pénétrer des études scientifiques solides et intelligentes, est le moyen par excellence, d'obtenir la véritable culture." 4

This report merely reinforced Ministre Bérard's strong position for, in 1921, a Commission appointed by the "Comité d'entente universitaire" had resolved that:


"L'enseignement général des humanités doit être essentiellement un enseignement de culture. (...) Les meilleures disciplines sont celles qui ne visent pas nécessairement l'utilisation immédiate. Celle du latin paraît à l'unanimité de la commission la seule -1- qui ait conservé dans ces vingt dernières années la notion de culture dans sa pureté efficace." 2

The general education of Humanities must be basically an education of culture. (...) The best disciplines are those which do not necessarily aim at an immediate use. Latin appears unanimously to the Commission the sole discipline which has kept in the last twenty years the notion of culture in its efficient purity." 2

In 1921 Ministre Bérard surmised that the supply of well-trained leaders of vigorous intellect, which France needed, could best be developed by means of a secondary education based on compulsory Latin and Greek for all. 3 With the support of the "Association universitaire France Ancienne", 4 the Bérard Reform was implemented by the Decree of 3 May 1923. 5 On 11 July, an order of the day approved the Bérard Reform by a conservative majority of 307, against 216, and 25 abstentions. 6 Such was the result of the votes cast by the "Chambre bleu-horizon", or national block of 1919-1924.

But at the turn of the century, in France and indeed, in Western Europe, it had already been noted that:

"There was no doubt that in the last twenty five years the impulse had been very strong in the direction of promoting scientific study; there had been the reaction

1. Our emphasis.
2. Resolution of the "Comité" (reported by L. Bérard, op. cit., pp.104-105.
4. Articles in Revue France Ancienne, 1921-1923. Revue France Ancienne is the organ of the "Société des professeurs de français et de langues anciennes".
from the exclusive attention given to classical studies forty or fifty years ago. Various things had tended to promote the study of science to the disadvantage of other studies. The pendulum has swung too far in the direction of scientific study, as against other literary and historical subjects we ought to bear in mind that the same education was not desirable for all, and that everyone's needs ought to be met in the future."

We have seen how Monsieur Beaulavon paid tribute to the "vieille éducation classique", or "old classical education" (vid supra, this chapter). This claim can also be substantiated by acknowledgements made by French writers across past centuries. For example, in the nineteenth century, when considering Latin, Professor Girardin explained that:

"L'élève apprend à écrire en français en traduisant du latin en français: cet exercice de la traduction est le meilleur moyen d'enseigner à l'homme l'art qu'il croit savoir naturellement et qu'il a besoin d'apprendre, l'art d'exprimer sa pensée."  

Bossuet had already made a similar claim in the seventeenth century. He had written that:

"Ce que j'ai appris du style, je le tins des livres latins et un peu des grecs."  


To Ministre Guizot, who instituted the "Ecoles normales" (vid inf. this chapter 6), without Latin and Greek one can only be "a parvenu in matters of intelligence".¹ But Professeur Girardin made the comment that:

"Je ne demande pas à un honnête homme de savoir le latin, il me suffit qu'il l'ait oublie." ²

"I do not expect a well bred man to know Latin, it is enough that he should have forgotten it."²

Further claims have been made in favour of Latin. For example, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Comte de Maistre expressed the view that:

"Rien n'égale la dignité de la langue latine. (...) C'est la langue de la civilisation. (...) Qu'on jette les yeux sur une mappemonde; qu'on trace la ligne où cette langue universelle se tut: -3- là sont les bornes de la civilisation et de la fraternité européenne (...). Le signe européen, c'est la langue latine." ³

"Nothing can be compared to the dignity of the Latin language. (...) It is the language of civilization. (...) Look at the map of the world, draw a line up to where that universal language was spoken: -3- there is the limit of European civilization and brotherhood (...). The European symbol is the Latin language." ⁴

Remy de Gourmont, another nineteenth century author, purported that:

"Le latin, c'est le chien de garde du français." ⁵

"Latin is the watch dog of French language." ⁵

And such a man as Jules Ferry, the father of compulsory education in France (vid supra, chapter 1), feared that:

"Substituer par exemple l'étude de littératures récentes à celle de cette antiquité gréco-romaine dans

"To replace for example the study of recent literatures to the one pertaining to the Greco-Roman

². Marc Girardin (cited by Leon Berard, op. cit., p. 159).
³. Emphasis in original.
laquelle le monde moderne plonge par toutes ses racines (...) ce serait, comme on l'a dit souvent, décapiter l'esprit français." 1

Antiquity in which the modern world run down all its roots (...) would be, as has been often said, to behead French spirit." 1

Furthermore, in 1898, Édouard Herriot, at the time a young teacher, stated in a speech that:

"L'utilité présente des études classiques tient justement de leur apparente -2- nullité." 3

"The actual usefulness of Classical studies pertains precisely to their seeming -2- nullity." 3

a statement which recalls Cyrano's famous remark:

"C'est bien plus beau lorsque c'est inutile." 4

"It is so much nicer when it has no purpose." 4

In that year 1898, Alfred Fouillee warned that:

"Tout ce que l'on entreprend contre le latin, on l'entreprend contre le français." 5

"Everything undertaken against Latin is also undertaken against French." 5

However, all in all, the Bérard Reform was a short-lived attempt to restore a traditional, but somewhat obsolete classicism. 6 Any means designed to implement an extreme measure usually wears off very rapidly so, a change of government having taken place, François Albert, the new Minister of Public Instruction, saw the need for another reform. Ministre Albert introduced it in 1925. He thought that the classical strand could -and- ought to be retained. Président Herriot was in agreement with his Minister. As Édouard Herriot phrased the point:

2. Our emphasis.
"L'enseignement classique conservera sa valeur et son efficacité s'il n'est dispense qu'à ceux qui auront le désir de le recevoir et les aptitudes voulues pour en profiter." 1

"Classical education will preserve its value and efficacy if it is only dispensed to those who will be eager to receive it and who will have the required abilities to benefit from it." 1

The Bérard Reform (1923) was only the penultimate attempt to restore French classical culture on a large scale. At the time of the Vichy Government, the Carcopino Reform (Law of 15 August 1941) imposed Latin on two thirds of pupils, boys and girls alike, in all "Lycées" and colleges 2 ("L'enseignement classique comporte obligatoirement l'étude du latin pendant six années." Article 2). 4

Many a contemporary educationist equate French classical culture with continuity. For example, when, in 1902, Louis Liard addressed the Academic Council, he affirmed:

"Il est deux grands modes de cultures, la culture classique et la culture scientifique. (...) La culture classique qui, en France, est de tradition depuis la renaissance, et qui a été un de nos honneurs, une de nos gloires." 6

Classical culture which, in France, has been traditional since the Renaissance, and which has been one of our honours, one of our glories." 6

Besides, it is claimed that Classical culture is the basis of French literature, of French arts, of French history, and of all national traditions. It is the school of thought, and of the thought that liberate


3. Our emphasis.


5. Our emphasis.

and refines. 1 "Les Compagnons" 2 (vid inf., chapter 4, subsection a) themselves acknowledge that:

"Ce diable de latin est tellement mêlé, et par tant de fibres, à notre substance, que nous ne pouvons nous en déprendre qu'au détriment de notre culture." 3

So much so that, not infrequently, French scholars cannot conceive culture without Classical studies. For example, the Committee of "l'Amicale des proviseurs et directrices des lycées français", or "Association of Headmasters and Headmistresses in French 'Lycées'", has stated that:

"(Ils) refusent d'admettre qu'il puisse y avoir de culture vraiment humaine en dehors des disciplines classiques auxquelles ils gardent un souvenir reconnaissant." 4

A nineteenth century writer had even surmised that:

"Il faut que l'étude des lettres anciennes reste intacte, dû-t-on, pour la sauver, jeter à la mer tout le reste." 5

We must preserve the study of Ancient Letters even if, in order to safeguard it, it is necessary to throw all the rest overboard." 5

The traditional outlook having survived to this day, many a French teacher hold that:

"L'enseignement classique réorganisé d'après les anciennes disciplines qui ont fait leur preuve, -6- est supérieur..." 6

3. Our emphasis.
5. M. de Laprade: L'Education libérale, (1873), Part III, chapter IV.
6. cf., for example, the Bulletin de la Société générale d'Education et d'Enseignement, December 1921.
À l'enseignement moderne, (car) l'enseignement secondaire a pour but la formation désintéressée de l'esprit. 1

is better than a modern type education, (for) the aim of secondary education consists in the disinterested training of the mind. 1

And François Datin, also a firm believer in traditional classical culture, asked:

"Voulons-nous conserver à notre mentalité ses qualités propres? Il faudra toujours en revenir à l'exercice de traduction, à la fastidieuse et surtout dangereuse version latine." 2

"Do we want to retain its genuine excellence in our make-up? It will always be necessary to return to the practice of translating, to return to the tedious and above all awkward, Latin language work." 2

Similarly, to Gustave Monod:

"Rien de plus fort et de plus excitant pour la pensée critique que les vieilles études classiques lorsque le terrain est bon et que l'élève par tempérament et par goût personnel, en saisit l'intérêt." 3

"Nothing better and more exciting for critical thoughts than the ancient Classical studies when the pupil due to his nature and personal taste, grasps the purpose." 3

Another view, expressed more recently by Jean-Pierre Hébert, recalls François Datin's. Jean-Pierre Hébert remarked that:

"Il est des périodes dans le développement intellectuel de l'homme qu'il faut consacrer exclusivement à la formation et non au remplissage de son esprit. (...) Et rien n'est plus propre pour cela que l'exercice de traduction des langues anciennes." 4

"There are periods in the intellectual development of man which we must use exclusively for the training and not for the filling of the mind. (...) And nothing is better fitted for that purpose than the exercise of translating ancient languages." 5

This old belief has, in 1970, survived in a modified form. This shows through Dr. Thimann's comments on Modern Languages. A British writer, he has remarked that:

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2. Ibid., p. 358.


"The O level papers of several boards now offer various options ( ... ), ranging from Latin-type translation lessons, usually defended on account of their 'mental discipline', -1- to those ( ... ) of guided compositions, comprehension questions and a worthwhile oral test."  

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With or without compulsory Latin, until the late nineteen twenties, the statistics show that the number of boys in "Lycées" had merely remained constant, 74,000 in 1930 against 77,000 in 1886 (57,610 boys in November 1906; 4 57,751 in November 1909). This was also confirmed in 1923, by Léon Bérard, then Minister of Public Instruction, who wrote that:

"Il y a chaque année, en France, un nombre à peu près constant d'enfants qui viennent au lycée." 6

Between 1923 when Louis Marin was presiding a Committee, and 1935 when Ministre Berthod made a speech at the specialized press conference, scores of academic schools were facing closure due to the acute shortage of pupils, e.g. Arbois, Lisieux. Such a situation was brought about by a

1. Our emphasis.
5. Ibid., Table II (Appendix II, between pp. 232-33).
steady decrease in the birth-rate, by the slow drift from the land into the cities\(^1\) and, last but not least, by the fact that after 1925, the study of Classical languages had become simply one option\(^2\) among others (cf. the Albert Reform, vid supra, this chapter). However, the challenge of small classes was neither a new one nor confined to the Classical streams. For example, when Alfred Fouillée discussed the problems connected with choosing a Form master, he asked:

"N'a-t-on pas compte jusqu'à douze maîtres pour une classe qui n'avait elle-même que dix élèves?" \(^3\)

"Has it not been known that up to twelve masters taught a form which numbered only ten pupils?" \(^3\)

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Chapter 4. The Recommendations for Educational Reconstruction.

"L'enseignement moyen (...) pose de difficiles problèmes. Et d'abord celui d'une large et complète information des familles, dans un pays où les parents demeurent les responsables de l'avenir de leurs enfants." 1

Subsection a) The "Ecole unique", 2 the Forerunner of Contemporary Reforms.

"La justice sociale, l'efficacité pédagogique, l'évolution économique conduisent ainsi à rassembler (les élèves) dans une même unité scolaire (...). C'est à cette unité scolaire que le projet actuel de réforme de l'enseignement donne, de 11 à 13 ans, le nom d'école moyenne (sc. Middle school A.S.L.)." 3
- Louis Cros, November 1956.

Traditionally the French child had to go to school at six years of age and the parents could opt either for a State school, which was, and still is, free from religious education, or a denominational school, most of which belonged to the Roman Catholic faith (vid inf., chapter 8).

The first five years made up the primary stage at the end of which the pupils pursued their education in different schools. In the words of the Billères Bill:


2. Or: "Same school for everyone" (Michel Vermot-Gauchy: L'Education dans la France de demain, Monaco, 1965, p. 52).

3. Or: "Social justice, educational efficiency, and economic evolution thus lead us to gather together (the pupils) in one school unit (...). It is to this school unit that the present reform bill gives for eleven-to-thirteen year olds, the name 'école moyenne'." (Louis Cros: "Tronc commun ou école unique?", in L'Education nationale, Paris, No. 30, 8 November 1956, p. 4).
"Des l'âge de 11 ans leur sort (sc. des enfants. A.S.I.) est décidé en fonction des critères socio-économiques."  

"From the age of eleven years the (children's) fate is decided according to socio-economic criteria."  

This was already so prior to 1932, when access to the "Lycées" or "Grammar Schools", did not depend upon an entrance examination. Every child's attendance was welcomed provided the registration fees had been paid. The favoured few moved to a "Lycée". This minority comprised a larger percentage of boys than girls for the "Lycées" have largely been single-sexed schools and the number of those allocated to girls has constantly remained lower than the total number made available to boys. For example, in the late nineteen fifties, there were as many as 360 "Lycées" for boys but only 200 for girls. There are, in the Academy of Paris, 121 "Lycées". However, in small towns without a separate "Lycée" for girls, traditionally, the latter have been admitted with the boys. By the early nineteen sixties, one third of the "Lycées" and colleges had become coeducational. The "Lycée" dates back to the Fourcroy Law of 11 Floreal, Year X (2 May 1802), that is to say the Napoleonic era.

Due to the size of the country (France is four times as large as England and Wales) and the low population density (about one quarter the actual figure for England and Wales) over large expanse of south-western


and Central France referred to as "le désert français"\(^1\) or "the French desert", the distribution of the "Lycees" reflected the geographical drawbacks (i.e. the Chenot Commission, vid inf., chapter 13).

To be sure, for the majority there was no choice with regard to education. The last three years preceding the age of 14, which was the Statutory school-leaving age (Law of 9 August 1936), were spent in the "Higher primary school classes" (vid supra, chapter 1).

In the wake of the First World War, a group of young teachers mobilized for military service produced an amazing plan for the reorganization of the French educational system; amazing for, fifty years later, whilst being still thought of as revolutionary by leading French educationists, this new concept was officially introduced in 1959, after years and years of parliamentary debates as will be seen below. In their manifesto\(^2\) published in 1918, "Les Compagnons" suggested a "second cycle" of primary education during which all the pupils between the ages of 11 and 14 would be taught in an "école unique".\(^3\) The pupils would also follow for a minimum of two years a common curriculum based on the local industries, which would take into account whether they were predominantly commercial, agricultural, or industrial.\(^4\)

Basically, "Les Compagnons" were condemning the French class structure.

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The truth of their message had been demonstrated by four years of national humiliation. At the time, Anatole France's views were in agreement with "les Compagnons". They were able to size up the chasm caused by the 1914-1918 world collusion between the pre-war society of "la belle époque" and the weakened French society that would have to meet the challenge of post-war reconstruction. "Les Compagnons" had visualized that:

"L'école unique, c'est l'école primaire pour tous, fils de bourgeois, d'ouvriers ou de paysans (...) devenue la base obligatoire de tout enseignement." 2

Anatole France explained further:

"Il ne convient plus à notre société que l'enfant du peuple aille à l'école primaire et qu'à l'enfant riche soit réservé le lycée (...). Tous iront à l'école primaire. Ceux d'entre eux qui y montreront le plus d'aptitude aux études seront admis à recevoir l'enseignement secondaire qui, gratuitement donné, réunira sur les mêmes bancs l'élite de la jeunesse bourgeoise et l'élite de la jeunesse prolétarienne. Et cette élite versera son élite dans les grandes écoles de science et d'art." 3

The change of attitude had been explained by the Free-Masons at their 1918 "convent". They purported that:

"Il est impossible aujourd'hui au nom de la stricte justice comme au nom des intérêts de la France (...) de refuser, aux fils des soldats citoyens qui ont sauvé la France et la République, l'égalité devant l'instruction (...). À égalité de valeur, le fils du pauvre doit avoir les mêmes possibilités que le fils du riche." 4

1. cf., for example, Claude Digeon: La Crise allemande de la pensée française, (Paris), 1959, pp. 364-83.
Furthermore, Père Dudon expressed the mood of the time:

"Pour les besoins de l'après-guerre, "Owing to the post-war requirements, France must put to use all her children's resources; its recovery depends upon that prerequisite." 1

cette condition." 1

The Berard Reform (1923) did not foster the main principles advocated by "les Compagnons", but the Albert Reform reversed the trend. However, in the following years, Edouard Herriot criticized French secondary education for its narrowness 2 in spite of the recent reforms brought about by Ministre Albert. As early as 1924, Edouard Herriot had given official recognition to the arguments substantiated by "les Compagnons", in forming the "Commission de l'Ecole unique", under the presidency of Ferdinand Buisson. 3 The committee was made aware that the "Ecole unique" was a great democratic symbol. 4 Paul Langevin acted as "rapporteur", or "reporter", of the committee to the Chamber of Deputies. Monsieur Ducos embodied the committee's work in the report which was ultimately submitted to the Chamber of Deputies. 5

At the time, the suspicious accused the State of seeking to establish a monopoly in education, whilst "l'école unique" really meant "the same

3. Article in le Peuple, 8 December 1924.
school for everyone", that is to say "l'école égale pour tous".¹ On the other hand, the supporters who favoured this "école unique" did so for the long-term implications.² By 1931, there was evidence that the relatively new concept was being very seriously considered by Mario Roustan, then Minister of Public Instruction (this Ministry became known as the Ministry of National Education in 1932).³ In the course of a lecture, Ministre Roustan defined his project whereby:

"(Tous les enfants) doivent pouvoir accéder à l'enseignement supérieur quel que soit leur passé, s'ils en ont le goût, s'ils en ont les capacités, s'ils peuvent en tirer profit. Nous sommes persuadés qu'on peut obtenir un résultat sans rien changer à l'organisation actuelle. Ce que nous voudrions introduire dans le système futur, c'est l'harmonie et ce sont les voies de raccords. Nous tiendrons compte de ce qui existe, ce qui facilitera le passage à l'exécution." ⁴

By 1936, a reform on these lines was becoming feasible. Monsieur Bouffet, Secretary General of the "Secondary Education Union of Colleges", was in favour of:

"L'assimilation du brevet supérieur au baccalauréat en vue des examens et concours, en particulier de la licence." ⁵

"(the) parity of the school certificate with the Baccalaureate for entrance requirements to competitive examination and others, in particular for the degree one." ⁵

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¹ Les Compagnons: "L'Université nouvelle", in Les Cahiers de Probus, (Paris), No. 2, July 1919, p. 49.

² cf. for example, Georges Renard: "La Réforme de l'Education nationale", in la France libre, (Paris), No. 307, May 1919, p. 1.


⁵ M. Bouffet's speech, 1936 Congress of College "Professeurs", in Journal des Collèges, March 1936 (cited by Michel Vermot-Gauchy, op. cit., p. 54).
However, the teachers had recently shown their unity and imposed their will by opposing successfully the 1935 Bill which would have allowed pupils in technical schools to sit examinations hitherto reserved to candidates from the "Lycées". The thwarted attempts to reform the educational system were in keeping with a period that has won the country the nickname of "twilight of France". 1

Jean Zay, a Radical who became Minister of National Education in the Popular Front Government, proceeded with an experiment by opening at once "Orientation classes" from which every child would benefit for one year (Order of 22 May 1937, Article 1). 2 The aim of the "Classes d'orientation" consisted in finding the means of selecting pupils on the basis of their aptitudes (Circular-Letter of 7 June 1937). 3 It soon became clear that teachers had to change over to new methods. 4 These teachers needed to be specially equipped by an appropriate training in order to meet the new requirements. Furthermore, it was found that, in practice, the assessment of individual capacities of the pupils could only be done when the classes were limited to not more than twenty five pupils. This figure was not a new-fangled idea. It had in fact been the ideal one ever since Ministre Chaumé specifically instructed the rectors to form teaching units of twenty five or thereabout in his Circular-Letter of 19 July 1902. 5

Again, the "global method" was developed and tested in Brussels schools, whose classes averaged twenty five pupils.\(^1\) Similarly, the "Commission ministérielle d'étude" has stated that each Form "ne devra en aucun cas dépasser 25",\(^2\) or "must never be over twenty five (pupils). (It may be noted that the same figure has been retained in the United States. For example, when Elementary school enrolment reached twenty two millions in 1958, it was deplored that "85 per cent of the nation's classrooms now exceed the ideal limit of twenty five students).\(^3\)

Before Ministre Zay's project lapsed in 1939 by the advent of war, André Delmas, then Secretary General of the "Syndicat national des instituteurs", prophesized that Parliament would take it up by 1950.\(^4\) It did.\(^5\)

The long-term implications have been immense for, if Jean Zay's experiment\(^6\) had originally been confined to fifteen towns, as Brian Holmes has rightly pointed out, Ministre Zay's innovation which will ultimately "delay selection and sharp differentiation, has in fact become central to the plans to reform education in many Western European countries".\(^7\)

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4. André Delmas, in L'Ecole libératrice, (Paris: 94, rue de l'Université), 1 April 1939. L'Ecole libératrice is the weekly organ of the "Syndicat national des instituteurs".

5. vid inf. (chapter 9, subsection a)


A reform based on the principle of the "école unique" would certainly have further extended State control over the existing educational system. "Les Compagnons" realized that:

"La gratuité aura pour conséquence plus ou moins lointaine de concentrer dans les établissements de l'Etat tous les enfants d'origine modeste." 2. "The abolition of fees will result sooner or later in the concentration of all the children of humble extraction into the State institutions." 2.

Among others, Père Dudon feared that even if monopoly was not secured through legislation, the progressive abandonment of the confessional school would bring the same spirit. 3 History has proved him right (cf. Table VI and especially Table XXII).

However, the war and the temporary defeat of France in 1940 led to a reversal of policy, which worked in favour of the Roman Catholic schools. Maréchal Pétain who, from 1934 onwards, had openly attacked secular education became head of the Vichy Government. Under Maréchal Pétain's leadership, for four years the denominational schools enjoyed a revival and in 1941, Jacques Chevalier, 4 then Secretary of State for National Education, even introduced religious instruction as an optional subject into all State Schools 5 (Law of 6 January 1941 6 ). The new policy was enacted in spite

1. Or: "The school will be the same one for all the children" (Henri Wallon: La Réforme de l'enseignement", in Europe, Paris, No.10, October 1946, p.5).


of the ideal upheld by the pre-war Government (and the representative contemporary "anti-clerical deputy whose wife was a devout Catholic and had her daughters educated in a convent", or "député anticlérical dont la femme est dévote et qui fait élever sa fille au couvent")\textsuperscript{2} The R.C. Schools have firmly retained in the post-war period some of the ground gained at the time of the German occupation (cf. Table V).

The first post-World War II Minister of National Education, René Capitant,\textsuperscript{3} "l'enfant terrible du Gaullisme",\textsuperscript{4} formed a "Commission d'études" (Decree of 8 November 1944).\textsuperscript{5} The time was ripe for:

"L'histoire nous montre qu'après les grandes guerres, après les guerres malheureuses surtout, l'attention publique se tourne vers l'éducation." \textsuperscript{6} turns towards education." 6.

And so, we could re-echo Anatole France's\textsuperscript{7} First World War plea in favour of the same education for everyone. He surmised that:

"Après cette guerre monstrueuse, qui en cinq ans a rendu caduques toutes les institutions, il faut reconstruire l'édifice de l'instruction publique sur un plan nouveau, d'une majestueuse simplicité. Même enseignement pour les enfants riches et pauvres." \textsuperscript{8}.

"After this shocking war, which in five years has decayed every institution, it is necessary to rebuild the structure of Public Instruction on a new plan, of a majestic simplicity. The same education for rich and poor children alike." \textsuperscript{8}.

\begin{enumerate}
\item Georges Cogniot, \textit{op.cit.}, p.27.
\item André Siegfried: \textit{Tableau des partis en France}, (Paris, 1930) p. 65.
\item On France-Inter, 8.0 p.m. News Broadcast, 23 May 1970.
\item "Décret du 8 novembre 1944", in \textit{Journal officiel de la République française, Lois et décrets}, (Paris), No.121, 10 November 1944, p.1268.
\item Michel Bréal: \textit{Quelques Mots sur l'Instruction publique en France}, (Paris) 1872, p.2.
\item Anatole France: \textit{La Vie en fleur}, (Paris, 1922), p.89.
\item Our emphasis.
\end{enumerate}
A certain amount of cultural reconstruction is required after a war, for the country involved has to make the necessary adjustments to switch from a wartime to a peacetime "culture." The first attempt to deal with the educational system was made by the commission referred to above, a commission which became known under the names of its successive chairmen, Paul Langevin until 1946 (when he died) and Henri Wallon who, in 1947, submitted the report in its final form. Paul Langevin, Henri Wallon, and Henri Pieron were distinguished professors of the "Collège de France" (vid inf., chapter 8). Professeur Langevin was an outstanding humanist, Messieurs Wallon and Pieron were well-known psychologists. Politically they belonged to the Left, and Professeur Langevin was even a member of the Communist Party.

The members of the commission had to face a situation whereby:

"Après cinq années de léthargie, d'hémorragie, de ruine, il fallait ouvrir la route à suivre pour renaitre à une vie normale." 4. normal life." 4.

Besides, the social structure of France was going to change under the influence of the recent technological developments which were fostering a relatively rapid evolution and fundamental transformations. To name but a few, mechanization, the use of new sources of power, the investments in the means of transport and communications, the concentration of industry,

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4. Jean Carlier, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m.-Broadcast, 16 April 1970. Jean Carlier is Director of R.T.L.'s news-broadcast department.
the increase in production, the spread of primary education have progressively modified living conditions and social organization. In sum, the new needs of the modern economy would impose sooner or later a recasting of the French educational system which was no longer adapted to the prevalent social and economic conditions. Ovide Decroly, the Belgian Educationist who initiated the "Global method", had noted the fleeting nature of education. To Dr. Decroly:

"L'éducation n'a pas plus de raison de rester figée que l'agriculture, l'industrie ou le commerce. L'expérience montre que le milieu physique et social, que les besoins et les conditions de vie changent; il faut par conséquent s'adapter à ces facteurs nouveaux. Les procédés d'éducation doivent évoluer." 3.

After thorough consultations, the Langevin-Wallon Commission were agreed on several important proposals. They advocated:

- to raise the school-leaving age by stages to eighteen (p.13);
- to put on the schools some degree of responsibility for their vocational and professional training (p.16);


6. Page numbers refer to the Report published by the "Ministère de l'Education nationale" (Part II).
- to reform the division of schooling into three stages;
e.g. the "primary cycle" till age eleven (p.14); a four-year period of "orientation" (p.14); followed by the "cycle de determination" in which pupils would opt for one of the courses of special study leading them towards their future occupations (p.15).

Basically, the four-year cycle would be partly made up of teaching subjects common to all pupils. This education would be supplemented by options (p.14); but the Commission thought it important that each school should offer the whole spectrum of options.(p.15).

Heading a consultative commission that had no executive power, Paul Langevin realized that such a total reform could only be implemented by stages. Lucien Febvre, who sat on the Commission, reported that he heard Professeur Langevin saying twenty times:

"On peut concevoir une réforme unitaire de notre enseignement. (...) On y viendra progressivement." 2.

This gradual acceptance is reflected in the landmarks in education between 1950 and 1959. Education remained in the forefront as witnessed by the numerous contemporary bills, laws, projects and reports. There have been:

- 1950 - The Yvon Delbos Bill, or "projet de loi";
The André Marie Law;
The Barange Law;
The Edouard Depreux Project;


3. Victor Le Gorgeu, Chairman of the Commission de l'Equipement scolaire, universitaire et sportif".
- 1953 - The Brunold Project;
The André Marie Project;
The Jean Berthoin Bill;
- 1956 - The René Billères Bill;
- 1959 - The Jean Berthoin Decree.

The Langevin-Wallon Plan was submitted by Henri Wallon to Monsieur Naegelen, the then Minister of National Education, on 19 June 1947. 3

It was so radical and all-embracing that the current reforms are still implementing its recommendations on a piecemeal basis.

Until 1951, the private sector of education, consisting mainly of Roman Catholic schools, received no financial help from the State.

Political pressure culminating in the 1950 campaign organized by Edouard Lizop's "Secrétariat d'études pour la liberté de l'enseignement" resulted in the Marie and the Barrangé Laws. 4 First, after having been debated, the Marie Law was passed on 21 September 1951, notwithstanding Socialist opposition. From then on, pupils in private schools were allowed to compete for State bursaries and scholarships, 5 provided the schools they attended measured up to certain minimum criteria of efficiency.

Then, once the Barrangé Law was passed on 28 September 1951, a payment from the Government was secured for the Catholic Parents' 2

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1. Jean Sarrailh, President of the "Comité d'Etude". M. Faral was its Vice-President.


Association at the nominal rate of 1,000 fr per term (1,400 fr to the £), for children in primary schools.¹ The State subsidy was much needed in order to raise the low salaries of teachers in the denominational schools. This has put an end to the controversy for or against the "répartition proportionnelle scolaire", which proved to be a bone of contention during the inter-war years.²

When the Barange Law was debated, "départements" as indifferent towards Christianity as Yonne backed those in favour of it.³ The Barange Law was passed in spite of the usual hostility from the Radical-Socialists.⁴ It may even be said that, in 1951, the political parties favouring subsidies to non-State schools polled 48 per cent. of the votes cast, the Socialists and Communists polled 41 per cent.⁵ The balance, i.e. 11 per cent., was held by the centre group of Radical-Socialists and their allies. Had this third group voted unanimously in accordance with its traditional radical anti-clericalism, then the secular vote would have been the largest. However, thirteen members of the latter group voted for the subsidies and so the Barange Law was enacted. On the other hand, five years later as the Law was extended until December 1959, the same Radical-Socialists opposed the abolition of this Barange Law; ⁶ a position which can only

⁴. Ibid., p.27.
explain their desire to maintain the "status quo". In the words of Georges Lauré,\(^1\) President of the "Comité national d'action laïque":

"The Barange Law (...) created such an overlapping of interests and habits that when we wanted to abrogate it, we ran up against opposition or reticence which sometimes came from friends of the public schools." \(^2\)

Extended for a further five years, the Barange Law came to an end in 1959, when it was replaced by the Debré Law \(^3\) which safeguarded the existence of the denominational schools as we shall see in the next section (vid inf., chapter 8).

The Depreux Project came out in 1951. It recommended a three-year "orientation" phase (Article 13).\(^4\)

In November 1951, a commission was formed and became officially known as the "Commission de l'équipement scolaire, universitaire et sportif", or "Commission on Educational Equipment". This "Commission Le Gorgeu", from the name of its revered chairman, was going to report on educational equipment.\(^5\) Its terms of reference consisted of forecasting the pupils population, the requirements of teachers and school buildings, and the cost of education.\(^6\)

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\(^1\) Georges Lauré, in L'Enseignement public, No. 7, September 1959, p.7. L'Enseignement public is the monthly bulletin of the "Fédération de l'Education nationales".

\(^2\) Translation from James M. Clark, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 143.


\(^4\) "Le Projet Depreux" (reprinted as Appendix XII to Luc Decaunes and M. Cavalier, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 313-29).


\(^6\) Article in L'Enseignement public, October 1958, p.4.
The report published in 1952,\(^1\) coincided with the growing number in the primary schools, of pupils belonging to the first wave of the enlarged age cohorts.\(^2\) The commission forecast that, by 1956, the primary school population would pass from 4.5 millions to 5.7 millions and that the number of pupils in secondary schools, technical schools, and "Cours complémentaires" would rise from 880,000 to 1,200,000 or more.

Jean Berthoin, the then Minister of National Education, wanted to know the openings which were actually available to school-leavers. In 1954, he formed the "Comité d'étude de la Réforme de l'enseignement" and chose Jean Sarrailh,\(^3\) Rector of the "Académie de Paris", as its chairman.

For the first time, a commission was receiving a concrete preliminary briefing. The aims consisted in:

- arranging sufficient school buildings.
- training the foreseeable required number of teachers "to cater for the increased number of pupils staying beyond the school-leaving age, which had been fixed at 14 years of age by the 1936 Law".\(^4\) (Law of 9 August 1936).

- attracting more pupils in science and technological subjects to a ratio of 5:1 as opposed to the existing one of 3:1; this would naturally take place at the expense of the Humanities.

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M. Faral became Vice-Chairman of the "Comité", when he replaced Jean Sarrailh, who had fallen ill. M. Faral submitted the report to Jean Berthoin on 27 April 1955.

In brief, this commission, composed of members from various walks of life, conveyed in its report that:

- French secondary education was inadequately adapted to the needs of the modern world;
- too many arts students and too few technicians were being formed;
- technical education was not sufficiently esteemed;
- the needs of industry, commerce, and agriculture were being neglected.  

With regard to an "orientation" phase, the recommendation was no more than one year (Article 6).

The following year, René Billères, the then Minister of National Education, submitted some proposals embodying an "orientation" phase also to be of a twelve-month duration. The fate of this Bill will be examined in the next chapter.


In the course of the 1950-1959 decade, Ministers of National Education wanted to reform the educational system. Successively Ministres Delbos (1950), Marie (1953), Berthoin (1955), and Billères (1956) submitted their own bills, everyone of which had been inspired by the Langevin-Wallon Plan. The latter had, in 1947, met with fierce opposition. Basically it was feared that periods of "orientation" and "détermination" would decide a pupil's future irrespective of parental hopes and wishes. Educationists were divided over the issue. Among others:

- a few wondered whether the new organization and methods advocated by reformers would develop perseverance and keenness together with open-mindedness, co-operation, and curiosity;
- many were startled at the idea of putting different humanities on the same footing, and trying to bestow equal respect to all forms of labour;
- some contended that not enough pupils would be taught Latin, or that not enough administrators with a general education would qualify, or that the universities would not be able to cope with the demands for admission.

1. Or: "It is clear that the earlier an orientation of a specializing nature takes place the more will it operate to the advantage of children from the more fortunate social classes, who have got ahead in the understanding of language; so, the earlier it takes place the more will segregation in school reflect a social segregation" (Aurélien Fabre: "Quand se Manifestent les Aptitudes", in L'Education nationale, Paris, No. 15, 26 August 1962, p. 11). Emphasis in original.

On 5 December 1949, Yvon Delbos, then Minister of National Education, submitted his compromise Bill to the "Conseil supérieur de l'Education nationale", or "Supreme Council for National Education". Among the most significant proposals, it was deemed desirable:

- to consider "the place of technical education in the whole (educational system)";

- to promote a reversal of the proportion whereby "at present there are four times as many pupils in academic secondary schools as in technical schools (...) as a means of producing the technicians France so urgently requires";

- to emphasize that "the project is deeply concerned to cut canals linking the streams".

This bill also advocated the guidance phase (Article 4). Besides, as at the time only 23 per cent. of pupils transferred from primary education into secondary proper, it was hoped that from then on, a sizable proportion of pupils would find a place in one of the three sections of secondary education, although it was not underestimated that:

"Ceci suppose un effort considérable de construction, d'équipement et de formation des maîtres."  

"This presupposes a considerable effort in buildings, in equipment, and in the training of teachers."  

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The Delbos Bill was received without much enthusiasm for:
- the "Société des agrégés" objected to it as a threat to culture;
- the Parents' Associations saw in it some undermining of the parental rights or privileges;
- the anti-clerical associations felt that it did not go far enough.

Although a reform had been long awaited and in spite of receiving much support from the teaching profession in the form of extensive coverage in the national press, the Delbos Bill failed to obtain sufficient support from the Deputies when it was finally put to their decision.

André Marie was Minister of National Education in 1953. In November, he sought successively the approval of the five "Councils for education" by submitting to them a bill embodying the careful planning of the educational reforms which the Minister deemed desirable. The reform

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would be based on an "orientation" phase for the first two years of secondary education (Article 11), after which several options would be available. The options would consist of "long" and "short" courses of study (Articles 10, 21, and 22). As is customary in France, the Bill was scrutinized by the "Conseil supérieur de l'Education nationale". This "Supreme Council for National Education" is a composite committee, comprising twenty five members from the Ministry of National Education, twenty five members from the civil service, twenty five teachers, and some other members. In spite of the fact that the "Conseil supérieur de l'Education nationale" was not in favour of the André Marie Bill, the latter was submitted to the Government. The ministerial crisis of June 1954 prevented any further debates.

Jean Berthoin, the new Minister of National Education, introduced in 1955 a bill, which embodied proposals found in earlier projects. Such proposals referred specifically to:

- extending compulsory education, full-time or part-time, up to the age of sixteen years (Article 1);
- establishing a common course of secondary study for a short length of time before optional subjects such as Latin, Ancient History, or Science were introduced (Article 5);
- promoting more bridges between the various types of secondary education (Article 9);

setting up intermediate schools for the "orientation" phase; i.e. from eleven to thirteen years of age (Article 34).

The Berthoin Bill (1955 lapsed with a change of Government in January 1956. 1

In sum, the Marie Bill was not put to the vote of the National Assembly, owing to the June 1954 ministerial crisis, and the Berthoin Bill met a similar fate when, in January 1956, there was a change of Government. These are the reasons why the French educational system failed to derive any immediate benefit from the Fourth Republic's golden age (1953-1955). 2

By 1956 the pressure groups had become aware of the need for some measure of reform in education. For example, at the 1956 Congress of the "Ligue française de l'enseignement", René Billères, then Minister of National Education, made a speech in the course of which he went as far as saying that:

"La misère de l'école est plus profonde qu'on peut couramment l'imaginer. Elle atteint véritablement le degré d'une catastrophe nationale." 3

"The ills of the school (sc. education A.S.L.) are deeper than people currently think. It truly reaches the proportion of a national disaster." 3

At the time, René Billères made an attempt to reorganize both the administration and the structure of French education. In the summer of 1956, he proposed that:

- the school-leaving age be raised to sixteen years as from October 1964 (Article 1);¹

- between the ages of six and thirteen years, all pupils receive the same education. The educational tree would have this "common trunk" before dividing into specialized branches (Articles 6 and 7);

- in these extra two years before going on to a secondary school, the pupils would be guided progressively towards those subjects in which they showed special skill, but the groups of subjects taken would be kept as general as possible so that the parents could exercise their choice of secondary school for the child. The two years were to be a period of "orientation" at the end of which it was expected that the child's interests and aptitudes would be clearer, and the teacher's advice more valid (Articles 6 and 7);

- this intermediate education be given in intermediate or middle schools open to all pupils, who would then go on either to a terminal school for those not intending to stay at school beyond the Statutory school-leaving age, or to a "Collège", that is to say a "High school preparing pupils for industry, commerce, agriculture, and the technical profession", or to a "Lycée". It was hoped that these different schools would wherever possible, be housed in the same building (Article 9);

- bursaries designed to encourage parents to keep their children at school be more numerous and more generous (Article 13);

¹ "Projet de Loi (Rene Billeres) portant prolongation de la scolarité obligatoire et réforme de l'Enseignement public", 1956 (reprinted in Appendix to Luc Decaunes et al., op. cit., pp. 357-90).
- an increased "apprenticeship tax" which would raise an estimated 54,000 million fr annually, cover the increased cost resulting from the new measures for the country's education (Articles 34 and 35).

No doubt several of the intended changes can be traced back to the Langevin-Wallon Plan, but René Billères had very much in mind the report issued by the Le Gorgeu Committee, 1952 (vid supra, chapter 4, subsection b).

Strong opposition to a policy which would affect the "Lycees" came from the "Société des agrégés". This pressure group had already threatened to make full use of its strength in order to oppose successfully the Billères Bill. Opponents felt so strongly against it that at the time they produced their own plan. The criticism was aptly made by Monsieur Arra, a School Inspector. He asked:

"Est-il raisonnable de financer la création des classes moyennes quand, dans la plupart de nos villes, les candidats aux collèges techniques sont refoulés dans les lycées et les cours complémentaires, faute de place?"


To Jacques Ellul, the answer was plain:

"Il faut des techniciens, fabriquons-en. 
(...) Que l'on dise clairement:
1. L'exercice de l'intelligence est prohibé quand il n'a pas un but exclusivement professionnel. 
2. La culture consiste à ingérer ce qui est nécessaire pour tenir un rôle positif dans une société technicienne. 
3. La démocratie consiste à 'faire appel aux enfants des masses populaires' pour en faire les cadres, chercheurs, ingénieurs et techniciens. 
(Citation du rapport Billères.)
Tels sont les principes essentiels de la réforme de l'enseignement." 2.

"Technicians are needed, let us make some. 
(...) Let us say clearly:
1. The exercise of the intelligence is excluded when there is no purely professional aims. 
2. Culture consists in ingesting what is necessary if one is to play a positive rôle in a technical society. 
3. Democracy consists in 'calling on the children of the popular masses' in order to make of them the labour force, research workers, graduates in engineering and technicians. 
(Quotation from the Billères Report)
Such are the essential principles of educational reform." 3.

The Billères Bill was discussed at all levels, i.e. by the "Conseil supérieur de l'Education nationale" in July 1956, 4 by means of an inquiry initiated by a French morning newspaper, whose answers were published between November and December 1956 5 and also, from 1 August 1956 onwards, in the National Assembly's Parliamentary debates. 6 By May 1958, no vote had been taken and within weeks, both the Government and the Fourth Republic came to an end. 7

1. Brackets in original.
5. Ibid., p. 197.
As most other post-World War II studies and proposals for reform, the Billeres Bill recommended an "orientation" period (Article 34).\(^1\)

This was often received with mixed feelings, cf. for example Louis Cros in favour, and Monsieur Marchais against, both papers published in *l'Education nationale*.\(^2\) Louis Cros, Director of the "Institut pédagogique national", asked:

"Les esprits les plus vifs, ceux qui s’orienteront sans hésitations vers le secondaire traditionnel – et plus particulièrement vers l’enseignement classique – doivent-ils être mêlés aux autres pour des matières communes? Toutes les expériences étrangères ou françaises montrent qu’ils n’en tirent aucun désavantage, à condition que les classes soient peu nombreuses, et l’on sait que, dans ce dessein, le projet actuel limite leur effectif à vingt-cinq élèves."\(^4\)

However, at their 1956 A.G.M., the members of the "Association Guillaume Budé" had already asked Jacques Perret to confirm the "Association’s" views with regard to the proposed reforms of the educational system (vid inf., this chapter). The Minister of National Education came under criticisms for having said that:

"Si nous laissons subsister des sixièmes et des cinquièmes dans les lycées, nous n’aurons rien fait."\(^5\)


3. E.g. Ministre Zay’s "Orientation classes" (vid supra, chapter 4, subsection a).


This was rightly interpreted as the intention of changing from a selective system of education to secondary education for all. It led Jacques Perret, Professor at the Sorbonne, to put forward the "Association's" point of view.

He wrote:

"Formerly, we had been explained that, as opposed to any hereditary system, any plutocratic privileges, any bureaucratic discretion, examinations, competitive ones and others, constituted the best guarantee of human rights and, in a democratic society, the best means of putting every man into the right employment. Quite frankly we believed it. (...) In any case, nothing better has been as yet found." 1.

Nevertheless, we shall see that the "common curriculum" for all advocated by the two Left-wing psychologists who directed the first post-World War II commission, was going to be gradually implemented throughout the nineteen sixties.

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Chapter 6. The Professional Standing and Training of the French "Professeur"?

"Il faut avoir, avec une singulière fraîcheur d'esprit, une grande force de volonté, et n'être pas trop tourmenté par le besoin d'argent, pour continuer à se cultiver, quand on est professeur."

- Les Compagnons, July 1919.

A sociological enquiry has revealed that 61 per cent. of Liberal Arts students intended to teach. Similarly, there is evidence that secondary school pupils consider that teaching is a worthwhile career. For example, when, in 1970, the "Office national d'information sur les enseignements et les professions" took the initiative of sending to every Baccalaureate candidate a form related to their future, about 10,000, that is to say 1 in 4 of those returned, referred to teaching. Youngsters visualize teaching as:

"Un métier de tout repos, bien payé, avec des vacances, pas de travail ou peu s'en faut."  

"A perfectly safe, well-paid occupation, with holidays, and involving hardly any work."  

French research workers have also noted that:

"La carrière de professeur bénéficie d'un certain prestige en particulier dans la classe populaire. Elle représente, en outre, une garantie d'emploi." 

"Teaching as a career enjoys a certain status particularly among the working class. Furthermore, it benefits from security of tenure." 

1. Or: "To pursue his own culture, a teacher must have with a peculiarly fresh mind, a tremendous will-power, without too much suffering from the urge of money" (Les Compagnons: 'L'Université nouvelle', in Les Cahiers de Probus, Paris, No. 2, July 1919, p. 217).


3. On Europe-1, 8.0 a.m. - News-Broadcast, 18 July 1970.


In 1959, the "Collèges du second degré" were renamed "Lycées" (Decree No. 59-57, Article 23).¹ Prior to that reform, the "Lycée" teachers were more experienced and better qualified than those teaching in the "Collèges du second degré".

In the "Lycées", they were either "agrégés" or "titulaires",² whereas in the "Collèges du second degré", they were either "licenciés" or "délégués", young graduates serving their apprenticeship. On completion of their probationary period in a "Collège du second degré", the best teachers were transferred to the "Lycées".

The primary-school teachers are trained in "Ecoles normales", or "Teacher-training colleges", which were instituted by the Guizot Law, 1833. This law compelled the "départements" to train their teachers locally. Article 11 states that:

"Tout département sera tenu d'entretenir une école normale primaire." ³

"Every 'département' must maintain a teacher-training college." ³

The French "Ecoles normales" are monotechnic institutions which, traditionally, have accepted pupils from the "Ecoles primaires supérieures" who, until World War II,⁴ sat the examinations for the "Brevet élémentaire" at about sixteen years of age (vid supra, chapter 1). The Vichy Regime passed the Law of 18 September 1940, whereby the "instituteurs", or "primary-school teachers", would from then on, undergo the usual secondary

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education culminating in the Baccalaureate, followed by a course of professional training lasting only one year for a few, but generally two years.\(^1\) The result is that, by 1962, over one in three of the places was taken up by candidates coming from the "Lycées".\(^2\) The students attend the nearest "Ecole normale" in their "département" and selection depends upon undertaking to teach for ten years in the training area. After a probationary period, the primary-school teachers are appointed to permanent posts\(^3\) but, in case of a breach of contract, they are liable for paying back part of the cost of their studies.\(^4\) In England, an enquiry has shown that in industrial areas about 80 per cent. of teachers accept an appointment in the area where they were born.\(^5\)

At the time of the May 1968 student unrest, there was a train of thought in favour of dispensing with the "Ecoles normales", in which case all trainee-teachers would have been receiving a university education. At their 1970 Congress, the delegates of the "Syndicat national des Instituteurs" were agreed on a three-year training period, in accordance with the recommendations submitted by their working party in 1969-1970. The first two years would have constituted a stage leading to a Diploma, the last year being devoted to specialization. However, there was not a consensus of opinion with regard to the Implementation of a reform.

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4. Information obtained by the author at the "Ecole normale d'instituteurs" (Douai) in the course of a private communication (May 1966).

The majority of teachers, that is to say 51.99 per cent. forming the "autonomous" faction, wished to retain the "Ecoles normales", whilst the Communists who regrouped 36.38 per cent., were in favour of a university education for all French teachers. This was in keeping with the decision whereby, in 1965, public opinion decisively rejected the idea of a two-year, shortened degree course, which might well have produced the kind of teachers able to educate, for example, any ability group as found in the polyvalent "C.E.S.s". With regard to the structure of the profession, there were in 1965, as many as 68 per cent. of the primary-school posts held by female-teachers in France. In the U.S. it has also been noted that "women constituted ninety three per cent. of its primary teachers and sixty six per cent. of its secondary teachers" in 1953. The latter figure was roughly twice as large as the French and the British ones.

In comparison with their primary-school colleagues, the secondary-school teachers receive a much longer and quite different training. All secondary-school teachers have to obtain their Baccalaureate and study for the "Licence", or Degree, in the university faculties, now reorganized in "U.E.R.s". Having been awarded the "Licence d'enseignement", or B.Ed., the "licencié", or graduate, can be appointed to a "Lycée" as a teacher in his subject. For an appointment to a permanent post at a "Lycée", further study and the additional qualification of "Agrégation" have traditionally been necessary. The "Agrégation" is a severe competitive State

examination\(^1\) (Statute of 23 July 1896).\(^2\) Only a limited number of candidates are allowed by the State to receive the "Agrégation", in relation to the number of vacancies in "Lycées".

"A 'professeur' in a 'Lycée' or collège is as much a 'professeur de l'Université' as a professor at the Sorbonne", the Kirkman Report runs.\(^3\)

But, some time ago, the "Comité national des candidats" surmised that:

"Il n'y a pas en France des 'professeurs du second degré'."\(^4\) "In France there are not 'secondary teachers'."\(^4\)

This is reflected in the factions supporting the various unions. Among others, there are the "S.N.E.S." ("Syndicat national de l'enseignement secondaire), the "S.G.E.N." ("Syndicat général de l'éducation nationale"), the "S.N.A.L.C." ("Syndicat national des lycées et collèges"), and the "C.N.G.A."\(^5\) ("Confédération nationale des groupes autonomes").

The "Comité national des candidats" have explained that secondary teachers belong to over twenty different categories, each of which with its own salary scale.\(^6\) The agrégés, who hold the best academic qualification,\(^7\) form the uppercrust of the profession with the certifiés, the graduates who have obtained the "C.A.P.E.S."\(^8\) ("Certificat d'aptitude

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au professorat de l'enseignement secondaire). Among others, there are also the maîtres auxiliaires who have completed only a part of their academic and professional training; the professeurs de C.E.G., recruited from among the primary-school teachers and whose appointment depends upon an extra year training; the professeurs d'enseignement général who teach in "C.E.G.s" although their status equates with the primary-school teachers; the professeurs techniques adjoints, or assistant teachers of crafts, and finally, although the "Comité's" list is not exhaustive (i.e. charges d'enseignement, the former unqualified teachers who have passed an exam after having taught for five years or longer); the professeurs d'enseignement technique théorique, or teachers in the theory of crafts.

Commenting on the French secondary teacher, Alan Day, Professor of Economics, wrote that:

"The status and salary of a teacher in a (...) French 'lycée', with (its) very high intellectual standards for a limited number of pupils, are remarkably high." 3.

With regard to the teacher/pupil ratio, Olivier Guichard, then Minister of National Education, claimed that in 1969 there were:

- 18 pupils per teacher in the "Lycées" as opposed to 17 in 1968 (cf. Table XLI);
- 13 pupils in the "C.E.T.s", or Technical colleges;
- 19 pupils in the "C.E.G.s" (cf. Table XLI).


5. Ministre Guichard, on Europe-1, 7.0 p.m. - Live-Broadcast, 10 April 1970.
However the salary differences are the most striking. In State schools, the teachers' salaries are paid by the State, all personnel being civil servants (i.e. "Le présent statut s'applique aux personnes qui, nommées dans un emploi permanent, ont été titularisées dans un grade de la hiérarchie des administrations centrales de l'Etat." Order in council of 4 February 1959. Article 1). The basic scale for primary-school teachers in France was £ 940 rising to £ 1,790. But the graduate teachers with the "C.A.P.E.S." or "Certificat d'aptitude au professorat de l'enseignement secondaire", were receiving £ 1,050 rising to £ 2,470. The elite among the teachers, the "agréés" started at £ 1,340, the upper end being £ 3,180 a year. A comparative study has confirmed that the higher the status of the teaching profession the better the pay of teachers in relation to the "per capita" income in their country. In 1949, the French teachers' average annual salary stood in a ratio of 5.1 to the "per capita" income; the comparable figures were 4.7 in the West German Republic; 3.6 in Sweden; 3.2 in Denmark; 3.1 in Italy, 2.5 in England, and 1.9 in the United States, although the American teachers lived better in absolute terms than their European counterparts.

Overtime which, in French secondary education, is extensive, has gained official recognition in 1947 (Decree No. 47-102). But when, in 1963, secondary school teachers decided to stop overtime work, they had the support of the "Fédération nationale des associations de parents d'élèves". It mentioned "l'importance considérable de ces heures qui représentent environ 25% de l'horaire global du second degré", or "the considerable amount of this overtime which add up to some 25 per cent. of the hours worked in secondary education".

The salary structure is reinforced by rigid demarcation. The graduate teacher, or "professeur", teaches only in a "Lycée". The non-graduates, teachers with the Baccalaureate and two years' training, are kept to primary schools though, with an extra year's training, they are allowed to teach in the "C.E.G.s" where, in 1969, the salary ranged from £ 990 to £ 1,900. Every year, increments are only available to a fraction of the teaching force, for they depend on the reports of the Inspectors General on individual teachers' capabilities. It has been acknowledged that in practice, inspectors could not see the teachers more often than once every four years, which has been considered insufficient.

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6. Information obtained by the author at the "Ecole Painlevé" (Douai) in the course of a private communication (May 1966).

French teachers are civil servants. Consequently they are appointed by the Minister of National Education. The result is that this Ministry employs more civil servants (52 per cent.) than all the other ministries put together (48 per cent.). From 1967 onwards, the Ministry of National Education has recruited a minimum of 45,000 civil servants per year, a figure which represents almost half of the total number obtaining the Baccalaureate in the appropriate sections. At the time of the draft for the Sixth Plan (1971-1975), Ministre Guichard was wondering whether the country could afford to channel into teaching such vast numbers of well-qualified people, who would therefore be diverted from industry.

When he announced the 1969 "F.E.N." Congress, James Marangé, its President, stated that, with 450,000 members, the "Fédération de l'Éducation nationale" grouped 80 per cent. of the French teaching force. In the "F.E.N.", members identify readily with the working class, due to the humble social origins, the modest salaries, and the "unremitting toil of the elementary teachers." The powerful "F.E.N." was founded in 1948 by unions which split off from the "C.G.T." ("Confédération générale du travail", equivalent to the British "T.U.C."), because these union members considered that the Communists had taken it over and were using the "C.G.T." purely for their own ends.

The "F.E.N." is made up of some thirty six unions but the main pillars are the "S.N.I.", or "Syndicat national des instituteurs", the "S.N.E.S.", or "Syndicat national de l'enseignement secondaire", and the university teachers' unions, the last two being once more controlled by their Communist majority. The "S.N.I." Membership amounts to 305,000 (177,000 in 1956), two thirds of whom are women. It groups 80 per cent. of the total number of French "instituteurs" and "institutrices", the primary-school teachers.²

Twenty years after the inception of the "F.E.N.", the "autonomous" faction have managed to retain the majority, although in the crucial poll they have only won 52 per cent.³ of the votes, as against 56 per cent. in 1969 (62.5 per cent. in 1967). The constitution of the "F.E.N." embodies a declaration claiming that:

"The defence of the educational system and its personnel is inseparable from the general action of the working class." (Article 2).

As Francois Goguel, Professor at the "Institut d'Etudes politiques", has expressed it:

"The F.E.N. has intellectualized a complete proletarian ideology with which it would like to lead the working class." ⁵

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1. On France-Inter, 8.0 p.m. - News-Broadcast, 4 July 1970.
5. Professeur Goguel (interview by James Clark, op. cit., p. 36).
Whilst in the "F.E.N." the vocabulary of struggle persists, the members primarily visualize their rôle as putting their faith in gradual ameliorations won through all the techniques available to a union within a democratic system. In the course of a speech, Denis Forestier, Secretary General of the "Syndicat national des instituteurs", rallied to the view held by the majority when he declared:

"Nous ne sommes pas révolutionnaires, nous sommes des réformistes convaincus." 2.

In the wake of the recent reforms, French schools still have headmasters and hierarchies of teachers, each guarding and despising those below, and despising simply, but richly, those above. The reforms have left a teaching profession deeply divided into sub-groups with different hours of work, separate unions, and even different salary scales. For example, the "Comité national des candidats" worked out the pay of different types of teacher. For a similar working life-span, and pre-supposing an identical number of teaching hours, four teachers sharing a given amount of salary, the "Comité" claimed that: 41.6 per cent. would go to the "agréé"; 25.5 per cent. to the "certifié"; 20.7 per cent. to the "adjoint d'enseignement"; the Scale 3 "maître auxiliaire" (all terms defined above, this chapter) receiving only 12.2 per cent. This


prevalent situation has pervaded for some considerable time the goodwill between teachers and their employer. Philip Williams has surmised that:

"Three issues were involved simultaneously: the 18th-century conflict between rationalism and Catholicism, the 19th-century struggle of democracy against authoritarian government, and the 20th-century dispute between employer and employed." 1

Conclusions.

In France, Public Instruction which gained full recognition when the Law of 28 March 1882 was enacted (vid supra, chapter 1), did not promote the democratization of the French "intellectual culture" within the following fifty years, for the statistics show that the number of boys in "Lycées" remained constant, 74,000 in 1930 as opposed to 77,000 in 1886 (vid supra, chapter 3, subsection b). This situation prevailed in spite of the fact that the Decrees and Orders of May 1902 had widened the spectrum of studies by offering a "Modern Baccalaureate" on a par with the Classical one (vid supra, chapter 3, subsection b).

With regard to the traditional Classical culture, for half a century, Ministers of Public Instruction and National Education were going to make theirs a stop-and-go policy, successively phasing in and out reforms for and against Classical studies alternating with "Orientation classes", e.g. the Bérard Law of 1923 and the 1941 Carcopino Reform illustrate the former, the Jean Zay's "Orientation classes" in 1937 and the Berthoin Decree in 1959 with regard to the latter.

The body politic of the Fourth Republic was prevented from bringing about reforms in the educational system by the various pressure groups holding different views. They had failed to form a working majority for a sufficient length of time as witnessed by the June 1954 ministerial crisis at the time of the Fourth Republic's golden age (1953-1955, vid supra, chapter 5).

PART II - THE REFORMS OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM UNDER THE FIFTH REPUBLIC.

"Vous le savez: les choses que nous avons le plus désirées se produisent rarement à l'époque où elles nous seraient complètement plaisir. Elles arrivent trop tard; ou bien elles se présentent dans des conditions qui leur enlèvent une bonne part de leur charme." 1.
- Jules Romains, in Paris-Soir, 6 December '38.

Introduction to PART II.

- Roger Martin du Gard, 1922.

In PART I, we have seen how French secondary education was reformed in the early years of this century (chapter 2) and that further reforms were implemented in the nineteen twenties (chapter 3, subsection b). It has also become clear that, after World War II, the constituents embodied in the new Constitution the concept of equality of access to education for all French children regardless of their socio-economic background.

At the time, the many political ideologies were represented by an ever growing number of political parties, which frequently failed to obtain a working majority or whenever they have done, they did not succeed in

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1. Or: "You know that the things we have most longed for rarely occur at the time when they would fill us with pleasure. They happen too late; or else they take place under circumstances which rob them of much of their allurement" (Jules Romains, reprinted in Cela Dépend de Vous, Paris, 1939, p. 67).

2. Or: "Willpower! (...) The Thibaults have willpower. And that is why the Thibaults can tackle everything. Pulling ahead of others! Imposing themselves!" (Roger Martin du Gard: Le Pénitencier, 1922, chapter VIII, p. 191).

3. Or: "We are not idiots, and, as you got in and ranked third, why couldn't you, in working hard, finish up by ranking first?" (Roger Martin du Gard: Jacques Thibault, Paris, 1946, p. 167).
maintaining themselves in power for a sufficient length of time in order to implement a reform, which would have far reaching implications. Had they done so, they might have fundamentally re-structured the French educational system: this was going to be the task of their successors. Consequently, we first see (Section A) that, with the support of the new Constitution, President de Gaulle was going to change completely secondary education (chapter 7), with a series of reforms (chapter 8), and how the latter have been implemented (chapter 9).

This was the first serious attempt to create the "école libératrice",\(^1\) which would adapt the educational system to the needs of a country which had been witnessing a fast developing industrialism with the result of economic expansion and its implications (chapter 10). It was realized that expansion within what Lewis Mumford termed the "neotechnic"\(^2\) era, was dependent upon an ever-growing number of employees with a high Terminal Education Age (chapter 11). But, as educationists throughout the western World in general, and Jean Floud in particular, have found that social class had a "profound influence on the educability of children",\(^3\) we shall look at "Today's French Society" (chapter 12) and, before examining the set-up of higher education in Section B, we end by discussing some of the factors, e.g. geographical distribution of schools, financial implications of education, etc., which act as a barrier against the furtherance of upward mobility by means of the democratization of secondary education

1. \textit{L'Ecole libératrice} was the title chosen in 1929 by the "Syndicat national des instituteurs" for their organ.


Among these factors, the debate over the desirability of Latin as the basis for full secondary education and that it should be taught as early as possible, affords an excellent illustration of the dichotomy in education between those who favour changes under the pressure of the demands emanating from the national economy and the faction who, on the other hand, uphold the traditional outlook, doing their utmost to impose the "status quo" (chapter 13).

In Section B, after being acquainted with, first, the University faculties (chapter 14) and secondly, with the 1968 student unrest (chapter 15), we shall see that, to the French, the surest way to adapt their higher education institutions to the requirements of the "nouvelle société" simply consisted in disposing of the traditional structure, e.g. the established university faculties and the men controlling their functioning. This is exactly what had happened to the first cycle of secondary education over the 1959-1964 period. On the strength of that experiment, the Ministry effectively dealt with the situation, for it had obtained the support of the Deputies who, almost unanimously, voted the Minister's "Law of Orientation", 1968 (chapter 16). With sixty four "U.E.R.s" which would, broadly speaking be spread over the whole country, thirteen of them being clustered within the Paris region (chapter 17) and, furthermore, the principle of autonomy whereby the "professeurs" have gained greater control over higher education leads us to examine whether there are as yet, outward signs which indicate that they will ultimately succeed in meeting the educational challenge (chapter 18).

In Section C, chapter 19 brings out the reasons why further reforms
are deemed necessary, whilst chapter 20 provides some indications of the value attached to "training throughout life" and how the French Government sets out to give "a second chance"\(^1\) to every French worker in the course of the nineteen seventies.

\(^1\) cf., for example, Ministre Fontanet (reported in Le Monde, Paris, No. 8208, 5 June 1971, p. 13).
"The problem of educational reform in France is delicate and fascinating precisely because the French educational heritage is a rich one, and the problem is one of conservation as well as innovation."

- Professor Frankel, 1971.

Throughout the Fourth Republic, French academic secondary education remained largely fossilized owing to several contributory factors such as the social ineptitude of teaching staff (vid inf., chapter 15); the traditional class stratification, partly due to the survival of the dynamic élite; and also to a greater or a lesser degree the trend towards overspecialization.

In the autumn of 1958, the Deputies voted in favour of the Fifth Republic and for Charles de Gaulle as President. As the new National Assembly did not meet for several months, Président de Gaulle and his


2. Or: "To decide what a man will be or will not be capable of, according to his promising deeds, the outward signs, and his abilities, is a self-gratifying infatuation which I avoid. There are already so many examinations, which mislead us over a person's worth" (cited by Jean Vial, in "L'Examinite", L'Education nationale, Paris, No. 15, 23 April 1964, p. 17).


Ministers governed by decrees in compliance with the new Constitution (Articles 34, 37, 38). This enabled the French Cabinet to initiate the Berthoin Reform, by issuing on 6 January 1959 Decree No. 59-57.

The Government's political decision was going to have implications for the educational system. First, from 1967 onwards, the Statutory school-leaving age would be raised from fourteen to sixteen years (Order in Council of 6 January 1959, Article 1). However, the inadequate financial investment in school building has delayed widespread compulsion owing to the shortage of school places. Besides, in the middle nineteen sixties, the Fifth Plan (1966-1970) acknowledged that, considering the limited teacher supply, the extension of compulsory attendance to sixteen years of age would not be effectively enforced until 1972. But the amount of financial resources devoted to education has also hampered progress. As Pierre Daumard has asserted:

"L'allongement obligatoire de la scolarité est une mesure lourde de conséquences pour l'Etat, ce qui explique d'ailleurs les difficultés qu'il rencontre." 6.

"The statutory lengthening of education is a measure whose implications (weigh) heavily on the State, which explains consequently the difficulties it encounters." 6.

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1. Ibid., pp. 432-33.
Through his 1959 measures, Jean Berthoin had also decreed that:
- for the first two years, all pupils will undertake an "observation" phase, or "cycle d'observation" (Article 2);¹
- on completion of primary education at eleven years of age, pupils will transfer without having to sit any examination to a "Lycée", or "Collège d'enseignement technique" (Junior high comprehensive school), or a "Collège d'enseignement général" (Article 6);
- the first term of the "observation" period will be devoted to consolidating the pupils' knowledge after which they will then opt for classical or modern studies, making a choice which may be revised at the end of the first year (Articles 9, 12);
- at the end of the first two years the guidance council of the school will recommend the child for "long" or "short" general education, or for "long" or "short" technical education, and for certain courses within these general types of study (Articles 22, 28);
- the new "C.E.G.s", or "Collèges d'enseignement général", will offer a secondary education, although they remain under the control of the Primary Education Branch in the Ministry (Article 53);
- besides, as from the 1960-1961 academic year, the State, the "departements", and the municipalities will make grants to pupils from low-income families to cover the cost of clothes, books, or boarding fees in all educational establishments other than primary schools.

Ministre Berthoin promulgated these new measures within the context of other means of determination to restore the unity and strength of France through austerity, constitutional reforms, and technical development. At the time, Jean Berthoin claimed that the 1959 Reform would

have a unifying effect on the teaching profession and also on the first cycle of secondary studies. For example, when referring to the syllabi of the "observation" phase, he surmised that:

"C'est dans cette harmonisation concrète que se trouve la clé majeure -- et la plus simple -- de toute réforme." 1.

However, the new reform was still bitterly objected to by some pressure groups. For example, as they wished to remain faithful to their policy which currently opposed any dilution of "Lycée" courses, the Société des agrégés deplored a common curriculum even for a three-month period. This period was introduced in accordance with Articles 9 and 12 (Decree No. 59-57, 2 vid supra, this chapter). At the time, Messieurs Majault and Guillemoteau discussed the new "observation" cycle for pupils of eleven to thirteen years of age. They contended that:

"Les élèves de ce cycle (sc. d'observation A.S.L.) ne seront nullement réunis dans des établissements spéciaux. C'est dans l'établissement scolaire qui les reçoit normalement (lycée, cours complémentaires, classe primaire de fin d'études) -3- que les enfants seront constamment observés en vue de leur orientation." 4.

Here, the writers were still referring to the "Cours complémentaires", which had been renamed "Colleges d'enseignement général" in accordance

3. Brackets in original.
with Decree No. 59-57 (Article 53). We have already seen that these "Cours complémentaires" had had a long history with regard to catering for able pupils in the primary schools and providing within these schools after the age of eleven a four-year course of general education going beyond the compulsory leaving age (vid supra, this chapter and, especially, chapter 1). From 1959 onwards, both types of institution would offer the two-year "observation" phase (Article 2). Decree No. 59-57 has therefore rung the death knell of the primary school competitive examinations which used to select pupils for the "Lycées" or the "Cours complémentaires"; the changeover due to the reform can be illustrated by Chanoine Tiberghien's striking metaphor:

"Ni pêche à la ligne, ni pêche au filet: changer l'eau du vivier." 3

"Neither fishing with a rod, nor fishing with a net; (but) changing the pond's water." 3

With regard to the "observation" phase, a new post was created on 25 May 1960. Called Directorate General of School Organization and Programmes, the responsibility spread over the primary, secondary, and technical branches of the Ministry of National Education. Soon after being appointed Director General, Lucien Paye explained that:

"Le rôle de la nouvelle direction générale de l'organisation et des programmes scolaires: Rôle dynamique, cette direction générale doit coordonner l'action des trois directions anciennes sans les supprimer. Il n'y aura plus, dans les perspectives de la réforme, un enseignement qui se limiterait au premier degré (sc. primary A.S.L.) ou un enseignement technique autonomes; il y aura, entre les trois, collaboration étroite et constante osmose. (...) L'action de celle-ci (sc. la direction générale A.S.L.) sera déterminante dans la mise en place du cycle d'observation et d'orientation. 1. Elle aura en particulier la responsabilité de la carte scolaire." 2

As this Directorate enjoyed a key position for a mere couple of years, the multiple goal Lucien Paye had set himself, e.g. instituting the "observation" phase, siting the new schools in accordance with the "Carte scolaire" enacted in July 1960 (Decree of 11 July 1960) and, above all, phasing out the sharp split between primary and secondary education, could not possibly be achieved in so short a time. From March 1964, a new Secretary General has presided over the seven different Directorates of French National Education.

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In a society imbued with the Cartesian tradition whose academic pursuit, e.g. the Classical culture, has been for so long the order of

1. Our emphasis.


Table I showing by percentage the Terminal education age according to the father's socio-economic group in 1961, up to 23 years of age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Managerial and professional</th>
<th>White collar workers</th>
<th>Small business and trade</th>
<th>Industrial workers</th>
<th>Agricultural workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 94</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the day, the aim to "serve man" is of singular importance. It will involve a serious re-orientation of behaviour whose sociological import will be immense. But, an enquiry of the "I.F.O.P.", or "French Insitute of Public Opinion", has confirmed that, in 1961, there was still a correlation between the age at which a youngster ended his studies and his father's occupation (cf. Table I). These percentages suggested that the most vital needs of the Fifth Republic was still the broadening of the social basis of secondary education for, in 1946, the Constituents of the Fourth Republic unanimously agreed that:

"La Nation garantit l'égal accès de l'enfant et de l'adulte à l'instruction, à la formation professionnelle et à la culture."2

"The Nation secures equal access for children and adults to education, to professional training, and to culture." 2

The reform had primarily been initiated with a view to fostering this very aim. This relatively new concept would have been utterly foreign to the late eighteenth-century outlook of the French revolutionaries as shown in the following excerpt of a contemporary discussion. Monsieur Treilhard, a member of the Council of State, explained that:

"Celui qui a donné à un enfant une éducation brillante et distinguée, paraît avoir contracté l'obligation de lui laisser au moins des aliments: cette jurisprudence a toujours été celle des tribunaux. Ce n'est pas par son choix que l'enfant est sorti de la simplicité de son premier état, et a été rendu incapable de travaux grossiers et pénibles." 3

"He who has given to the (adopted) child a brilliant and distinguished education seems to have undertaken the obligation of leaving him at least an allowance: this has always been the opinion of the courts. It is not by his choice that the child has emerged from the simplicity of his original state and has been made incapable of rude and painful work." 4


This view expressed by a trained lawyer, one of the fathers of the French Civil Code, survived well into the nineteenth century. For example Adolphe Thiers,\(^1\) the Statesman, declared that:

"L'instruction est suivant moi un commencement d'aisance -2- et (...) l'aisance n'est pas reservee a tous. Je suis hardi, tres hardi, j'en conviens: mais que voulez-vous; je considere les choses telles qu'elles existent: je ne puis consentir a laisser mettre du feu sous une marmite sans eau!" \(^3\)

"Education is according to me the beginning of affluence -2- and (...) affluence is not for everybody. I am bold, indeed I am, I admit: but there it is; I look at life as it is: I cannot allow a fire to be lit under an empty saucepan!" \(^3\)

Adolphe Thiers's statement illustrates a position firmly opposed to widespread compulsory education, yet, Ministre Ferry's comprehensive body of educational laws was enacted within the next two generations... (vid supra, chapter I).

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| It soon became apparent that the success of the 1959 reform was itself dependent upon the availability within easy travelling distance, of the whole spectrum of educational options. Two measures were taken by the Government. As from 28 September 1959, Decree No. 59-1135 promoted the organization of "school transport". The effect of the reform, it was believed, would be felt more rapidly and on a wider scale. The "ramassage scolaire", or "school transport", was extended further in 1961. |
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\(^1\) Minute of the Commission's meeting, 10 January 1849 (published by Georges Chenesseau, in La Commission extra-parlementaire de 1849, Paris, 1937, pp. 30-33).

\(^2\) Emphasis in original.

\(^3\) Emphasis in original.

Table II showing the growing importance of school transport in France.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1966</th>
<th>1972 (estimated)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of pupils</td>
<td>58,000</td>
<td>580,000</td>
<td>1,100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total cost per pupil (average)</td>
<td>172 fr</td>
<td>328 fr (1965)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

by Decree No. 61-189, to the pupils of the Classical streams, the Modern studies, as well as the Technical ones (Article 1). From then on, local communities have been allowed to finance 35 per cent. of the cost (Article 1), the State subsidy being 65 per cent. (Article 2). In a further attempt to reduce the differential affecting country children, Ministre Guichard has announced that, as from 1973, the State subsidy for the school transport would be increased. In 1962, the State-subsidized school transport was extended to the pupils of every maintained and controlled R.C. school.

School transport, whose development was rapid (cf. Table II), fostered the 1959 reform. So did another measure, which consisted in forming an "ad hoc" committee for the areal distribution of school buildings. The "Commission nationale de la Carte scolaire", or "National School Plan Commission", was constituted in 1960 by the Ministry of National Education, in accordance with the regulations of 11 July 1960. The new committee also took over the planning of school transport (Article 1). It has been surmised that:

"Ce nouvel instrument a été imposé par le fantastique développement récent des besoins en matière de constructions scolaires, besoins qui ne pouvaient recevoir un début de satisfaction que dans le cadre général d'une politique de planification à l'échelon national." 5

"This new tool has been imposed by the tremendous recent development of the needs with regard to the school buildings, needs which could only be at first partly satisfied within the general framework of a planning policy on a national scale." 5


2. Ministre Guichard's speech, 10 June 1972 (reported on Europe 1, 7.30 a.m. - News-Broadcast, 11 June 1972).


Table III showing the father's socio-economic group of certain pupil obtaining their Baccalaureate for selected years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's socio-economic group:</th>
<th>1939</th>
<th>1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Office clerks</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans and tradesmen</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial workers</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table IV showing the percentages of pupils transferring into each type of post-primary school, 1960-1961.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of institution</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1961</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;C.E.G.s&quot;</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Lycées&quot; (classical and modern)</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>43.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical &quot;Lycées&quot;</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private schools</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The new measures, it was hoped, would speed up the process whereby pupils from less prestigious classes as well as the more prestigious classes were obtaining their Baccalaureate in greater numbers than ever before (cf. Table III) for, if "fortune is hereditary, intelligence is not", a concept which formed the theme of one of Emile Augier's nineteenth-century plays.¹ It is, of course, not surprising to find such a theme in a play considering that, as Dr. Douglas has remarked:

"Since the time of the French Revolution, it has seemed natural to the French to turn to professors and literary men not only for the expression but even for the enactment of their political ideals." ²

At the time, diverse pressure groups were holding a somewhat mitigated view with regard to the educational reform. This came to light in the course of a large, well-structured inquiry³ undertaken by Jean Guilhem. Although the "Union nationale des étudiants de France" (vid inf., chapter 18) was in favour of an "Ecole unique" from 11 to 15 years of age because they believed it was the only means ultimately leading to a real democratization throughout the educational system, this pressure group drew attention to the ill-effect of having a multiplicity of institutions, such as "Lycées", "C.E.G.s", and " Transitional classes" in primary schools. Their point of view soon gained increased support when further findings from Alain Girard's research (vid supra, chapter 1) were published. The extended study aimed at probing the pupils' transfer from primary school to secondary education (cf. Table IV). The conclusions arrived at were that this transfer was largely determined by:


- the father's level in the socio-economic scale; 
- the place of residence, whether in an urban area or out in the country; 
- the size of the family.

At the time, it also became clear that a very large percentage of pupils in "C.E.G.s" opted for their transfer to "long" secondary education. This was shown in particular by Monsieur Chilotti's study, whereby it was found that two out of every three pupils in "C.E.G.s" pursued "long" secondary education. The respective percentages in the three-year inquiry having been: 60.0 per cent. in 1959; 64.0 per cent. in 1960; 63.5 per cent. in 1961. The latter figure is the absolute percentage of the age cohort set as a sensible target in the late nineteen fifties by Charles Brunold, Director General in the Ministry of National Education.

Such a result is no mean achievement considering that, in the words of Charles Brunold, France is still:

"Un pays où les parents demeurent les responsables de l'avenir de leurs enfants." 6

"A country where the parents endorse responsibility for the future of their children." 6

1. Alain Girard: "Enquête nationale sur l'entrée en 6è", in Population, (Paris), No. 1, January 1963, p. 32 (Table IX).
2. Ibid., p. 30.
6. Ibid., p. 129.
French parents soon developed a responsible attitude towards education once Public Instruction was made available, as witnessed by François Datin's comments. Fifty years ago he remarked that:

"Les familles ont certainement un engouement marqué pour l'enseignement secondaire. Persuadées que seuls les diplômes de cet enseignement confèrent une certaine dignité sociale, toutes aspirent à faire entrer dans un lycée ou un collège leurs enfants, quelles que soient les aptitudes intellectuelles du sujet. Les familles humbles veulent ainsi franchir l'étape." 1

"A marked demand for secondary education comes from families. Convinced that only the diplomas of that (kind of) education bestow a certain social dignity, all of them aim at registering their children in a 'lycée' or a college, regardless of the individual's intellectual ability. The families of humble extraction want 'to cross the bridge' in that manner." 1

Rhoda Metraux has brought out the importance of each parent in the French "foyer", or home. She has acknowledged that:

"The woman plays a much greater rôle than here (sc. in the United States.A.S.L.). In France the husband takes his wife's advice in all important things (...). The husband is king." 2

Consequently, in France, the term "father figure" takes its full meaning as witnessed by the "Conseil d'Etat" in its early nineteenth-century discussions. About "paternal authority", Mondieur Treilhard argued that:

"Ordinairement les fautes des enfants sont l'effet de la faiblesse, de l'insouciance ou des mauvais exemples des pères, ceux-ci ne méritent donc pas une confiance absolue." 3

"Generally the mistakes of the children are the result of the weaknesses, the thoughtlessness, or the bad examples of the fathers, therefore these do not deserve absolute confidence." 4

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2. Rhoda Metraux: "Thèmes in French Culture", in Hoover Institute Studies, (Stanford, California), Series D., No. 1, April 1954, p. 13.


4. Translation from Dr. Metraux, op. cit., p. 29.
It has been said that this attitude stemmed from the "Convention", when the late eighteenth-century leaders of the Nation advocated a Spartan-like type of education. This attitude had survived even in the middle of the twentieth century as evidenced by the discussions which took place in France when a reform of the Civil Code was contemplated. For example, the problem of guardianship led Monsieur Jousselin to warn that:

"Si l'on se met du côté de l'intérêt du mineur, ce dernier a besoin d'être protégé au moins autant et peut-être plus au cas de tutelle de son père ou de sa mère survivant qu'en cas de tutelle d'un étranger. Le père ou la mère survivant se croit dictateur, se croit tout-puissant." 3


"Les transformations de la situation générale sont si profondes et si rapides que tout est sans cesse remis en question. Il nous faut renoncer à l'idée simple d'une -la- réforme, qui serait la grande, la vraie réforme et après laquelle on retrouverait une longue période de stabilité. À cette représentation périmée, il faut substituer celle d'une série indéfinie de transformations, réalisant (...) l'adaptation permanente des enseignements aux besoins d'un monde en évolution accélérée."

The stir which resulted from the disquieting facts and figures brought out by the studies reviewed in the preceding chapter, culminated in the announcement that Christian Fouchet, the then Minister of National Education, was going to submit on 29 April 1963, his plan for a further reform of education to the "Conseil supérieur de l'Éducation nationale".

Ministre Fouchet's course of action was substantiated by the fact that the 1959 reform had failed inasmuch that the "observation" phase was primarily intended to foster as freely as possible transfers from "C.E.G.s" to the "Lycées", but also from the "Lycées" to the "C.E.G.s". In practice, the former had been considered successful, but the latter had been too limited. The "Plan Fouchet" would:

1. Emphasis in original.

2. Or: "The changes in the general set-up are so great and so swift that everything is being continuously reassessed. We must discard the simple idea of a single reform which would be the big and true reform and after which an extended period of stability would prevail. To this outdated notion, must be substituted the concept of an indefinite series of changes ensuring the continuous readjustment of education to the needs of an increasingly fast-changing world" (Gaston Berger: "Avant-propos", in Revue de l'Enseignement supérieur, Paris, No. 3, September 1960, p. 8).


extend the "observation" period by a further two-year "orientation" phase (Decree No. 63-793 of 3 August 1963); 1
- ensure that, in future, all pupils spend the whole of this four-year "cycle" in a new type of school, a "polyvalent", one known as "C.E.S.", or "Collège d'enseignement secondaire" (Decree No. 63-794 of 3 August 1963). 2

It soon became apparent then, that the principle of "observation" should be extended to the whole four years of the First Cycle of secondary education. This was effectively implemented by the Circular-Letter of 27 April 1964 which, within a few months, followed Decree No. 63-793. 3

One of the significant changes consisted in the alteration made to Decree of 2 June 1960, whose Title III read:

"Du cycle d'observation et des conseils d'orientation." 4

which, in the Circular-Letter of 27 April 1964, has been replaced by:

"Du premier cycle et des conseils d'orientation." 5

The indication was clear. From then on, the "guidance" phase was no longer restricted to the first two years but, on the contrary, the "guidance" procedure became part and parcel of the whole "First cycle", comprising a four-year course of study.

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By adopting a common course for the first four years of secondary education, France was introducing the principle believed to lead to the development of a successful extension of compulsory schooling.\(^1\) Already in 1937, the Communist Party was in favour of common classes which would include all children up to fifteen years of age,\(^2\) an ideal that was retained as the mainstay of the Party's educational policy.\(^3\) In the late nineteen forties, Professor Dobinson drew a comparison with the Norwood Report. He surmised that:

"In thus postponing the final decision regarding a child's future to the age of nearly fifteen, while still permitting the most rapid development of any child in whatever direction he shows himself capable, the French are on much sounder psychological ground than we in this country."\(^4\)

The new ideal has indirectly helped to stress the nefarious effect of the former pattern from a psychological standpoint. For example, an officially-appointed commission decried it by stating that:

"Le bilan objectif des avantages et des inconvénients des concours sur épreuves peut apparaître comme tellement mauvais que la seule solution jugée souhaitable soit celle de la suppression (...). Bien plus, la formule favorise, quoique desirable may be their cancellation (...). Worse still, even without pressure or sponsorship, the system sont absentes, et d'une façon automatique, un modèle de candidat qui n'est pas..."


toujours celui qui a le plus de
mérite, ni celui qui rendra le
plus de services à la société dans
les fonctions pour lesquelles il
est sélectionné. C'est ainsi que
les facteurs de réussite aux
concours qui constituent le bril-
liant, la rapidité, une certaine
aisance dans l'expression,
favorisent 'ipso facto' les
candidats issus des classes aisées,
plus cultivées, au détriment des
mille plus modestes." 1

automatically fosters the type of
candidate who is not always the most
deserving one, nor the one who will
best serve society within the area
for which he was selected. So the
factors contributing to success in
competitive examinations, namely
academic performance, speed and a
certain ease in speech, foster
'ipso facto' the candidates from the
better-off, cultured social classes,
as opposed to the poorer social
background." 1

At the time, Frank Musgrove had also found evidence that, in England, the
child suited to an academic education might not necessarily be the type
with the psychological qualities that are needed for undertaking successful-
ly a career in the jobs which the academic school normally leads to. 2

However, the common syllabi foster both the guidance phase and the general
culture deemed necessary to meet the requirements of a country which
intends to adapt to the new forms of organization 3 and to the new
knowledge required by large-scale, internationally competitive industry or,
in Président de Gaulle's words:

"L'ère où nous nous trouvons, et
que marquent l'accélération du
progrès scientifique et technique,
le besoin de promotion sociale,
(...) nous impose au dedans de
nous-mêmes et dans nos rapports
avec les autres une immense
rénovation." 4

"The age in which we are living,
marked as it is by the acceleration
of scientific and technological
progress, the need for social
betterment, (....) demands a vast
regeneration both within ourselves
and in our relations with others." 5

1. Commission Boulloche: "Les Conditions de développement, de recrute-
ment, de fonctionnement et de localisation des grandes écoles en France",
in Recueils et Monographies, (La Documentation française, 31, Quai Voltaire


3. cf., for example, David S. Landes: The Unbound Prometheus,

4. Charles de Gaulle's television address, 5 February 1962 (published

In fact, Edgar Faure, a former Minister of National Education, went as far as saying that:

"Dans les vingt prochaines années, la concurrence internationale sera liée, en grande partie, aux investissements de type intellectuels."  

"In the next twenty years, international competition will be, to a large extent, tied up to the investments of an intellectual kind."  

So that:

"Un niveau culturel trop bas ou la formation d'élites trop étroites diminue la capacité globale de changement, et donc l'adaptation à la compétition internationale."  

"Too low an educational level or the training of too small a number of élites hampers the overall capacity for changes, and consequently the ability to compete internationally."  

We have already examined some of the reasons why a compromised bill is likely to be received with mixed feelings by the different French pressure groups (cf. Yvon Delbos Bill. vid supra, chapter 5). However, the policy which formed the basis of the Berthoin Reform met with the approval of the progressive secondary-school teachers. They were agreed on current views which they published in 1963.  

Briefly, they were in favour of:

- co-operation between parent and teacher (p. 9);  
- administrative decentralization (p. 12);  
- progressive guidance of all pupils, irrespective of geographical or social origins (p. 14);  
- an integral humanism based on contemporary scientific, aesthetic, economic, and social values (p. 17);  

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4. Page numbers refer to Cahiers pedagogiques, (Paris), Special number, April 1963.
- a secular school, which would safeguard pride of place to education for citizenship (p. 22);
- use of active methods (p. 22);
- instruction in social and psychological techniques to form the basis for the training of teachers (p. 23).

Nor does the trend initiated by the Berthoin Reform clash with the aims of the "Fédération de l'Education nationale", or "Federation of State Education Unions" (vid supra, chapter 7). The "F.E.N." members visualize their rôle as putting their faith in gradual improvement won through all the techniques available to a union within a democratic system.¹

Indeed the improvements have been gradual, as can be appreciated from some elucidations provided by Messieurs Majault and Guillemoteau. They wrote that:

"Le système scolaire français, après la 2e guerre mondiale forme un ensemble complexe dans lequel les différents enseignements sont bien loin de se superposer et de se coordonner rigoureusement. L'édifice scolaire, s'il présente une façade majestueuse, n'en est pas moins composé d'étages trop rigoureusement séparés, divisés eux-mêmes en plusieurs parties étroitement cloisonnées; l'ensemble manque de portes de communication, de passerelles et d'ascenseurs, Dans cette construction où l'abondance l'emporte sur l'harmonie, il est facile de s'égarer." ²

"The French school system as we find it after the Second World War forms a complex whole in which the different sorts of schooling are very far from following upon each other or linking closely with each other. The school structure while presenting a majestic façade is none the less built up of storeys which are rigorously separated, and are themselves divided into several strictly partitioned sections; the whole edifice lacks communicating doors, gangways and elevators. In this construction, where abundance prevails over harmony, it is easy to go astray." ³

"Professeurs", or secondary teachers, have remained aloof from the burning social issues of the day. In France, "a professeur" in a "Lycée" as much or college is a 'professeur de l'Université' as a 'professeur' at the Sorbonne"¹ for "the French secondary school (is) an integral part of the University (and) in France, (...) the State and the University are one."² In the main, by the traditional outlook over their professional duties,³ the "professeurs" have not stimulated the development of social concepts in their pupils. Unlike their British counterparts, French teachers do not feel committed to provide "pastoral" care for their pupils. A group of teachers once acknowledged that:

"Il existe un vide, une espèce de 'no man's land' infranchissable entre le maître et l'étudiant. Celui-ci ignore son maître et en est ignore. Il est moralement abandonné." ⁶

Jesse Pitts, Professor of Sociology, has analysed this relationship. He commented:

"In dealing with the teacher the child will meet a typical implementation of the doctrinaire-hierarchical tendencies in French culture. On the one hand the teacher uses magisterial methods exclusively: there are definite standards of excellence, standards of what a cultured Frenchman should know, how he should express himself. The teacher makes relatively few allowances

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1. Report Kirkman, p. 632 (cited by Clodesley Brereton, op. cit., p. 270)
4. English in original.
5. Our emphasis.
for the interests and fantasies of youth. Typically, he ignores his students' needs as children. He often talks to pupils of eleven and twelve years old on a level which supposes an intellectual maturity that they are far from having reached. On the other hand the teacher defines the world into a set of clearly delineated principles, and what he wants from the students is easily apprehended by them. In his relationships with students the teacher attempts to maintain aloofness and impartiality."

However, there is evidence that this prevalent attitude among the teaching force has not reduced the "holding power" of French schools. For example, in 1964, Paul Clerc asked French parents with eleven-year-old children what they thought of "faire longtemps des études", or "pursuing extended schooling". Regardless of the type of school their children attended, the majority of parents came out in favour, the percentages being 81 per cent. when the children attended a "Lycée", 69 per cent. for those going to "C.E.G.s", and 55 per cent. of those being in "Final primary classes". (In England, the 1960 P.E.P. enquiry also showed that "nearly two thirds of all the mothers questioned said that they wished their child to stay on after 15".) Paul Clerc's study has confirmed a 1963 enquiry involving parents with a child ending his "Fourth Form", or "Classe de 3e". 87.3 per cent. of the children engaged in "short" courses had expressed the wish of transferring to a "long" course of study.

In view of these findings, we can deduce that, in France, an increasing number of parents want more education for their children. It can also be inferred that the growing demand for education has been

conducive to the furtherance of the educational reforms, the latter having
gained considerable consensus of opinion in the nineteen sixties. This
marked trend, coupled with the findings resulting from "pieces of research,
many of them brilliant, (that) have explored the mystery of childhood and
adolescence",\(^1\) clearly reflect one of the most important changes brought
about, which is the greatly improved status of the child in French society.
Paul Maucorps's statement is commensurate with the one intimated by the
"Commission ministerielle d'etude" in its plan,\(^2\) which stressed the
development of the whole child, intellectual, physical, and moral, as well
as a supple adaptation of training to the individual. In France, this
approach was new.\(^3\) More recently, Olivier Guichard is reported to have
drawn attention to the need for:

\[
\text{"recentrer l'enseignement sur l'éducation, qui n'est rien sans l'amour des enfants, - will be a long and exacting job. We can be worried about the gap between the implementation and the urgency of the task."}^{5}
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Olivier Guichard, then Minister of National Education, was expressing the
official outlook as Gustave Monod had done in the early nineteen fifties

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4. Our emphasis.

The fact that Ministre Guichard knew it "will be a long and exacting job" showed his own insight in the prevailing interrelationship between children and adults in the traditional French culture. Such has been an anthropologist's view. Martha Wolfenstein deduced from her own fieldwork in Paris that as:

"Childhood and adulthood are two very distinct human conditions, adults seem to look down from a considerable height on both the griefs and the joys of children." 1

Similarly a French psycho-analyst's comments provide further insight:

"Even in the most liberal French families, child training is largely an affair of imperatives (...). The French child's education consists largely in a coerced and precocious learning of adult behaviour." 2

This has been explained by a French girl in the following terms:

"While (my) parents were always telling me what to do, at the same time they tried to develop my own judgment and good sense. This education is much better than giving complete liberty to children." 3

In the course of the present chapter, we have examined in some details the various moves made in the early years of the Fifth Republic which opened the lower reaches of secondary education to enlarged age cohorts of pupils. It paid dividend for the result has been that, both at the secondary stage and at university level, the number of students successfully completing their course of study has almost trebled over the


2. Françoise Dolto: "French and American Children as Seen by a Child Analyst", in M. Mead et al., op. cit., p. 413. Françoise Dolto is the author of Psychanalyse et pédriatrie.

3. Reported by Rhoda Metraux, in "Themes in French Culture", Hoover Institute Studies, (Stanford, California), Series D, No. 1, April 1954, p. 31.
1960-1970 period\(^1\) (cf. Table VII). It has been suggested that there is a social significance between, on the one hand the growing numbers of educated people and, on the other, an alarmingly large percentage of their peers whose studies are not academically biased. In England, Jack Straw, then President of the "N.U.S.", has drawn our attention to the anomic stress between these two sub-groups. At the 1970 gathering of the National Association of Youth Clubs, he explained that:

"In the old days when the percentage of an age group gaining entry to university or college was very low, there was no social stigma or broad sense of failure for those who did not get in."\(^2\)

The problem has not escaped Michel Crozier, Professor at the Nanterre Faculty of Liberal Arts. He wrote that:

"Quand l'individu ne peut plus se trouver d'échappatoire ou d'alibi, le problème du risque de l'échec et de l'explication de l'échec devient de plus en plus pénible, sinon insupportable."\(^3\)

"When individuals can no longer find a loophole of escape or alibi, the problem over the risk of failure and the explanation over the failure becomes increasingly acute, if not unbearable."\(^3\)

By 1970, there were 51 million people in France and the number of students in faculties reached 633,000 (cf. Table XXXII), a figure as large as those of Great Britain and Germany put together (600,000)\(^4\) for a combined population reaching 117 million inhabitants.\(^5\) At the time, Jack Straw expressed the opinion that:

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"Today and in the future the increase in educational opportunity will (...) increase the sense of failure and resentment on the part of those who do not make it." 1

To a certain extent, this problem has been solved, France having developed a successful system of "paper qualifications" which stems from the old (primary) school-certificate. For example, in 1923, the Director of the Primary Branch could claim that, every year, as many as 250,000 pupils both in State and denominational schools sat the examinations in order to obtain their Primary School Certificate. 2 By 1970, 75 per cent. 3 of pupils were obtaining some kind of paper qualification either in the course of their secondary education or at the further education stage, which is a measure of France's "educational attainment" (cf. Table X).

If, in England, 10.5 per cent. of boys and 7.0 per cent. of girls passed two A levels or more in 1966, 4 in France, by 1970, 23.5 per cent. (cf. Table VII) qualified for the coveted "Baccalauréat". In that year, 260,000 candidates sat the examinations (160,000 in Liberal Arts, or "Lettres", 50,000 in Science, and 50,000 for the Technical Baccalaureate). 5 The value of examinations has been stressed by social scientists who have found "evidence that schools, by maintaining a competitive system based on achievements and rewards (honours), 6 operate not only as a mechanism for

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education as such, but also as a value-forming environment for the
development of achievement orientation".¹

Moreover, in France, selection does not mean "rejection" for,
nowadays, a further 50 per cent.² of the age cohort sit some other
examinations whose certificates lead directly to medium-level occupations.³
Unfortunately, it is not possible to name the certificates here, let
alone to review them, as there are some 240 certificates of professional
aptitudes⁴ corresponding to the various economic occupations. In brief,
the "C.A.P.", or "Certificate d'aptitude professionnelle", is obtained on
completion of "short" technical education in a "Collège d'enseignement
technique", or Technical college (Decree No. 59-57, Article 32).⁵ Both:
the fast-developing "B.E.P." and the "C.A.P." are the qualifying
certificates for skilled craftsmen, corresponding to the first stage, or
"premier degré", of technical education. Whilst delivered in insignificant
numbers prior to the Second World War, the yearly number of "C.A.P.s"
reached 30,000 in 1943. By 1960, it had risen to 112,800, 54,600 of these

¹ Wilbert E. Moore: "Industrialization and Social Change!", in Bert F.
Hoselitz and W.E. Moore (eds.): Industrialization and Society, (Chicago,

² Méline Grégoire, on R.T.L., 10.0 a.m. - Live Broadcast, 4 January 1970
(cf. Commission de l'Equipement scolaire, universitaire et sportif:
Rapport général du 7ème Plan, La Documentation française, 31, Quai
Voltaire, Paris-7e, 1966).

³ Jean Thomas and Joseph Majault: Primary and Secondary Education,
(Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1963), p. 57.

⁴ Anonymous: "Le Système d'enseignement", in Le Monde, Paris, No.8289,
8 September 1971, p. 11 (cf. also V. Sparrow's unpublished M.A. Thesis,
Sheffield University, 1963; W. Fraser: Reforms and Restraints in Modern

⁵ "Décret No.59-57 du 6 janvier 1959", in Journal officiel de la
République française. Lois et décret, (Paris), No. 5, 7 January 1959,
pp. 422-30.
being awarded to part-time pupils (part-time education involving day release has become compulsory in the early nineteen seventies). In 1969, 399,000 pupils sat the "C.A.P." examinations to whom must be added the numerous candidates for the more recent "B.E.P." (112,000 pupils obtained their "Brevet d'études professionnelles" in 1969). In France then, the Ministry of National Education accepts responsibility both for the training and the education of young people up to the age of eighteen plus in its State institutions. In addition to these, the Ministry is responsible for the general education as well as the whole of the final craft examination and attestation taking place in the industrial schools.

The various measures have resulted in mass enrolments in secondary education. The speed and extent of the progress can be figured out when it is realized that, in 1950, 77 per cent. of pupils were still in their primary school when they reached the Statutory school-leaving age at which they entered gainful employment. The statistics show the constant returns of three quarters of the age cohort entering gainful employment on

3. Details in "Elements de documentation", Cahiers pédagogiques (Paris), No. 85, November 1969, p. 57. From 1964 onwards, Cahiers pédagogiques has been the organ of the "Fédération des Cercles de recherche et d'action pédagogiques".
leaving their primary school.\textsuperscript{1} By 1971, statistics from the Ministry of National Education showed that only 28 per cent. entered gainful employment without some sort of professional training.\textsuperscript{2} The turning point can be traced back to the nineteen fifties when educationists explained that secondary education should no longer be kept the preserve of the privileged classes in view of the country's social and economic needs. Louis Cros\textsuperscript{3} claims to have written the relevant section of the Billères Bill. In the Minister's proposed educational reform, it is stated that:

"C'est en particulier au souci de reconnaître une égale dignité à toutes les aptitudes humaines comme à toutes les tâches sociales que répond l'institution de l'enseignement moyen d'orientation; son objectif est, en effet, de substituer à la sélection hâtive d'une élite en fonction d'une forme d'intelligence, la recherche et le développement de toutes les aptitudes, c'est-à-dire une promotion générale adaptée aux possibilités de chaque individu." 4

Traditional, the task of the "Lycée" has been twofold. It selected individuals who would suitably constitute France's administrative and governing élite. Besides, it also ensured that its students gained a common experience, for a shared culture is a necessary social cement.

\textsuperscript{1} cf., for example, les Compagnons, in "L'Université nouvelle", Les Cahiers de Probus, (Paris), No. 2, July 1919, p. 84.


\textsuperscript{3} Louis Cros: "La Sélection des meilleurs (...)", in l'Education nationale, (Paris), No. 20, 28 May 1959, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{4} "Projet de Loi (Rene Billères) portant prolongation de la scolarité obligatoire et réforme de l'Enseignement public", 1956, Part I, Section 5a (reprinted in L. Decaunes, op. cit., p. 365).
The "Lycée" which dates back to the Fourcroy Law (vid supra, chapter 2) is a nineteenth-century foundation and the main characteristic of that century consisted in the spread of the industrialization process throughout the Western societies. As contemporary leading economists have phrased the point:

"An industrial society must educate its people. (...) It (sc. education A.S.L.) conduces to a new equality which (...) may come faster and more fully in a middle-class society than in a society under the revolutionary intellectuals who proclaim equality (...). The vast bulk of the population must be literate." 1

But it has been surmised elsewhere that:

"The process of industrialization means much more than the learning of simple skills. Industrial mass production, as practised in the West, is the outcome of the functioning of a particular kind of society. The skills needed are not merely skills of the hand nor even of the brain; they are also social. -2- They are habits which are supported by attitudes, traditions and modes of feeling." 3

The shared experience pertaining to a "Lycée" education has been designed to perpetuate the "middle-class values" which form the basis of the intellectual culture, 4 that is to say, as Professor Ritchie has pointed out, to become "a man of the world and have an agreeable 'society' manner, (...) the main objectives of the education given in the Jesuit Colleges"5

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2. Our emphasis.


of the "Ancien Régime". Such values, held to be the distinctive attribute of a really ("distingué") refined Frenchman, consist to a large extent in deductive reasoning. This clarity of thought and expression, a tradition in France¹ considering that "l'influence latine nous a donné le goût de l'éloquence",² or "Latin influence has conferred on us an inducement for eloquence", is a permanent feature of the "Lycée" education and is tested by the Baccalaureate examination. In 1971 for example, one of the options in the Philosophy section was:

"Does the expression 'to err is human' ('L'Erreur est humaine') seem to you to be an excuse, a challenge or a condemnation?" ³

So much weighting is given to lucidity of expression and command of the language that a fixed formula is invariably employed:⁴

"Thèse, antithèse, synthèse." ⁵ "Thesis, antithesis, synthesis." ⁵

This pattern follows the tradition as set by M. Hauchecorne who, in 1784, worded the method⁶ which, at the time, received the official backing from the University of Paris. Monsieur Hauchecorne wrote:

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³ Translation from Patrick Brogan, in "Week of Enduring Trauma", The Times Educational Supplement, (London), No. 2928, 2 July 1971, p. 15.


⁵ Ibid., pp. 13 ff.

"1° 'DIVIDE': clearly explain your proposition with the two positions pertaining to it. 2° DEFINED: carefully set out what the two positions consist of, etc."  

or, to be more explicit:

"First you establish the traditional 'two views' of the question. You then put forward a commonsense justification of the one, only to refute it by the other. Finally you send them both packing by the use of a third interpretation, in which both the others are shown to be equally unsatisfactory. Certain verbal manoeuvres enable you, that is, to line up the traditional 'antithesis' as complementary aspects of a single reality: form and substance, content and container, appearance and reality, essence and existence, continuity and discontinuity and so on."  

This well-worn approach is reflected in the particular teaching method which constantly upholds the value of perfection and the superior mastery of tackling problems whereas it ignores, when it does not despise, the long and tedious training equated with education. It has also influenced the shaping of the Baccalaureate, whose main function consists of selecting the candidates worthy of higher education in the faculties (now "U.E.R.") and the professional "Grandes écoles".

The Baccalaureate has been the target of sharp, contradictory comments. For example, Anatole France had anything but praise for it. Among his souvenirs, he recalled:


"Sur mes seize ans je passai à la diable, un affreux petit examen nommé baccalauréat, bien fait pour avilir en même temps les candidats et les examinateurs." 1

"When I was about sixteen years of age I passed, somehow, an ugly little examination called Baccalaureate, which is well designed to belittle at once both the candidates and the examiners." 1

To an anthropologist, the Baccalaureate is "a real 'rite de passage', a painful test to which youths on the verge of maturity are subjected by their elders." 2 The question is how much of the insistence upon the appropriate "rites de passage" rest on primitive puberty rites, oftentimes designed to weed out the different rather than the deviant.

Commenting on the Baccalaureate, Félix Ponteil expressed the opinion that:

"Le baccalauréat (...) est comme la croix d'honneur de l'écolier qui s'est distingué." 3

"The Baccalaureate (...) is like the Cross of Honour for the pupil who has distinguished himself." 3

This personal view recalls Léon Bérard's statement. The Minister of Public Instruction conceded that:

"Le baccalauréat est une sorte de vaccination intellectuelle, d'assurance contre divers risques sociaux." 4

"The Baccalaureate is a kind of intellectual vaccination, of insurance against various social risks." 4

By the middle nineteen sixties, the Baccalaureate had once more come under the attacks of leading figures in French educational circles. One of them,


Jean Capelle, a former Director General of Schools' Organizations and Programmes, popularized the idea that a system or an examination whose pass rate was under 80 per cent. was simply unsuccessful. He therefore declared:

"La France, championne des échecs au 'bac'."  
"France (is) the champion of failures at the Baccalaureate level."  

Jean Capelle's criticisms raised during the summer of 1963 are contemporaneous with Ministre Fouchet's description of the new Baccalaureate to the National Assembly (vid inf., this chapter).

The Minister's decision had been brought about because, in the early nineteen sixties, some 300,000 pupils were sitting every year either the Baccalaureate's "examen probatoire", the "probatory examination", in the penultimate year of secondary education, or the final examination in the Terminal Classes. In 1964, Ministre Fouchet stressed the fact that:

"Il est impossible de continuer de faire passer un baccalauréat en deux parties à un tel nombre de candidats: 330.000 cette année."  
"It is impossible to continue to impose a Baccalaureate examination in two parts to such a number of candidates: 330,000 this year."

With a view to alleviate the administrative burden, it was announced that, as from summer 1965, the probatory examination, that is to say the penultimate one, would be abolished. Consequently, it is fair to say that, since then the Baccalaureate has had a unifying effect on the three-year studies constituting the second stage ("2ème cycle") of secondary education,


Diagram I showing the opportunities for specialization in the "upper" secondary school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>HIGHER EDUCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Classe terminale&quot;</td>
<td>Codes:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;A&quot; &quot;Bac&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;B&quot; &quot;Bac&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;C&quot; &quot;Bac&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;D&quot; &quot;Bac&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;F&quot; &quot;Bac&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Classe de première&quot;</td>
<td>Options:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;A&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;B&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;C&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;D&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;F&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Classe de seconde&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;A&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;C&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;F&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Literary stream)</td>
<td>(Scientific stream)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Technica str</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1 cf. Table XIII.

which is the "cycle de determination", the specialization stage advocated by the Langevin-Wallon Commission. The Minister's decision was deplored by the "Societe des agreges". Guy Bayet, their President, claimed that:

"Psychologiquement (...) la décision du Conseil des ministres est une erreur grave (...).

Pédagogiquement, la suppression de l'examen probatoire est catastrophique, le niveau des classes terminales sera demain plus bas qu'aujourd'hui!"

On 18 May 1965, Christian Fouchet, then Minister of National Education, announced the proposals for the new Baccalaureate. At age fifteen, the pupil entering the academic ("upper") secondary school would have the choice of three options (cf. Diagram I):

- "A", that is to say literary;
- "C", which is scientific;
- "F", the technological one.

In the "Classe de Terre", or Lower Sixth, as well as in the "Classe terminale" or Upper Sixth, further specialization would be possible, eight options being made available (cf. Diagram II). The "Cycle de détermination" is

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Diagram II showing the basic subjects in the various specialized optio
leading to the Baccalaureate ("Classe de le" and "Terminale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A1</th>
<th>A2</th>
<th>A3</th>
<th>B1</th>
<th>B2</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>Liberal Arts</td>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>Applied</td>
<td>Indu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>Two Modern Languages</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maths.</td>
<td>Tech</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>Physics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Biology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Details from L'Education nationale, (Paris), No. 20, 27 May 1965, p. 6.
illustrated in Diagram II. The timetable for the last two years is reproduced in Table XLIV.

The reform of the Baccalaureate was a decision made with a view to ensuring its increased efficiency both as an "exeat" for those who terminate successfully their education at that stage and as a means of selection for higher education. The "Plan Fouchet" has meant that success in the Baccalaureate, whilst still guaranteeing a university place, did not confer the right of automatic entry into "any" faculty. For example, from 1968 onwards, access of right to "Science" faculties has been limited to holders of "C", "D", or "F" Baccalaureates (cf. Diagram II).

In the long run then, the measures taken by Ministre Fouchet were going to reform higher education to a considerable extent. The "Plan Fouchet" is therefore discussed in chapter 14 (vid. inf.).

We have already seen that, in France, the Roman Catholic schools have obtained subsidies (i.e. the Barange Law, 1951, vid supra, chapter 4, subsection b). Over the last century, the Roman Catholics were only allowed to rebuild progressively their own independent sector of education. First, they reopened the primary schools in 1833 (Guizot Law). Then, in 1850, Henri de Riancey's speech swayed the Legislative Assembly into voting the Falloux Law (15 March 1850), which made once more possible

5. "Loi relative à l'enseignement", (Falloux Law), 15 March 1850 (reprinted in Charles Fourrier, op. cit., pp. 156-71.)
R.C. secondary education throughout France at a time when the revolution of 1848 had produced the alliance of the Liberals of the University and the Church, an association which was only feasible under stress but it worked. Finally, the Law of 12 July 1875 promoted "the freedom of higher education".

In 1958, which was the year preceding Decree No. 59-57, some 60 per cent. (i.e. 660,000) of secondary education pupils were in State secondary schools. The other 40 per cent. (that is to say 440,000) who were in private secondary schools, mainly Roman Catholic ones (there are only one million Protestant believers, a figure which includes a quarter of the Nation's "higher rank" executives), had to sit State examinations if they either wanted to hold recognized paper qualifications and/or wished to gain access to public higher education.

Traditionally the denominational schools could claim substantial success with regard to the modern Humanities. For example, at the end of the nineteenth century, Père Chauvin declared "that the true masters of that education (enseignement) are, at the present time, the de la Salle Brothers. And it could not be otherwise, as they are its founders".

2. Charles Fourrier: L'Enseignement français de 1799 à 1945, (Paris, 1965), p. 120.
5. Père Chauvin, in La Quinzaine (cited by Alfred Fouillée, op. cit., p. 57).
It has also been observed that, when choosing a boarding-school, three quarters of parents opted for a denominational one.¹

In the independent schools, if pupils cannot keep up with the pace of work, they are often allowed to repeat the grade and get therefore a second chance to complete successfully their education.² It has been suggested that many children went to Catholic secondary schools because admission was easier,³ which stigmatized it as being "le refuge des cançres",⁴ or "the dunces' refuge". Furthermore, it is well known that a substantial percentage of failures transfer from the State schools to R.C. ones.⁵ But, on the strength of its inquiry, the "Syndicat national de l'Enseignement secondaire", or "National Union of Secondary Education", concluded that the majority of families have been attracted by facilities peculiar to these schools. Most often quoted⁶ were:

- the opening hours which, particularly in the infant schools, suited better the working mothers;
- the school week being closer to the parents' working week;

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Table V showing the importance of the R.C. schools in the teaching of Classical streams prior to the 1959 Reform (Academy of Paris

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>State schools</th>
<th>Private schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modern colleges (formerly &quot;Ecoles primaires supérieures&quot;)</td>
<td>&quot;Lycées&quot; and Classical colleges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>63,274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>63,116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Gustave Monod: "La Réforme de l'enseignement", in Europe, (Paris), No. 11, November 1946, p. 2.
- a higher number of boarding schools (cf. Alfred Fouillé's comment. vid supra, this chapter);
- syllabi preparing for employments popular with young people;
- a better coverage of schools for E.S.N. children (they have, for the 100,000 French E.S.N. children provided more facilities than the State, with its 45,000 places by 1971-1972). ¹

In sum, the R.-C. schools have managed to hold their own against State schools, even in Classical streams, by teaching roughly 50 per cent. of pupils both prior to, and after, World War II ² (cf. Table V). However, when we compare the progress made by the Public sector and the Private sector in their attempt to reorganize secondary education, there is evidence that the latter has not been able to keep abreast ³ with the rapid development achieved by the Public sector (cf. Table VI). The problem had been anticipated. When Bills were currently debated, the diocesan authorities were informing the constituents at the community level ⁴ for, as Philip Williams has reflected, "the church school issue itself is essentially regional". ⁵ For example, in the "département" of Maine-et-Loire, a "Primary Inspector of the schools of the diocese, in reporting on a number of developments that might be of interest to the teachers warn them that

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Table VI showing the estimated numbers of pupils in the various type of school for the 1963-1964 academic year, with the fluctuation over the previous twelve months (in 000s).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of school</th>
<th>State sector</th>
<th>Private sector</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary schools</td>
<td>4,935</td>
<td>903</td>
<td>5,838</td>
<td>less 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.E.G.s</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>968</td>
<td>plus 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical colleges</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>plus 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Lycées&quot;</td>
<td>954</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>1,314</td>
<td>plus 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical &quot;lycées&quot;</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>plus 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('Colleges of education')</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>plus 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University faculties</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>plus 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Grandes écoles&quot;</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>plus 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>7,584</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,653</strong></td>
<td><strong>9,237</strong></td>
<td><strong>plus 205</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the State might push through a school reform bill which would have far-reaching effects in their communities. The teachers were advised to do all they could to prevent the passage of the Bill. It must be remembered he said, that the Church was not against the democratization of educational system, for, as they all knew, the Church was concerned that all people have equal opportunities. The 'cycle d'observation' could have nefarious side effects, however, the most important being the possible increase in the power of the State to determine what every French child should make of his life. In the opinion of the diocesan authorities this danger outweighed the advantages of democratizing French education.²

Paradoxically, the importance of the Private sector of education has been enhanced by the May 1968 student unrest and the militant attitude adopted by a small minority of Left-wing students (i.e. in the 24,000-strong Grenoble university campus,³ with its 4,500 foreign undergraduates,⁴ "Tout le monde connait les meneurs", or "Everybody knows the leaders", Pierre Boisgontier, Volodia Shashaani, Marie-José Buet, Pierre Forax, Michel Bernardi de Sigoyer, and Jean-Max Bernard have acknowledged that they only number a mere fifty).⁵ The political implications as well as the social ones have been discussed by leading observers.⁶ For example, Jean Ferniot,

1. Our emphasis.
5. Georges Menant, op. cit., p. 57.
6. cf., for example, Rose Vincent: "Radiographie d'un lycée", in Elle, (Paris), no. 1340, 23 August 1971, p. 56.
who has won the reputation of being "l'homme le plus écouté de France", man or "the/most listened to in France", has explained that:

"Jadis ces écoles (sc. R.C. ones. A.S.L.) étaient le refuge des cancres, aujourd'hui elles deviennent celui des élèves qui veulent travailler." 1

This assertion has been supported with statistics. In 1971, the private schools had 40,000 more pupils. Conversely, the State schools lost 40,000 pupils in comparison with the previous academic year. 2 In the words of a French secondary teacher, the disaffection is due to the fact that:

"A certain turbulence had been detected in the state schools this last year or two." 3

The renewed attraction of denominational schools was common knowledge in France. Among others, Raymond Aron, the distinguished French analyst, mentioned it. 4 So has Maître Cornec, President of France's largest "Fédération des conseils de parents d'élèves" (1,200,000 members) 5 at their 25th Congress. 6 It is therefore not surprising that the Private sector of education was once more expanding. 7

1. Jean Ferniot, on R.T.L., 8.15 a.m. - Commentaire, 26 April 1971.
3. The Teacher reporter's interview, published in "L'Etat, c'est pas moi", The Teacher, op. cit.
5. On Europe-1, 7.30 a.m. - News-Broadcast, 23 May 1972.
1,900,000 French children were attending the 15,000 denominational schools in 1970 in compliance with the canon law (Article 1374). The size of the Private sector of education was the direct result of the Barangé Law dating back to 1951 (vid supra, chapter 4, subsection b), which made it possible to subsidize the denominational schools out of public funds. In the late nineteen fifties, the National Conciliation Committee investigated the position and, when the Barangé Law's nine-year period was over, it was replaced by the Debre Law, 1959. If, by 1970, only 1,100 denominational schools had opted for controlled status, or the "Contrat d'association", 11,000 others were voluntary aided within the terms of a "Contrat simple".

In the late nineteen sixties, as the State was contributing well over 1,000 million fr yearly, or over 75 million £ (at 13.20 fr to the £), a certain number of French people deprecated the fact that denominational schools were diverting from the State ones a sizable sum of money. To this point of view, the "Comité national de l'enseignement catholique", or "National Association for Catholic Education", retorted that:

"D'après le budget de 1970, un élève des classes sous contrat (sc. in R.-C. schools. A.S.L.) aura coûté en moyenne huit cent francs pour l'année; un élève des enseignements primaire et secondaire publics mille quatre cents francs." 1

According to the 1970 budget, a pupil in classes under contract (sc. in R.-C. schools. A.S.L.) will have cost: on an average 800 fr for the whole year; a pupil in State primary and secondary education 1,400 francs." 1

Catholics believe that it is the duty of the State to grant subsidies to the denominational schools.2 This view has been endorsed long ago by a progressive faction of Socialist primary-school teachers. For example, "les Compagnons"3 wrote that:

"L'enseignement libre a droit à une subvention dans la mesure où il remplit une fonction de l'Etat. 4

And again:

"Si l'Etat est vraiment neutre, il ne peut pas ne pas admettre ce raisonnement." 5

The private sector of education is entitled to a subsidy in so far as it fulfils a duty pertaining to the State. 4

"If the State is genuinely non-committal it cannot fail to agree with that reasoning." 5

a view which has gained more recently the support of such a prominent politician as Michel Debré.6

The weakening of laicity, the ideal once so highly held, can be deduced from the small size of the "Fédération des libres-penseurs" with its 15,000 members,7 as well as from the sharp comments ventured by a


4. Emphasis in original.

5. Les Compagnons, op. cit., p. 73.


French "curé". This parish priest is reported\(^1\) as having said that:

"The only people still interested in the 'ecole laïque' debate are little pressure groups made up of the anti-clerical teachers - 2 - and old-guard priests themselves. Many of them feel it's a matter of honour to support their own type of school. 3 But the general public couldn't care less." 4

a trend which has not failed to impose a change in the tone of official speeches.5

In the very first chapter of the thesis, we have referred to Aurélien Fabre in connection with a marked change, whereby the percentage of "bacheliers", or Baccalaureate holders, in relation to the age group had doubled. This progression was considered very encouraging for, in the early nineteen sixties, Aurélien Fabre did suggest that there was a statistical correlation between the number of "bacheliers" and the rate of production as, at the time, the latter had almost doubled\(^6\) (cf. Table VII).

In 1968, for the first time, the rates of passes in the Baccalaureate examinations reached the 80 per cent. mark (cf. Table VIII). In England, there were, in the summer 1967, 397,652 entries for the "General Certificate of Education Advanced Level" in single subjects, whose rates

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3. Our emphasis.
Table VII showing the increase in the number of students obtaining the Baccalaureate and the "Licence" (or Bachelor degree) for selected years. Figures include both State and private institutions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Baccalaureate and equivalent number</th>
<th>% of age cohort</th>
<th>&quot;Licence&quot; and equivalent number</th>
<th>% of age cohort</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>17,500</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3,765</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>33,500</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>14,500</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>49,000</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>63,000</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>180,000</td>
<td>23.5(^2)</td>
<td>57,000</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2. This forecast was based on a 70 per cent. pass rate. The actual pass rate was 73 per cent. (cf. "Baccalauréat", in Le Figaro, Paris, No. 8032, 13 July 1970, p. 6).


Table VIII  showing the rates of passes for the Baccalaureate in three academies for selected years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academy</th>
<th>June 1966</th>
<th>1967</th>
<th>1968</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amiens</td>
<td>32.0%</td>
<td>61.90%</td>
<td>79.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
<td>62.00%</td>
<td>83.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reims</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
<td>59.57%</td>
<td>83.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:
1967 - Article in Le Figaro, (Paris), 27 September 1968, p. 8

Table IX  showing the rates of passes in the Latin-Greek option of the Baccalaureate for selected years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Part (penultimate year)</th>
<th>1969</th>
<th>1970</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 1920</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1920</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>68.3%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:
of passes averaged 68.7 per cent.\textsuperscript{1} In the following years, the rates of passes in the Baccalaureate examinations settled at about the half-way mark of the two extremes recorded in the years 1967 and 1968 (cf. Table VIII). For example, in 1970, 73 per cent. of candidates obtained the Baccalaureate, as compared with 68 per cent. in 1969\textsuperscript{2} (and 31.5 per cent. in 1966\textsuperscript{3}). The highest figure, that is to say 76.3 per cent.,\textsuperscript{4} was recorded in the Academy of Strasbourg, whilst the Academy of Nice, with a rate of passes of 64 per cent., had the lowest percentage\textsuperscript{5} (in 1966, these two academies were already at the extreme ends of the scale, Strasbourg with 41.8 per cent. and Nice being 29.1 per cent.).\textsuperscript{6} A comparison with fifty years ago is shown in Table IX. As every "bachelier" or Baccalaureate holder, is entitled to a place in a university faculty\textsuperscript{7} (now reorganized in "U.E.R.s") without any further selection,\textsuperscript{8} their growing numbers meant that a tremendous expansion of higher education had to take place; in fact, this expansion was carried out over a considerable period of time. It began with the opening of seven university colleges in 1958. The development of higher education forms part of our investigation in the next section of the thesis (chapter 14).

\hline


5. On Europe-1, 8.0 p.m. - News-Broadcast, 16 July 1970.


We are now going to review the current attitude with regard to, first, secondary education and the Baccalaureate, then, we shall examine the long drawn controversy that has centred around the teaching of Latin.

One of the incidentals of the 1959 reform consisted in the postponing of the selection procedure from the age of eleven to the age of fifteen. Since then, the traditional outlook has been reasserted by Guy Bayet, President of the powerful "Societe des agreges". To Guy Bayet's mind:

"La hiérarchie et la sélection sont des lois de la nature."  

In the U.S., John Rockefeller once explained to a Sunday-school class that:

"The American Beauty rose can be produced in the splendour and fragrance which bring cheer to its beholder only by sacrificing the early buds which grow up around it. This is not an evil tendency (...). It is merely the working-out of a law of nature and a law of God."  

There is evidence that the law of nature described in John Rockefeller's metaphor still has keen supporters. For example, Spiro Agnew, the U.S. Vice-President, claims that:

"The best students in the US constitute a natural aristocracy and they should be nurtured and allowed to advance through the rigorous demands of intellectual competition."  

A study of the trend in France over the 1954-1962 period has shown that "considerable social selection takes place below the university level and especially at the secondary level. This selection, which favours the upper and middle social classes, creates a differential in academic

showing the percentage of pupils in the various types of State secondary school, according to the pupils' social background, in 1961-1962.

<table>
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<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural f-employed</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural workers</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory owners, tradesmen</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory owners</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business owners</td>
<td>(6.7)</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business owners</td>
<td>(3.4)</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory owners, tradesmen</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory owners</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business owners</td>
<td>(6.7)</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business owners</td>
<td>(3.4)</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General professions and her managerial</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper rank executives</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical staff</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual workers</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical staff</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classified</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed with dependent means</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


eligibility for higher education among socio-economic groups. Time trends reveal no tendency for this selection to decrease¹ (cf. Table IXa). In 1970 Président Pompidou has made known his view with regard to secondary education. He stated:

"J'estime pour ma part, qu'il est capital que l'enseignement secondaire soit la base solide de notre université. Que veut-on faire du bachot? Ou bien, c'est un examen d'enseignement supérieur, un premier titre qui vous ouvre toutes grandes les portes des facultés, qui vous donne un droit de poursuivre des études, alors il faut évidemment qu'il constitue une sélection. Je n'ai pas peur du mot." ²

Basically, Président Pompidou was reaffirming the ideals of French secondary education and the purpose of the Baccalaureate for, in France, it is currently said that selection favours the deserving children with a lower socio-economic background. On the contrary, when the selection procedure is relaxed, as did happen with the 1959 Reform, a larger proportion of children with middle-class parents secures an extended education. To name but one, André Chomson, Curator of the "Archives nationales", has reaffirmed this view in 1970³ (but sociologists point out that competitive examinations do not take into account the existing cultural inequalities deriving from the family environment).⁴ However,


there are French educationists who sincerely believe that the process of selection operates as a filter.¹ Children who, according to their teachers and "professeur principal", or Form Master, have proved themselves capable of successfully undertaking a course of study, proceed further with their education, regardless of their social background.

To Messieurs Bourdieu and Passeron, such a view as held by Président Pompidou (vid supra, this chapter), would not preclude the desirability for:

"(Le) passage d'une sélection fondée sur les privilèges de naissance à une sélection fondée sur l'examen anonyme et formellement équitable."²

"(A) change-over from a selection based on the privilege of birth to a selection based on strictly fair, anonymous examinations."²

Historically Latin was learnt in the "Lycees" by the pupils who sat the Baccalaureate examination to become the educated elite; it was unknown to the rest of the population. In recent years, classical education and the pre-eminent position of Latin studies in French secondary education have received keen support from associations formed by teachers and parents. One of these is the "Association Guillaume Budé". Guillaume Budé, a Humanist, obtained in 1530³ from François I, the French King, the opening of the now famous "Collège de France",⁴ to make Greek studies possible.⁵

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¹ Académicien Guehenno, on France-Inter, 5.0 p.m. - Radioscopie, 15 August 1972 (Repeat broadcast).


In the post-World War II period, the "Association" made known its position with regard to the desirability of reforms in the French educational system. In 1956, it declared:

"que la réforme de l'enseignement sauvegarde et développe la culture humaniste:
1. demande que, en invoquant une opposition entre esprits scientifiques et esprits littéraires, on ne soit pas amené à refuser aux cadres scientifiques et techniques de la nation une formation humaniste qui ne leur est pas moins utile qu'aux autres élites du pays;
2. condamne toute diminution réelle de la durée des études classiques et demande que l'orientation souhaitable donnée aux enfants entre 11 et 13 ans ne serve en aucun cas de prétexte à une telle diminution;
3. rappelle le voeu de l'Association que la licence habilitant à l'enseignement du français dans les classes depuis la sixième jusqu'au baccalauréat, soit celle de langues classiques." 1

"the reform of education should safeguard and develop humanist culture:
1. (it) asks that one should not as a result of reference to opposition between scientific and literary minds, be led to refuse to the country's scientific and technical 'middle-rank' employees a humanist training which is no less useful to them than to the country's other élites;
2. (it) condemns any real shortening of the duration of Classical studies and asks that the desirable guidance given to children between eleven and thirteen years should on no account serve as a pretext for such curtailment;
3. (it) recalls the wish of the Association that the Degree qualification giving the right to teach French in the classes from the sixth (sc. First Form.A.S.L.) to the Baccalaureate should be in Classical language." 2

At the time, Louis Armand, then Chairman of the "Ecole Polytechnique's Conseil de Perfectionnement", is said to have expressed a mitigated view on this issue. Académicien Armand, at one time Director General of Westinghouse-Europe, 3 was widely known as "l'homme le plus intelligent de France", 4 or "France's most intelligent man". After stating that, in

France, secondary education gave too much weight to purely scholastic efforts, he explained that:

"C'est ainsi qu'on aime enseigner en France les matières 'ne variatur' comme la grammaire latine ou les théorèmes mathématiques. Or ce sont d'une part les sciences d'observation, d'autre part les moyens d'expression, qui devraient être la base d'un enseignement moderne. Le latin et certaines formes de mathématiques devraient être réservés à ceux qui veulent se spécialiser." 1

"It is a fact that in France we like to teach subjects 'ne variatur' such as Latin grammar or mathematical theorems. But it is on the one hand the observational sciences and on the other the means of expression which ought to be at the base of a modern education. Latin and certain forms of mathematics ought to be reserved to those who wish to specialize." 2

In the main then, it was acknowledged that the study of Latin no longer conferred the kind of educational and social prestige it once did. Such views having rapidly gained ground, it was officially announced in October 1968, that the teaching of Latin was being postponed until the "Classe de 5ème", 3 or Second Form. Within a year, an even more striking decision was made, whereby Latin would not be taught any longer before the "Classe de 4ème", or Third Form, where it would merely be offered as an option. 4

The result is that the first two years, that is to say the "observation" period, have truly moved towards a "common core" curriculum.

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3. Ministre Faure's speech (reported in le Figaro, Paris, No. 7496, 4 October 1968, p. 8).

When, in 1968, the Minister of National Education made his decision known, the "Association pour la défense du latin", or "Association for the Defence of the Latin Language", wanted the matter to be referred to the National Assembly\(^1\) in order to obtain an unbiased decision. The Minister's resolution was final.

Conclusions.

Over the last twenty years the Government has never considered taking steps which would seriously impair the work of the R.-C. schools. The latter have helped the Government to cope with the marked "rising expectations", that is to say the trend to stay longer at school. Their asset was obvious in peripheral education, such as catering for boarders, accommodating E.S.N. children (vid inf., chapter 22).

In sum, the R.-C. schools have retained some relative importance, gained at the time of the Carcopino Reform (vid. supra, chapter 3, subsection b). This relative importance has been consolidated by the increased demand emanating from the bourgeoisie, owing to the recent unrest in "Lycées". Finally the R.-C. schools are claimed to be economical, saving to the State approximately 40 per cent. per pupil on the basic "running" costs involved.

The main point which emerges at this stage of the thesis is that some drastic measures which would foster the democratization of the pupils intake into the rigid institutions were urgently required for the figures showed that the percentage of working-class children gaining access to secondary education slowly increased until the early nineteen sixties when it levelled off after reaching a steady 15 per cent.  


Chapter 9. The French Youth: Some Aspects of his Education.

"Le monde change sous nos yeux et (...) l’éducateur doit préparer ses élèves à exercer leur activité dans une société dont il sait seulement qu’elle ne ressemblera pas à la nôtre."


Subsection a) Guidance: A Positive Facet of Secondary Education.

"L’école a le droit, le devoir de donner des conseils, prudemment mais nettement; c’est son rôle et c’est en cela qu’elle est pleinement éducative. Lui demander de ne pas intervenir dans l’orientation de l’enfant c’est lui demander de trahir sa fonction."

- Jean Zay, Minister of National Education.

As early as 1792, Philosophe Condorcet drew attention to the aims of education. He held the view that it was necessary to:

"Offrir à tous les individus de l’espèce humaine les moyens de pourvoir à leurs besoins, d’assurer leur bien-être, de connaître et d’exercer leurs droits, d’entendre et de remplir leurs devoirs;

Assurer à chacun d’eux la facilité de perfectionner son industrie, de se rendre capable des fonctions sociales auxquelles il a droit d’être appelé, de développer toute l’étendue de talents qu’il a reçus de la nature; et par là établir, entre les citoyens, une égalité de fait; et rendre réelle l’égalité politique reconnue par la loi;"

"Offer all individuals of the human race the means of providing for their wants, to insure their welfare, to know their rights and exercise them, to understand their duties and fulfil them;

Assure each one the opportunity of improving his skill, to become capable of performing social functions to which he may be called, to develop to the fullest extent the talents which he has received from nature; and by that means to establish among the citizens an equality recognized by the law;

1. Or: "The world is changing under our very eyes and (...) the educationist has to prepare his pupils to perform their work in a society about which he only knows that it will not be like ours" (Pierre Clarac: "Le Problème scolaire et universitaire", in Pierre Clarac, ed., La France d’aujourd’hui, Paris, 1961, p. 125).

2. Or: "The school has the right, the duty to dispense advice, cautiously but firmly; it is its rôle and it is in that way that it is fully educational. Expecting it not to intervene in the child’s guidance would be expecting it to betray its function" (cited in "The Billères Bill", 1956, Part II, Section B).
Tel doit être le premier but d'une instruction nationale. Such ought to be the first aim of national education.

In 1970, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Minister of Finance, whose political allegiance is with the Independents, subscribed fully to this ideology. Indeed he showed determination by making his, Gracchus Babeuf's claim:

"Nous voulons l'égalité ou la mort." 

"We want equality or death."

In the nineteen seventies, politicians and academics surmise that there are no alternatives to this ideology. For example, Professeur Crozier has explained that:

"Le monde de demain exige impérativement que les élites abandonnent leur tradition de monopole, qu'elles s'ouvrent à la compétition individuelle et à la coopération collective, qu'elles acceptent facilement la montée des gens mal nés." 

"Tomorrow's world makes it imperative that the elite give up their traditional monopoly, that they open up to individual competition and to group co-operation, that they easily accept the promotion of people of low birth."

Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who equates Liberalism with Humanism, has acknowledged that "equality of chances in life" will not be easily achieved. His views were that:

"Un très fort coefficient de persuasion serait nécessaire pour convaincre les privilégiés d'abandonner leurs privilèges." 

"A very high coefficient of persuasion would be required in order to convince the privileged ones to forsake their privileges."

---


If this positive facet of democratization does break through, parents belonging to the higher socio-economic groups must therefore eventually realize that those of their children lacking in academic ability, will be obliged to accept a "lower" rank in society than they themselves enjoy. The idea is not a new one. For example, in a 1923 address, Léon Bérard, the then Minister of Public Instruction, clearly stated that:

"La richesse ne fonde pas le droit du cancre."  
"Wealth does not bestow a right for the dunce."  

However, a study of the 1954-to-1962 period has shown that, "if disparities (between educational participation by social class) seem to diminish in relative terms, they have increased in absolute terms."  

In the seventeenth century, Blaise Pascal commented that:

"La chose la plus importante à toute la vie est le choix du métier: le hasard en dispose. (...) A force d'ouir louer en l'enfance ces métiers, et mépriser tous les autres, on choisit; car naturellement on aime la vertu, et on hait la folie."  

"The most important thing in life is the choice of an occupation: it is left to chance. (...) We make our choice as a result of hearing in our childhood, some trades admired and all others despised; for it is our nature to love virtue and hate foolishness."  

In a country where its thinkers have expressed disquieting thoughts with regard to the empirical and haphazard choices of occupation, it is not always appreciated that guidance has gained official recognition for half a century.

Decree of 26 September 1922 provides a description whereby guidance comprises:

"l'ensemble des operations incombant au sous-secrétariat d'Etat de l'enseignement technique qui précèdent le placement dans le commerce et dans l'industrie et qui ont pour but de révéler leurs aptitudes physiques, morales et intellectuelles." (Article I)

At the time Julien Fontène has shown in a thorough study that guidance not only involved an interdisciplinary approach largely based on Psychology, Pedagogy, Sociology, as well as Economics, but also required a physiological knowledge of the youth. Julien Fontène, who had been appointed Chief Inspector in the Directorate of Technical Education in 1924, contributed personally to the establishment of the "Institut national d'orientation professionnelle", or "National Vocational Guidance Institute", in 1928. This institute was recognized by the State as having the function of:

"The training of vocational guidance personnel and the study and improvement of the methods of guidance." 

The French have therefore acquired long-standing experience in vocational guidance. They have been successful. For example, a 1946 sampling


showed that the failures among those who followed the advice had been less than 3 per cent. Since then, social scientists have acknowledged that schools perform the crucial sorting process prior to entrance to the labour force. In the nineteen sixties, after guidance for all pupils had been officially introduced in secondary education, Louis Cros explained that:

"Guidance (...) at school is in effect vocational, by the very fact that it opens the way to certain courses of action and closes it to others." 3

Pierre Daumard has expressed a more recent view when he wrote that:

"Il nous paraît essentiel que l'Education nationale (et par conséquent les enseignants) n'a pas le droit de se désinteresser de l'avenir de ceux qu'elle forme." 6

This is in keeping with a pre-war official statement. Jean Zay, at the time Minister of National Education, claimed that:

"L'école a le droit, le devoir de donner des conseils, prudemment mais nettement; c'est en cela qu'elle est pleinement forme." 6

4. Emphasis in original.
5. Brackets in original.
educative. Lui demander de ne pas intervenir dans l'orientation de l'enfant c'est lui demander de trahir sa fonction." 1 educational. Expecting it not to intervene in the child's guidance it would be expecting it to betray its function." 1

In Jean Zay's words then, to the school "orientation" is a "right", or "droit". Once, Philosophe Sartre remarked that:

"Un droit n'est jamais que l'autre aspect d'un devoir." 2 "A right is no more than the other side to a duty." 2

According to the Ministry of National Education, the minimum short term target for entry into an "observation" phase was 70 per cent. of the children aged eleven years.

In September 1960, only 50 per cent. of the age group had been transferred into schools offering the "observation" phase, that is about 400,000 pupils. The rising school population, mainly the pupils staying on after the Statutory school-leaving age and, to a lesser extent, the children belonging to the post-war "baby boom", coupled with the shortage of teachers were the major factors which delayed the change-over by a few years.

However, Professeur Boutet de Monvel has claimed that, in 1960, the number of candidates who applied for entry to secondary education on a selective basis, still exceeded the number of admissions, the figures for State schools being 340,190 candidates and 279,278 places. 3 Such statistics reflect the acute shortcoming of what has been termed the "educational opportunity".

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2. Jean-Paul Sartre cited by Claude Anik, on France-Inter, 6.0 p.m. - Live-Broadcast, 13 July 1970.

By 1966, there was evidence that all children would be placed in the "observation" phase sometimes still in the old type of "Higher primary schools". These schools are due to be closed down as soon as the "Transitional classes" become available in sufficient numbers. The relative neglect institutionalized by the recent reform has been hotly disavowed by the "Syndicat national des Lycées et des Collèges", or "National Association of 'Lycées' and Colleges". In the course of their 1970 Congress, Monsieur Simon, speaking on behalf of the Association, affirmed that, when the sixteen year old pupil reaches the Statutory school-leaving age, he comes out of the C.E.S.'s "Transitional class" only to face a complete "néant professionnel", or "professional void". Consequently, the Association challenged the raising of the Statutory school-leaving age to sixteen years for the many pupils who, it claimed, derived no benefit from extended "education". In the early nineteen forties, Kurt Lewin had found evidence that:

"Poor morale makes for a poor time perspective, which in turn results in still poorer morale; whereas high morale sets not only high goals but is likely to create situations of progress conducive to still better morale."  

---


However in 1961, Alain Girard reflected that:

"Il n'est pas aisé d'enseigner ceux qui n'ont pas appris à apprendre, ou qui n'éprouvent pas le besoin de s'instruire."

"It is not easy to teach those who have not learnt how to learn, or who do not feel the need for improving their knowledge."

The ungratifying results have often been decried. For example, when addressing the "Assemblée nationale", Jean Capelle stated that:

"Un échec fondamental du système scolaire français est le fait que 20% des Français - indépendamment des déficients - sont considérés comme inaptes à toute scolarité au-delà de la classe de cinquième. C'est un échec social, car les enfants ainsi écartés du bénéfice de l'enseignement moyen appartiennent tous à des milieux populaires."

"The basic failure of the French educational system consists in the fact that 20 per cent. of French youngsters - excluding the subnormal ones - are deemed incapable of being educated beyond the Second Form. It is a sociological failure, for all the children deprived of the benefit of the early stage of secondar education belong to the working classes."

In the late nineteen forties, Jean Guéhenno, the Essayist and Critic, had already deplored the fate of these children, these adolescents, often known beforehand to their own teachers:

"de ne pouvoir jamais parler, écrire le français comme leurs petits camarades des sections classiques. Il semble qu'ils n'aient pas droit aux mêmes légendes, aux mêmes histoires, aux mêmes rêves. On dit qu'il faut les menager. S'ils ont à écrire un devoir, c'est toujours sur la joie au travail, la grandeur du métier (...). Ils ont des manuels, des livres de morceaux choisis qui les emprisonnent déjà dans les métiers qu'ils feront."

"of never being able to speak and write French as their young friends attending the Classical streams. It seems that they are not entitled to the same fables, the same stories, the same dreams. They are supposed to be treated with great care. When they are set some written homework, it is always about the pleasure of work, the worthiness of the trades (...). Both their text-books and their anthologies already shackle them to their future jobs."

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Fifty years ago, someone remarked that nobody any longer entertained the peculiar idea of designing some syllabi for the school-leavers. For too long, National Education has been (and still is) neglecting the early school-leavers.

The Faure Reform (1968) having introduced im primary education the concept of an "initiation" phase, it took the following logical step in secondary education, that is to say the progressive development of a first cycle, parallel to the "observation" cycle, where professional training as well as general subjects would provide a programme better suited to the needs of the non-academic pupil.

On completion of the "orientation" phase, the pupils transfer into the "Cycle de détermination", or specialization phase. The pupils may be directed into "long" studies, leading to the Baccalaureate at eighteen, in a Classical, Modern, or Technical "Lycée". Alternatively, they may enter one of the "short" courses in a "C.E.G." or a "C.E.T." ("College d'enseignement technique", or Technical College), which normally leads to a "Paper qualification" at the age of seventeen years (vid supra, chapter 8).

Technical education had remained a marginal type of education until the 1959 reforms. For example, in the "Massé Plan", or Third Plan

2. cf., for example, Robert Séguy of the "S.N.I.", in le Figaro littéraire, Paris, No. 864, 10 November 1962, p. 16 (interview by Jean Sénard).
(1958-1961), it was estimated that French industry would require between 40,000 and 55,000 technicians and "ingénieurs", or graduates in engineering. In France, the "Diplôme d'ingénieur" lies between the British B.Sc. and M.Sc. standards. It is awarded to students of the "Ecoles nationales supérieures d'ingénieurs" (vid inf, chapter 14, subsection b), by the "Commission des titres d'ingénieurs", founded by a 1934 statute. But, in 1958, only 7,500 technicians and 8,000 "ingénieurs" and personnel qualified for the upper ranks in industry graduated in schools and higher institutions.1

When the population "bulge" resulting from the pupils born in the wake of World War II hit the technical schools in 1957,2 the "Syndicat national de l'enseignement technique" decried the appalling situation.3 They wrote:

"Nous pouvons estimer à cinquante pour cent des candidats inscrits le nombre des jeunes de quatorze ans qui n'ont pu, faute de place, entrer en septembre 1960 dans les collèges d'enseignement technique pour y apprendre un métier; droit qui leur est, en principe, reconnu par la Constitution de 1958." 4

"Owing to the lack of places, it is estimated that in September 1960 fifty per cent of fourteen-year-old pupils have not been able to enter the technical colleges in order to train for a trade there; a right which is, basically, recognized to them by the 1958 Constitution." 4

Again, in 1961, Professeur Boutet de Monvel surmised that:

"Cette année encore, des dizaines de milliers d'enfants qui le souhaiteraient ne trouveront pas de place dans le technique." 1

In the words of a former Minister, it could still be said in 1965 that:

"Des milliers d'enfants n'ont pu, en septembre dernier, être reçus, faute de place, dans un établissement technique." 2

Last September thousands of pupils have not been accepted in a technical institution owing to the shortage of places." 2

Until recently, some of the reasons had not been made obvious, but one of the side-effects of the May 1968 turning point in French education has been the relatively frequent appearance of the Minister of National Education and his officials at radio-broadcasting stations. For example, at the time, le Figaro heralded a new style of rapports by advertising that:

"M. Edgar Faure, Ministre de l'Education nationale, répond à toutes vos questions sur la Réforme de l'université et de l'enseignement ce soir 19 h appelez Europe-1." 3

But this forum-type live-broadcast with the direct participation of listeners has resulted in disquieting questions. On 17 June 1971, 4 a listener asked the two Ministry delegates the number of technical "Lycées" in Paris expressed as a proportion of the overal number of "Lycées" in Paris. From their conversation it soon became clear that there were only two technical "Lycées" in the French capital city. Not surprisingly then, the permanent shortage of highly qualified young people, 5 those who

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constitute the "cadres moyens", or "middle-rank" employees, is common knowledge and can be traced back to the post-World War II years. For example, Dr. Douglas wrote of "a particularly striking deficiency in the small number of technicians that have been trained" in France. A decade later, this theme recurred in the general trends outlined in the Fourth Plan (1962-1965).

In Britain, Desmond Smith has stated a few years later that graduates were being produced at a greater rate than graduate-type vacancies. He then commented that "this is creating a shortage of suitably qualified men and women for posts immediately below the graduate grade". In France, it was suggested that the shortage of "cadres moyens", the "middle-rank" employees, denoted the slow, almost reluctant, expansion of technical education for children. Olivier Guichard, then Minister of National Education, has expressed the official view by saying that everybody wished to:

"En réclamer le développement d'urgence et y envoyer les enfants des autres!" 5

"Ask for its urgent development in order to send there other people's children!" 5

In his study of the education budgets, Jean-Charles Asselain holds a somewhat different view. He surmises that technical education does suffer simply by discouraging applications through the shortcoming of "educational opportunity"; for example by delaying the building of a "Lycée technique"

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or even a "C.E.T." in a given area. A case in point is Paris, where it has been said that only two technical "Lycées" have been built in the post-World War II period. Jean-Charles Asselain has explained that:

"L'enseignement technique est un enseignement coûteux pour (l'Etat) - an expensive education (...).
Il y a eu pratiquement substitution de l'enseignement le plus coûteux." 4

"Technical education is for (the State) - an expensive education (...).
In practice the cheapest education has been substituted to the most costly education." 4

A French scholar had claimed that:

"Une place supplémentaire dans le technique coûte 4,000 francs de plus que dans l'enseignement général." 5

"An extra place in technical education costs 4,000 francs more than in general education." 5

This policy has resulted, as Pierre Daumard's thorough study has shown, in technical education's share of the education budget being constantly reduced. 6

3. Brackets in original.
Subsection b) The French Child and his Acquisition of "the Culture."

"L'enfant d'aujourd'hui sait voir et entendre (...). Le souci naissant qu'il porte aux problèmes scientifiques, sociaux, religieux, est sans cesse aiguisé par l'ambiance dans laquelle il vit. La cour de récréation n'est pas seulement un terrain de jeux: tous les maîtres savent qu'elle constitue une sorte de journal parlé, aigu, frémissant, parfois tumultueux."
- Marcel Lallemand, 1946. 1

The democratization of education fosters a meritocratic form of society, with a hierarchy based on talent (I.Q. plus effort equal merit) as opposed to the aristocracy of birth and the "plutocracy" of capital (vid inf., chapter 10). In France however, the chance of superior adult status for the young has almost always been determined by the adults of superior status, helped by the educational system. Once sponsored by them, selected groups of young people, if they "make good", enter superior status occupations. Hence Martha Wolfenstein's statement that:

"The dreaded 'bachot' (...) is a real 'rite de passage', a painful test to which youths on the verge of maturity are subjected by their elders." 4

In Britain, it has also been noted that:

"If you are sufficiently conformist by nature not to rebel against the whole crazy business then you will do very well." 5

1. Or: "Today's child sees and understands(...). The incipient interest which he has for scientific, social, and religious problems, is continually sharpened by the mood in which he lives. The playground is not only a ground for games: every master knows that it constitutes a kind of keen, sometimes rustling newsreel" (Marcel Lallemand: "Avant-Propos", in Roger Martin du Gard: Jacques Thibault, Paris, 1946, p. VI).


Professeur Crozier has explained that:

"La société française est encore une société 'ascriptive', (c'est-à-dire) que chacun se voit attribuer une place (...) en fonction de son statut, (...) où les examens et les concours jouent le rôle du droit de naissance. Il (sc. le système universitaire français A.S.L.) a pour mission sociale de réaliser ce tour de force qui consiste à maintenir la hiérarchie sociale traditionnelle tout en assurant l'égalité de tous devant l'éducation."  

Any reform in the direction of "life-adjustment" is therefore bound to encounter bitter opposition from the adults of superior status, who have worked out the techniques of social success for themselves through the use of the obsolescent schooling system. However, France no longer uses Intelligence Tests in order to determine fitness for a particular type of education. Originally, Intelligence Tests were designed by Alfred Binet, a Psychologist, when in 1904 the Minister of Public Instruction set up a Commission, whose terms of reference consisted in studying the procedures for the education of mentally subnormal children attending the Parisian schools. Alfred Binet came up with what has not only been considered the right answer but also one which, later on, appeared to be obvious, that mental abilities and functions should be measured by means of mental tests clearly involving these abilities and functions. An English research worker has surmised that approval of I.Q. tests had come partly through people confusing the psychological and common language uses of the word

intelligence. At a meeting held on 17 July 1970 by the Cambridge Society for Social Responsibility in Science, Martin Richards has affirmed that:

"I.Q. testing could be used (...) to maintain a socially and economically privileged elite. This happened throughout the selective education systems of Britain and America." 1

But in France, as Eugene Schreider2 has put it, the I.Q. tests were phased out for a very different reason. He wrote that:

"Si les tests d'intelligence laissaient prévoir, mieux que les notes habituelles, la réussite dans les études, y compris les résultats d'examens et l'acquisition de diplômes universitaires, ils ne fournissaient aucun indice sérieux du succès ultérieur."

But in France, as Eugene Schreider2 has put it, the I.Q. tests were phased out for a very different reason. He wrote that:

"If they forecast, better than the time-honoured mark system, progress in further studies, including examination results as well as university degrees, they provided no reliable clues with regard to success beyond that." 3

Eugene Schreider's explanations recall Alain's famous statement. He declared:

"Décider de ce qu'un homme pourra ou ne pourra pas, d'après les promesses, les signes et les aptitudes, c'est un plaisir d'infatuation, dont je me garde. Il y a déjà tant d'examens qui nous trompent sur la valeur des hommes." 4

During the first half of the twentieth century, French educationists have forcefully kept the educational psychologists and the politicians outside their schools. Party-political warfare had, at the turn of the century,


3. Emphasis in original.

chosen "education (as) the great battleground".\textsuperscript{1} It led "les Compagnons" to fight for an autonomous educational system. They firmly declared:

"Nous ne voulons plus que l'Ecole soit le théâtre où viennent se mesurer les politiciens. (...) Nous sommes décidés à les mettre à la porte de nos classes, qu'ils le veuillent ou non." \textsuperscript{2}

Their views were in keeping with Edouard Herriot's (vid supra, chapter 4, subsection a). He had made the plea that:

"Il faut et le plus vite possible, que l'enseignement, dans un pays comme le nôtre, échappe complètement à la politique." \textsuperscript{3}

With regard to the educational psychologists, Professeur Langlois did not even mention Psychology in his thorough review on teachers' training in Europe.\textsuperscript{4} On the other hand, he quoted the legendary English headmaster claiming that "I have never heard of Pestalozzi, I am none the worse for it."\textsuperscript{5} (Pestalozzi had of course not yet been criticized by Durkheim from a psychological standpoint.)\textsuperscript{6} Decades later, Alain argued that:

"Vous dites que pour instruire, il faut connaître ceux qu'on instruit. Je ne sais pas. Il est peut-être

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\textsuperscript{2} Les Compagnons: "L'Université nouvelle", in Les Cahiers de Probus, (Paris), No. 1, 1919 3rd ed. rev'd., p. 66.
\textsuperscript{4} Charles-Victor Langlois: La Préparation professionnelle à l'enseignement secondaire, (Paris, 1902).
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., p. 73.
\textsuperscript{6} cf., for example, Emile Durkheim: Education et sociologie, (Paris, 1922), p. 56.
\end{flushleft}
plus important de bien connaître ce
qu'on enseigne."  1  perhaps more important to know
what one is teaching."  2

Indeed, when Gustave Monod, the Inspector General of National Education,
commented upon Experimental Psychology, he made clear that:

"Nous préférons faire confiance au
bon sens, à l'expérience, à la
sympathie des maîtres pour les
enfants."  3

"We prefer to put our confidence in
common sense, in experience, in
the teachers' feelings for their
children."  3

Until the nineteen fifties, facilities for teachers with regard to in-service
training were sadly lacking. The first "Centres pédagogiques régionaux",
or "Regional Pedagogical Centres", were set up in 1952 but, widespread
in-service training only became possible when, in March 1972, both Olivier
Guichard, then Minister of National Education, and the delegates of the
"Syndicat national des instituteurs" signed an agreement whereby everyone
of the 240,000 French primary-school teachers will follow one-term full-
time refresher courses which, over their career, will add up to a whole
academic year.  4 However, teachers' training has come under discussion for
some time. Among others, Roger Thabault has commented:

"They (sc. the teachers.A.S.L.) are given a chance
to complete their general education. But at no
time is any attempt made to imbue them with any
definite philosophy of education."  5

1. Alain (Emile Chartier's pseudonym): Propos sur l'éducation, (Paris,
1932), p. 82.

2. Translation from William R. Fraser, in Education and Society in Modern

3. Gustave Monod: "Conclusion et rapport général", in Centre national de

4. On Europe-1, 8.0 a.m. - News-Broadcast, 31 March 1972 (details in Guy
Herzlich: "Ministry to Make In-Service Courses Compulsory For All Teachers"

5. Roger Thabault: "Philosophy and the Education of Teachers in France",
Henri Belliot, a School Inspector, also discussed the teachers' professional training. He surmised that:

"Si un enseignement de psychopédagogie est donné aux instituteurs qui passent par l'École normale (...), on ne trouve qu'exceptionnellement cette formation au niveau du second degré."

Consequently, at the time, the profession welcomed Decree No. 59-57 which stated that teachers in the "observation" phase, i.e. the first two years in secondary schools, "reçoivent une formation psychologique et pédagogique spéciale" (Article 52), or "receive a special training in Psychology and Pedagogy".

Besides, the introduction of the "observation" phase and the subsequent opening of "Transitional classes", the "Classes d'accueil et d'adaptation" (vid inf., chapter 13), which also afford the "observation" phase, have meant co-operation between "professeurs", "instituteurs", doctors, guidance counsellors, and parents, who meet the "professeur principal", or Form teacher. The direct result of this team-work has therefore been the opening of the school doors to the parents, but also to the psychologists (Decree of 8 November 1968, Article 25). However, in view of the pressure...
exerted by two militant teachers' unions,\textsuperscript{1} Ministre Guichard was forced to restrict to teachers, as from 1970, the meetings dealing with the yearly promotions of pupils into the different types of school and the various options (Decree of 16 September 1969, Article 25).\textsuperscript{2} Internal strife festers the teaching profession.\textsuperscript{3} The Minister's decision stemmed from the concerted action of the "S.N.A.L.C." and the "G.A.L.B.", the latter being a dissident faction whose statutes date back to May 1968.\textsuperscript{4}

Officially, Psychology has gained recognition as the teachers of the first two years in secondary education, i.e. the "observation" phase, receive a special training in Psychology and Pedagogy (vid supra, this chapter). Three years after the statute was enacted, Aurélien Fabre deplored that no attempt had been made to implement these instructions.\textsuperscript{5} A decade later, the Rouchotte Report,\textsuperscript{6} which was submitted to the Minister of National Education in 1971, has revived once more an interest in Psychology. The Commission recommended it to practising teachers.\textsuperscript{7} The change of attitude over a fifty-year period is clear, considering Alfred Binet's statement that:


3. cf., for example, D.A. Groarke: "Teaching in French Schools", in \textit{Trends in Education}, (London), No. 27, July 1972, p. 36.

4. Rose Vincent, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 58.


"L’enseignement secondaire reste fermé "To this day secondary education jusqu’ici à la plupart de nos recher- remains shut to most of our research chers de psychologie expérimentale." -l-in Experimental Psychology." 1

This view was not new. At the end of the nineteenth century, Alfred Fouillé, a believer in Classical studies, advised:


However, Psychological investigations undertaken in the inter-war years, led even the confirmed adherents of the 'status quo' to believe that a radical reform of secondary education was imperative. 4 Furthermore, the influence of psychological research and the introduction of child-centred methods of instruction mitigated the rigidity of centralization and already over the last two or three decades, teachers and inspectors have been allowed much more freedom and initiative, 5 as well as increased local variation, than ever before. For example, whilst the old historical provinces of France with linguistic differences, e.g. Brittany, Corsica,


5. Ibid., p. 294.
the Basque Country, and Provence (vid supra, chapter 2), showed a revival of interest in their local languages during the first decades of the twentieth century in particular, Anatole de Monzie, the then Minister of Public Instruction, quite definitely rejected in 1926, the petition of Provencal delegates to allow the use of dialects. After World War II, the use of local antiquities and local songs in dialects was permitted. Following the 1950 Bill, these have become more popular with the recommendation of new methods of instruction around a centre of interest. So, as Professeur Crozier expressed it:

"On constate un peu partout qu'il est possible, dans l'Administration française, d'exprimer des idées et de faire éventuellement des expériences qui eussent choqué il y a dix ans." 3

"It is noticeable that in various places it is possible for the French government service, to express ideas and eventually undertake experiments which would have shocked ten years ago." 3

Dr. Mead has stressed the extent to which, as our political forms and our technology become more uniform, awareness of local cultural styles becomes greater. Although local accents are fast disappearing, in Southern France, there are still eight millions of "Occitans", that is the people who speak the "langue d'oc" (vid supra, chapter 2). In fact, the Occitan and Breton languages are acceptable alternatives as a second language in the

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4. Margaret Mead: "Introduction" to Rhoda Metraux and M. Mead: "Themes in French Culture", in *Hoover Institute Studies*, (Stanford, California), Series D, No. 1, April 1954, p. XI.
Baccalaureate examinations. However, central control, a tradition with sound nineteenth-century roots, is so strong in France that, when deviation from the general uniformity is allowed, it is still the Ministry that chooses the particular schools. This has led Professeur Crozier to reflect that:

"De fait, c'est plutôt autour du sommet que se regroupent les novateurs et la conséquence de leur action aboutit généralement à un surcroît de centralisation." 3

"It is a fact that the innovators tend to be found in greater numbers at the top and the result of their action generally leads to increasing centralization." 3

Initiative comes from the top, such was the case of the "Classes nouvelles" (vid inf., this chapter). Roger Gal, an eminent Reformer, aptly conceded:

"Nul doute que, parmi toutes les méthodes nouvelles, ce sont les méthodes actives qui ont connu le plus large succès. Tout le monde prétend les appliquer. Les instructions officielles elles-mêmes les recommandent. Et pourtant, dans la pratique, qu'est d'hésitations." 5

The "activity method" 6 which depends on having as few as twenty five pupils (vid supra, chapter 4, subsection a), has been appraised for "bringing on the pupil's initiative, aiming at not only developing his native gifts but also correcting his faults and creating qualities, aptitudes and tastes

1. On France-Inter, 10.0 a.m. - C'est Beau la France, a live broadcast, 13 May 1972.
which he does not possess". As the "activity method" provides the environment which allows the children to experiment and observe, and even to exercise responsibility with a view to learning how to express themselves it is in keeping with the official recommendations. This approach represents a major step forward in French educational thoughts for, traditionally, education instilled in the learner the habits, knowledge, and skills necessary to adult life before there was an opportunity to put the skills to use. When the occasion does arise, the individual is fully prepared then to meet it adequately. Understanding and pleasure in the exercise of a skill are expected to follow upon rather than precede or accompany learning. This is related to a conception of personality development and growth as a process of unfolding potentialities. According to an anthropologist, it was a common feature of French culture for a child to be told to watch:

"other children. This absorption in looking seems in part related to the obstacles in the way of free contact with others. Sometimes the closest the child can get is to stand a little way off and look. Then, with the inhibition of motor activity, looking may become, in a compensatory way, intensified. But also French children learn by looking more than by doing. They are taught to watch activities for which they are not yet ready but which they will be able to perform later on. (...) French girls, for instance, learn to cook by watching their mothers."

3. Rhoda Metraux: "Themes in French Culture", in Hoover Institute Studies (Stanford, California), Series D, No. 1, April 1954, p. 31.
4. Our emphasis.
Two examples will suffice to illustrate this point. A French woman described how she and her sister learned how to cook. She recalled that:

"At fifteen, or maybe before, we watched her (sc. mother A.S.L.) and we could stir the stew (...). At sixteen she began to let us peel the vegetables. (...) Then we learned to wash salad. After eighteen and until I married I did half the cooking." 2

Similarly, in the "Ecole Diderot", a Parisian municipal trade school:

"A teaching device attributed to this school was to place a first-year student between a second-year student on one side and a third-year student on the other. He was expected to profit from observation of the work of his more experienced companions." 3

While French educational methods and programmes are often heavily criticized in the English-speaking sphere of influence, it is not unusual for Frenchmen who have first-hand experience of the two different approaches on both sides of the Atlantic ocean to come out in favour of their own whether they belong to the education world or not. In the words of a Frenchman:

"We memorized and recited our lessons. I approve of it wholeheartedly. It seems to me that in that respect the French educational system is perfect. -3-

Look at the American students (...). They don't carry anything in their heads and have to refer to dictionaries for the most insignificant information (...). Completely idiotic." 6

1. Our emphasis.

2. Reported by Rhoda Metraux, in "Themes in French Culture", Hoover Institute Studies, (Stanford, California), Series D, No.1, April 1954, p.40.


5. Our emphasis.

6. Reported by Rhoda Metraux, in "Themes in French Culture", Hoover Institute Studies, (Stanford, California), Series D, No.1, April 1954, p.34.
Another Frenchman said:

"The French system "is definitely better than the American one, and I can judge because my children go to American schools. The kind of memorizing done in French schools is definitely useful (for) forming the child's mind:
mieux vaut l'esprit bien formé, les connaissances peuvent se greffer ensuite." 1 later." 2

Let us end up with the comments of a French "Lycée" teacher:

"French education is completely different from education in America, I might even say that the whole system is completely different, and personally prefer the French system (...). The primary aim of French educators is to develop 'l'esprit' and 'l'indépendance et l'esprit critique'. We want our children to develop into independent thinkers capable of making intellectual decisions. As a result, French children are much quicker than American children and have 'l'esprit plus vif' (a more lively mind)." 3

However, Madame Select-Riou believed that educational reforms would slowly, but surely, introduce the "activity method" 4 in the French educational system. Madame Select-Riou has explained that:

"The teacher's knowledge and experience are put at their (sc. the children's) service. (...)
His real work, infinitely more arduous and difficult, is essentially psychological: to observe in order to understand, to understand in order to direct the activities of each child into the most fruitful channels." 5

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1. Ibid., p. 35.
2. Translation from Dr. Metraux, op. cit., p. 35.
3. Reported by Rhoda Metraux, in "Themes in French Culture", Hoover Institute Studies, (Stanford, California), Series D, No. 1, April 1954, p. 33.
5. Ibid., p. 18.
The "activity method", e.g. "learning by doing", "learning by discovery", which stimulates the child to activity and curiosity, has also been the one encouraged in the experimental "Classes nouvelles" (vid supra, this chapter). The opening of these "Classes nouvelles", in which the teachers working as a team, are allowed to experiment with new methods of teaching which put the emphasis on "learning by doing", is one of the interesting features of the Langevin-Wallon Plan. The "activity method" is much easier on the teacher for, as Professor Pitts has suggested, it does not require as much talent. For example, such a method submits the child to fewer restrictions, and it promotes the creation of peer groups which take responsibilities within the school.

Started in 1945, the "Classes nouvelles", which extended to the whole first "cycle", reinstituted the "Orientation classes" (vid supra, chapter 4, subsection a). In 1950, there were 18,000 pupils in some 750 "New classes" distributed in 200 schools. In these classes:

"The child is more important than the system; the human being than the classification of ideas."

To a certain extent, this assertion reveals a new trend for, within the French culture, it is acknowledged that:

"Childhood is a preparation. Then everything must be useful, not just fun; it must have an educational purpose. (...) Childhood is a period of probation, when everything is a means to an end; it is unenviable from the vantage point of adulthood."

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But, in the early nineteen fifties, this traditional attitude was challenged in official circles. For example, when Charles Brunold, the Director General of Secondary Education issued in 1952 some Circular-Letters in the name of the Minister of National Education, he wrote that:

"Tout notre système d'éducation, s'il se réclame, au point de départ, de cette donnée psychologique qu'est l'enfant, est de plus en plus dominé, au fur et à mesure qu'on s'approche du terme de la scolarité, par une certaine conception que nous nous faisons de l'homme, de son rôle, de ses besoins, partant des moyens, c'est-à-dire du savoir et de la formation, qui lui seront nécessaires. Or ce qui caractérise de plus en plus les élites d'aujourd'hui, même celles qui, par la nature de leur activité, sont les plus éloignées de l'action, c'est leur participation recherchée ou involontaire, à cette action, c'est l'obligation qu'elles ont de découvrir, de créer, de prendre parti." 1

However it must be realized how much this new ideology runs counter to the traditional approach to culture as seen by French people at large, in spite of the fact that:

"The respect for the child is a real social attitude in France..." 2

As a French psycho-analyst once remarked:

"He (sc. the child.A.S.L.) must listen in class and never chat. In public school (sc. State school.A.S.L.), children of six, seven, and eight expose themselves to bad marks and the principal's thunder (sc. the headmaster's.A.S.L.) if they exchange as much as one word among themselves. They must neither move nor talk, but listen and write. They must not look at their neighbours and must even hide


2. Rhoda Metraux: "Themes in French Culture", in Hoover Institute Studies, (Stanford, California), Series D, No. 1, April 1954, p. 5.
their own notebooks from the indiscreet eyes of their classmates. A good school should be boring.  
Thus progressive education is little accepted in France and only in the educated groups. The best school, the most serious school, is the one in which children are sad and in which they learn in the same fashion by which the child has earlier learned to eat - they sadly swallow verbal knowledge and excrete well-presented exercises ('devoirs') which they have produced without pleasure. (...) To their minds (sc. the parents; A.S.L.), progressive schools are for morons, for poor little ones of whom no work can be demanded." 2

While the "activity method" has constantly been gaining ground, in order to put over a comprehensive view, it must be said that the Geneva School's findings from a longitudinal study of the human brain, point to the fact that there is a strong relationship between "memory" and "intelligence", when "intelligence" is taken to mean the ability of "mental organization" 3 (French educationists refer freely to the "Ecole de Genève", usually meaning the group of educational psychologists whose leading figures are Jean Piaget and his associates, Bärbel Inhelder and Alina Szeminska). 4 Consequently, the conservative faction who are in France pledging themselves to maintain the "status quo", appear to substantiate on scientific ground their claim to retain the encyclopedic nature of the educational programmes.

The Decree of 2 June 1960, followed by the Circular-Letters of 16 June and 23 September 1960, were the first official documents, together

1. Our emphasis.


3. On France-Inter, 8.15 p.m. - Inter-Science, a live broadcast, 3 May 1971.

with the Decree of 21 April 1964,\(^1\) which have made known the importance of the "professeur principal", or Form teacher. The rôle of the Form teacher consists of:

"coordonner sous le contrôle du chef d'établissement, l'enseignement des divers professeurs de la classe, de rassembler leurs observations, d'établir avec les familles les liaisons utiles en vue de les informer et de les conseiller."\(^2\)

An individual file in which a continuous assessment is recorded over the four-year period is kept for every pupil. It is called the "Dossier scolaire d'orientation et d'observation".\(^3\) For his extra work and responsibility, the Form teacher receives an extra yearly payment of £200.\(^4\)

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1. cf., for example, "L'Orientation scolaire dans le premier cycle", in L'Education nationale, (Paris), No. 16, 30 April 1964, p. 2.


3. Full details in Roger Moline: "Le Dossier scolaire d'orientation et d'observation continue", Dossiers documentaires, (Paris), No. 72, April 1965, pp. 31-36.

Conclusions.

The major reforms initiated by Decree No. 59-57 have promoted a fluid and complex structure within French secondary education. Briefly, at the age of eleven, most children have completed their primary education and start a four-year "observation" and "orientation" cycle. This phase begins with a process of selection in which the main factors are parental choice and performance in the primary school as recorded by teachers' assessment. Selection by examination is retained for the children of those parents who dispute the decision of the selection committee, and also for the children coming from private primary schools, e.g. Roman-Catholic ones, who, at this stage, wish to enter the State educational system. These regulations still obtain with regard to the Order of 21 April 1964 (vid supra, chapter 8). In 1963, 15 per cent. of those admitted to the "observation" phase entered after having taken the examination, which consists of conventional tests only.

Chapter 10. The "Nouvelle Société" and Economic Expansion.

"Un enfant ne saurait être, en raison de son origine sociale, privé d'une partie de la culture que ses dons et son zèle lui permettraient d'acquérir."

In his momentous speech of 16 September 1969, Jacques Chaban-Delmas galvanized the country's attention on the concept of a "nouvelle société", or new society. The Prime Minister stated in his governmental address that:

"Nous sommes encore un pays de castes."
"Nous devons nous engager à fond dans la voie du changement" pour "la nouvelle sociétè" "prospère, jeune, généreuse et libérée." 

"We are still a country with a caste system."
"We must do our utmost to foster changes" for "a prosperous, young, noble, and freed" "new society."

The idea of a new society was not a new one, for France had been experiencing for some time the vicissitudes inherent to the frictions caused by expanding industrialization encroaching on the established industrial society, hence the need for a better adjustment to the conditions superimposed over the existing French society by the changes which have taken place over the last two decades. This challenge is not peculiar to France. It has spread across western Europe, wherever a fast rate of expansion has been experienced; Northern Italy and the West German Republic being notable examples.

1. Or: "Because of his social background, a child could not be deprived of a part of the culture which his gifts and his eagerness would enable him to acquire" (Pierre Clarac: "Le Problème scolaire et universitaire", in Pierre Clarac, ed.: La France d'aujourd'hui, Paris, 1961, p. 125).
In France, the post-World War II economic expansion affords a sharp contrast to the society characteristic of the Third Republic. Professor Hoffmann's "stalemate society"\(^1\) has been vividly depicted by Giovanni Angioletti, as *La Francia vecchia e nuova*,\(^2\) or "Old and New France". Basically, the spread of industrialization puts a premium on personnel who have completed an extensive education. It is characterized by the growth of the service industries as civil servants, teachers in particular, technocrats, and other white-collar employees swell the tertiary sector (country children who have received an education leave the land,\(^3\) and miners seek alternative employment as mines are being worked out or prematurily closed down), and in the secondary sector, where the number of labourers is dwindling while the skilled workers are affected differently owing to mechanization or automation.\(^4\)

This marked trend has led to a gradual emergence of education, which has tended to foster a re-orientation of significant numbers throughout the various social classes. This mobility through education is gradually replacing small ownership as the symbol of status and economic advantage.

In 1950, Professeur Nathan surmised that:

"On a pu reprocher aux parents de n'avoir rien appris (...), les choses ont beaucoup évolué. Même "Parents used to be blamed for having learnt nothing (...), things have changed a lot. Even the


les plus riches d'entre eux savent qu'un bon métier constitue pour leur fils le capital le plus sûr, et pour leurs filles la dot la moins susceptible de dévaluation." 1 wealthiest know that a good trade constitutes the most reliable investment for their sons, and for their daughters the dowry the least likely to be affected by inflation." 1

Commenting on France, Professor Pitts has similarly explained that:

"Property has lost weight as compared with the earning power of executive work, and will continue to lose weight as professional management becomes able to grant itself expense accounts and stock bonuses. A dowry may not turn out to be as effective a contribution to the strength of a marriage as a good university education which may lead to a civil service rating." 2

As Jean Floud, a noted English Sociologist, has phrased the point:

"The importance of formal educational qualifications in industry has continuously increased over the last fifty years, and there is little doubt that educational opportunity has largely ousted the accumulation of small capital as the principal means of advancement." 3

We can therefore conclude with Alain Touraine, Professor of Sociology at the Nanterre Faculty, that:

"La domination technocratique aboutit à accroître les inégalités (...) Technocratic domination leads to fostering inequality (...). That is the reason why knowledge is its most important investment." 4

There is evidence that, as soon as a State system of education became available, the lower middle class used it as a tool for social betterment. For example, Monsieur Joly's study on the "éducation des classes moyennes"

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1915) revealed what has since then been termed an "achievement syndrome", as not infrequently hard-working youngsters with lower middle-class parents moved into the professional élite. Sociologists have attributed this upward mobility to the fact that:

"La fraction salariée des classes moyennes (qui est) souvent sortie de l'insécurité au prix d'une lutte difficile (est) prédisposée (...) à s'inquiéter plus fortement de l'avenir."  

"The salaried lower middle class (which has) often raised above insecurity at the cost of a hard struggle (is) likely (...) to be more concerned about the future."  

This aspect of "deferred gratification" will be discussed below (vid inf., chapter 12, subsection b).

It may be said that all socio-economic groups have benefited from the expansion of education. The incidence is however greatest among the lower middle class, e.g. artisans and tradesmen, a fact which bears out Jean Guehenno's claim that "success is in its essence bourgeois". This view has been substantiated by sociological research. For example, Messieurs Bourdieu and Passeron have shown that success is related to socio-economic origin because the educational system hands down an "aristocratic" culture through an "aristocratic" relationship between teachers and taught. Yet, the speed and extent of national economic efficiency in an era which puts a premium on a quantitative output, depends on the size of the intellectual.

showing the optimum percentage distribution of levels of qualification among the working population for selected years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of qualification</th>
<th>Terminal</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Age</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I and II</td>
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<td>II</td>
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<td>III and IV</td>
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<td>Age</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

01 0.4 3.9 10.2 85.5
46 1.1 5.8 19.7 73.4
54 1.6 6.7 23.0 68.7
62 2.2 7.9 27.0 62.9
72 13.0 10.0 40.0 37.0


investment. Professeur Crozier has surmised that:

"L'intelligence est une denrée précieuse dans une France pauvre." 2

"Intelligence is a precious commodity in needy France." 2

In the words of a former Minister of National Education:

"L'investissement intellectuel prédetermine en quelque sorte le niveau économique, notamment industriel d'un pays et la compétitivité d'une économie dépend de la sagesse de ses décisions en matières d'enseignement." 4

"Intellectual investment somehow predetermines a country's economic performance, of industry in particular, and the ability of an economy to compete depends upon the wisdom of its decisions with regard to education." 4

Recruiting an ever increasing number of people as "cadres" and technicians with a high Terminal Education Age proves to be a real challenge (cf. Louis Cros, vid inf., chapter 11). Contemporary economists went as far as saying that:

"The creation of such a highly skilled and professional labor force is one of the major problems of a society in transition to industrialism." 5

The "cadres" who possess a superior "know-how", belong to the "professional" category and are sometimes referred to as "software". 7

Comparative figures compiled for selected years are shown in Table X. In its 1972 forecast, the latter conveys the extent of the increase at the upper end of the Terminal Education Age deemed necessary to meet the "societal need"

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3. Emphasis in original.


in order to achieve the manpower objectives. Louis Cros even suggested that:

"(In) the electronic age (...) the nation will have too few specialists in organization; too few expert accountants, economists, and statisticians; too few first-rate nurses, artists (even artists in hairdressing!); too few really good cooks - and, of course, teachers, research workers, inventors, all those, in fact, who create, whose minds are adaptable, who do imaginative work. Of all these there will never be enough." 2

Educational growth has helped to promote "economic growth", 3 that is to say "the expansion of economic output". It is fair to say that the economy would collapse without educated people. Education is an "investment" in people 4 and research has brought out evidence that the spread of education to every stratum of society may boost further economic productivity. 5

When the Fifth Plan (1966-1970) came increasingly under criticism, the French planners readily admitted that their forecasts were largely based on the results expected from the progressive coming of age of the guidance phase, that is to say both the "observation" period and the "orientation" one, in accordance with the reforms which go back to 1959 (Decree No. 59-57)

1. Brackets in original.
and 1964 (Order of 21 April 1964), as well as the extension of schooling to sixteen years which should be fully implemented by 1972 (Sixth Plan, 1971-1975).

Long-term planning is well established in France and in 1970, Joseph Fontanet, then Minister of Labour, has commented upon the aims of the "Plan". He has explained that the Plan was primarily a general forecast of the main economic trends for a given period and it was a study whose main purpose consisted in fostering the development of links between the various activities forming the national economy and its extension in the social sphere. ¹ For example, when production is high, a larger amount of goods is available and it is possible to invest more. There is a connexion between these various aspects pertaining to the life of the nation and the plan must attempt to study them with regard to their development with a view, among others, to produce a coherent synopsis of what is likely to happen. Voted by the French Parliament the "Plan" is a law. ² The authors of the Plan do not merely guess what will happen, they try to control the development of the economy in order to improve it, for the nation's standard of living is directly related to its economic development.

The plan, which is not the brain-wave of the government service, provides figures and objectives that are by no means binding upon the

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¹ Ministre Fontanet, on R.T.L., 1.0 p.m. - Live-Broadcast, 30 May 1970.
Government. It is based on the reports issued by professional and social bodies. As it receives the Government's approval, it is an important document for the whole nation. But, when he was Prime Minister, Jacques Chaban-Delmas has remarked that:

"C'est presque une gageure de vouloir cinq ans à l'avance planifier le développement." 3 "Wishing to plan development Five years ahead is almost a wager." 3

In the past, unforeseeable circumstances have occurred. For example, the May 1968 unrest prevented reaching the aims set out in the Fifth Plan (1966-1970).

The First Plan (1946-1953) goes back to the early days of post-war reconstruction when Jean Monnet 5 presided over the "Commissariat général au Plan", instituted by the Decree of 3 January 1946. 6 As Charles de Gaulle signed the decree nominating Jean Monnet, both their names have been associated with the industrial development of modern France. 7 This

2. Ministre Fontanet, on R.T.L., 1.0 p.m. - Live Broadcast, 30 May 1970.
development is the outcome of a flexible and democratic planning, which has prompted Monsieur Latourte, Chairman of the Commission for Steel, to affirm that:

"On n'est plus dans le pays de Descartes, on est plus près du pragmatisme des Anglais."  

"It is no longer Descartes's country, it is almost British pragmatism."  

This view was endorsed by Professor Kindleberger. He stated that "the rôles have been reversed from the nineteenth century when the British were the pragmatists and the French were doctrinaire."  

A French politician has explained how empirically French planning evolved. He wrote that:

"Le décret du 3 janvier 1946, qui a créé le Commissariat général au Plan, était absolument muet sur le contrôle politique de ce Plan et notamment sur le rôle dévolu au Parlement dans sa préparation et dans sa mise en œuvre. Ce rôle a été peu à peu précisé de manière tout à fait empirique -4- au cours des vingt dernières années."  

"Decree of 3 January 1946, which instituted the 'Commissariat général au Plan', was completely silent with regard to the Plan's political control and in particular on the Parliament's rôle with regard to its preparation and its inception. The rôle has slowly emerged empirically -4- in the course of a twenty-year period."  

A sociologist has surmised that the Planning Commission has resulted in:


4. Our emphasis.

showing a comparison in the development of two basic industries between France and Great Britain for selected years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FRANCE</th>
<th>GREAT BRITAIN</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1949¹</td>
<td>1955¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity (llion K.W.H.)</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal (llion Metric Tons)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:
"(a) creative synthesis between the doctrinaire-hierarchical and the aesthetic-individualistic tendencies of French culture." 1

This synthesis is supposed to express the desire of lucid, intelligent Frenchmen to meet the country's need in manpower and to offer a complete secondary education to a spiralling number of children, 1,698,000 pupils in 1957, 2 3,834,000 in 1969.3 The latter figure represents a real achievement, considering that "no nation, even today, has attained uniformly accessible, high-quality primary schooling for all its regions or communities, not to mention social strata", 4 a goal which, in Great Britain, would require in the estimation of an officially appointed commission an expenditure of over £ 500 million.5

In the years which followed World War II, say, in 1950, France was still much less heavily industrialized than some other West European countries, 6 in particular Great Britain which, at the time, ranked first (cf. Table XI), in spite of the fact that, in France, per capita industrial production

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increased by 47 per cent. over the 1938-1955 period.\textsuperscript{1} Since then, France's yearly output has been growing at a faster rate; an average 6 per cent. per annum between 1946 and 1964\textsuperscript{2} which, after falling to an average of 5.5 per cent. per annum in the late nineteen sixties, rose to 6 per cent. again in 1970.\textsuperscript{3} Such facts have led Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, Director of Research at "Sciences Po.", the "Fondation nationale des Sciences politiques", to surmise that:

"The French have discovered with surprise that they can compete in many industrial sectors." \textsuperscript{4}

This awakening can be traced back to a precise historical moment. Jean-Baptiste Duroselle has written that:

"The change took place when the price of French steel fell below the price of German steel (and resulted in) the disappearance of (...) the French inferiority complex." \textsuperscript{5}

Besides, Professor Kindleberger has suggested that:

"(French) workers have become less revolutionary, more practical." \textsuperscript{6}

The French workers have therefore internalized the relatively simple "révolution intellectuelle", or "intellectual revolution", which consists of

\textsuperscript{3} On R.T.L., 10.0 p.m. - News-Broadcast, 13 January 1971.
understanding that, in this day and age, the improvement of their working conditions depends upon achieving a:

"équilibre entre le prix du travail et la productivité."\(^1\) "Balance between wage and productivity." \(^1\)

In France, the average man-hour output has gone up by about 5 per cent. yearly between 1949 and 1963\(^2\) (in comparison with 1.9 per cent. in Great Britain between 1949 and 1962).\(^3\) As a result, by 1970, France ranked fifth behind the United States, the first economic power, followed by the U.S.S.R., Japan, and the West German Republic (Great Britain, third power in 1960, slipped to the sixth place in 1970\(^4\)).

The development of France can be largely attributed to planning, for French economic planners have been successful. Consequently it has been increasingly possible to foster the ideal of offering a complete secondary education to an ever growing number of pupils by means of successive budgets which have channelled into education a rising share of the Gross National Product. Sizable sums of money have been agreed upon by the National Assembly in order to cater adequately\(^5\) for the larger numbers of pupils and students filling up French schools, a trend which has been described as the "explosion" in the schools.\(^6\)

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1. Raymond Cartier, on R.T.L., 8.45 a.m. - Tribune Libre, 7 September 1971 (cf., for example, Paul Huvelin, interview by Michel-P. Hamelet, in Le Figaro, Paris, No. 8391, 7 September 1971, p. 4).


3. Ibid., p. 56.

4. Statistics from Raymond Cartier, on R.T.L., 8.30 a.m. - Tribune libre, 20 July 1970.

5. cf., for example, the pamphlet of the "Club Nouvelle Frontiere", (Paris: 19, rue Monsieur), November 1969.

Table XII  Showing the increase in the education budget, as well as the percentages of the national budget and of the Gross National Product, for selected years (1862-1972)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In millions of &quot;new&quot; fr²</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education budget</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>2729</td>
<td>3178</td>
<td>6514</td>
<td>8032</td>
<td>8988</td>
<td>9426</td>
<td>10902</td>
<td>13536</td>
<td>23123</td>
<td>32500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of the national budget</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>7.20</td>
<td>7.35</td>
<td>6.86</td>
<td>7.40</td>
<td>10.80</td>
<td>11.56</td>
<td>12.20</td>
<td>12.03</td>
<td>12.83</td>
<td>14.41</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of the G.N.P.</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>4.16</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>4.86</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edmond-Grange's page number</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>155</td>
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<td>162</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2. The figures represent current prices, i.e. the money actually spent in the year in question. The
The education budget has been increased every year, in spite of sporadic economy measures. Such measures affecting the education budget have been taken in 1949 and 1950, when France was suffering from economic difficulties. Similarly in Great Britain, R.A. Butler's first action as incoming Chancellor was to hold down public spending in 1951.¹

More recently, in France, the education budget was cut again by the Government on the recommendations of the "Comité Rueff",² as a result of the austerity budgets of 1958 and 1960 (cf. Table XII). The 1969 education budget absorbed 17 per cent. of National Expenditures.³ It amounted to 4.9 per cent. of the Gross National Product of France.⁴ The 13 per cent. increase over the 1968 expenditures for education was large, considering that the other items had been drastically kept down. For the first time, the 1972 education budget was higher than the defence budget which, from 1962 onwards, has been absorbing a constantly smaller proportion of the Gross National Product. Already in the eighteen eighties, Jules Ferry had thought it essential to spend at least one sixth of the national budget on education⁵ (vid supra, chapter 1).

Chapter 11. The Influence of Technology on Education.

"Il faut considérer en premier lieu que l'enseignement des facultés est un enseignement général et qui n'aboutit à aucun métier." 1

- Georges Urbain, Professor at the Sorbonne.

In France, Science gained some recognition over the last century, and in 1879, the Corbon Commission even advocated State action. But, there is evidence that, until comparatively recent times, i.e. the 1933 quote from Professeur Urbain (cf. epigraph, this page), Applied Science had not acquired in higher education a status on a par with the traditional disciplines.

Particular attention to the importance of Applied Science in a modern economy has been drawn by specialists whose disciplines ranged from Education, e.g. Louis Cros, to Sociology, i.e. Jean Fourastié. The latter has claimed that:

"Il n'est pas un aspect de la vie humaine qui n'ait été gravement perturbé par l'inquisition scientifique. Sensibilité, sentimentalité, affectionatessen, arts, lettres, philosophie, droit, statut des personnes, relations humaines, tout a été ruiné par les effets corrosifs de la science, rongeant maille après maille les idées reçues, les idéaux, le merveilleux, tout ce qui, au sens fort du terme enchantait l'homme dans sa prison." 3

"There is not one aspect of human life that has not been deeply changed by scientific encroachment. Sensitivity, sentimentality, affectionateness, fine arts, liberal arts, philosophy, law, people's status, human relations, everything has been wrecked and ruined by science's corrosive action pervading the time-honoured ideas, the ideals, the supernatural, everything which, in the true sense of the word, enraptured man in his prison." 3

The change expressed by Professeur Fourastié will, in the latter part of

1. Or: "First and foremost it must be realized that the education in the faculties is a general education which does not open on any profession" (interview by Guy Laborde, published in Le Temps, Paris, No. 26417, 26 December 1933, p. 6).

2. Emphasis in original.

this chapter, be illustrated by means of excerpts selected from works published over the last thirty years or so. But first, let us look at a summary of some of the documents which reflect the change of mood.

In the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, the Corbon Commission drew attention to the competitiveness both of Europe and the United States. The latter had already integrated further the Arts and Science. Evidence of this may be seen in the motto of a university founded at the time. The motto of the University of Syracuse proclaims that:

"Suos cultores scientia coronat."  
"Science crowns her devotees."

The Corbon Commission issued its report in 1879. The Commission came out in favour of State action. According to Senator Tolain, the Committee's decision was justified because:

- "the system of apprenticeship is gradually disappearing";¹
- "the increased division of labour, resulting in many specialities in the place of former trades";²
- "the extensive replacing of handwork by machine work and the development of large factories";
- "the competition of foreign manufacturers, particularly those in Germany, Belgium and America".³

¹ Commission Corbon: Rapport, 1879, Part II (translation published "in extenso" in Charles A. Bennett, op. cit., p. 166).
³ Ibid., p. 166.
The work of the Corbon Commission formed a sound basis for the "Loi Astier", which was passed without debate on 25 July 1919 by the French Parliament. The "Astier Law" "gave a charter to technical education", a charter that has, from the onset, safeguarded the general education of French young people. The Astier Law defined once more the "enseignement technique" as had the "National Commission of Technical Education" (1865). In Article I it is stated that:

"L'enseignement technique industriel ou commercial a pour objet, sans prejudice d'un complement d'enseignement general, l'etude theorique et pratique des sciences et des arts ou metiers en vue de l'industrie ou du commerce." 2

"Industrial or commercial technical education has for its aim, without prejudice to additional general education, the theoretical and practical study of the science and of arts and crafts in relation to industry and commerce." 2

In technical education, the emphasis is undoubtedly on practical work with the hands, coupled with skilful use of mind and eye without, it will be noted, prejudice to additional general education. The result is that, within a few years, France benefited from a network of vocational and technical schools, for both full-time and part-time education. The Astier Law pervaded the whole fabric of technical education and a contemporary British observer could write that it "aroused an interest in technical education on the part of industrialists". Over the following forty years

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technical education has undergone a rapid development,\(^1\) in spite of the fact that it remained a marginal type of education.\(^2\)

The breakthrough dates back to the post-World War II period when, for the first time, a serious attempt to put technical education on a par with the "academic" stream was made in the form of the "Baccalauréat technique", or Technical Baccalaureate, a paper qualification instituted at the beginning of 1946. It was going to open up new vistas in education, with the concept of a "scientific culture" advocated in the nineteen twenties by Leon Berard,\(^3\) then Minister of Public Instruction. At the time, a group of teachers surmised that:

"Les sciences achèvent l'éducation de la raison commencée par les disciplines littéraires." 4

"The Sciences crown the education of the reason, which was started by the literary subjects." 4

Traditional culture must be safeguarded, but there is room alongside for the "new scientific culture".\(^5\) This declaration from Jacques Duhamel, Minister of Cultural Affairs, sums up the importance given in official circles to the scientific spirit, which emerged some twenty five years ago. At the time, Professeur Langevin wrote that:

"The special task of the technical section of the secondary school will be to harmonize apprenticeship and culture for those children in whom a taste for manual activity prevails (...). Our care should be to raise every branch of learning and every discipline


5. Ministre Duhamel, on R.T.L., 7.0 p.m. - News-Broadcast, 7 April 1971 (from a recording).
to equal cultural dignity. Our desire is to
insure that the highest humanist viewpoint will
be present in full in every section of education.
There is no domain so technical nor activity so
purely manual but that it can have its cultural
value. Let us never forget that it was man's
hands which created his brain. Thought comes
from action and in a sane human being should
return to action." 1

The revival in favour of technical education in the wake of World War II,
as had been the case after "la Grande Guerre" (i.e. The Astier Law, 1919),
is explained by the need to provide quickly the skilled working force
necessary for the efficient rebuilding of "blood-drained" France, an aim
which would call for the sustained effort of a concerted action and whose
achievement was no short-term target.

Long-term efficiency 2 evidently entailed to look at current trends
and even to question the validity of existing teaching methods. In the
middle of the nineteen fifties, Louis Cros frequently contributed to the
debate. He has surmised that:

"Il y a cent ans les cadres instruits
d'une nation ne représentaient que
2% de la population. Ce nombre
dépasse aujourd'hui 25%. Dans
quelques dizaines d'années, si
l'évolution continue au même rythme,
plus des trois quarts des Français
devront atteindre un niveau d'instruc-
tion au moins égal (mais non
identique) -3- à celui d'un
bachelier actuel." 4

"A hundred years ago the educated
people of a nation represented only
two per cent. of the whole
population. Today they exceed
twenty five per cent. Within
decades, if evolution keeps its
present pace, more than three
quarters of French people will have
to reach a level of education at
least equal (but not identical) -3-
to that of present-day
'Baccalaureate' holders." 4

1. Paul Langevin: "Culture and the Humanities", in New Education

2. For a discussion on efficiency, cf. Jean Meynaud: Technocratie et
politique, (Lausanne, Suisse, 1960).

3. Brackets in original.

4. Louis Cros: "Tronc commun ou école unique", in L'Education nationale,
(Paris), No. 30, 8 November 1956, p. 4.
And again that:

"En 1914, l'enseignement secondaire accueillait 2% de la population scolaire. En 1964, il en recueillera 20%. Or, seulement 10% des enfants peuvent bénéficier pleinement de ses méthodes." 2

Subsequently, Louis Cros substantiated in stages his 1956 forecast.

First, he wrote:

"La France n'a plus3 la structure économique et sociale du XIXe siècle (...). Ses besoins en cadres intellectuels sont déjà dix fois supérieurs à ceux d'avant 1914 et ne cessent de croître. L'effectif dirigeant (techniciens et cadres -4-) d'un centre atomique est de 40% de l'ensemble du personnel, alors qu'il est de 2% dans une mine de charbon." 5

Then he pointed out that:

"Industrial work becomes more and more a matter of organization, of the regulation of machines, of the control of a complex entity composed of men and machines constantly changing, in which the unskilled labourer makes way for the skilled workman, the workman for the technician, the technician for the engineer, the engineer for the research worker." 6

If we agree with Louis Cros's view that a technologically advanced democracy requires a high level of general education of all its members in

1. cf. Table XI.
2. Louis Cros, op. cit. (No. 30, p. 4).
3. Emphasis here and infra in original.
4. Brackets in original.
order to function efficiently in industry and politics, and let us not forget that Académicien Armand conceded that:

"C'est en France, en effet, que le pourcentage de postes administratifs occupés par des hommes de formation technique est le plus élevé." 1 "It is true that it is in France that the percentage of administrative posts held by men with a scientific training, is the highest." 1

then it follows that all children should be educated to the uppermost limit of their capacity. In the early nineteen sixties, Professeur Fourastié already made a forecast on these lines. He visualized that:

"La génération des jeunes gens ayant aujourd'hui de 15 à 20 ans, comprendra 18 à 20% de bacheliers." 2 "The present generation aged fifteen to twenty will include 18 to 20 per cent. of Baccalaureate holders." 2

This growing demand for education is a reflection of technological changes within "la nouvelle société", or "the new society", which is leading to an upgrading of the occupational structure. In response to this societal need the educational system will be adapted by means of further reforms which will be investigated below (vid inf., Section C).

In France, as in many other countries, technical education has tended to be considered only as second best, something to contemplate once it was quite clear that the pupil would not succeed in the more respectable disciplines, such as Classical studies. In fact, many parents and teachers merely look upon technical education as a means to an end. They show little awareness of its characteristics whereby pupils are actively involved in a learning situation which ultimately leads to the comprehension of the theory of a concept by concrete graded steps. Among others,

1. Louis Armand interviewed by Bertrand Girod de l'Ain, for Le Monde, (Paris), No. 4058, 8 February 1958, p. 6.

Professeur Friedmann and Louis Cros have drawn their fellow-countrymen's attention to technical education with regard to its value as an educational method. For example, in one of his 1956 papers, Louis Cros explained that:

"On a pour habitude de définir l'enseignement technique par sa finalité professionnelle. Or, comme l'ont montré de nombreuses études, -1- il est aussi une pédagogie: une pédagogie du concret, de l'observation, de l'action utile. Un nombre considérable d'enfants probablement le plus grand nombre, ont besoin pour exercer leur intelligence, de l'appliquer à des données réelles, à des choses observées et maniées, à des actes dont ils comprennent l'efficacité immédiate. Non qu'ils soient incapables d'idées générales. Mais il faut les conduire à l'abstraction par le chemin de l'observation; il faut aller des mains à l'esprit."  

2.

Alain had previously expressed views similar to Louis Cros's. Looking back upon his own childhood, Alain recalled:

"Quand j'étais petit, j'allais voir passer les trains. La première chose que je compris, ce fut le mécanisme de l'aiguillage. Entre temps, j'allais au collège où l'on m'apprenait du latin et du grec. Comme j'avais une bonne mémoire, je passais pour intelligent; en réalité, mon intelligence ne s'exerçait qu'en dehors du collège, et toujours sur des mécaniques. Un tel fait devrait éclairer les:"  

"When I was young, I used to go and see the trains. The first thing I understood, was the principle of the railway points. Meantime, I went to college where I was taught Latin and Greek. Owing to my good memory, I was considered to be intelligent; in fact my intelligence only developed outside college, and always in connexion with mechanical things. This acknowledgement should enlighten the:"  


2. Louis Cros: "Tronc commun ou école unique", in L'Education nationale, (Paris), No. 30, 8 November 1956, p. 3.
This statement sums up the pedagogical value of technical education, which is particularly suited to the concept of "learning by doing" (English in original). To this must be added the all-important consideration of training people. Monsieur Ballenger has pointed out that:

"La formation des hommes est dans notre siècle une des choses les plus importantes qui soient."  
"The training of people is in the present century one of the most important things."  

This view is not surprising considering that Louis Cros had already stressed the fact that:

"As we know, the result of technical development consists in creating further needs for intellectual workers. The posts in management and research, in administration and co-ordination, in scheduling the work and its quality-control are continually increasing whilst the number of unskilled jobs is dwindling for such tasks are increasingly being completed by machines."  

As factories and mills are increasingly being automated, middle-rank employees are needed in ever growing numbers. It means that, in comparative

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terms, the production workers have been dwindling, whilst the relative importance of middle-rank employees has been gaining ground. Alfred Sauvy,\(^1\) Professor at the "Collège de France", has called this process a "loi absolument fondamentale du développement\(^2\) technique", or an "iron law of technical development".\(^2\)

Giving a concrete example, this author has explained that:

"Dans la Société Peugeot, de 1939 à 1955, le nombre des ouvriers a augmenté de 0,4% seulement, celui des employés de 18% et celui des 'ingénieurs' de 109%." \(^3\) "In the Peugeot Company, between 1939 and 1955, the number of workers has increased by 0.4 per cent., whilst that of clerical staff increased by 18 per cent. and that of 'graduates in engineering' by 109 per cent." \(^3\)

This trend is not peculiar to France. For example, at the time, an American author has suggested that in the nineteen sixties "there will be virtually no increase in the demand for unskilled workers and only an 18 per cent. increase in the demand for semi-skilled workers. Nearly half of all jobs are white-collar positions, most of which require at least a high school education." \(^4\)

As we have seen, by and large, the work is increasingly done by machines. This trend has also been acknowledged by Howard Matthews, the U.S. Minister of Education. He declared that:

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2. Emphasis in original.
"Dans les travaux actuels de production, l'homme est de plus en plus un 'garde-machines'." 1

This is the phenomenon that Lewis Mumford had defined in the inter-war years. To Lewis Mumford: 2

"(In) Neotechnic Automatism, (...) the worker has a smaller part than ever to play in them (sc. factories.A.S.L.): he lingers on as a machine-herd." 3

In France, this concept of the "machinery-minder" is believed to have developed from the combination of two factors. First, the fast growing complexity of the technological knowledge required by the production process, which spans the various phases, from the research level down to the final stage of mass production. Secondly, the latter stemmed from the work initiated by Frederic Taylor, 4 an American Quaker, 5 whose early twentieth-century practical experiments led to the breakdown of complex industrial processes into several separate simple tasks.

Professeur Friedmann 6 summed it up:

"Pour chacune de celles-ci (sc. the tasks.A.S.L.), on prétend ainsi définir une méthode exemplaire, la meilleure et la seule, 'the one best way'." 7

"For each one of these (tasks), it is assumed that the ideal method, the best and only one, 'the one best way' -7- is defined."


3. Our emphasis.


For each operation, Frederic Taylor thus defined "the one best way", which would be endlessly repeated and performed by the same workers throughout their working life. This type of performance has resulted in a divorce between the French blue-collar worker and his employer. Céline has illustrated how the former perceives the latter. He wrote:

"Ça ne vous servira à rien ici vos études, mon garçon! Nous n'avons pas besoin d'imaginatifs dans notre usine. Vous n'êtes pas venu ici pour penser, mais pour faire les gestes qu'on vous commandera d'exécuter."  

This last statement recalls Frederic Taylor who, in the course of a discussion, once summed up his method, which consists of carrying out:

"ponctuellement 'des ordres donnés' "scrupulously instructions given dans les moindres détails."  

The French workers, who do not share the same Capitalist interests as their employers with their "obsession de produire toujours plus de biens matériels", or their "obsession of continually producing more material goods", resent the fact that too many of their waking hours are spent performing "un travail sans joie", or "a joyless work". In a novel, Roger Martin du Gard has expressed the feelings of the "galériens du monde moderne", or the "galley-slaves of the modern world". He wrote:

3. Raymond Aron, on Europe-1, 9.10 a.m. - Chronique, 23 April 1972.
4. Jean Ferniot, on R.T.L., 8.15 a.m. - Commentaire, 22 September 1971.
"J'ai travaillé, un moment à Fiume, comme manutentionaire, dans une fabrique de boutons. J'étais l'esclave d'une machine qu'il fallait alimenter, sans interruption, de dix secondes en dix secondes! Impossible de distraire, une minute, sa pensée ou sa main... Un geste, toujours le même, qu'il fallait répéter pendant des heures. Sans vraie fatigue, je veux bien. Mais, je vous jure, je sortais de là (...) abruti par l'imbécillité de ce travail." 1

Not surprisingly then, workers' interviews lead to the conclusion that:

"Le travail est un vide, et dans la quasi-totalité des cas l'ouvrier répond à ce fait en n'attribuant plus aucun autre rôle à son travail que celui d'être pour lui le moyen de se procurer de l'argent." 2

On the other hand, almost half a century ago, Lewis Mumford, the American Sociologist, had already explained that the structure of twentieth-century industry, in its transient stage from the "eotechnic phase" 3 to the "neotechnic phase", 4 enhanced further the prominence of the functions pertaining to the managerial, and other supervisory, staff. Embodied here are the more subtle demands made on present-day administration, which implies a momentous social progression, when compared with the autocratic supervision of the last century overseer.

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Fifty years ago, Richard Tawney had forecast the doubling of "the national output of wealth per head of population" by the year 2000.¹

Within decades of World War II, the Western world was witnessing an unprecedented rate of increase in the national output, which led Professeur Aron to surmise that:

"Les accords de Bretton Woods" ² "The Bretton Woods agreements" ² have conferred to the Western world an unprecedented boom for twenty-five years." ³

French officials soon realized that the educational system should keep pace with the expansion of the economic development. The "Commission de l'équipement scolaire" studied the national output throughout the industrial development in France. Quoting from the report, Professeur Fourastie could write that:

"En onze ans, de 1950 à 1961, la production nationale a progressé autant que de 1860 à 1940." ⁴ "Within eleven years, between 1950 and 1961, the national output has increased as much as between 1860 and 1940." ⁴

We have seen how the percentage of educated people had passed from 2 per cent. to 25 per cent. over a hundred years (cf. Table X). This change in the number of "cadres" and technicians that constitutes the nation's software (vid supra, chapter 10), coupled with the rapid increase in the national output which has taken place over the last twenty years, have important implications for the country's educational policy in general, and technical education in particular.

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The inception of both a "Technical Baccalaureate" and a new type of technical institute known as "Centres d'apprentissage", or "Training Centres", provided the boost to technical education which it so urgently needed. In 1959, these "Centres d'apprentissage" became officially known as "Collèges d'enseignement technique", or "Technical colleges" (Decree No. 59-57, Article 32). The rapid development of technical education, as well as its significance within the wider context of the education scene, did not escape the writers of the time. Already in 1949, Académicien Guéhenno reflected:

"Il faut se réjouir que l'enseignement technique prenne dans ce pays une si grande extension. Rien, de toute évidence, n'est plus nécessaire. Mais son organisation soulève bien des problèmes. (...) L'enseignement technique a, dans les circonstances actuelles d'immenses responsabilités."

"Let us be glad that technical education is growing to such an extent in this country. Obviously, nothing is more necessary. But its organization raises many problems. (...) In the present circumstances, technical education has enormous responsibilities."

In the late nineteen forties, Professeur Friedmann, a Sociologist, also discussed the calling reserved to technical education and the institutions which would ultimately become technical colleges. His paper deserves extended quotation. Professeur Friedmann wrote:

"Descartes, à divers endroits du Discours de la méthode, nous fait souvenir qu'il est plus facile de se rapprocher de l'ordre et de la perfection en construisant une maison nouvelle qu'en utilisant les murs parfois disparates d'une ancienne. -3- C'est aussi la raison...

"Descartes, at various points in his Discours de la méthode, reminds us that it is easier to approximate to order and perfection by constructing a new house than by using the sometimes disparate walls of an old one. -3- This is...


pour laquelle, jusqu'ici, les principes pédagogiques de l'Enseignement technique s'affirment davantage dans les centres d'apprentissage que dans telle autre catégorie d'établissements plus anciens, où l'inspiration nouvelle rencontre inévitablement plus de difficultés et de résistances. C'est également celle pour laquelle le jeune Enseignement technique, dans son ensemble, représente en France un terrain particulièrement favorisé pour le succès de méthodes pédagogiques nouvelles. A côté de l'admirable effort des "classes nouvelles", les centres d'apprentissage constituent indubitablement, malgré, en bien des cas, l'insuffisance matérielle de leurs locaux et de leur outillage, la plus importante expérience pédagogique qui se poursuive actuellement dans notre pays. La vague se propageant à tous ses établissements, l'Enseignement technique peut, à partir de là, offrir une aide, un stimulant de rénovation des méthodes et des programmes à d'autres ordres d'enseignement. C'est là une grande mission, mais aussi une lourde responsabilité." 2

It is then increasingly believed that the successful breaking down of the class barriers, through the entry of other than academic school pupils in any numbers, does accentuate the problem of adequate preparatory humanistic studies; e.g. the transmission of the essentials of the spiritual heritage of the West. Such considerations focus on the problem of re-structuring the timetable for the humanistic studies deemed necessary to acquire "the culture", which is likely to involve at least some re-organization and

1.  vid supra, chapter 9.


possibly even the breaking down of specialism in order to accommodate the Humanities.

There is evidence that any serious attempt which has opened new vistas has been short lived. For example, a dramatic change which had occurred within years in the educational policy ruling over technical education, prompted Monsieur Sauvez to affirm that:

"Malheureusement, sans raisons valables, certains formalistes se sont émus de cette apparente 'anarchie' et ont imposé en 1954 le retour aux programmes rigides et traditionnels à faire 'avaler' obligatoirement. Return to the classical French course with an essay every fortnight, to the precise syllabi in History and Geography, to the tests, marks, and rankings (...). 'It's the primary school all over again', the pupils say with some justifications." 1

Among other remarks, Monsieur Sauvez mentioned "marks". At the time, Lucien Paye, a former Minister of National Education, wrote in a Circular-Letter:

"Mark, for one must, out of respect for school traditions, write in a mark." 2

The very principle of marking and grading has however been seriously challenged by Professor Skinner, the behavioural Scientist. He wrote that:

"We don't need grades. Everyone knows that talents and abilities don't develop at the same rate in

different children.\textsuperscript{1} "The grade is an administrative device\textsuperscript{2} which does violence to the nature of the developmental process."\textsuperscript{3}

Yet, the retention of well-established teaching tools works against the democratization of secondary education. Some of the older teaching methods, which rely predominantly on the abstract and theoretical, presuppose a considerable cultural background and tradition in the pupils and, as a result, such methods neither correspond to the needs nor contribute to the advancement of the lower social classes. This aspect of education has been taken up by Monsieur Lacoin, the Secretary General of "La Plus Grande Famille". He stated that:

"Il faut que les professeurs de l'enseignement secondaire n'hésitent pas à modifier leurs méthodes en se mettant au niveau des enfants qu'ils ont à instruire."\textsuperscript{4} "It is necessary that secondary education teachers do not hesitate to change their methods by bringing themselves to the level of the children they do teach."\textsuperscript{4}

A nineteenth-century commission had already drawn attention to the problem. The Corbon Commission (1879) made the following plea:

"Society at the present time is preoccupied with the improvement of education (…). It is time to bring about a veritable revolution in the manner of rearing youth."\textsuperscript{5}

In the nineteen sixties, a systems analyst surmised that if "the first fact is that education is a mass production, labor-intensive\textsuperscript{6} industry, (it is) still tied to a handicraft technology"\textsuperscript{7} and a recent French Minister of National Education went as far as saying that:

2. Our emphasis.
Philosophe Luc² had become the first Director General of Technical Education in 1937. In that year, he claimed that technical instruction should be an "education for culture".³ This statement reflected a certain mood of change which, at the time, prompted Sébastien Charlety, a former Rector of the University of Paris, to ask "why not a Technical Baccalaureate?", thus claiming technical education to be a "school of culture".

However, only the far-sighted post-war educationists could institute this new type of Baccalaureate. Professor Dobinson has rightly pointed out that:

"Reformers pressed, not for the lowering of the high intellectual standard of the Baccalaureate, but for its extension at the same intellectual level in a wider range of disciplines than the Latin-Greek, and the Modern and Mathematics." ⁴

In accordance with the recommendations of the Langevin-Wallon Commission,⁵ the "Technical Baccalaureate" was successfully enacted at the beginning of

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1946 which resulted in "a decisive blow struck for the recognition of technical education as an equal and integral part of the nation's education services." ¹

Once the first step was taken, subsequent development which followed enhanced further the status newly gained by technical education. Only a year after the inception of the "Technical Baccalaureate", the Decree of 16 January 1947 proclaimed that:

"Les instituts de faculté ou d'université ainsi que les établissements rattachés à une université qui donnent un enseignement supérieur sanctionné par un diplôme d'ingénieur sont transformés en écoles nationales supérieures d'ingénieurs." (Article 1) ²

"All faculty or university higher schools as well as the colleges linked to a university, dispensing a higher education leading to a diploma in engineering are to be given the status of Higher National Schools' (Article 1). ²

For the first time, all higher technological education came under the same administrative and financial authority, namely the Ministry of National Education. ³

However, a decade later, the shortcoming of technical education was once more highlighted in the "Comité d'étude's" Report submitted to Ministre Berthoin, as had been the case in the Delbos Bill, 1950 ⁴ (vid supra, chapter 5). In the late nineteen fifties, two writers endorsed a similar view. Michel Vermot-Gauchy drew particular attention to "Nos

besoins en ingénieurs",

or "Our need for graduates in engineering". The Billères Bill led Monsieur Arra, a School Inspector, to exclaim in a dynamic sentence:

"Commençons par accroître le nombre et la capacité des écoles techniques de tous les ordres, nous verrons s'accroître du même coup le nombre des scientifiques." 4

"Let us start by increasing the number and capacity of the technical schools of all kinds, and we shall immediately see an increase in the number of scientists." 4

In the middle nineteen sixties, a study published by the "Centre de Sociologie européenne" has revealed how, within technical education, the traditional outlook, with its classification of disciplines into a hierarchy ranging from "intellectual" subjects down to "manual" ones, is adopted by pupils, whereas they deliberately ignore the studies leading to first-rate occupations. 5 The low status of, and deficiencies in higher technological education stem from the differential emphasis on Science and Technology. 6 Although, by 1970, the yearly figure of students sitting the "technical Baccalaureate", reached the number of 50,000 candidates (as compared with 15,500 in Economics and Social Sciences: "B" series; 33,000 in Mathematics: "C" series; and 9,500 in Mathematics and Technological


4. Our emphasis.

5. cf., among others, C. Grignon: Apprentissage d'un métier ou acquisi-

6. cf., for example, "Le Projet du Comité d'étude de la Réforme de l'enseignement", in L'Éducation nationale, (Paris), No. 16, 5 May 1955, p. 8.
Table XIII showing the rates of passes in the different series of the Baccalaureate in the Academy of Paris, for 1969 and 1970.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Literary</td>
<td>Philosophy and Letters</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td>68.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baccalaureate</td>
<td>Economics and Sociology</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td>69.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientific</td>
<td>Maths and Physics</td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td>66.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baccalaureate</td>
<td>Maths and Natural History</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td>62.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maths and Technology</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td>59.1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mechanical Engineer's</td>
<td>F1</td>
<td></td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Electronics</td>
<td>F2</td>
<td></td>
<td>44.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Electrical Technology</td>
<td>F3</td>
<td></td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Civil Engineering</td>
<td>F4</td>
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<td>Physics</td>
<td>F5</td>
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<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>F6</td>
<td></td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Biochemistry</td>
<td>F7</td>
<td></td>
<td>-2</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Administration</td>
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<td></td>
<td>86.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Technostructure (Management)</td>
<td>G2</td>
<td></td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>G3</td>
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<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Computer Technology</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2. Series F4 to F7 and H were created in 1970.

Sciences: "E" series\(^1\), the examiners appeared to be stricter in their marking of examination papers for this relatively new award, a conclusion drawn in view of their much lower average rates of passes.\(^2\) The various percentages for 1969 and 1970 in the Academy of Paris are set out in Table XIII. It must be pointed out that the "E" series, attracting some 9,500 pupils yearly, is a "Baccalaureate of Technician", that is to say a scientific one, which is far more difficult than (and therefore should not be confused with) the "Technical Baccalaureate".\(^3\)

In 1947, Direktor Vieweg called together an international congress of particular interest and significance. The "Internationer Kongress für Ingenieur-Ausbildung", or "International Congress for Technological Education", was held at Darmstadt (Germany). This Congress dealt with four main themes, which were:

- technics as an ethical and cultural opportunity;
- the present state and trends of development in technological education throughout the world;
- the admission of students to universities as related to social problems;
- the exchange of professional ideas.\(^4\)

When discussing topics related to these matters, scientists and educationists from all over the world pleaded for a sociological basis to

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the teaching of Science and Technology.¹

The thoughts of the delegates and, indeed, the spirit of that Congress, are crystallized in Professor Brecht's inaugural address. An excerpt will bear witness of this:

"Technical science in itself is not evil. Its absolute value is determined by its aim and not by the direct aim, but by the final, deepest ends it is to serve. Therefore we must dig down to the roots and we must penetrate into the borderland in which originate the possibilities of good and evil. Greater knowledge as to the peril involved and the danger emanating therefrom should raise technical thought and technical work into an atmosphere impenetrable to contamination and suited to the true nature of science." ²

This theme will be pursued further in the subsection investigating scientific higher education (vid inf., chapter 14, subsection b).

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Conclusions.

Technical education still suffers from a certain amount of slighting which is derived from the former "technical" education and its association with the so-called practical abilities related to the development of manual skills rated to be lower in dignity than the academic pursuit. However, it has been seen that the "Baccalauréat technique" was the milestone of the post-World War II period, as the Astier Law had been after the First World War.

In making available to the French youth a "paper qualification" directly comparable with the ones in existence for the more traditional forms of education, the French system opened steadily the educational opportunities so necessary to a modern nation facing a keen technological competition from other industrial countries.

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Table XIV showing the changes in the distribution of the working population for selected years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic groups</th>
<th>1896</th>
<th>1926</th>
<th>1954</th>
<th>1962</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural self-employed</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory and business owners</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher managerial, administrative, and liberal professions</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-rank executives</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White collar workers</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial workers</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>36.7</td>
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<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.8</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


"Les enfants du peuple font fausse route parce que leurs familles ignorent le bienfait des lettres classiques dont elles n'ont pas profité."
- Léon Blum, December 1921.

Traditionally, secondary education has been more widespread among the children with a middle-class background than among those whose parents belonged to one of the lower socio-economic groups. It has however become clear that, in order to secure the recruitment of the growing numbers of educated people the country needs to foster its economic progress (vid supra, chapter 10), French educationists will have to tap more and more widely the lower social strata. But, there are certain peculiarities in the French social structure. First and foremost, de Certeau and Julia have shown the slow change undergone by the French society over the last two decades (cf. Table XIV). At the time of the 1954 Census, only 65 per cent. of the working population were employees. However, the structure is changing rapidly. In 1946, this country endowed with half the arable land of the Common Market, had its 114 million acres, or "46 millions d'hectares", shared between 2.5 million land owners (a state which reflects the long-term effect of the "Code Napoléon which endorsed the widespread custom of equal division of property among a man's heirs". The number

1. Or: "Working-class children take the wrong course because their families are unaware of the blessings of Classical studies from which they have not benefited" (Léon Blum, in Le Petit Parisien, 19 December 1921).
Table XV showing the country people's disaffection for agricultural occupations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Men (in millions)</th>
<th>Women (in millions)</th>
<th>Total (in millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>5.48</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>8.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>6.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>5.48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of agricultural workers has decreased by 3.1 per cent. yearly¹ which, from 1954 to 1962, represents a loss of 317,000 agricultural workers.² This relatively high rate is lower than the one that obtained for the previous five-year period (1949-1954), when the active population engaged in agriculture, fishing and forestry - largely agriculture - fell by 30 per cent., from 7.5 millions to 5.2 millions³ (cf. Table XV), or from 36.6 per cent. of the working population to 26.7 per cent. (14.9 per cent. in 1968, cf. Table XIV).

The overall position is, as Wilbert Moore has phrased it, that "cultivation, and stock-grazing on smaller areas with growing populations, have resulted in the deterioration of the absolute as well as the relative carrying capacity of the land",⁴ but the declining income in relative terms has played no small part in this drift from the land. In the eighteen eighties, the farmers' share of the national wealth was much above the workers' earning and even employees' salary. Professeur Milhau has worked out that the average income in France, in constant francs, rose by 121 per cent. over the last century (statistics show that wages increased regularly in relation to the wealth of the entrepreneurs, between the time of Napoléon III and the war of 1914, in complete contradiction with the economists' iron law⁵) but the increase in the agricultural sector did not

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Besides, Professor Kindleberger, an Economist, has surmised that the combined effect of the bumper crop of 1950 and the subsequent agricultural expansion resulted in a reduction of agriculture's share of national income, which dropped from 25 per cent. in 1949, to 14 per cent. in 1952.\(^2\) This is one of the reasons why French society is moving rapidly from a rural civilization towards an urban one, that is to say "une France sans paysans".\(^3\)

The change-over has a direct bearing on educational policy for, at best, the traditional schools of contemporary France could have only coped with the educational demands of a stable society. However, whereas France has a good record for absorbing minor communities,\(^4\) the problem of inculcating cultural patterns to small groups which are uprooted and transplanted into a new cultural environment is very different from the problem of transmitting "the culture" to a compact group remaining on its native soil, in spite of the fact that, broadly speaking, they are all part and parcel of "la nouvelle société"!

Further changes have taken place. Although the "P.M.E.", or "Petites et Moyennes Entreprises", still employed over half the total working population in 1971,\(^5\) between 1954 and 1962, about 127,000 business firms employing up to ten people, have been closed down.\(^6\) Not surprisingly then,


5. Claude Darcey, on R.T.L., 7:45 a.m. - Broadcast, 18 June 1971. Claude Darcey is the Editor of la Vie française.

by 1970, 70 per cent. of the total working force were employees but, in the post-World War II period, there has constantly been over one million commercial businesses. ¹ The forecast is that the number of employees expressed as a percentage of the total working population will increase to reach 75 per cent. in the middle nineteen seventies and even 90 per cent. by 1985.

Consequently, the lower social strata are predominantly made up of industrial workers (37.7 per cent.) and the white-collar workers (14.8 per cent.) as shown in Table XIV. However, when Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel ² led an enquiry with a group of sociologists and economists in 1965, they found that there were deep differences between the lower social strata in the extent to which they shared the "intellectual culture", in spite of the fact that an increasing number of members of all classes sought to secure access to the prestigeful and lucrative occupations.

The aspirations of industrial workers and of white-collar workers are examined in the following subsections.

Subsection a) The Industrial Workers and their Attitude towards Education.

- "Vous aurez soin du petit, chez nous, on ne sait pas parler." 1
- Engineer to schoolmaster, 1963.

Four surveys of the working class were undertaken during the 1952-1956 period.2 They have shown that, in spite of steady increases in real income, French politics of the lower socio-economic groups have remained persistently leftist3 in the more affluent era.4 For example, the working-class "aristocracy" give consistently their vote to the Communist Party.5 In the 'fifties, out of every ten industrial workers, six voted for the two "Marxist" Parties (49 per cent. of workers gave their vote to the Communist Party, another 15 per cent. of workers voted for the Socialist Party6). On the other hand, a 1970 survey has revealed that 61 per cent. of French people were not politically-minded. Among the womenfolk the percentage was even higher: it reached 69 per cent.7 Country people connected with agriculture showed the least involvement.8

1. Or: "Look after the lad, we can't speak at home" (reported by Michel Rousselet, in "Des Elèves d'origine sociale plus variée", Cahiers pédagogiques, Paris, Special Number, January 1964, pp. 15-16).


Consequently, the lower socio-economic groups are not politically oriented and do not form political communities of much significance. As this alienation already obtained at the time of the Fourth Republic, it led Professeur Duverger to explain that it was keeping "le peuple absent".\(^1\) Possible explanations may be found among some of Professor Hoffman's statements made, it is true, in a different context. It may be, as he expressed it, that:

"This tendency can be explained in part by the accumulation of political disappointments in the last thirty years." \(^2\)

or even that:

"France's political system continues to be (...) a puzzle to the most expert analysts." \(^3\)

It is fair to surmise that basically, involvement presupposes a certain amount of understanding.

In France, relatively small and rural firms offer the worst conditions to workers.\(^4\) There is a fairly high level of rural radicalism. Recruits who enjoy more favourable conditions existing in large urban plants\(^5\) are also exposed to the militant Left-wing working-class elements\(^6\) who socialize


new workers into their interpretations. But, the various Left-wing ideologies, e.g. the Communist Party (300,000 members), the Socialist Party (80,000 members,1 in the former "S.F.I.O.", the "Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière"), the "P.S.U." ("Unified Socialist Party"), and the Radical Party (18,000 members in 1971), formed a unified opposition2 in the late nineteen sixties.3 Since then the different ideologies have gone their separate way until 22 June 1972 when the outcome of a final attempt of Georges Marchais, the Communist leader, and François Mitterand, the Socialist, to form a new "alliance" was made known in a joint declaration which synthetized their political aims.4

Past experience has a strong impact in France, so present conditions cannot be expected to produce dramatic changes in the short run. The main organized alternative to the Communist interpretation is provided by religion. But the overwhelming majority of French workers, particularly those in the lowest status positions, i.e. the "ouvriers spécialisés", or labourers, are not religious.5 For example, Adrien Dansette, the scrupulous Historian, mentioned that if, at Saint-Etienne, 10 per cent. of the factory workers were practising Catholics, in Saint-Hippolyte's parish (Paris-13e), only 2½ per cent. of workers went regularly to mass.6 Since


then, Jacques Maitre has discussed the complexity of the problem of measuring religious attitudes.\(^1\) However, according to André Latreille, in working-class districts, people often live in utter religious indifference.\(^2\) It has even been surmised that "the failure of the Church" worker-priest\(^3\) experiment was largely caused by a failure to understand the proletarian milieu\(^4\) for, as Monsieur Dillard has expressed it, it is:

"plus difficile de parler à un travailleur qu'à un missionnaire d'entrer en contact avec un indigène." \(^5\)

More recently, Jean Ferniot went as far as saying that:

"Ceux qui ne sont pas des ouvriers "Those who are not workers know nothing ignorant tout des ouvriers." \(^6\) whatever about the workers." \(^6\)

On the other hand, in 1957, Adrien Dansette has stated that:

"Le milieu happle l'adolescent et "The milieu swallows up the youth and ne le lâche plus." \(^7\) never does it release him again." \(^7\)

In fact, in that same year, a politician asserted that:


\(^3\) On the "prêtres-ouvriers", cf. Adrien Dansette, op. cit., especially chapter IV.


\(^5\) P.V. Dillard: Suprêmes Témoignages (cited by Adrien Dansette, op. cit p. 59).

\(^6\) Jean Ferniot, on R.T.L., 8.15 a.m. - Commentaire, 8 May 1971.

"Un Français sur quatre et une Française sur quatre, quand ils ont à exprimer un vote lors d'élections générales, portent leur suffrage au parti communiste. (...) Parmi les jeunes qui, tous les quatre ou cinq ans, approchent l'urne pour la première fois, la proportion des électeurs communistes semble-t-il, tendance à augmenter." 1

The explanation put forward is that the low level of involvement in religion makes the workers more vulnerable to the social pressures exerted by union, or "syndicat", and party. Besides, the Left has traditionally displayed the most active anti-clericalism. Examples abound. Among others, Emmanuel Beau de Loménié 2 has quoted:

- Madier de Monjau:

   "Au nom du patriotisme, écrasez l'ultramontisme."  In the name of patriotism, crush ultralontanism.

- former Schoolmaster Barodet, "the symbolic figure of municipal liberty": 3

   "Tous les républicains font un bataillon carré contre l'Internationale noire."  All the Republicans form a square battalion against the black Internationalism.

- Alphonse Peyrat:

   "Le cléricalisme, voilà l'ennemi."  Clericalism, there is the enemy.  5


This militant action that, at one time, pervaded the educational system, no longer obtains. The slow change of the Church has resulted in a renewed Catholicism which, in contemporary France, represents the image of the good. In the words of Professeur Duverger:

"Depuis pres de vingt ans le catholicisme français est engagé dans un grand tournant politique: progressivement il se détache de la droite pour se rapprocher de la gauche."

"For almost twenty years French Catholicism has been engaged in an important political swing: it is progressively moving from the Right in order to slide towards the Left."

Furthermore, Jean Ferniot has surmised that:

"Notre environnement, il est spirituel autant que matériel. Les citadins s'enfuient dès qu'ils en ont la possibilité vers la mer, les rivières, les forêts, la montagne. Qui sait, je parle des croyants, bien entendu, qui sait s'ils n'attendent pas du prêtre quelque chose du même genre, ces 'verts pâturages', que chantait le Psalmite (King David). Je souhaiterais que (...) les prêtres (...) se demandent (...) de quelle Église les hommes ont réellement besoin. L'Église et l'État sont les deux principaux piliers de la société dite bourgeoise."

"Our environment is spiritualistic as much as materialistic. As soon as they get the opportunity city-dwellers escape towards the sea, the rivers, the forests, the mountain. Who knows, I speak of believers, of course, who knows if they do not expect from the priest something similar, those 'green pastures', sung by the Psalmist (King David). I wish (...) priests wondered (...) what kind of Church men do really need. The Church and the State are the two main institutions pertaining to the Bourgeois society."

5. E.g. "The Lord (...) shall feed me in a green pasture" (Psalm XXIII in The Psalter, Dr. Bernard's edition, 1911).
7. Jean Ferniot, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. - Commentaire, 26 June 1970.
This Church that "men really need" has, in France, gradually emerged as "a more solidarist type of Catholicism",\(^1\) that is in keeping with Pope John XXIII's encyclical "Mater et Magistra".\(^2\)

In the course of this century, the working population has remained almost unchanged (in 1900, 21 million people were in gainful employment, the 1968 figure being 20.4 millions\(^3\)). The 1954 Census returns revealed a working force totalling 16,900,000 (excluding Army and Clergy), i.e. 10,730,000 employees and 6,170,000 self-employed people. There are therefore in France, a large number of relatively small commercial firms. Statistics confirm that 95 per cent. of the 1,000,000 business firms do not employ more than five people.\(^4\) Besides, large business premises are frequently located in industrial suburbs with solidly working-class housing, so that industrial workers are more insulated from diverse viewpoints than is the case in other countries.

The socially mobile ones\(^5\) are those whose parents either belong to the middle class or have fallen from that position. The well-off workers tend to be more satisfied with their current status and to forego planning for the future and any "deferred gratification"\(^6\) pattern. On the other

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hand, in a period of working-class affluence those who do well at first are likely to be the most skilled.\(^1\) They are very often second-generation workers who are more committed to class values and, when data compiled for several countries are taken as a basis, it appears that second-generation workers, that is to say the sons of workers, are the most Radical group among the working classes.\(^2\) A research worker has found that "French workers' children who take advantage of opportunities for educational advancement tend to come from religious families".\(^3\)

Influenced by the much publicized "Théorie de la pauperisation" expounded by Maurice Thorez,\(^4\) French manual workers perceive their wages as not having improved in defiance of the national statistics. Paul-Marie de La Gorce has pointed out that:

"De septembre 1950, à novembre 1964, le salaire minimum a augmenté de 150 \%, celui du manœuvre ordinaire de 240 \%, celui de l'ouvrier qualifié de 380 \%."\(^5\)

"Between September 1950 and November 1964, the minimum wage has increased by 150 per cent., the ordinary labourer's by 240 per cent., the skilled worker's by 380 per cent."\(^5\)

In fact, "many workers, when questioned, say there has been no change, although their real income has gone up 5 per cent. a year",\(^6\) a trend which was maintained throughout the 1960-1970 decade. For example, Président

Pompidou asserted that "the standard of living, taking into account the increase in the cost of living, has risen between 1962 and the end of 1970, from 100 to 154". It appears that the French have improved their standard of living just as much as their English or German neighbours, but the former achieved this with a population that remained constant whereas, in the neighbouring countries, the population doubled over one hundred years.

In France, unskilled workers are likely to be migrants from farming regions, they do not conform to the familiar "underdog" pattern of low levels of political interest and discussion in the lowest status groups either. It therefore follows that the French do not fit the stereotype of the affluence debate recognized in the English-speaking countries. Their particular problems directly connected with education have been examined by Henri Chatreix. With special reference to the lower socio-economic groups, he stated that:

"L'absence d'ambition sociale, au sens courant, est une caractéristique frappante de la classe prolétarienne. Faire carrière est ici une expression vide de sens. Les études, l'au-delà de la lecture, sont tenues bien souvent pour un luxe illusoire sans rapport direct avec une condition qui n'est avide que de remèdes immédiats (...)."

"The absence of social ambition, in the current sense, is a striking characteristic of the proletarian class. To make a career for oneself is an expression which, for them, has no meaning. Studies, whatever lies beyond reading and writing, are quite often held to be an illusory luxury having no direct connexion with a condition which demands only immediate remedies (...)."

6. Our emphasis.
En outre, le petit prolétaire pose à l'educateur un problème vivant, dont les manuels officiels, qui ne savent que l'Enfant, -l- ne lui ont pas donné la clé. Il n'apporte pas dans nos établissements une nature déjà en partie scolarisée par la famille et les habitudes sociales." 2

Besides, the little proletarian sets the educator a living problem to which the official manuals, that speak only of the Child, -l- have not given the key. He does not bring with him into our establishments a nature already partially trained for school by the family and by social habits." 3

Since then, Jean Floud has confirmed that social class had a "profound influence on the educability of children". 4 At the time, a French writer stated that an industrial worker's son had only one chance out of five of becoming anything but a wage-earner, and two chances out of five of being anything but an industrial worker. 5 A French psycho-analyst has pointed out that "the majority of French children build up for themselves one 'modus vivendi' for school and another for the home". 6

Subsection b) The Aspirations of the White-Collar Workers.

"Pour quatre-vingt dix-neuf familles sur cent, les sacrifices consentis ont un but précis: assurer l'avenir professionnel de leurs enfants."  
- Professeur Carreau, May 1936.

Half-way between the middle class and the working class, the white-collar workers have traditionally enjoyed advantages which were social and cultural, as much as economic in character. The white-collar workers possess an advantage over the wage-earners with regard to pay level, work conditions, and work satisfaction.

In the nineteen sixties, there was evidence that, in comparison to the industrial workers, the French white-collar workers still followed quite a different pattern of spending with regard to housing and holidays. For example, they went away in greater numbers and spent more time on holiday than blue-collar workers. Office clerks therefore formed the lower fringe of the middle class, a fringe which tended to overlap the upper fringe of workers as regards their respective income. In the past, the clerks' social prestige stemmed from their education, which enabled them to secure a non-manual post in a developing bureaucracy.

1. Or: "To ninety nine families out of one hundred of them, the financial burden has a definite goal: to secure for their children a worth while career" (Georges Carreau: "Où Va l'Enseignement secondaire?", in Famille et Lycée, May 1936).


3. cf., for example, Gilbert Mathieu: "La Réponse des chiffres", in Les Temps modernes, (Paris), No. 196-197, September-October 1962, p. 416 (Table III).


6. Ibid., p. 301.
sociologist's view is that they have retained the ability of acquiring a certain culture. Professeur Crozier has found that:

"Ils (sc. les employés A.S.L.) ont "Their (sc. the clerks' A.S.L.) cultural level is much above the workers'." 2 élevé que celui des ouvriers." 2

This is partly the result of the marked difference in the vocabulary used by clerks as opposed to the workers'. The latter lose progressively the vocabulary they have acquired at school, due to their occupational environment. On the contrary, clerks write and read every day and they have frequent contacts with higher-rank executives (middle-rank employees read over fifty books every year 4). The clerks' own culture is reflected in the frequency with which they choose a Classical-biased course of study for their children, whose chances of succeeding are good anyway, as revealed by Dr. Heuyer's research. He asserted that:

"Les enfants d'employés sont "At all age levels, clerks' children nettement en avance sur ceux des ouvriers et des paysans à tous les âges envisagés." 5

According to Messieurs Bourdieu and Passeron, for some 40 per cent. of university students whose fathers worked in agriculture or industry, secondary education had been based on Latin. On the other hand, 60 per

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4. cf., for example, the enquiry of the "S.O.F.R.E.S.", in Le Figaro, (Paris), 13 May 1972.
cent. of university students whose fathers were clerks had taken an option including Latin. Professeur Nathan has explained the reason why parents make such a choice. He wrote:

"Quand des parents décident que leurs enfants étudieront le latin, (...) l'argument décisif auquel ils se rendent en fin de compte, c'est qu'un enfant qui étudie le latin ne renonce à rien, et qu'on réserve entièrement l'avenir." 2

In fact, statistics show that clerks' sons are three times more likely to register at university than workers' sons. 3 Broadly speaking then, it is widely accepted that the chances of access to higher education roughly reflect social origin, so that the higher the father's socio-economic group, the higher the chances to enrol in one or more faculties. 4 However, Messieurs Bourdieu and Passeron have ascertained, as had Renaud Sainsaulieu (vid supra, this chapter), that clerks do not always follow the normal pattern. For example, the sons and daughters of clerks are more likely to study medicine than the students whose fathers belong to the middle-rank employees. 5 Besides, in an O.E.C.D. study, it has been stated that "the culture of the upper and middle social strata defines education as a desirable goal for personal intellectual enrichment as well as for economic motives." 6 François Goguel, the political Scientist, pointed out that

4. Ibid., p. 155.
formerly, the typical education of the middle class was legal and literary, whereas today it is scientific and technical. Since then, Pierre Bourdieu has undertaken a study probing the social facts pertaining to Science students. His research brought out the fact that:

"(Pour les étudiants d'origine modeste,) suivre l'enseignement des facultés c'est d'abord se donner les moyens d'acquérir un métier de statut élevé, bref, comme on dit, de se faire une situation -2- et de pénétrer dans les classes supérieures." 3

In Great Britain, it is also argued that education has become merely a drive for qualification; pupils are "instrumentally committed", ranking getting a good wage as the highest goal of education. The concept is far from being a new one. Already in 1936, Professeur Carreau expressed the view commonly held among parents when he declared that:


2. Our emphasis.


"Pour quatre-ving-dix-neuf familles sur cent, les sacrifices consentis ont un but précis: assurer l'avenir professionnel de leurs enfants." 1

"To ninety nine families out of one hundred of them, the financial burden has a definite goal: to secure for their children a worth while career." 1

Such literature conveys that, while too few parents belonging to the lower socio-economic classes contemplate an education entailing a long duration, those who secure that type of education for their children do so with a clear aim and a definite object in mind. 3 Alfred Sauvy, Professor at the "Collège de France", has explained that:

The white-collar "parents have often worked hard, to secure to him the education which will ensure to him a living, if not very opulent, at least decent: a white collar, a monthly salary, an old-age pension, clean hands, free from toolmarks, fair and polite friends, almost regular promotions. (...) Working-class families and agricultural ones, that have succeeded to help their descendants to climb one rung on the social ladder, conceive a pride which lasts in their old age: 'he works in an office.'" 4

The typically French outlook towards education, already underlined by Jean-Claude Chamboredon, 5 has also been expressed by a French psycho-analyst. She wrote that:

1. Our emphasis.
"A satisfying son or daughter is a little obsessive who prepares his future -1- while glancing furtively at the children who have fun (or, better yet, without glancing at them), -2- who is closely attached to a bookish school programme and submissive to the parent who has the more authoritarian superego. The future of the child who thinks of playing is in grave danger." 3

A sizable proportion of parents used to receive State help towards education. In the 1970-1971 academic year, out of 2½ million pupils aged eleven to fifteen years, almost one million of them shared grants totalling some 500 million fr, or 3.3/4 million £ (at 13.20 fr to the £) but, the previous year, as many as 1,670,000 pupils benefited from State help. 5 However, Georges Gogniot has deplored:

"Des taux souvent dérisoires - dans tout l'enseignement au niveau du second degré et du technique." 6

The grants allocated to the less well-off families are supposed to provide the necessary financial support towards the cost of books, the parents' own contribution towards ancillary supervisors, transport to and from school, as well as statutory medical check-ups for, every year, 400,000 French pupils have "a very thorough medical examination (which) ranges from audiometer tests to a chest X-ray". 7

1. Our emphasis.
2. Brackets in original.
A more basic means devised by French educationists in order to counteract social deprivation was the 1959 educational reforms (Order in Council and Decree of 6 January 1959) and more particularly the four-year guidance phase (Circular-Letter of 27 April 1964). At the time, Professeur Sauvy, the eminent Sociologist, surmised that:

"Le handicap dont souffre, à onze ans, un enfant d'ouvriers est temporaire; il s'agit d'un retard, non d'une infirmité fondamentale."  

Since then, Alain Girard has also affirmed that:

"L'école peut corriger ou atténuer les inégalités sociales."  

However, in the middle nineteen fifties, Roger Gal had decried the prevalent practice that was still pervading the French educational system, by acknowledging that:

"Nous sommes démocrates en paroles, mais nous tolérons que la majorité des enfants soient privés du savoir, des méthodes et des qualités qui leur permettraient de n'être pas des citoyens de seconde zone asservis aux propagandes ou indifférents, incompréhensifs à "We term ourselves democrats but we allow the majority of children to be deprived of the knowledge, methods and qualities which would allow them not to be second-class citizens, the slave to propagandists, or merely indifferent to and uncomprehending of the world which is being caused by prevailingly prevalent practice that was still pervading the French educational system, by acknowledging that:

"Nous sommes démocrates en paroles, mais nous tolérons que la majorité des enfants soient privés du savoir, des méthodes et des qualités qui leur permettraient de n'être pas des citoyens de seconde zone asservis aux propagandes ou indifférents, incompréhensifs à

6. A. Girard: "La Réussite sociale", (Paris, 1967 rev'd.), p. 120.
In sum, in spite of "l'admirable devise de nos pères: Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité", France's accepted ideal, as was the case for the animals in George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, all Frenchmen are equal but some Frenchmen are more equal than others.  

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Conclusions.

The epigraph to subsection a (vid supra, this chapter) provided evidence of an engineer's awareness of the limitations arising from the home environment with regard to his son's future. In the inter-war period, Henry de Montherlant made the distinction between boarders in a "Lycée" when he wrote:

"Ces petits enfants du peuple, on les a épuisées du premier coup. Vous leur avez parlé trois minutes, et les voilà qui sont épuisées, du moins pour vous." 1

"The little working-class children are exhausted from the first attempt. You speak three minutes to them, and they are exhausted, at least as far as you are concerned." 1

In the middle nineteen sixties, a team of French sociologists expressed the view that:

"De tous les obstacles culturels, ceux qui tiennent à la langue parlée dans le milieu familial sont sans doute les plus graves et les plus insidieux (...) Mais l'influence du milieu linguistique d'origine ne cesse jamais -2- de s'exercer." 3

"Of all the cultural hurdles, those pertaining to the spoken language in the family environment are without doubt the most serious and the most insidious (...). But the influence of the linguistic aspect of the background environment never -2- disappears." 3

2. Our emphasis.

"Les électeurs veulent intellectuellement et politiquement des réformes, mais les citoyens les refusent sociologiquement."

Over the 1957-1969 period, secondary-school enrolments have passed from 1,693,000 to 3,333,000. The increase reflected in these figures is believed to be largely due to a reversal in the trend of the birth-rate which had steadily gone down in the inter-war years to reach an average of 592,000 births at the time of the German occupation. But, once World War II was over, the birth-rate rose to an average 800,000 births per year, a level which has remained constant. This sociological factor will have a tremendous import. As the enlarged age cohorts begin to have their children, by 1980, France will have twenty million young people under twenty years of age.

Professeur Sauvy explained in the late nineteen fifties that:

1. Or: "Intellectually and politically the electorate want reforms but, as fellow-countrymen, they refuse them from a sociological standpoint" (Henri Marc, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. - Editorial, 23 July 1970).


Succeeding in the 'tour de force' which was believed beyond it, the sick man of Europe will become in twenty years' time a man full of health and vigour, surrounded by an England, a Germany, a Belgium that are ageing, burdened in their turn with those pensioned off and even more so with old ideas, the ideas of 1959.  

To Paul-Marie de La Gorce, the higher birth-rate has meant that:

"La France (...) est le pays le plus jeune d'Europe; la moitié de sa population a moins de 25 ans."  

However, the comparatively high birth-rate is by no means considered excessive in France. President de Gaulle wanted to double the French population by the year 2,000. There is evidence that this view has survived him. For example, in his 1971 new year address, President Pompidou stated:

"Now I think about the eight hundred forty five thousand French baby-boys and baby-girls born in 1970. Everyone of these births is an act of faith in the future."  

Already in June 1970, the French Government granted further financial help to parents in the form of allowances. One of them is the family allowance, or "allocations familiales", whose:

"main purpose (...) is to allow the foundation or the normal
Family allowances are steadily increased every year (4.5 per cent. in 1970, 5.3 per cent. in August 1971). Besides, as from 1 January 1971, it was decided almost to double to £200 the allowance for expectant mothers, providing they left work two months prior to the birth. More significantly, the larger "allocations pre-natales", or "ante-natal allowance", are granted to French women (if they give birth to a first child before their twenty-fifth birthday and within two years of their wedding, they are also entitled to a similar allowance for every subsequent birth which occurs within three years of the preceding one). It is still deplored that the target of a million births per year has not as yet been reached. Generally speaking, it used to be argued that, in the West, as the death rate was reduced by medical technology, and the fertility rate only fell considerably later, there was rapid "transitional growth". The facts and figures pertaining to France as set out above disprove further the already challenged "demographic transition" theory.

Public opinion attributes to the demographic spurt the sudden increase, first in the number of school children in the primary classes, then in the secondary ones, for the period extending from 1950 to the late nineteen sixties. For example, during the 1957-1969 period, over

4. On Europe-1, 8.15 a.m. - News-Broadcast, 4 February 1971.
The table below shows the number of "C.E.S.s" in existence for selected years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number in operation</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>1542</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>2122</td>
<td>3910</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:**
two million extra school places had to be provided in secondary education alone (vid supra, this chapter). It is this phenomenon that Louis Cros has termed "'l'explosion' scolaire", \(^1\) or "the 'explosion' in the schools".

The building of new schools had to keep up pace in accordance with the schedule known as "Carte scolaire" (vid supra, chapter 7) and, in the nineteen sixties, the attention has been concentrated on the "Collèges d'enseignement secondaire" instituted in 1963 (Decree No. 63-794\(^2\)). The "C.E.S.s" are polyvalent schools which provide in their catchment areas all the necessary four-year courses for the "First cycle" of secondary education (Article 1\(^3\)), that is to say for all the children between the ages of eleven and fifteen years. Every year, the number of these schools has been considerably increased (cf. Table XVI). For example, 447 "C.E.S.s" (including former "C.E.G.s") were opened in the 1968-1969 academic year and, in that year, new "C.E.S.s" were built at the rate of one a day, the total figure being 360.\(^5\) In 1969, Olivier Guichard, then Minister of National Education, revealed that, in that particular year, the output of schools amounted to four million square metres, or 36 million square feet, a total surface equalling twice the size of a town like Metz (population: 86,000 in 1961\(^6\)). If there were 1,102 "Lycées", or upper schools\(^7\) in 1971,

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3. Ibid.


it was deplored that the number of "C.E.S.s" in existence fell short by 1,000 on the ultimate target deemed desirable¹ (cf. Table XVI).

There is therefore no room for complacency, considering that Louis Cros has made in 1963 the forecast that, by 1970, the secondary schools would be bursting at the seams under the pressure brought about by a school population reaching the 3,200,000 mark.² Worse still, the roll for the 1969-1970 academic year³ (with almost 1,000,000 pupils in denominational schools alone⁴) showed already a figure some 20 per cent. higher than Louis Cros's forecast. In general such statistics, and in particular the figures for the pupils' population in the new institutions for the 1966-1967 academic year (cf. Table XVII), were an indication of the speed at which the school reorganization was being implemented.

The explanation for the "explosion scolaire" is sociological: it is due to the rising proportion of children who stay at school after reaching the Statutory school-leaving age (cf. Table XVIII). It means therefore that France is moving from a low level of educational participation to a high level one. For example, at the transitional level (1958-1959), just before the Statutory school-leaving age was raised from fourteen to sixteen (to be implemented, it was thought, by 1967), as many as 54 per cent. of all children aged fifteen were still at school. A decade later, the percentage of fifteen year-old pupils had risen from 54 per cent. to 84.8 per cent.⁵

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XVII showing the number of pupils in different types of secondary institution in thousands in 1966 (1963 in brackets).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of institution</th>
<th>State sector</th>
<th>Private sector</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hyées&quot;</td>
<td>1,205 (954)</td>
<td>423 (360)</td>
<td>1,628 (1,314)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;E.G.s&quot;</td>
<td>742 (810)</td>
<td>199 (158)</td>
<td>941 (968)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;E.S.s&quot;</td>
<td>365 (-)</td>
<td>- (-)</td>
<td>365 (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2,312 (1,764)</td>
<td>622 (518)</td>
<td>2,934 (2,282)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Colour Select</th>
<th>Colour after</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2r</td>
<td>2r</td>
<td>Ref.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1r</td>
<td>1r</td>
<td>Ref.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1r</td>
<td>1r</td>
<td>Ref.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1r</td>
<td>1r</td>
<td>Ref.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1r</td>
<td>1r</td>
<td>Ref.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
e XVIII showing the percentage of the increase in the number of fourteen to eighteen-year olds staying on at school over the 1954-1962 period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>17</th>
<th>18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boys</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girls</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


e XIX showing the percentage of the age group in secondary education in 1954.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>15 to 16</th>
<th>16 to 17</th>
<th>17 to 18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>41.6%</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

in all forms of education in 1962.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys 15</th>
<th>Boys 16</th>
<th>Boys 17</th>
<th>Boys 18</th>
<th>Boys 19</th>
<th>Boys to19</th>
<th>Girls 15</th>
<th>Girls 16</th>
<th>Girls 17</th>
<th>Girls 18</th>
<th>Girls 19</th>
<th>Girls to19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural self-employed</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural workers</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory and business owners</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tradesmen and hopkeepers</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional professions</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher managerial and administrative</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-rank employees in social services</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technicians and administrative</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office clerks</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business employees</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foremen</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled workers</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal-miners</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic staff</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security and police</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 68 54 48 35 25 49 75 65 55 41 29 56

The Billères Bill (1956) had already acknowledged that pupils were staying longer at school, a relatively new trend which was reflected in the statistics originally published by the "B.U.S."\(^1\) or "Bureau universitaire de statistique" (cf. Table XIX). A comparison of the 1954 figures just referred to, with those available for 1962, affords evidence of the spiralling enrolment numbers in French secondary education (cf. Table XX). Table XX shows the actual extent of educational "inequality", as opposed to the frequency of relative deprivation\(^2\) aroused by it, which can be measured in terms of the proportion of each stratum leaving school at the minimum age, the proportion remaining in secondary school, and the proportion going on to higher education. Inequality in secondary education subsists for "no country has solved the problem of mass education in an urban society"\(^3\) but, in France, as we have seen, in July 1960, the Ministry of National Education instituted the "Commission nationale de la Carte scolaire"\(^4\) (vid supra, chapter 7). By 1963, it was deemed desirable that all pupils up to the age of sixteen had access to schools of all types within a travelling distance of twenty kilometres,\(^5\) or twelve miles, from home, bearing in mind that school transport organization initiated in 1959\(^6\) (vid supra, chapter 7)

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was still being restricted to pupils living at least three kilometres from school and to pupils whose daily journey did not exceed forty-five minutes. In a 1963 Circular-Letter, Christian Fouchet, then Minister of National Education, justified the decision. He stated that:

"Le succès de la réforme portant jusqu'à l'âge de 16 ans la limite de l'obligation scolaire sera également assuré lorsque le rayon d'accès aux enseignements faisant immédiatement suite à l'école élémentaire sera raisonnablement réduit, pour toutes les options correspondantes, et ramené, compte tenu du développement des moyens de transport, à une limite de l'ordre de 15 à 20 km." 1

In practice, this meant building a non-specialized school even in regions with a very low population; e.g. Hautes Alpes, Lozère. In hilly Lozère, under a blanket of snow for five months every winter, the 77,000 inhabitants are found in 2,000 hamlets. Here school buses are not a suitable proposition for it has been found that roads cannot be cleared twice a day. 2

The result is that two thirds of school pupils attend 300 schools which have only one classroom, containing possibly the whole age-range. This is not a new phenomenon. In 1933, State schools in the "département" of Lozère numbered on an average 1.1 classes per school; the average size per class being fifteen pupils. 3

Small schools are a nineteenth-century legacy, a feature which stems from the Revolutionary period. At the time of the "Ancien Régime",

2. On R.T.L., 2.30 p.m. - Live-Broadcast, 7 December 1969.
France was subdivided into 44,000 parishes, a set-up which dated back to the tenth century. In 1793, the administrative units were formally changed to 38,000 "communes". This division has once more become fossilized so that France has today as many "communes" as her five Common Market partners put together. But, the exodus from the land has meant that the population of two thirds of them has dwindled to less than 500 inhabitants, with the result that these small units are difficult to administer both financially and economically.

On 1 January 1964, there were in France some 80,000 primary schools (including over 12,000 denominational ones), the figure being about 30,000 both in Britain and in West Germany. In the nineteen century, by statute, school had to be maintained in every "commune" and the teacher paid by it. The speedy implementation of the 1880-1882 Laws fostered the building of primary schools, which frequently led Ministre Ferry to chuckle "Mon ministère abrique des classes comme le boulanger fabrique son pain", or "My ministry

. Ibid., Article 36 (reprinted in C. Fourrier, op. cit.).
produces classrooms just as the baker produces his bread". By 1890, France was educating 4,222,000 pupils in 65,142 primary schools\(^1\) and, in so doing, deserved Friedrich Engels's approval.\(^2\) He wrote that:

"Les Français ont maintenant les meilleures écoles du monde, l'enseignement obligatoire, et tandis que Bismarck ne peut venir à bout des curés, en France ils sont complétement écartés des écoles." 3

"French people have now the best schools in the world, education is compulsory and whereas Bismarck cannot get rid of the priests, in France they are completely thrown out of the schools." 3

At the end of the nineteenth century in England, a situation akin to the German one pertained. Bryan Wilson has asserted that, at the time, "there were more Church schools than state schools".\(^4\)

In France, the proliferation of primary schools throughout the country in the latter part of the nineteenth century soon proved to be a "poisoned gift" for the subsequent ministers. Already in the inter-war period, State schools with fewer than five pupils were closed down (Decree of 30 October 1935\(^5\)). This statute only dealt with the most acute problem so that further action proved to be necessary. In 1970, Olivier Guichard, then Minister of National Education, deplored that there were still 7,000 one-classroom schools with less than ten pupils in them.\(^6\) However, school

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2. Friedrich Engels's letter of 28 October 1885 to August Bebel, the German Socialist.
6. Ministre Guichard, on Europe-1, 7.0 p.m. - Live-Broadcast, 10 April 1970.
closure requires great care and attention because of the social implications. The importance of providing adequate facilities for children living in remote, sparsely populated districts, was once more highlighted when the final results of the 1970 "Concours général" became known. Every year, the top pupils of all the "lycées" final classes\(^1\) compete with a view to win the much coveted first prizes which bring honours to the laureates and their "lycées". In 1970, among other disciplines, there were Greek Language, Mathematics, and Philosophy.\(^2\) The First Prize for the latter was awarded to Martine Pécharman,\(^3\) a pupil at the "lycée" recently opened in Aire-sur-Adour (Landes). Seventeen-year-old Martine, whose mother was a primary-school teacher, was born and bred in Perchette, a village with 83 inhabitants, in the "département" of Gers (population: 190,405\(^4\)).

Paradoxically, sparsely populated "départements" rank high with regard to the percentages of pupils staying-on at school (which does not preclude the fact that educational disparities are tied up with the size of the town\(^5\)). The tabulated returns for the school year 1962-1963\(^6\) showed that,

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participation", which has reduced the regional inequalities of opportunity in French education (1954 and 1962, the years of the Census).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mic year</th>
<th>% entering secondary education 1959 -1-</th>
<th>% attending secondary education 1954</th>
<th>1962</th>
<th>Rate of growth %</th>
<th>% attending university 1954</th>
<th>1962</th>
<th>Rate of growth %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sin</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>any</td>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>122</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pyrénées</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>61.3</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gne</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>118</td>
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<tr>
<td>edoc</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>6.2</td>
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<td>Normandy</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>113</td>
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<td>35.8</td>
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<td>3.3</td>
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<td>54.5</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>105</td>
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<tr>
<td>ndy</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>42.4</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3.2</td>
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<td>21.8</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>5.9</td>
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<td>61.2</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>10.1</td>
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<td>r/Corsica</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>96</td>
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<td>die</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>e country</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
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<td>37.4</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aine</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ou/Charentes</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ce</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pagne</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s area</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td>60.3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References:
amongst the ninety "départements", Lozère came third.¹ Hautes Alpes was seventh, whilst the Seine which included Paris, only ranked twelfth (cf. also Table XXI). It may be noted that a recent study has confirmed that the ranking order as regards the percentage of transfers from elementary education into a secondary school in 1965-1966 was similar.² Furthermore, in the 1962-1963 school year, Alain Darbel found that the ratio for the "départements" varied between 1 and 1.8,³ as opposed to a ratio as wide as 1 to 3 for the year 1956.⁴ Yet, a 1963 official survey led Jacques Duquesne to the conclusion that, amongst the 16-to-24 years old, only 12 per cent. of those living in towns with less than 2,000 people were in full-time education; whilst there were as many as 28 per cent. still studying amongst those living in towns with a population of 100,000 inhabitants or over.⁵ At the time, it was realized that the "observation" phase was not solving all problems. French educationists became aware that selection at the "orientation" stage might even reinforce the age-old social segregation. For example, some observations of interest from both the pedagogical and the sociological


viewpoints have been illustrated by Aurélien Fabre. He has claimed that:

Il est clair que plus tôt interviendra une orientation ayant le caractère d'une détermination, plus elle opérera en faveur des enfants des classes favorisées, qui ont pris une avance dans la compréhension du langage, et plus la ségrégation scolaire reflétera une ségrégation sociale.

It is clear that the earlier an orientation of a specializing nature takes place the more will it operate to the advantage of children from the more fortunate social classes, who have got ahead in the understanding of language; so, the earlier it takes place the more will segregation in school reflect a social segregation.

In Britain, it has been noted that two thirds of a child's ability and performance have been determined by his home and school by the time he gets to secondary school.

Evidently social mixing is recognized as an important aspect of education, the acquisition of culture being a very different process depending on the social background. For the children whose fathers are workers either in agriculture or industry, clerks and shopkeepers, the acquisition of culture from the school is a process of "acculturation".

Messieurs Bourdieu and Passeron have stated that:

"Tout enseignement, et plus particulièrement l'enseignement culture dispensed through education de culture (même scientifique -§-), (even scientific culture -§-),


2. Emphasis in original.


4. cf., for example, Michel Rousselet: "Des Élèves d'origine sociale plus variée", in Cahiers pédagogiques, (Paris), Special Number, January 1964, pp. 15-16.


presuppose implicitly a body of know-how, of know-how-to-behave and above all of know-how-to-speak which constitute the preserve of the cultured social classes." 1

These writers have explained the " Lyceé' pupils from the Parisian upper-middle class can display a wide culture, acquired without the intention, without effort and, seemingly, by osmosis while they disclaim undergoing any pressure from their parents". 2 In the playwright's catching phrase, "les gens de qualité savent tout sans avoir jamais rien appris", 3 (which has been "freely" translated as "oh! your people of fashion know every thing now-a-days, without being at the trouble of learning it" 4).

Messieurs Bourdieu and Passeron provided evidence in the form of a conversation. To the first question "Do you go to museums?" ("Allez-vous dans les musées?") the answer recorded was:

- "Pas tellement souvent.
On n'allait pas tellement dans les musées de peinture avec le lycée, plutôt dans les musées d'histoire. Mes parents m'emmenent plutôt au théâtre. On ne va pas tellement au musée."

- "Not very often. At the 'Lycée', we didn't go often to gallery museums, rather to history museums. My parents prefer to take me to the theatre. We don't often go to museums."

- "Quels sont vos peintres préférés?"
- "Which painters do you like best?"


"Vos parents vous conseillent-ils des lectures?"

"Je lis ce que je veux. On a beaucoup de livres. Je prends ce dont j'ai envie."

"Do your parents advise you on any reading?"

"I read what I like. I take those I fancy."

On the strength of such evidence, the authors have surmised that this cultural heritage, because it is not stained by any effort, is appealing and graceful.  

Some years ago, Jean Ader drew our attention to the surprising fact that, in Durkheim's own country, the sociology of education had not yet gained the recognition it had already achieved in the English-speaking countries of the West. It is in the course of the following decade that...


Table XXII showing the percentages of boys and girls in the last two years of "long" secondary education according to their father's socio-economic group in 1955.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic group:</th>
<th>Boys:</th>
<th>Girls:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural workers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed in agriculture</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans and shopkeepers</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal professions</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle rank employees</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial workers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed with independent means</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: René Naudin: "Une Enquête auprès des jeunes lycéens", in Avenir, (Paris), No. 83, April 1957, p. 35.
Pierre Bourdieu and his associates published research into the curriculum, on which we have drawn (vid supra, chapter 12). In fact, the Sociology Degree only came into existence in 1958.\(^1\)

Such papers as Aurélien Fabré's\(^2\) (vid supra, this chapter), and extended studies published by Alain Girard,\(^3\) are pointers towards a new appraisal of sociological possibilities in this field. For example, René Naudin, Director of the Statistics Department at the "B.U.S.", has tabulated returns (cf. Table XXII), which confirmed the assumption that the greater the wealth, the greater the desire of parents to see their children get on educationally.\(^4\) A British report, which was published in the middle nineteen fifties, had also reached a similar conclusion (cf. Table XXIII).

But Alain Girard has made more sophisticated comments based on statistics. According to his study, the figures revealed a remarkable degree of correlation between teachers' estimates and parents' wishes, that is to say their "educational demand". Statistics brought out that, for six socio-economic groups out of seven (cf. Table XXIV), the teachers' estimate was below the number finally accepted into the "observation" stage. Alain Girard concluded that a successful education and parents' wishes are tied so much to one another that the teachers' estimate also takes into account the social structure. When called upon to give advice as to the type of education that individual pupils appear to benefit from, the teachers

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Table XXIII showing the correlation between Terminal education age and father's occupation in England and Wales, 1953.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's occupation</th>
<th>Sixth Form Leavers</th>
<th>&quot;Premature&quot; Leave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>boys</td>
<td>girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and managerial</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table XXIV showing the parents' wishes, the teachers' estimate, and the percentage of pupils entering the "orientation" phase in 1962, according to their father's socio-economic group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic group</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of population</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents' wishes</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers' estimate</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual percentage entering in 1962</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Key:** (Socio-economic groups)

0 Agricultural self-employed;  
1 Agricultural workers;  
2 Factory and business owners;  
3 Higher managerial, administrative, and liberal professions;  
4 Middle-rank executives;  
5 White-collar workers;  
6 Industrial workers.

**Source:** Alain Girard: "Orientation scolaire et milieu social", in L'Education nationale, (Paris), No. 35, 5 December 1963, p. 8.
consider the school records and these are influenced by the pupils' social background. ¹

With regard to the wishes of those parents belonging to the lower socio-economic groups, the comparison of statistics available for a certain number of years reveal a measure of democratization (Democratization means "Permettre à tout enfant, quelles que soient ses origines, de poursuivre ses études", ² or "To enable every child, regardless of his social class, to pursue his studies"). The authors of the Billèresa Bill (1956) stated that, although at the age of 11-plus a pupil might apply to enter a secondary course, a technical course or a "Cours complémentaire", ³ in 1953 only 21 per cent. of industrial workers' children and 13 per cent. ⁴ of farm workers' children made a request of that nature. But, taking his own fieldwork as a basis, Professor Wylie has provided evidence of a climate of "social change at the grass roots" ⁵ (as has done Alain Girard ⁶). Formerly a farmer felt he had to explain why a son of his was attending university. For example, Monsieur Delay, a French farmer, apologetically said that:

"Henri is too small to do farm work. He's like a doll", or "Il fait poupée". ⁷

² Jacques Ellul: "La Machine à déceveller", in Réforme, (Paris), No. 646, 3 August 1957, p. 8.
⁴ Alain Girard's papers, in Population, (Paris), No. 4, October 1953, pp. 649-72 and No. 4, October 1954, pp. 597-634.
⁷ Monsieur Delay (reported by Laurence Wylie, in Max Hall ed., op. cit., p. 177).
The attitude of the farming and labouring classes has been changing rapidly in "New France" for, as Professor Wylie has found:

"It would seem that farmers are beginning to send their children in increasing numbers to (secondary) school in the city". 1

It therefore follows that equalization of opportunity is, in France, dependent on ironing out the disparities that arise from place of residence as well as from social class. 3 Research workers have confirmed that:

"Une sélection de fait selon le milieu social (ou) joue l'emplacement des établissements du second degré (sc. secondary education.A.S.L.); ceux où sont relégués plus fréquemment les enfants des classes populaires, (cf. Table IXa.A.S.L.) sont créés surtout dans les zones rurales ou suburbaines, à forte dominante paysanne ou ouvrière." 4

With regard to the financial burden, the French "députés", the members of Parliament, are aware of this challenge in contemporary France. For example, when the 1968 budget was debated in the National Assembly, the "rapporteur" stated that:

"Il conviendrait d'avoir toujours bien présent à l'esprit que dans la mesure où l'enseignement, et notamment l'enseignement supérieur, est gratuit, l'éducation des riches se trouve en fait financée par les" 4

"It ought to be borne in mind that as education, and also higher education, is free, the education of the well-to-do is in effect financed through the income tax paid by the wage earners, for the


However, it must not be overlooked that the expense of sending a child to a "Lycée" is by no means negligible. In 1964, it was estimated that the average cost of buying the necessary school books was 291 fr\(^2\) (about 14 fr to the £) for a 16-year old. The Chenot Commission had been set up in April 1963 with a view to advise on the "Problèmes de formation et de promotion sociale des jeunes Français", or "Problems of educating and socially promoting French young people". It deprecated the fact that, at the time, school requisites were not provided free in many areas, and that rural communities had no easy access to the academic secondary school. At the time, an inquiry revealed that the bookshop owners had serious misgivings with regard to the issuing of text-books free of charge in schools.\(^3\)

From May 1964 onwards, text-books have been provided free for the 11-13 age group and, as a measure to reduce the differential existing between town and country children, Ministre Guichard has announced that, by 1973, text-books will be made available free of charge to every pupil up to 16 years of age.\(^4\) With 28 million school books\(^5\) printed every year, the French appear to experience some considerable advantages in this field as compared with England. Two references will suffice. A British writer stated that:

5. On France Inter, 1.0 p.m. – News-Broadcast, 7 June 1970.
"France (...) spent more on school-books in 1967-1968 than we did." 1

And, again, in a T.E.S. leader, its author has deprecated the fact that "some authorities have been scandalously mean over school books for both primary and secondary schools"2 (In November 1971, the specialized press disclosed that Barnsley was one of the meanest spenders on school books, 50 p per primary child a year, whilst Brecon's figure was £2.26). In France, a "professeur" has pointed out that:

"La gratuité des fournitures scolaires dans les collèges d'enseignement général" 3 worked selectively against the "Lycées". Nevertheless, in 1963, 24 per cent. of the pupils entering the academic secondary school were drawn from the homes of industrial workers, 4 but less than half stayed till the end of the course. 5 An important drop-out rate was deplored in February 1969, by Edgar Faure, 6 then Minister of National Education.

In a similar vein, the success of the "Orientation professionnelle" in inducing pupils to pursue their education, has been somewhat limited in the field of educational guidance. As long ago as the late nineteen forties, it appeared that a substantial proportion of pupils who visited voluntarily the "Centres" were unable to remain in a secondary school, because of the financial implications. The findings of a study undertaken in 1949 around

the Aisne area were that, when 600 pupils had been advised to take up secondary technical education, one third declared they were not in a position to do so. As at the time, the yearly boarding fees would have cost £54, tuition being free of charge, it may be assumed that the deterrent for the family was the loss of a wage. In post-World War I England, Kenneth Lindsay's pioneer study of social factors in educational achievement showed that "a considerable number were deterred from entering (the grammar school), owing to the loss of earning power that would follow."

The conclusions of recent French studies are similar (vid supra, chapters 7, 13). In the words of the Central Advisory Council for Education:

"It is obvious that there are strong financial inducements to withdraw boys and girls from school before the age of 18."

The inducements are evidently greater or lesser depending on the socio-economic background (cf. Table XXII), a point that did not escape the nineteenth-century writers.

3. Our emphasis.
showing the correlation between the type of education received by 2,000 sons and their father's occupation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's occupation</th>
<th>Distribution of sample (percentage)</th>
<th>Education of son (percentage)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks and business professionals</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers and craftsmen</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper rank executive</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and technical professions (incl. teachers)</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public servants (incl. primary teachers)</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower collar workers</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial workers</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans</td>
<td>(1.8)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Measurement</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The authors of the Billeres Bill (1956) were conscious of this crucial factor, that is to say the economic ability of the family to support the education of its children. They were aware that:

"Le faible gain familial, la charge de plusieurs enfants, peuvent détournir les familles de la perspective des études longues, malgré l'aide des bourses." 1

"The family's low earnings, the burden of several children, can divert the families from the prospect of long-term studies, in spite of grant-aid." 1

In Great Britain, at the time of an Election campaign, Edward Short, the Secretary of State for Education and Science, acknowledged that:

"At present, 30,000 students with the potential to become university graduates leave school every year at the age of 15, simply because their families cannot afford to maintain them." 2

Sociological enquiries undertaken in the past decades have revealed that a similar situation obtained in France (cf. Table XXV). Worse still, Paul Clerc's enquiry has shown that over 40 per cent. of parents stated that they could not afford to send their child to a secondary school owing to the cost. 3 Such families are part and parcel of la France pauvre, 4 or "needy France."

Although published in 1965, it has been pointed out that, since then, the situation described in Paul-Marie de La Gorce's penetrating study had not changed at all. 5 Odette Brunschwig, a School Inspector, wrote in 1961 of the real financial difficulties facing many a family. She summed up:

1. "Projet de Loi (Rene Billeres) portant prolongation de la scolarité obligatoire et réforme de l'Enseignement public", 1956, Part I, Section 2 (reprinted in L. Decaunes et al., op. cit.)
5. Jean Ferniot, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. - Commentaire, 7 July 1970.
"Combien de salaires inférieurs encore à 50,000 fr par mois! (21.5 per cent.A.S.L. -1-)
Pour une famille de 2 enfants, 50,000 fr, cela représente environ 400 fr par jour et par personne, à peine de quoi se nourrir! Même au prix des grands sacrifices, il est impossible de faire face à tous les frais qui entraîne une scolarité au lycée: 25,000 fr de fournitures au moins, le jour de la rentrée, et l'avance de 3 mois de demi-pension." 2

As early as 1923, Léon Bérard, then Minister of Public Instruction, spoke to the Deputies and surmised that:

"Il sera nécessaire que nous accordions, à côté de la bourse proprement dite, des allocations qui représenteront une partie de ce que coûte réellement à la famille l'éducation de l'enfant." 3

The authors of the Langevin-Wallon Plan were also aware that needy families would require concrete help to make education possible for their children. They stated that:

"La gratuité inscrite dans les textes serait un leurre si on la limitait à la suppression des frais d'études sans s'inquiéter des moyens de vie des élèves et des étudiants. Dans les familles ouvrières, le gain de l'adolescent est escompté. L'apprenti, le jeune ouvrier doivent apporter leur contribution au budget familial, et de cette contribution il est matériellement impossible de se passer." 4

"How many wages still below 50,000 fr a month! (21.5 per cent.A.S.L. -1-)
With a family of two children, this is about 400 fr a day per person, barely enough to eat! Even at the price of great deprivation, it is impossible to meet the cost of all expenses a 'lycée' education entails: at least 25,000 fr in equipment on the first day at school plus three-month day-boarding fees paid cash!" 2

"Besides the grant proper, it will be necessary that we give allowances which will represent part of what the child's education really costs to the family." 3

"Free education embodied in the texts would be meaningless if it meant no more than the abolition of fees, without considering the pupils' and students' conditions and means of living. In working-class families, the youth's earnings are expected. The apprentice, the young worker must contribute towards the family budget. It is impossible to manage without their help." 4

Pierre Fort, President of the "Association de parents d'élèves des lycées et des collèges", has depicted the stress:

"Le mois d'octobre est très lourd pour les finances des familles (...). Quand la liste des livres de classe qu'il faut acheter s'y ajoute, c'est l'affolement."  

"October falls very heavily on the family finances (...). When the list of school-books that must be bought, is added to them, it creates a panic."  

The nation's budget for social welfare undoubtedly helps out. But, if needy families benefit from it, their share is no larger than everybody else's, which means that they ultimately benefit less from it than the others do.  

When contributions from rich and poor are roughly equal (i.e. on a flat-rate basis) and when the benefit both social classes receive is identical providing the conditions are similar, i.e. say, the size of the family, in the name of equality, the law does safeguard the wealthy whose contributions are not commensurate with his earnings.

Under the Fourth Republic, the French worker felt himself disfavoured still, despite the fact that his real income had gone up steadily by 5 per cent. yearly, adding to 43 per cent. in "per capita" income from 1949 to 1958.  

By 1962 the French workman could spend 23 per cent. more than in 1958 in terms of real values, as industrial salaries had risen by 36 per cent.  

In the late nineteen sixties, the French working population was even better off for, in the wake of the 1968 social unrest, the "Accords de Grenelle", or "Grenelle Agreements", resulted in the upgrading of salarie by a cool 12 or 13 per cent.; before long productivity caught up with this

2. Our emphasis.
3. Jean Ferniot, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. - Commentaire, 7 July 1970.
large financial award\(^1\) (the 1968 settlement recalls the 1936 agreement whereby the working force secured both a forty-hour working week and annual holidays which, as Professeur Sauvy has shown, completely froze the French economic expansion and had also the devastating effect of increasing the number of workers drawing unemployment benefit\(^2\)).

As the hourly rate of pay was again increased by 10 per cent. in the course of the following year,\(^3\) the wages increased by 63 per cent. between 1964 and 1970.\(^4\) It is this evolution that has prompted Joseph Fontanet, then Minister of Labour, to purport that:

"Le doublement du niveau de vie s'opère aujourd'hui tous les douze ou quinze ans." 5

"Nowadays the standard of living doubles every twelve or fifteen years." 5

The growth of the standard of living is confirmed by the rate of economic progress retained in the Sixth Plan (1971-1975). The ever-growing standard of living is one of the major characteristics of "the affluent society".\(^6\)

However, the standard of living of families with two children or more has deteriorated in the nineteen fifties.\(^7\) Besides, according to the 1969 United Nations' figures, the 30 per cent. forming the lower working class

\(^1\) On R.T.L., 7.45 a.m. - Broadcast, 18 May 1971.
\(^3\) Henri Marc, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. - Editorial, 29 July 1970.
shared between them only 4.8 per cent.\textsuperscript{1} of the French Gross National Product. Although, by 1972, the Communists were making theirs the slogan "A quand les 1,000 fr?"\textsuperscript{2} thus claiming that every French worker deserved a monthly wage of 1,000 fr minimum (the "S.M.I.C.", or subsistence level decided by the Government, was still below 800 fr\textsuperscript{3}), in 1971, there were as many as 700,000 people,\textsuperscript{4} mostly women\textsuperscript{5} and foreigners\textsuperscript{6} (France employs two million immigrants from the Mediterranean shores, 25 per cent. of them being Algerians\textsuperscript{7}), a figure representing about 3.5 per cent. of the whole French working population (20,400,000 in 1968\textsuperscript{8}), who received a wage known as "S.M.I.C.", or "Salaire minimum interprofessionnel de croissance".\textsuperscript{9} In Great Britain, according to figures revealed in 1971 by Frank Field, the Director of the Child Poverty Action Group, one in six of all children, that is to say

\textsuperscript{1} On Europe-1, 8.0 a.m. - News-Broadcast, 3 June 1970.
\textsuperscript{3} On R.T.L., 7.30 a.m. - News-Broadcast, 4 September 1972.
\textsuperscript{4} Michel Colomes, on R.T.L., News-Broadcast, 7 January 1971.
\textsuperscript{5} Juliette Boisriveaud and Rosine Vidart, on R.T.L. - \textit{Au Féminin}, a 10.30 a.m. - Broadcast, 4 January 1971.
\textsuperscript{7} cf., for example, Paul-Marie de La Gorce: \textit{La France pauvre}, (Paris, 1965), p. 201.
\textsuperscript{9} Further details in P.-M. de La Gorce, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 178 ff.
2,000,000 of them, lived in poverty and the number of poor working families had doubled over the 1967-1970 period.\(^1\)

Perhaps one of the most startling things about poverty is that in "150,000 to 200,000 families (with probably 5 to 600,000 children among them\(^2\)) whose earned income is below\(^3\) assistance level, the head of the house is in fulltime work".\(^4\) In France, Cardinal Villot has stated that:

"Une société se juge à la place qu'elle réserve aux plus démunis des siens." 5

In a republic such as France, whose motto acknowledges the equality of all Frenchmen, on the State befalls the responsibility of reallocating the national wealth. With regard to the rôle of the State, Jean Ferniot has explained:

"Je ne vois pas qui, en dehors de l'Etat, est capable d'assurer l'équilibre social, c'est-à-dire de compenser le dur jeu des mécanismes économiques par une redistribution de la richesse nationale (...). Par le moyen des transferts sociaux, par le moyen de la fiscalité, par le moyen des équipements collectifs, l'Etat s'efforce avec plus ou moins de bonheur, certes, mais avec obstination, à combattre les inégalités, c'est-à-dire les injustices (...)." 4

"I fail to see who, apart from the State, is capable of ensuring the social balance, that is to say compensating the strong interplay of economics mechanisms by a redistribution of the national wealth (...). By means of social transfers, by means of taxation, by means of public provisions, the State aims, with greater or lesser success, to be sure, but with determination, at crushing any inequality, that is to say any injustice (...). I wish E.N.A. students (...) wondered (...)

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2. Brackets in original.

3. Emphasis in original.


5. Cardinal Villot (reported by Jean Ferniot, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. - Commentaire, 7 July 1970).
Je souhaiterais que les élèves de l'E.N.A. (sc. the future top civil servants, A.S.L.) se demandent de quel État les hommes ont réellement besoin.  

Over the last few decades, governmental action has insured an income redistribution whereby, through taxation on the one hand, and through the diverse family allowances on the other (vid supra, this chapter), inequalities in the standard of living have been reduced. However, Paul Paillat's study revealed that:

L'aide apportée à la famille se révèle donc moins efficace quand il y a beaucoup d'enfants que lorsqu'il n'y en a qu'un seul. The (financial) help given to families appears therefore to be less efficient when there are many children than when there is only a single one.

In spite of its limitations, the governmental policy plays no small part in securing for the families pertaining to the low socio-economic groups a minimum standard of living, which is a prerequisite to the promotion of the "nouvelle société". As Doyen Vedel phrased the point:

"La véritable égalité des chances doit commencer par des discriminations légales compensant les discriminations sociales." "Genuine equality of opportunity must begin with legal differentiation levelling social handicaps."

The educationists who formed a commission in Algiers towards the end of the war began to size up the importance the State ought to play in

1. Jean Ferniot, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. - Commentaire, 26 June 1970.
3. Emphasis in original.
promoting technical education with a view to the future development of France. In their report known as the "Algiers Plan" (September 1944), these educationists stressed the role of technical education in order to provide adequately, it was hoped, for the country's needs (Section 15). The immediacy of this argument was to be developed further. For example, the authors of the Billères Bill (1956) commented:

"L'on s'accorde à reconnaître que la productivité est directement conditionnée par le niveau d'éducation de l'ensemble des travailleurs." 2

Once it is purported that productivity is directly related to the level of education, a consensus of opinion is in favour of extending education further. There is often disagreement over the means which would foster the desirable aims. The national attitude requires that many more bright children receive the best secondary education for they shall add most to the country's gross national product.

In the early nineteen sixties, Messieurs Fourastié and Courthéoux3 claimed that:

"Le niveau des connaissances intellectuelles et des qualifications professionnelles, goulot d'étanchéité de l'économie actuelle, et dont on s'est

"The level of intellectual knowledge and professional qualification (is the) strangulation bottleneck of the present-day economy today we realize that it is the


2. "Projet de Loi (René Billères) portant prolongation de la scolarité obligatoire et réforme de l'Enseignement public", 1956, Part I, Section 3 (reprinted in Luc Decaunes and al., op. cit.).


4. Emphasis in original.
aujourd'hui aperçu qu'il est le prime factor in (economic)
facteur primordial de la croissance, growth, so that an under-
de sorte qu'un pays sous-développé developed country is an
c'est un pays sous-instruit." under-educated one." 

Similarly, at their 1970 Congress, the "S.N.I." delegates drew their
fellow-countrymen's attention to the fact that:

"Une nation sous éduquée est une An under-educated nation is
nation sous-développée." an under-developed one." 

The idea is by no means new. In the nineteenth century, Philosophe Renan
declared that:

"L'éducation est pour les sociétés a matter of life and death, a
modernes une question de vie ou de matter upon which the future
décès, une question d'où dépend depends." 

In short, the interest of the Government happens to meet with the personal
interest of its citizens, hence the countless post-World War II reform
projects (vid supra, chapter 4, subsection b). We may also note that, when
discussing the first Geneva Conference of U.N.E.S.C.O. (1946), Sir Bowra
stated that:

"Most countries have improved their educational
methods because they were afraid that if they
do not do so they will lose in the competitive
struggle against other countries." 

1. First published by Jean Fourastie, in Avenirs, (Paris), No. 106,
October 1959, p. 7.

2. Translation from Wilfred D. Halls, in Society, Schools and Progress in

3. On France-Inter, 8.0 p.m. - News-Broadcast, 6 July 1970 (from a
recording).

4. Ernest Renan's conference: "La Part de la famille et de l'Etat dans
l'éducation", 19 April 1869 (in Ernest Renan: La Réforme intellectuelle

5. Sir Maurice Bowra (reported by Charles H. Dobinson, in: Technical
XXVI showing the numbers (in 000's) within the various tracks that the children could follow on completion of their primary education for selected years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hoolyear beginning:</th>
<th>Public sector</th>
<th>Private sector</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>peating top primary grade</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tering final primary classes</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| tering Sixth grade (British 1st Form) in:  
  C.E.G.'s (Public) | 115  | 177  | 199  | 25   | 50   |
| intermediate schools (Private) | -    | -    | 243  |       |      |
| C.E.S.'s (Public) | -    | -    | 243  |       |      |
| tering Sixth grade in:  
  "Lycées" (Public) | 118  | 146  | 149  | 19   | 20   |
| secondary schools (Private) |       |      |      |       |      |
| eaving school (orientation not known) | 21   | 13   | -    | 5    | 5    |
|otal of the age cohort | 744  | 760  | 731  | 127  | 130  |


1969 ... Bertrand Girod de l'Ain: "La Rentrée", in Le Monde, 16 September 1969, p. 11.
We have seen that increasing demand from the public for secondary education focused the country's attention on the "observation" phase during the first year (1959-1960) of the major reforms (vid supra, chapter 7). It does not seem as yet possible to ascertain fully the extent to which even these early reforms have promoted secondary education. French educationists are aware of both the slow process and long term effect of educational reforms. However the statistical returns for the 1959-1969 period are an indication of the trend towards a substantial extension of secondary education proper (cf. Table XXVI). Besides, by 1970, the first intake of pupils who had benefited from a full four-year "observation" and "orientation" phase, was reaching the Sixth Form (vid supra, chapter 8). A fact of social significance is that, in the very year 1970, the Sixth Form was absorbing a further 40,000 pupils, a figure representing 5 per cent. of the age group.

At the beginning of the 1969-1970 academic year, Olivier Guichard, then Minister of National Education, proudly stated that:

"Le technique, long et court, rassemble désormais 700,000 élèves." 2

This figure showed an increase of over 100 per cent. on the number of pupils in technical education for 1958 which, according to Decree No. 59-57, amounted to 330,000 pupils3 (notwithstanding the fact that in the following years provisions were considerably slowed down; about 14,000 extra places in 1971!) 4

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Table XXVII showing the increase in the number of pupils between 1951 and 1961 for each type of school (in per cent.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1961</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary schools</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Lycées&quot; (classical)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Lycées&quot; (modern)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table XXVIII showing the growth of secondary school pupils per social class over the 1953-1962 period (in per cent.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social class</th>
<th>1953</th>
<th>1962</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper professional class</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical class</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Estimation based on a longitudinal investigation undertaken by the "Institut National des Etudes Démographiques", or "I.N.E.D.", and published in *Population*, (Paris), by Alain Girard (No. 4, October 1953, pp. 649-72 and No. 4, October 1954, pp. 597-634) and Paul Clerc ("La Famille et l'orientat scolaire au niveau de la sixième", No. 4, August 1964, p. 66
Statistics therefore tend to substantiate Louis Cros's claim, that secondary education is witnessing an "explosion scolaire", or the "explosion in the schools". But we know that, first, the French planners have estimated that their country will require 40 per cent. of the age cohort to reach a Terminal Education Age of 18 years by 1972 (cf. Table X); secondly that, in 1954, only 30 per cent. of 17-to-18-year-olds were still at school (cf. Table XIX). In the light of Alain Girard's studies (vid supra, this chapter), it is reasonable to assume that most of these students belonged to what Jean Floud has called the "famille éducogène". The latter figure of 30 per cent. may be compared to the general figure for 1950, when 23 per cent. of eleven to eighteen year-old pupils stayed at school beyond the Statututory school-leaving age. Over three quarters of them pursue their studies in secondary education (State schools and private ones); just over 20 per cent. opting for technical education (State schools and private ones). By 1954, as many as 41.6 per cent. of all children aged fifteen were still at school (cf. Table XIX).

Between 1951 and 1961 there was a substantial increase in the number of secondary school pupils (cf. Table XXVII). The first 33 per cent. represent the increase caused by the population upsurge due to the post-war higher birth-rate. The difference is accounted for by the "rising expectations", that is to say the tendency to stay longer at school, which

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reflects the rise in the standard of living, but also by the sociologically significant change in the percentage of secondary-school pupils being drawn from the lower-middle class and the working class (cf. Table XXVIII).

These trends coupled with the fact that, in 1970, 260,000 candidates sat the Baccalaureate examinations (set out in the Decree of 18 October 1808, the Baccalaureate at first attracted only 195 pupils) substantiate Jacques Julliard's view that:

"Une mutation (...) en France (...) nous a fait passer en quelques années d'un enseignement élitiste à un enseignement de masse."

"A change (...) in France (...) whereby we have passed within a few years from an elitist education to an education for the masses."

Nor does this statement, encouraging as it is, express an unprecedented point of view. In the early nineteen sixties, Professeur Ikor had remarked that:

"Il y a une quarantaine d'années, on comptait quelque cinquante mille candidats; on en arrive maintenant à quelque quatre cent mille. Dans le premier cas, on pouvait encore parler d'une sélection pour l'enseignement supérieur; dans le second cas, il s'agit d'une proportion si importante de la jeunesse qu'elle ne représente plus une sélection, mais une promotion collective."

"About forty years ago, there were some fifty thousand candidates; now they are almost four hundred thousand. Formerly, one could still speak of selection for higher education; now, so large a proportion of youth is involved that it is no longer a selection, but wholesale promotion."


Prior to the 1964 Reform\textsuperscript{1} then (vid supra, chapter 8), post-primary education was of the type Professor Turner has termed "sponsored mobility", as a mode of social ascent.\textsuperscript{2} In accordance with the 1964 measures and the subsequent one, the "Plan Fouchet", have successively established polyvalent schools (2122 by 1971, cf. Table XVI) and reformed both the upper reaches of secondary school and university education (vid inf., chapter 14, subsectio a), there has been a marked tendency towards a "contest mobility". This trend is largely reflected in the syllabi. For example, between the ages of eleven and thirteen years, the curricula followed by all children are to be as similar as possible and for the first term of the "observation" phase, the curricula are identical.

Moreover, since then, great strides have been made in order to achieve a "common curriculum". The major step was brought about soon after the 1968 student unrest whose incidental, but serious effect was the decline in importance of Latin. When Edgar Faure, then Minister of National Education, announced that the introduction of Latin would be postponed until the second year of secondary education (i.e. "Classe de 3e"), the "Association pour la défense du latin"\textsuperscript{3} made its position known, by asserting that Latin was a basic subject. The "Association" went as far as saying that Latin was a subject whose contribution to the training of the brain" was no less important than Mathematics or French Language.\textsuperscript{4}

\begin{tabular}{l}
1. Anonymous: "L'Orientation scolaire dans le premier cycle", in \\
L'Education nationale, (Paris), No. 16, 30 April 1964, p. 2.
2. Ralph Turner: "Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System", \\
pp. 855-67 (reprinted in A. Halsey et al. eds.: Education, Economy and \\
3. Association pour la défense du latin, 9, avenue du Bac, 92-Asnières.
4 December 1969, p. 13).
\end{tabular}
Similarly, in Great Britain, there are supporters still in favour of the teaching of Latin to all children. For example, in a speech, Ronald Bell, Member of Parliament, expressed the view that:

"Secondary modern schools should be fully academic, jolly well making sure the children there learn such things as Latin and maths, whether they have the aptitude for it or not." 1

No doubt, since then, an expert has expressed a more balanced view when he said that:

"Classicists are caught between foes who claim the subject is useless and friends who commend it as 'good medicine'." 2

In France, when the "Association pour la défense du latin" heard that the introduction of Latin as a school subject was being postponed by one year, they wanted the matter to be referred to the National Assembly 3 for arbitration. So closely intertwined are Politics and National Education.

More recently, the teaching of Latin has also been withdrawn from the second year. Consequently the teaching of Latin begins in the "Classe de quatrième", or Third Form, where it is offered as an option. 4 The implication is that, when it is considered that some subjects cannot be taught to all, e.g. Latin, if they are taught to none; and once it is deemed that those subjects which must be taught to some, e.g. French and Mathematics, must be taught to all; such principles promote a curriculum


common to all pupils. The corollary is that a system based on a common curriculum leads to the rationalization of school administration and the quantification of teacher output. When he presented the 1969-1970 budget for his ministry, Olivier Guichard has proudly claimed that:

"L'orientation suppose la communauté des matières enseignées. Cette communauté est totale pendant les deux premières années." 2

A common curriculum has the added advantage of providing the shared culture which is a necessary social cement. The effect of the orientation phase with its common curriculum will be reinforced, it is hoped, by the induction classes, i.e. "Classes d'accueil et d'adaptation", 3 which are to be organized at all levels in the "Lycées" and the "Lycées techniques" in order to make transfers feasible. This new type of class is considered to be an important improvement which has been made possible by the statutory reform brought about in 1959 (Decree No. 59-574).

Reforms have substantially transformed French secondary education over the last decade or so. They have led Président Pompidou to reflect, in 1970, that:

"Dans l'enseignement secondaire plus qu'ailleurs il convient de ne rien sacrifier d'essentiel et de ne pas commencer par détruire sous prétexte de reconstruire. Mais il importe aussi de refaire un examen d'ensemble complet de ce que doit être cet enseignement dans son recrutement, dans ses méthodes, dans regard to its selection, its methods, ses finalités et dans ses sanctions."5

2. Our emphasis.
This statement has been clarified when, in that year, Olivier Guichard, then Minister of National Education, declared that:

"Je considère qu'il ne faut pas abuser des réformes." 1

"I think that we must not misuse reforms." 1

It seems that in France, educational reforms excite by and large those in the know but, all too often, the reforms disturb the "silent majority". 2

Nevertheless, political action has to take into account the prevalent facts and figures. Reforms are decided upon after much consideration in order to avoid as far as it is humanly possible, an irretrievable mistake. Rather than fostering completely new institutions, whose development may cause more trouble than it might appease dissatisfaction, it is usually thought wiser putting to better use the existing ones. So much so that this course of action was already prevalent in the nineteenth century. For example, in 1833, Ministre Guizot explained that:

"Nous avons pensé qu'en manière d'instruction publique surtout, il s'agit plutôt de régulariser et d'améliorer ce qui existe que de détruire pour inventer." 3

"We have thought that above all as regards Public instruction, it sooner matters to regulate and improve what is in existence rather than destroying in order to improvise."

This point of view is also Président Pompidou's. He stated that:

"La France est un vieux pays et je crois que quand on veut le réformer il faut d'abord partir des réalités, de ce qui existe." 4

"France is an old country and I believe that when we wish to reform it, we must first start from what is there, from what is in existence." 4

1. Ministre Guichard (reported on R.T.L., 7.0 p.m. - News-Broadcast, 1 June 1970).

2. cf., for example, the declaration of the "Association Appel à la majorité silencieuse", in le Monde, Paris, No. 8151, 28 March 1971, p. 12 (Appel à la majorité silencieuse, 82, avenue des Quatre-Che
ing, 92-Chatenay-Malabry).


Conclusions.

To a greater or a lesser degree, the democratization of secondary education has been severely hampered by clinging for too long to what Pierre Bourdieu has termed the "héritage culturel", \(^1\) or "cultural heritage". In fact, Olivier Guichard, then Minister of National Education, has deplored that:

"L'un des drames de notre éducation est qu'elle a toujours voulu inculquer un modèle culturel figé." \(^2\) "One of our education's tragedies is that it has always aimed at inculcating a fossilized cultural model." \(^2\)

The piecemeal reforms of secondary education which have tentatively been made in the course of this century reflect the dichotomy between the views held by the exponents primarily faithful to the tradition and those held by the educationists in favour of changes.

A sizable proportion of French intellectuals believe that culture is accessible to an elite simply because relatively few youngsters are prepared to make the necessary effort which is the key to "the culture." But, over the last decade, the forward-looking educationists have obtained a reappraisal of Latin. This should be seen in a wider context as an illustration of the conflict between "culture" and the requirements imposed by the fast developing French industrial society.

World war II has promoted technological progress which, in turn, has determined the make-up of the Western societies. In France, the successive economic plans have channelled investments into the development of industry, a process which was accelerated in the nineteen fifties.

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But, again, manpower, and here we mean an increasing proportion of men and women with a high Terminal Education Age, did not keep pace with the set-up of industrial plants and their machinery.

In a momentous speech, Jacques Chaban-Delmas, then Prime Minister, visualized a French "nouvelle société" (vid supra, chapter 10). This concept was not a new one, at least in the English-speaking countries. However, it remained to be seen how Ministre Chaban-Delmas and his Government would set out to bring about the opportunities which would be the prerequisite of the "nouvelle société" in industrial France. Whatever the means the Government would choose, they were bound to clash with the ideals of some well-established pressure-groups and their vested interests. For example, we are aware that "ceux qui ne veulent jamais de réformes",¹ that is to say the factions with the traditional outlook, have consistently done their utmost to retain the "culture" which has been handed down to one generation of the middle class after another, by means of the refined education pertaining to the "Lycée" (vid supra, chapter 3).

We have also noted that, in 1958, the change of constitution coincided with the reform of secondary education (vid supra, chapter 7). The reform made it possible to build multilateral junior colleges and, at long last, to implement by stages a common curriculum² so that the colleges would ultimately become polyvalent "C.E.S.s". It seemed that for the first time the democratization of education was in sight as every citizen would be in

a position to enjoy the "égalité d'éducation" which has remained the order of the day ever since Jules Ferry undertook his pioneer work (vid supra, chapter 1). The implication is that the democratization will without any doubt contribute to promote a change in the French society.

Statistics have shown that, over the 1957-1969 period alone, secondary school enrolments have more than doubled, the secondary school population having passed from 1,698,000 pupils in 1957, to 3,834,000 in 1969 (vid supra, chapter 10). It was currently held that this unparalleled development, which has been termed "explosion scolaire", had been caused by the population bulge. In fact, as Alfred Sauvy has pointed out, methodology has brought to light that the "rising expectations", that is to say the trend to stay longer at school, has outstripped the effect of the demographic spurt. In Professeur Sauvy's words:

"With regard to the direct causes of the increase in the (school) population, (public) opinion is misleading; it usually attributes it to the 'population growth', that is to say basically to the increase in the birth-rate and consequently, to the number of children of school age. Now, with the obvious exception of primary education, this phenomenon has only played a really minor rôle.

"Sur les causes directes de ce surpeuplement (scolaire), l'opinion fait fausse route; elle l'attribue communément à la 'démographie', c'est-à-dire essentiellement à l'augmentation des naissances, et par là, au nombre d'enfants en âge d'être enseignés. Or, à l'exception naturellement du premier degré, ce phénomène n'a joué qu'un rôle tout à fait secondaire.

Pour éviter le phénomène anormal des classes creuses, comparons les causes directes de ce surpeuplement."

5. A. Sauvy: Mythologie de notre temps, (Paris, 1965), p. 188.
In order to avoid the unusual 'hollow' years, let us compare the years 1939 (just before the war) and 1965 (excluding the French in Algeria):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of children between 11 and 18 years of age</th>
<th>Number of pupils in secondary education and in technical education (private and state ones)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>4,930,000</td>
<td>612,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>5,730,000</td>
<td>3,100,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In schools

With the percentages in schools in 1959, the number of pupils would be 710,000. The increase due to the (higher) birth-rate is therefore 98,000 pupils. The balance, that is to say 2,390,000, is caused by the democratization. -1- It is 24 times more." 2

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2. Emphasis in original.
"L'enseignement supérieur français a besoin d'une réforme."
- Professeur Duverger, February 1965.

Chapter 14. The University Faculties.

"Jamais comme aujourd'hui les jeunes ne se sont sentis autant responsables de leur avenir."
- M. Beucher, Principal of the Boulle School.

Subsection a) The Liberal Arts Faculties.

"Les premiers résultats de l'étude ont montré que les besoins de qualifications en sciences humaines n'étaient pas inférieurs à ceux des sciences physiques. Au contraire."
- Professeur Fourastié, February 1962.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Revolution abolished the universities. In 1808 Napoleon I re-established the ancient universities, with their five faculties of Theology, Law, Medicine, Letters, and Science. Prior to the 1968 Reform, the universities were basically made up of the faculties of Law and Economic Sciences, Science, Letters and Human Sciences, Medicine, and Pharmacology.

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1. Or: "French higher education needs a reform" (Maurice Duverger: "L'Avenir de l'enseignement supérieur", in Cahiers pédagogiques, Paris, No. 52, February 1965, p. 11).

2. Or: "Never before have young people felt so much responsible for their future" (M. Beucher, reported in le Monde, Paris, No. 7282, 13 June 1968, p. 11).

3. Or: "The preliminary results of the study have shown that the need for qualified humanists are not below the prevision for scientists. On the contrary" (Jean Fourastié: "Les Besoins de l'économie française en personnel qualifié", in l'Éducation nationale, Paris, No. 5, 1 February 1962, p. 7).


Table XXIX showing the number of students in each "académie" for selected years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<td>Paris</td>
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<td>58958</td>
<td>64151</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aix-Marseille</td>
<td>5550</td>
<td>5496</td>
<td>7556</td>
<td>9679</td>
<td>15486</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lyon</td>
<td>6695</td>
<td>6958</td>
<td>7865</td>
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<td>7665</td>
<td>7531</td>
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<td>5091</td>
<td>5685</td>
<td>7054</td>
<td>10509</td>
<td>13361</td>
<td>15655</td>
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<td>6225</td>
<td>6382</td>
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<td>5069</td>
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<td>Clermont</td>
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<td>Dijon</td>
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<td>1820</td>
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<td>4717</td>
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<td>Besançon</td>
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<td>Reims</td>
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</table>

**Total** 72715 118170 134408 152246 214671 244814 282222

**Sources:**


The universities have been largely reformed by Jules Ferry, the Republican Minister, in 1885, when the faculties were linked with fifteen regional universities, usually in cities which had had universities in the past, among others Caen, Besançon, and Poitiers (vid infra, this subsection). The structure of higher education in France has practically remained unchanged for a hundred years but, over the last ten years or so, it has undergone both modifications and expansion, as Monsieur Capdecomme, a former Director General of Higher Education, has explained.

By 1950, the French universities were organized in seventeen academies (cf. Table XXIX). An "académie" is an administrative region centred on a university. Until the 1968 reform, "recteurs", high civil servants, were appointed by the Minister of National Education. The "recteur" was the administrative head of the university and was responsible for all State education in his region, down to the kindergartens. In the early nineteen sixties some administrative regions have been subdivided in order to form the "second-generation" universities. First, Nantes, Orléans, and Reims became academies (1961), followed by Amiens and Rouen. In 1965, the academies of Limoges and Nice came into being bringing the total number


2. Les Compagnons: "L'Université nouvelle", in les Cahiers de Probus, (Paris), No. 2, July 1919, p. 150.


to twenty three (Decree of 20 April 1965). The academies are:

- Paris, 1200;
- Toulouse, 1229;
- Montpellier, 1289;
- Aix-Marseille, 1409;
- Poitiers, 1431;
- Caen, 1432;
- Grenoble, 1439;
- Bordeaux, 1441;
- Besançon (formerly in Dôle), 1422;
- Lille (formerly in Douai), 1559;
- Nancy (formerly, Pont-a-Mousson), 1572;
- Strasbourg, 1621;
- Rennes (formerly in Nantes), 1641;
- Dijon, 1722;
- Lyon, 1808;
- Clermont, 1810;

to which have been added recently the "second-generation" universities:

- Nantes, 1961;
- Orléans, 1961;
- Reims, 1961;
- Amiens;
- Rouen;
- Limoges, 1965;

Traditionally the severe intellectual grinding and the long period of preparation required by the French universities for entrance, i.e. the Baccalaureate examinations, resulted in social selection of students from wealthy and cultured homes. For example, of 100,466 students in July 1948, 18 per cent. had fathers in the higher managerial and administrative socio-economic groups, 16 per cent. had fathers who were factory and business owners, 27 per cent. of fathers were "middle rank" executives, 10 per cent. of fathers were white-collar workers, only 1.5 per cent. of fathers were industrial workers, and 5 per cent. of fathers were farmers

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</table>
Table XXX showing the social origin of university students for selected years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic groups % (1954)</th>
<th>Father's occupation</th>
<th>1939 %</th>
<th>1949 %</th>
<th>1953 %</th>
<th>1956 %</th>
<th>1959 %</th>
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<tr>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>Agricultural self-employed</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>4.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>Agricultural workers</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>Factory and business owners</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Liberal professions</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>High civil servants (with army)</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>Tradesmen and shopkeepers</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>White-collar workers</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>Industrial workers</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
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<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Absolute numbers: 52014 127503 127246 135197 169588


These last percentages have been confirmed by Raymond Poignant when he wrote that only 3 per cent. of university students were sons of farmers in 1962 and only 1.4 per cent. were sons of workers (cf. also Table XLII).

Professeur Crozier has surmised that the small number of students with a working-class background could easily be explained in terms of early selection based on an "esoteric" culture. He wrote that:

"Une sélection prématurée à partir des résultats obtenus sur un programme abstrait rend extrêmement difficile aux enfants des classes populaires de pénétrer dans les universités qui sont pourtant depuis fort longtemps pratiquement gratuites. C'est l'usage de cette méthode qui permet d'expliquer le paradoxe du petit nombre d'étudiants d'origine ouvrière dans un pays où le niveau d'éducation est relativement élevé et où les ouvriers ont un standard de vie relativement confortable."

An early selection based on results obtained from an abstract programme makes it extremely difficult for children with a working-class origin to gain access into the universities which have however been practically free for a very long time. It is the implementation of that method which explains the paradox of the small number of students with a working-class background in a country where the level of education is comparatively high and where the workers have a standard of living comparatively comfortable."

In a paper, Raymond Aron, Professor of Sociology at the Sorbonne, pointed out that the swelling numbers of undergraduates did not really reflect a movement towards the democratization of university education. For example, 10 per cent. of the age cohort (i.e. 56,000) enrolled in 1963. As many as 65 per cent. of new entrants belonged to the socio-economic groups


comprising only 21 per cent. of the population. He surmised that rather more sons and daughters whose parents belong to the wealthier classes enter university, a point which is borne out by statistics (cf. Table XLI).

Pierre Bourdieu's findings have confirmed Professeur Aron's views. In one of his studies, Pierre Bourdieu compiled data for first and second-year Medicine students in Paris. It stood out that two thirds of them had a background connected with the upper professional or the liberal profession socio-economic groups² (in 1961 the extremes were 8,042 male-students and 3,239 female-students, total 11,281 with a liberal profession or higher-rank executive background, in comparison with 5 male-students and 7 female-students, total 12 whose fathers were employed in agriculture, grand total: 32,312 so that 30 per cent. of the Medicine students came from the 4 per cent. forming the upper middle class³)

The "Société des agrégés" has suggested that such a situation still obtained due to the French Government's education policy, whereby university education has remained "a caste education in so far as the objective of the present regime reposes on the advancement of certain individuals and not that of the greatest number".⁴ But the breakdown of university students according to their social origin for the 1939-1959 period, reveals that university participation has moved beyond any doubt towards some degree of


XXXI showing the number of students in higher education per 1,000 economically-active men in the 45-54-year-old age range in the same socio-economic groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Upper stratum</th>
<th>Middle stratum</th>
<th>Agricultural self-employed</th>
<th>Other self-employed</th>
<th>Lower stratum</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1959-60</td>
<td>337.7</td>
<td>114.9</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>100.2</td>
<td>6.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>629.0</td>
<td>191.2</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>155.0</td>
<td>27.1</td>
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</table>


democratization (cf. Table XXX). However, when a more recent period is considered, for example the 1959-1964 one, even if disparities appear to have been reduced in relative terms, they have increased in absolute terms. Between 1959 and 1964 then, although there has been a further increase in participation rates per 1,000 economically active men in the 45-54-year age-range, the gain for the highest stratum was appreciably larger than the increase for the lowest stratum, as shown in Table XXXI.

This distribution shows to what extent higher education is tied up with social class structure. By the early nineteen sixties, the university population was twice as large as in 1950, that is to say 282,000 in 1962, as opposed to 134,000 in 1950 (cf. Table XXXII). Such figures bear witness of the rate of educational expansion, this process of educational growth has been accelerated between 1962 and 1968.

With a view to preparing the Third Plan, or "Massé Plan" (1958-1961), the "Commission for School and University Equipment", or "Le Gorgeu Committee", issued its report which has paved the way for the implementation of a bold policy aiming at "décentralisation", or overspill, of the universities by opening colleges and faculties in selected provincial towns, over a ten-year span from 1958 onwards (cf. Table XXXIII).

Having doubled over a decade (cf. Table XXXII), the university population, which was recruited from "classes creuses", the demographically


Table XXXII showing the increase in the student population in French "U.E.R.s" (formerly faculties), between 1935 and 1971 for selected years (in 000s).

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>666</td>
<td>682</td>
<td>708</td>
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1. Including 33,000 in "I.U.T.s".
2. Including 38,000 in "I.U.T.s".

Sources:
Table XXXIII showing the university colleges, the Arts university colleges, as well as the new faculties and their disciplines.

<table>
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<th>University colleges</th>
<th>Arts university colleges</th>
<th>New facultie</th>
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<td>year of foundation</td>
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<td>number</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rouen</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tours</td>
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<td>Metz</td>
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<td>Pau</td>
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<td>Chambéry</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pau</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rouen</td>
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<td>Tours</td>
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<td>Grenoble</td>
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### University colleges

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<td>terre</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Li</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ancon</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noble</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cy</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is, Halle-aux-Vins,</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiers</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**KEY:**
- **E** .. Economics;
- **M** .. Medicine;
- **La** .. Law;
- **P** .. Pharmacology;
- **Li** .. Liberal Arts;
- **S** .. Sciences.

Compiled from numerous French sources.

"hollow" generations (the bulge began to affect higher education in 1962)\(^1\), was made up of almost the same number of men and women (44 per cent. in 1964,\(^2\) compared with 9.6 per cent. in 1910\(^3\)). As in Great Britain "girls represent only 30 per cent. of the graduate group",\(^4\) the French percentage is surprising owing to the tradition of the Salic Law, which does not grant women the same freedom which it gives men.

That is not all. In Britain, as Roger Beard, Editor of *Education and Training*, has expressed it, considering that "certain degrees are more marketable than others, then to be male is still obviously worth much more than to be female",\(^5\) in France the important proportion of girl-students reflects the sustained effort made through compulsory education in order to achieve "equality of education"\(^6\) in a country where the "orgueil du sexe"\(^7\) is rampant. It has been said that "France spends more for the formal education of its women than any other European country".\(^8\) Basically, the success is the result of several factors. French research workers have found that more girls obtained the Baccalaureate than boys.\(^9\) Girl-students

---

5. Ibid.
Table XXXIV showing the 1966 student population by sexes in the various disciplines in the faculties (now reorganized in "U.E.R.s").

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Men(%)</th>
<th>Women(%)</th>
<th>Total(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Law and Economics</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sciences and Technology</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Arts and Human Sciences</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacology</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

overwhelmingly hold the Baccalaureate in Philosophy and "Applied Sciences", or "Sciences expérimenterales" (cf. Table XXXIV). Many of these girl-students begin their higher studies earlier than men.¹

From the late nineteen fifties onwards, new colleges and faculties were going to be built in provincial towns selected on specific criteria. The final decision depended:

- on the total population of the town and its region;²
- on the economic character of the town and the regional need with regard to suggested courses by the proposed town;
- whether the existing student population would warrant the provision of the first stage of higher education.

The setting-up of the first university colleges dates back to 1958 (cf. Table XXXIII). These colleges provide locally³ the first two years of university studies. A decade later, a further important development took place in the form of "Instituts universitaires de Technologie", or "University Institutes of Technology", whose courses are at university level (cf. Table XXXV).

In the university institutes, the Rector can accept up to 150 students within each department,⁴ whose regulations are defined in the Decree of

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1. Dominique Bidou et al., op. cit., p. 154.
Table XXXV showing the "Instituts universitaires de technologie" opened in 1966, with details of department and university.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;I.U.T.&quot;</th>
<th>Departments</th>
<th>University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bordeaux</td>
<td>Electronics, Mechanical engineering</td>
<td>Bordeaux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenoble</td>
<td>Business management studies, Computer technology, Energy technology, Mechanical engineering</td>
<td>Grenoble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lille</td>
<td>Electronics</td>
<td>Lille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montpellier</td>
<td>Computer technology</td>
<td>Montpellier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nancy</td>
<td>Applied biology</td>
<td>Nancy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angers</td>
<td>Business management studies, Electronics</td>
<td>Nantes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orleans</td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>Orleans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cachan</td>
<td>Electronics</td>
<td>Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orsay</td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poitiers</td>
<td>Electronics</td>
<td>Poitiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reims</td>
<td>Business management studies, Civil engineering, Mechanical engineering</td>
<td>Reims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rennes</td>
<td>Electronics</td>
<td>Rennes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rouen</td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>Rouen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toulouse</td>
<td>Civil engineering, Mechanical engineering</td>
<td>Toulouse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from L'Éducation nationale, (Paris), No. 796, 15 September 1966, p. 8.
7 January 1966. The two-year studies, which cater for the well-qualified students over 18 years of age, are said to be equivalent to a normal three-year course in the faculties. The programmes are designed to train young people as "cadres moyens", the middle-rank employees required in industry. From fourteen "I.U.T.s" opened at the beginning of the 1966-1967 academic year, their number had risen to forty five by 1970. The institutes come under the newly formed Higher education branch of the ministry of Education which is responsible for both the appointment of university teaching personnel and the organization of studies and examinations in the faculties (recently reorganized in "Unités d'enseignement et de recherches"), as well as the studies in the establishments dealing with the education and the training of senior technicians.

In 1967, Alain Peyrefitte, then Minister of National Education, could state proudly that the number of establishments for higher education had doubled over the period extending from 1958 till 1967. But this expansion was simply the direct result of the larger share of the education budget allocated to higher education in the nineteen sixties (26.5 per cent. in 1963, in comparison with 6.3 per cent. in 1957. cf. Table XLVII).

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2. On France-Inter, 8.0 p.m. - News-Broadcast, 27 April 1970.


4. On Europe-1, 6.30 p.m. - News-Broadcast, 16 April 1970.

5. G.W. Milburn: "Further Education in France", in Trends in Education, (London), No. 21, January 1971, p. 34.


The expansion of the existing universities and of their faculties, together with the opening of university colleges and the "Instituts universitaires de technologie", or "University Institutes of Technology", have led Jules Monnerot to surmise in 1968 that:

"Le nombre des intéressés (ac. university students. A.S.L.), notamment depuis deux ans, est devenu tel qu'il s'agit dorénavant de masses."  

The number involved, in particular over the last two years, is such that from now on it is truly education for the masses.”

The Baccalaureate pass rate controls the number of university enrolments. For example, Jean Capelle commented that:

"Sous cette terminologie (sc. Baccalaureate. A.S.L.) permanente évolue, non sans agitation, un mécanisme national destiné à consacrer les études secondaires et à ouvrir les portes de l'université."  

"Under the static terminology Baccalaureate. A.S.L. evolves, not without some turmoil, a national device which crowns secondary education and opens the universities' doors."  

(This does not preclude the fact that "le bac varia peu jusqu'aux débuts de la Ve République", or "the Baccalaureate changed little prior to the inception of the Fifth Republic."

No selection takes place, or, as Professeur Chevalier expressed it:

"La France est pratiquement le seul grand pays à ne pas pratiquer une sélection à l'entrée de ses Facultés."  

"France is in fact the only large country which does not impose a selection for entry into its faculties."

3. Our emphasis.  
as "people holding (the Baccalaureate) have the automatic right to go to a university". Each year a flood of candidates register and attend the "U.E.R.s", the former faculties. They are all accepted, resigned to being crammed together, often in buildings too small for their numbers, e.g. the "Halle-aux-Vins" Centre, the "Censier" Centre, Nanterre's Faculty (vid inf., conclusions to chapter 4).

The student accommodation is also poor. The housing crisis in higher education is reflected in the statistics. For example, in 1962, 45 per cent. of students lived in lodgings, 40 per cent. at home or with relatives, and 5 per cent. in schools where they performed supervisory duties as "surveillants" (vid inf., chapter 18). The remaining 10 per cent. were living in the 27,000 rooms in existence for the university population of 276,000 students (cf. Table XXXII).

The limitations in character of "homely" life in French universities are well known. A British observer has defined "French universities (as) cheap and functional". It can be inferred that the French students' quality of life will not match the "atmosphere" which is characteristic of the environment enjoyed by students in the Western English-speaking countries. In England, a member of the N.U.S. executive is reported to have remarked in 1967 that:


4. cf., for example, les Compagnons: "L'Université nouvelle", in les Cahiers de Probus, (Paris), No. 1, 1919 rev'd. ed., p. 61.

"What most vice-chancellors want is nice glossy halls so that they can put them in their nice glossy prospectuses, so that they can attract nice glossy students." 1

Similarly, when Burton Clark spoke of the advertising functions of college prospectuses in the United States, he observed that:

"The catalogue of a college so often portrays the campus as the nearest thing to an earthly paradise -- ideally situated on a hill overlooking a beautiful valley, combining rural charm with urban convenience, (i.e. Amherst, Massachusetts and Bowdoin in Brunswick, Maine -2-) peopled by scholars and dedicated youth of almost cinematic appeal." 3

Such "dream universities" have led Pierre Daninos to comment:

"Ce qu'il y a en Amerique et en Angleterre et ce que nous n'avons pas, ce sont ces universités de rêve -4- où vous êtes élevé avec des jeunes gens de votre âge entre 18 et 22-23 ans. En France, l'étudiant vit dans sa famille et va à l'université (...) C'est ce climat qui est vraiment unique et qui est très sympathique." 5

"What there is in America and in England, what we have not, are these dream universities -4- where you are brought up with young people of your own age between 18 and 22-23 years of age. In France, students live with their family and go to university (...). That is that environment which is unique indeed and which is so wonderful." 5

With the exception of the Sorbonne, students are allowed to apply to any university. But, as a sizable proportion of French students live at home, by and large, universities draw the bulk of their students locally. Among


4. Our emphasis.

5. Pierre Daninos, on 11.0 a.m. - Hebdo-R.T.L. - Week-end, 4 April 1970.

Table XXXVI showing the trend in the allocation of grants to students in higher education for selected years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of students</th>
<th>Number of grants</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1963-1964</td>
<td>308,189</td>
<td>47,300</td>
<td>15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-1966</td>
<td>412,070</td>
<td>69,123</td>
<td>16.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


others, two reasons put forward are the restricted number of rooms available and also the comparatively low percentage of students obtaining a grant. In 1969, 25 per cent. of students received a grant, the increased number, both as a percentage (cf. Table XXXVI) and in absolute terms, has meant that the amount granted has remained well below the student's requirements.¹

In France, by 1963, there were some 308,000 students² in the State faculties and technological or professional institutions. In the same year, there were also 22,000 students (i.e. 7 per cent.) in denominational faculties. Ultimately all students have to sit the State examinations, as the State holds the monopoly for granting degrees, the "jury mixtes", or Mixed Boards, having been abolished in 1880.

It has often been suggested that, of 100 children starting their secondary education (First Form), 20 are likely to pursue higher studies, whilst only 6 do complete them³ (i.e. 2 in Arts, 2 in Science, 1 in Medicine, and 1 in Law). René Naudin's study (1959) has substantiated this view. The Director of the Statistics Department at the "B.U.S." found that:

"En prenant soin de décaler d'un nombre d'années correspondant à la durée moyenne des études, on constate que le nombre de diplômes délivrés ne représente que le quart du nombre des étudiants de première année en droit, sciences et lettres. Pour l'ensemble des études universitaires, sans distinction de discipline, 1 étudiant sur 3 parvient avec succès, au but fixé."⁴

"Once the gap corresponding to the average duration of studies has been taken into account, it is realized that the number of diplomas issued represents no more than the quarter of the number of entrants in their First Year in Law, Science, and Liberal Arts. Considering the university studies as a whole, without splitting up disciplines, 1 student in 3 reaches successfully the goal he aimed at."⁴

---


In the course of the following decade, one of the French Ministers of National Education has revealed figures which confirmed René Naudin's findings. Alain Peyrefitte pointed out that if, in 1966:

- 8,031 students obtained their degree in Liberal Arts, 23,345 had been enrolled in 1962;
- 6,783 students obtained a Science degree, 19,251 had been enrolled in 1962;
- 3,294 students were awarded their Law degree, 11,707 had been enrolled in 1962;
- 2,561 students obtained their degree in Medicine, 4,897 had been enrolled in 1959\(^1\) (it must be noted that the above-mentioned figures can only provide a rough indication, because some students do not complete their studies).

There is evidence that "wastage" is also high in the United States. For example, Burton Clark has cited a national report which showed that in State universities alone, about one out of four students withdrew in the first year of study and 40 per cent. during the first two years.\(^2\) With regard to France, it must be stated that if, 100 students registering for the first year, 72 per cent. never obtain their degree (cf. Table XXXVII), 80 per cent. of those who complete successfully their first year do obtain the degree.

Numerous surveys have constantly explained the mediocre output in terms of material difficulties. Frequently recurring in the published material are:


Table XXXVII showing an analysis of the success rates of 7,000 Propaedeutic students in the Liberal Arts Faculty ("Lettres") of the Academy of Paris, taking into account favourable factors, for the year 1962-1963.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of favourable factors</th>
<th>Rate of success by social class</th>
<th>Tot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Upper middle class</td>
<td>Lower middle class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 or 4</td>
<td>74 %</td>
<td>78 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>47 %</td>
<td>50 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 or more</td>
<td>25 %</td>
<td>25 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. These factors were: Classical studies, Baccalaureate with "me age, not undertaking any paid work.

- "shortage of staff", "shortage of teachers";¹
- overcrowded buildings and lecture-rooms;²
- students living under unfavourable conditions.³

This situation was looked into by the "Comité des Sages", or "Commission of Wise Men", comprising eighteen members drawn both from the university and the economic spheres. Set up in November 1963 by Christian Fouchet, then Minister of National Education, the committee was officially known as the "Commission d'étude de l'enseignement supérieur". On the strength of its findings, Ministre Fouchet implemented a series of reforms. One of these consisted in phasing out the propaedeutic year (preparatory year) as from 1966. Introduced in 1948, this "année propédeutique" was sandwiched between the Baccalaureate and the first year spent in a university faculty.

Another significant development which gained recognition was initiated by the Fouchet Reform. In 1964, the Minister announced that:

"A partir de la rentrée de 1966, les bacheliers ne seront plus tous admis automatiquement dans les facultés." ⁴

"From the beginning of the 1966-1967 academic year, all Baccalaureate holders will no longer be automatically accepted in the faculties." ⁴

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The result was that, in April 1963, the Science and Medicine faculties of the University of Paris were able to prove the need for their proposal of admitting the "bacheliers de philosophie" only after scrutiny of their previous training in Science. This new measure was welcome by the French Professors who envy their British counterparts for being allowed to practise the interview procedure, as Ministre Fouchet readily conceded in 1966.

The reforms were implemented in spite of the adverse comments emanating from diverse pressure groups. Among others, the "Fédération de l'Education nationale" exclaimed:

"On bâtir mal sur des décombres." 2

"They build badly on rubbish." 2

And again, in Liberation, Georges Boyer deplored that:

"La réforme Fouchet paraît devoir être (...) un nouveau ravaudage." 3

"The Fouchet Reform appears to be (...) another repair." 3

To the critical reader, these comments are not convincing. Jacques Natanson, another opponent of the Fouchet Reform, conceded that:

"Ses promoteurs la (sc. la réforme Fouchet.A.S.L.) considèrent, sans fausse modestie, comme la première réforme sérieuse depuis Jules Ferry." 5

"Without false modesty, the supporters consider it (sc. the Fouchet Reform.A.S.L.) as the first genuine reform after Jules Ferry." 5

The Fouchet Reform have affected the various "cycles" of higher education differently. For example:

4. Our emphasis.
- a radical reorganization has changed the "First cycle";
- the "Third cycle", which had complied with Decree of
19 April 1958, was modified by the reforms;
- the "Second cycle" however has hardly been affected as it
has retained its dual system for the teaching profession.

First, the "C.A.P.E.S.", or "Certificat d'aptitude au professorat de
l'enseignement secondaire" (Decree of 1 April 1950) and, for the more
ambitious, the "Agrégation".

Basically, the educational programmes offered by the Faculties of
Liberal Arts and Human Sciences cover:

- a "First cycle" which extends over two years and includes
nine sections, leading to the "D.U.E.L.", that is to say the
"Diplôme universitaire d'études littéraires", or "University diploma of
Literary studies", which French academics equate with an English B.A.;

- a "Second cycle" offers two possibilities; either the "Licence"
(B.A.) in one year or the "Maîtrise" (M.A.) in two years;

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1. Further details in L. Capdecomme: "Higher Education in France",
U.N.E.S.C.O.: Reform and Development of Higher Education in Europe, (Paris,
1964), No. 49 pp. 6 ff.

2. "Décret du 19 avril 1958", in Journal officiel de la République

3. "Décret No. 50-386 du 1 avril 1950", in Journal officiel de la République
française. Lois et décrets, (Paris), No. 80, 2 April 1950, p. 3524.

4. cf., for example, article in Education in France, (New York), No. 37,
September 1968, p. 19. Education in France is a quarterly publication of
the French Embassy in which current developments are summarized.

5. Details in Institut Pédagogique national: Le Mouvement éducatif en

6. Article in Education in France, (New York: French Embassy), No. 37,
September 1968, p. 34.
- a "Third cycle" is open to "Maîtrise" holders, which leads
to the "Doctorat ès lettres", or "Doctorat du troisième
cycle" (Ph.D.).

If the "Doctorat d'Etat" (D.Litt.) which is awarded only at the
Sorbonne, has been traditionally required from applicants for professorships, the shorter "Doctorat du troisième cycle" is qualifying people for permanent junior university posts as "maîtres assistants".

Lastly, the "Doctorat d'université", which is simply a diploma, is in the main reserved to foreigners. There is no corresponding paper qualification in Great Britain.

It must be noted that the British degrees indicated in brackets are solely mentioned as the nearest equivalents.

Subsection b) The Science Faculties.

"Si leurs diplômes ont du succès, c'est qu'il n'existe rien de mieux."
- Les Compagnons, July 1919.

Some of the crucial issues pertaining to higher professional and scientific education are connected with:

- the relevance of a secondary education based on academic subjects in connection with higher professional and scientific education; an "old Saint-Simonian tradition of illuminism-cum-technology";\(^2\)

- the attitude of the established universities to professional studies and technology as disciplines;

- the status acquired by higher professional and technological education within the universities, but also outside these seats of learning;

- as a corollary, the place of Humanities in higher professional and technological education;

- the concrete form or forms that, given the present limitations, may be considered desirable within the realm of serious considerations.

A former Minister of National Education (1959), André Boulloche,\(^3\) presided over a committee reporting on some of the major educational problems. On 26 September 1963, the "Commission Boulloche" submitted its report to the Prime Minister. For the first time, this document brought

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1. Or: "If their diplomas are valued, it means that there is nothing any better" (Les Compagnons: "L'Université nouvelle", in Les Cahiers de Probus, Paris, No. 2, July 1919, p. 168).


Table XXXVIII showing the fathers' socio-economic group of students in some "Grandes écoles", in 1961-1962.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic group</th>
<th>Working force %</th>
<th>&quot;Ecoles des Arts et Métiers&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Ecoles d'ingénieurs Polytechnique&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Ecoles de Centrale&quot;</th>
<th>Université faculté</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>15.8 %</td>
<td>5 %</td>
<td>1 %</td>
<td>2 %</td>
<td>6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.3 %</td>
<td>1 %</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.6 %</td>
<td>19 %</td>
<td>13 %</td>
<td>12 %</td>
<td>18 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.0 %</td>
<td>19 %</td>
<td>57 %</td>
<td>47 %</td>
<td>29 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.8 %</td>
<td>19 %</td>
<td>15 %</td>
<td>18 %</td>
<td>18 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>12.5 %</td>
<td>10 %</td>
<td>8 %</td>
<td>9 %</td>
<td>8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>36.7 %</td>
<td>17 %</td>
<td>2 %</td>
<td>2 %</td>
<td>6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.4 %</td>
<td>2 %</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.7 %</td>
<td>3 %</td>
<td>3 %</td>
<td>4 %</td>
<td>8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.2 %</td>
<td>5 %</td>
<td>1 %</td>
<td>6 %</td>
<td>6 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 100.0 \%  100.0 \%  100 \%  100 \%  100 \%

**KEY:**

0  Agricultural self-employed;
1  Agricultural workers;
2  Factory and business owners;
3  Higher managerial, administrative and liberal profession;
4  "Middle-rank" executives;
5  White-collar workers;
6  Industrial workers;
7  Domestic staff;
8  Unclassified;
9  Unemployed with independent means.


out the extent to which existing institutions varied in the furtherance of democratization through education. Here, Science and Technology were first and foremost. For example, sociological investigations have revealed that, out of a hundred sons of workers entering university, 52.5 per cent. registered in Science; similarly, Science faculties absorb 48 per cent. of university students whose fathers are employed as domestic staff. Pierre Bourdieu has drawn the conclusion that:

"Les facultés des sciences sont parmi les établissements d'enseignement supérieur, et les facultés en particulier, ceux dont le recrutement paraît s'être le plus démocratisé. La plupart des étudiants en sciences viennent des sections modernes, en majorité des C.E.G." 3

A substantial percentage of students with a working-class background enrols in the "Arts et Métiers" schools. They include 29 per cent. of students whose parents belong to the lower socio-economic groups (cf. Table XXXVIII). This is twice the number found in faculties (15 per cent.), or "Polytechnique" (10 per cent.), or "Centrale" (11 per cent.). It may be noted that the


absolute number in the "Grandes écoles" was still as low as 23,000 students in 1963 (cf. Table VI).

"Arts et Métiers", which group several colleges, have become the "Ecoles nationales supérieures d'ingénieurs" (Decree of 16 January 1947). Their origin can be traced back to the trade schools for tailors, bootmakers, and gunsmiths, founded in 1788 by the Duc de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt, at La Montagne (Oise). These trade schools caught the eye of Napoléon, who moved them to Compiègne, a larger town. The State took them over and their aim was defined in the "Décret du 6 Ventôse an XI". It stated that:

"A compter de Germinal an XI, l'instruction au collège de Compiègne aura pour but de former de bons ouvriers et des chefs d'ateliers." 3

Within some fifty years, these schools had spread to Chalons-sur-Marne, Angers, and Aix-en-Provence.

To a certain extent "Arts et Métiers" have been self-perpetuating. For example, Maurice Schlogel, a self-made man, joined the "Crédit Lyonnais" in Paris as a lift attendant in the late nineteen twenties. His manager, who had seen him reading books on Economics and Banking, advised him to attend evening classes. After having obtained his paper qualifications, he became successively assistant-manager, then manager and finally general manager of the "Crédit Lyonnais". In the late nineteen sixties, he sat on

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5. "Décret du 6 Ventôse an XI" (25 February 1803), in Moniteur universel.

the commission reporting on the Sixth Plan (1971-1975). Maurice Schlogel never forgot the struggle he had in his younger days and in 1970, he was regularly lecturing in the "Conservatoire national des Arts et Métiers" to four hundred youngsters he called his students.¹

The success of such schools was heralded in the U.S. as long ago as the nineteenth century. For example, the Commissioner of Labour found that:

"Graduates of these schools went into a great variety of occupations - many into banks and commercial pursuits; others into higher educational institutions." ²

In 1956, the professors of Science faculties decided to stage a three-day conference on 1, 2, and 3 November, in the University of Caen, with the aim of reviewing the problems of higher education. On the last day of the conference, they were agreed on four major issues.³ They recorded the need for:

- expanding higher education;
- channelling more students towards scientific subjects;
- decentralizing the university in favour of provincial towns;
- engaging in teaching and research every person suitable for such work.

"Channelling more students towards scientific subjects" has remained disappointing at university level, as well as at secondary stage (vid inf.,

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¹ Bernard Lefort, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. - Broadcast, 24 January 1970.
³ Jean-Louis Crémiieux-Brilhac: "Le Colloque de Caen sur la recherche et l'enseignement scientifique", in L'Education nationale, (Paris), No.30, 8 November 1956, p. 10. The author is the Secretary General of the "Association d'étude pour l'expansion de la recherche scientifique".
chapter 19). Statistical returns for 1970 have shown that only 1 pupil in
3 obtained a "scientific" Baccalaureate (excluding the Technical Baccalaureate)
that is to say some 50,000 scientific ones as compared with 160,000 in
Liberal Arts ("Lettres").\(^1\) Already in the late nineteen fifties, Monsieur
Forestier, Director of the Higher National School of Chemistry in Strasbourg,
insisted upon the acute need for immediate action, as had done Yvon Delbos\(^2\)
and his supporters\(^3\) (vid supra, chapter 5). Once more, Monsieur Forestier\(^4\)
pleaded:

"Avant tout (...) proposer des solutions
capables d'être mises en œuvre
immédiatement, quitte à faire des
approximations successives. La
science et la technique n'ont plus le
temps d'attendre la réalisation
effective de plans dont la trop grande
evergure neutraliserait les possibi-
lités de réalisation immédiate. Seul
un plan en escalier, dont certaines
marches peuvent être gravies rapidement,
peut constituer une solution à la
crise actuelle." 5

1. Statistics from Bruno Frappat, in "Le Baccalauréat de 1970", Le Monde,

2. "Projet de Loi (Yvon Delbos) portant réforme et statut de l'Enseignement
public", 1949, reprinted in L'Education nationale, (Paris), No. 1, 5 January

3. cf., for example, in Le Monde, (Paris), the papers from Jean Planchais
("Le Statut de l'enseignement", No. 1545, 13 January 1950, p. 7) and
Professeur Boyance ("Le Statut de l'enseignement", No. 1546, 14 January 1950,
p. 5; No. 1549, 18 January 1950, p. 7; and No. 1550, 19 January 1950, p.7).

4. H. Forestier: "La Rapide Evolution de la science et de la technique
exige une formation scientifique adaptée", in Avenir, (Paris), No. 88,
November 1957, p. 21.

5. Our emphasis.
In an attempt to solve this crisis, the Sarrailh Report (1956), the "Colloque de Caen" (1956) and above all, the "Commission Boulloche" (1964) led to an important development, which stemmed from the Decree of 7 January 1966.\(^1\)

It consisted in the opening of fourteen "Instituts universitaires de technologie", or "University Institutes of Technology", at the beginning of the 1966-1967 academic year (vid supra, chapter 14, subsection a). This development is logical for we now know that we cannot exist "without" modern technology and the new institutes have undoubtedly helped technology to gain fuller recognition "within" the traditional universities.

Encouraged by the recent positive results, the originators of the first "Colloque de Caen" (1956) organized the second "Colloque de Caen" on 11, 12, and 13 November 1966, which was taking place exactly ten years after the first one. The main outcome of the second colloquium was expressed in three points. They are:

- the desirability of limiting to 20,000 students, the population of every university, a reform which would entail opening several universities in the Paris region alone, and several universities in some of the large regional capitals;\(^2\)

- the suggestion of reforming higher education into "technocratic universities";

- the acknowledgement that a growing number of students with working-class parents registers in Science faculties\(^3\) (the latter statement being in agreement with Pierre Bourdieu's findings. vid

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The need for a larger number of Science students is obvious and attention has been drawn to some of the problems (e.g. Raymond Poignant's paper,¹ vid supra).

The principles and ideas developed by the "Colloque de Caen" were going to be embodied in the 1968 reform² (vid supra, this subsection). However, by the middle nineteen sixties, there was ample evidence of recognition by political, industrial, and social power groups, so that the pattern of study in Applied Sciences has been changing and, as a result, French higher technological education has been consolidated. By then, it was clear that, in France, several spheres of influence recognized the problems and the changes, the intrinsic value of Technology for economic development, and the place of Applied Sciences in everyday life.

The awareness for the need of securing technological progress whilst preserving the study of the Humanities has been given full support by Professeur Friedmann.³ What may be called "l'humanisation de la technique" has also retained Jean Guéhenno's attention. He wrote:

Dans l'entre-deux-guerres, on commença partout de parler d'un humanisme populaire, d'un humanisme travailliste. Ce beau mot d'humanisme peut se passer d'épithète."

"Evidently, nothing is more necessary. But its organization (sc. Technological education.A.S.L.) creates many problems.
In the inter-war-years, they began to speak everywhere of a popular humanism, of a humanism of labour. This nice word of humanism can do without an adjective. Any adjective


However, at the beginning of the century, Albert Thierry already pondered over technological education in relation to human nature. In 1912, he foresaw the rôle that professional education ought to play in the modern world when he wrote that:

"Notre civilisation tout entière est une physique, n'importe quel ouvrier est physicien. La mission de l'enseignement professionnel, entre la science et le travail, est de rétablir dans le citadin cette plénitude d'humanité -2- détruite par la spécialisation et la machine." 3

"The whole of our civilization pertains to Physics, any worker is a physicist. The duty of professional training, between the Sciences and production, consists of reinstating in townsmen the wholesomeness of human nature -2- ruined by specialization and mechanization." 3


2. Emphasis in original.

Conclusions.

In many countries, the university population is predetermined by restrictive measures. In the House of Lords, Lord Annan, Provost of University College London, proudly purported in 1970 that:

"Britain had controlled growth."¹

The French system gives a boy or a girl an almost unqualified right to enter higher education,² with the proviso that they have obtained their Baccalaureate.³ The result is that the student population has doubled over the 1950-1962 period and doubled again between 1962 and 1968 (cf. Table XXXII). It does reflect without any doubt how widespread "individual demand" already is in France (cf. Table XXI).

The thesis has shown that "social demand", that is to say "individual demand", ties up with the personal value the youngster attaches to education, and his determination to achieve a life status which depends on a given Terminal Education Age. This social demand also correlates with the educational background of the parents. Rhoda Metraux has shown that in France "the woman plays a much greater role than here"⁴ in the U.S.A. By their very achievement in large numbers both at the Baccalaureate level and beyond, that is to say in higher education, French women will not only play their part to the full in the "nouvelle societe" but, due to their academic education, they will make a serious contribution with regard to shaping it.

Research in Britain has brought out the importance of the mother's education

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² Bruno Frappat: "Short Academic Year Rouses Critics of University", in The Times Higher Education Supplement, (London), No. 1, 15 October 1971, p. 15.
³ Jean Thomas and Joseph Majault: Primary and Secondary Education, (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1963), p. 68.
⁴ Rhoda Métraux: "Themes in French Culture", in Hoover Institute Studies, (Stanford, California), Series D, No. 1, April 1954, p. 13.
as a factor of success for her children's studies.¹

On the other hand, many enter higher education who ultimately leave without having completed their course of study. For a certain number, this is likely to be due to a readjustment they have made with regard to their educational aspiration.²


Chapter 15. The 1968 Cultural Revolution.

"Vous appellerez Révolution une invention plus étonnante que la machine à vapeur; une organisation technique, intellectuelle, morale du travail sur la terre; vous essayerez de la commencer aujourd'hui dans l'école, dans l'atelier, dans le syndicat, avec la collaboration constante des travailleurs; — et alors j'estime que les écoliers et les apprentis peuvent vous aider.

Et leurs maîtres aussi."

- Albert Thierry, February 1912.  

In 1968, the world's attention focussed on western Europe as several countries, i.e. Spain, CzechoSlovakia, Italy, France, Germany, U.S.A., were at one time or other the scene of a student upheaval. Student unrest sprang as far back as 1955 at Berkeley University (California). In this thesis, we can merely put some of the problems into perspective.

A French observer once summarized the May 1968 events as having primarily shown the need for introducing the dialogue at all levels; not only between teachers and students, but also between employers and employees. Traditionally in France, social betterment has been the result of successive upheavals, i.e. the 1936 "révolte des casquettes", the famous "upsurge of the cap-wearers". In a 1953 speech, Professeur Aron has reaffirmed that:

1. Or: "You will call Revolution an invention more astonishing than the steam engine; a technical, intellectual, and moral organization of work on earth; you will try to start it now in the schools, in the workshops, in the unions, with the constant co-operation from the workers; -- and then I consider that pupils and apprentices can help you.

And also their masters" (Albert Thierry: Réflexions sur l'Education, Paris, 1923, p. vi).


3. Jean Carlier, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. - Broadcast, 16 June 1970.


5. Jean Ferniot, on R.T.L., 8.15 a.m. - Commentaire, 16 February 1970.
"From time to time France has a revolution. She never makes reforms." 1

And, in the early nineteen sixties, William Fraser 2 pondered over the fact that:

"Frenchmen disagree even on the meaning of 'freedom' when schools are under discussion. (...) Are the issues so divisive that civil disorder may result?" 3

Indeed, serious problems have affected higher education for several years. Already in the middle nineteen sixties, the deans of the Parisian faculties had to meet the challenge of a demanding situation whereby, in a given year, large numbers of students opted to read a "fashionable" discipline. For example, the favourite subject in 1965 was Sociology; then Psychology was oversubscribed in 1966, whilst the number of candidates reading for the "C.P.E.M.", or "Certificat préparatoire aux études de médecine", doubled in 1967. At the 1966 national congress, Christian Fouchet, 4 then Minister of National Education, sizing up the problem with which he had to wrestle, warned that:

"The dam will break one day if we do nothing." 5

Out of what be considered a sheer necessity, Marc Zamansky, Dean of the Science Faculty had been for some considerable time in favour of admitting candidates by selection (an issue over which he had full support from President de Gaulle 6), as opposed to the traditional practice which entitled

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3. Our emphasis.
any "bachelier" to register with a faculty,¹ providing he paid the registration fee which, in 1965, amounted to 45 fr² (After World War II, the students, having formed their own union, "persuaded the government to include students in the social security set-up"³ through the "M.N.E.F.", the "Mutuelle nationale des étudiants de France", their friendly society⁴). Furthermore, as early as October 1967, both Marc Zamansky and Georges Vedel, Dean of the Law Faculty, were agreed upon the desirability for the democratization of the university.⁵ Attempts to implement some reforms have occasionally received the support of politicians. Among others, Michel Debré, at one time Prime Minister, surmised that:

"Un gouvernement qui ne réforme pas est un gouvernement qui meurt." ⁶ "If a government does not reform, that government is condemned to death." ⁶

The students' viewpoint has been expressed by Mario Savio, a member of the Berkeley Free Student Movement. He explained that:

"The university is a place where people begin seriously to question the conditions of their existence and raise the issue of whether they can be committed to the society they were born into." ⁷

6. Michel Debré (reported by Jean Ferniot, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. Commentaire, 3 July 1970).
It is in March 1968 that a handful of French students, led by Daniel Cohn-Bendit, a student of German nationality, took up militant action at the Nanterre Faculty. The grievances emanated from the "Movement of March 22", a movement that was not simply openly opposed to the Gaullist regime (represented by the "Mouvement de l'U.D.R.", the "Union pour la défense de la République", which had emerged on 19 November 1967), but it was also highly critical of the Bourgeois ethics, the Capitalist state, and even the Leftist parties, including the Stalinist strongholds such as "C.G.T.", or "Confédération générale du travail", and "P.C.", or Communist Party. The French "movement" began a mere five days after "Bloody Sunday" when, on 17 March 1968, British students had fought their battle for Grosvenor Square.

Angelo Quatrocchi related that, at Nanterre:

"On the 22nd of March, the students occupy the administrative building singing 'La Carmagnole', specially revised for the circumstance and dedicated to their Dean Grappin ('Dansons la grappignole...')."


5. cf., for example, Georges Marchais: "De Faux révolutionnaires à démasquer", in *l'Humanité*, (Paris), No. 7370, 3 May 1968, pp. 1, 4.


As Beaumarchais once remarked, in France:

"Tout finit par des chansons." 1

"Everything ends with a song." 1

Nanterre is known as "la citadelle rouge", 2 or "the red stronghold", and 79 per cent. of Liberal Arts students claim allegiance to the Left. 3 They are "for the most part the children of the well-off, more modish, trendy, expensive" 4 inhabitants, as "the catchment zone includes the chic 16th and 17th 'arrondissements' of Paris, the plush middle class dormitories of Neuilly and the Bois de Boulogne". 5

It is at the Nanterre Faculty that the wave of student upheaval started on 2 May 1968. Within twenty four hours it had spread to the Sorbonne. 6 To Professeur Duverger, one of the major causes of the disorder was overcrowding. 7 But, in 1967, the students of the "Institut d'étude du développement économique et social" did boycott all lectures for a full six-week period. At the time, they were challenging the values of their education and what they considered to be the authoritarian attitude of François Perroux, the Director of the "I.E.D.E.S.". 8

However, student unrest at Nanterre and the Sorbonne in Paris resulted in the occupation of the university by the police, violating the traditional


2. Philippe Alexandre, on R.T.L., 7.15 a.m. - Chronique, 4 May 1971.


5. Ibid.


academic sanctity of the university faculties. Andre Philip, a former
Minister, has explained that "the action of the police promotes disorder",
or "elle (sc. l'intervention des forces dites de l'ordre.A.S.L.) crée le
désordre". Recteur Roche justified his decision on the grounds that the
buildings had to be vacated, for the examinations were scheduled to start
on 7 May 1968. It has been said that the 6 May, forty eight hours after
Recteur Roche's drastic action, marked the turning point with the first
semblance of "barricades", when a mass demonstration appeared for the first
time.

Basically, the essence of the troubles laid in two deep and natural
dissatisfactions among the students. First, the whole university "system",
over-populated and under-geared to the students' needs, academic and
vocational (at the time, British observers wrily commented that "the state
ran the universities with as little imagination as it ran the postal
service"); secondly, the chaos in the "débouchés", the careers field
of France.

1. Bertrand Girod de l'Ain: "Ordre et rénovation", in le Monde, (Paris),
7279, 9 June 1968, p. 6.
No. 381, May 1969, p. 875.
4. D. Lee: "Liberté, Égalité...Débouchés", in Student Life, (London),
No. 5, October 1968, p. 8.
5. Madeleine Reberioux: "Avant Tout une Fonction critique", in Madeleine
Chapsal and Michèle Manceaux (eds.): Les Professeurs pour quoi faire?,
1968, p. 28 (cf. also John Ardagh: The New French Revolution, London,
1968, p. 308).
(cf. also R.-L. Wagner, in le Monde, Paris, No. 7287, 19 June 1968, p. 12;
This was not new as a "B.U.S." survey had shown already in 1957 when
two girls' "Lycées", one hundred miles apart from each other, had answered
by asking "A quoi bon? Nous savons bien que les débouchés sont rares et
que nous ne pourrons jamais réaliser nos projets...", or "What is the
point? We know that openings are few and far between and that we shall
never be able to achieve our ambitions..." Monsieur Marion, Director of
the Poitiers "B.U.S." Branch, surmised that "when it is the conclusions of
whole Forms, it reveals a real malaise", or "réflexion de toute une classe
(...) ce qui révèle (...) un malaise véritable". A decade later,
Professor Pitts also remarked that students had become more vocationally
oriented.

Yet, such a man as Jaurès made a speech in November 1896 and claimed
that:

"La société affairée d'aujourd'hui, où tous les citoyens sont obligés de se disputer des débouchés qui tous les jours se resserrent, dans une société où l'on est incessamment contraint de lutter pour la vie et de se procurer, le plus tôt possible, les moyens de devancer les rivaux dans les carrières partout encombrées." 4 "Today's busy society, where every citizen is forced to fight for openings which become narrower every day, in a society where we are increasingly forced to struggle for a living and to secure as soon as possible the means of pulling ahead of rivals for careers congested everywhere." 4

This recurrent situation is likely to have an influence upon the mobility
of several socio-economic groups and the lower social classes in particular.

1. M. Marion: "Quelle Profession désirez-vous exercer?, in Avenirs,
   (Paris), No. 83, April 1957, p. 32.

2. Ibid.

3. Jesse R. Pitts: "Continuity and Change in Bourgeois France", in

4. Jean Jaurès's speech (published in Léon Bérard: Pour la Réforme
Table XXXIX showing the proportion of the new generations in the same gainful employment as their fathers (economically active men born from 1918 onwards).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's socio-economic group:</th>
<th>Percentage in same socio-economic group:</th>
<th>Correlation coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>men</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural workers</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural self-employed</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>55.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory and business owners</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopkeepers and tradesmen</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher administrative and managerial</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal professions</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle rank employees and foremen</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White collar workers</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>45.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled workers</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled workers</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Michel Praderie has gathered evidence for a fifty-year period as regards the extent to which, in France, a new generation enters a gainful employment which is identical to their own father’s (cf. Table XXXIX).

Among the leading figures revered by students, Professor Marcuse, the Social Philosopher, gave the world a serious warning. He claimed that:

"When they (sc. the students.A.S.L.) go out into the streets without arms, without protection, in order to ask for the most primitive civil rights they know that they face dogs, stones and bombs, jail, concentration camps, even death."

However, for some considerable time, Président de Gaulle remained undeterred even by such events as the occupation of the Sorbonne by the police. For example, as late as the 18 May 1968, Président de Gaulle still showed forbearance for the students when he declared:

"Voici qu’un grand vent salubre se lève d’un bout à l’autre de notre continent, dissipant les nuées et ébranlant les barrières."

This casual attitude led Claude Paillat to affirm that:

"De Gaulle, en effet, ‘réalise’ mal ce qui se passe dans Paris."

For a decade, Président de Gaulle had been convinced that students were only concerned about trivial matters. He is reported to have told Jean-Raymond Tournoux:

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"Voyez-vous, les étudiants, les ouvriers, avant la guerre étaient réceptifs. (...) Ils vibraient. Aujourd'hui je vous mets au défi de faire bouger les étudiants, sinon pour les revendications relatives aux restaurants universitaires."

On 28 May 1968, the day when Alain Peyrefitte relinquished the post of Minister of National Education, Charles de Gaulle made an appeal which sounded as an awakening on the President's part. He invited the public to calm down by saying:

"Voyez-vous, Messieurs, je crois qu'il est temps de siffler la fin de la récréation." 2

"Gentlemen, I think the time has come to bring the play-break to an end." 2

The most remarkable thing about the student protests which swept across Europe during the spring 1968 was their spontaneity. In France, as well as in West Germany and Eastern Europe, the movements were overtly political and their influence spread far beyond the universities and the schools.

Education does not exist in a vacuum, in the last analysis its quality reflects the quality of the society in which it exists. To train young people to think for themselves is to encourage dissent. 3

John Marsden wrote in a similar vein. A university is an institution of a society. The university will claim that it trains its students to think critically -- yet the first requirement of such thought is the critical appraisal of their own conditions of life and education. The university does not train its students to think critically because it dare not. 4

1. Ibid., pp. 17-18.
2. Président de Gaulle, reported in L'Aurore, 28 May 1968, p. 2. L'Aurore is the organ of the Right wing.
3. Article in the New Schoolmaster, 1968 (cf. also Jean Guenot: "Une Machine à fabriquer les délinquants", in Madeleine Chapsal et al.: Les Professeurs pour quoi faire?
It is no accident if most militant students were studying Sociology. This discipline leads to a critical appraisal of society. In a very basic sense then, the militant students were anti-authority, a characteristic they shared with the radicals. They see the change in the university as conducive to the changes in the wider society, of which the university is a reflective microcosm.\(^1\) John Marsden went as far as saying that, within the present social structure, the university that trains its students to think freely is an impossibility.\(^2\) Similarly, when speaking on "the Age of assertion" at the Industrial Society's conference, Jack Straw, N.U.S. President, "accused leaders both in industry and in universities of cowardice, arguing that there was a real fear that if young people were trained to detect faults, solve problems and initiate changes they would be tracing the faults and problems back to their source -- probably the men at the top and this would be uncomfortable."\(^3\)

In the middle of June 1968, the "U.N.E.F." became the amazing winner: the Government offered to give serious consideration to the changes thought desirable by the students, with the proviso that the suggestions were submitted to the Minister of National Education. Having achieved victory with the promise of reform, on 25 June the "U.N.E.F." produced the "Charter of Nanterre".\(^4\) Basically, in this manifesto, the students were questioning both "contents and methods of teaching, as much as demanding 'cogestion',"\(^5\)

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or students representation on governing bodies, on a par with the number of other delegates (vid inf., chapter 18).

It may be noted that such claims made by French students do not substantiate a theory elaborated to explain the British "anatomy of protest" by Raymond Williams, a Don, has put forward his own experience whereby, after leaving his small, Welsh mining village for Cambridge, he crossed a clearly defined border between two different ways of life and sets of values. The students involved in the unrest in universities, he claimed, were living in that border area.\(^1\) In France, the Government was compelled to handle what the population had managed to focus everyone's attention for some months. How the reform was dealt with following Ministre Faure's "Law of Orientation" will form the theme of the next chapter. At the time, Edgar Morin implied the intractibility of the problem when he reflected:

"Il nous faudra des années pour comprendre ce qui s'est passé."\(^2\) "It will take years and years before we grasp what happened."\(^2\)

It was also going to take years before a small minority of Leftist students stopped their destructive activities. For example, Paul Ricoeur, Dean of Nanterre Liberal Arts Faculty, who had replaced Doyen Grappin, resigned on 9 March 1970, partly because he could not rule out the possibility of murder. Only the previous week an observer had revealed that, at Nanterre-la-Terreur (sic):

"On vole. On viole.\(^3\) "They steal. They rape.\(^3\)
On pille. On saccage."\(^4\) They plunder. They ransack."\(^4\)

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2. Edgar Morin: "Conflit de générations et lutte de classe", in le Monde, (Paris), No. 7276, 6 June 1968, p. 11.


4. Article in Paris-Jour (cited by Jean Carlier, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. - Broadcast, 5 March 1970).
While unruly behaviour is not widespread ("Quelques douzaines d'étudiants peuvent, par une réaction en chaîne imprévue, mettre en danger le régime tout entier", 1 or "A few dozens of students can, by an unforeseen chain reaction, put to risk the whole régime"), it is not confined to Nanterre. Jean Cau, Author of *L'Agonie de la vieille* 2 (and here "la vieille" means democracy), has reflected that:

"Décidément, il y a quelque chose, quelque part, qui ne va pas. Il y a un mystérieux sadisme, qui gîte dans l'âme d'imbéciles, de fous ou de criminels, mais un mystérieux sadisme d'époque. Une rage sourde de destruction, de saccage, de violence absurde et inutile. Les uns incendient des voitures, d'autres crèvent des centaines de pneus, d'autres déchaînent de gigantesques incendies. Il faut tout détruire et les Nérons modèle 1970 ricanent dans l'ombre en contemplant leur œuvre." 3

A French psycho-analyst has surmised that:

"The difficult 'concours' and examinations require great intellectual effort; and the atmosphere of the schools through which the young man has passed before arriving at the upper levels of the educational system has not prepared him to mix pleasure and study and to balance them. He is thus fearful of everything that might upset his equilibrium, he is tempted to use sports -- which are becoming increasingly mandatory at this age -- to discharge his sexual tensions. But this leads to a chronic state of emotional upset ('désarroi affectif'), and he feels inadequate because he


stagnates in his sexual life on a level which he senses to be regressive -- all the more as his family is likely to picture the young student as leading a wild life."

More basically, many years ago, a well-known writer observed that:

"L'Université, fille de la Révolution, enseigne la Révolution. À tous les degrés, cet enseignement existe. -2- Du primaire au secondaire où au supérieur, les modalités seules différent." 3

"The University, daughter of the Revolution, teaches the Revolution. At all levels, this teaching does take place. -2- From primary to secondary education or to higher education, only the methods vary." 3

A consensus of opinion sees the rising violence as stemming from the University. Calling on the "silent majority", the delegate of the "Association" stated that:

"Il est illusoire et vain de vouloir assurer l'ordre dans la rue comme dans les classes, si on laisse enseigner des idées de désordre et de subversion." 4

"Maintaining law and order in the streets as well as in the schools is fighting a losing battle when the teaching of ideas of disorder and subversion is condoned." 4


2. Our emphasis.


In their militant action which was exerted in the streets, the new generation of students was supported by the French workers. This concerted action was in itself "un phénomène nouveau", or "a new feature". A French politician has defined the implications of such a drastic action. He wrote:

"Risque sa liberté ou sa vie, pour exprimer sa fureur politique: un tel comportement correspond à une rupture décisive qui suppose à la fois un long temps de ressentiments et une brutale souffrance. La révolte contre les pouvoirs publics est un acte grave, qui peut être un acte moralement très élevé, expression d'une dignité blessée. — La révolte est une manifestation exceptionnelle." 4

In the words of James Marangé, the President of the "F.E.N.", the effect of the 1968 political action has been that:

"Le mouvement de mai 1968 a eu pour résultat de promouvoir un renouveau de la valeur de l'éducation nationale State education in the eyes of every Frenchman." 5

1. Or: "It is nice to consider a structure within which there would be no longer either compulsion or assessment, only because they would have become irrelevant. But we haven't as yet reached that stage. (...) It is true that the 'idyllic ability' appears to be the reformers' dominant faculty" (Les Compagnons: "L'Université nouvelle", in Les Cahiers de Probus, Paris, No. 2, July 1919, p. 136).


4. Ibid., p. 61.

Ultimately, the Government was forced to take action for, as Alfred Sauvy once remarked:

"Satisfaire les bruyants est un moyen de faire cesser le bruit et dispenser la tâche ingrate de soulager les silencieux." 1

"To please the noisy ones is a means which brings the noise to an end and it does away with the ungrateful task of relieving the silent ones." 1

In order "to please the noisy ones" (and Professor Hoffmann has asserted that "French yelps can be a mighty strain on any ear!"), Francois-Xavier Ortoli, newly appointed Minister of National Education, conceded that:

"Elles (sc. les adaptations.A.S.L.) doivent porter sur le contenu et la forme des enseignements." 3

"They (sc. the changes.A.S.L.) must affect the contents and the shape of education." 3

It was however left to the team formed by Edgar Faure, the Minister who succeeded Francois-Xavier Ortoli, and his "disciple" Jacques Trorial, Secretary of State for National Education, to work out the proposals which would, as we shall see, revolutionize university education in France. The new measures became known as "Loi d'orientation de l'enseignement supérieur", or "Law of Orientation for Higher Education". It will be noted below that, in preparing his "Law of Orientation", Ministre Faure deliberately rejected a selective entrance system for French universities in general. At the time, in Great Britain, Eric Robinson, Head of the Arts Faculty at Enfield College, claimed that:

1. Professeur Sauvy (reported by Jean Ferniot, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. - Commentaire, 7 July 1970).
4. cf., for example, Le Figaro, (Paris), 20 September 1968.
"Nobody has yet suggested the slogan 'higher education for all' and the reason for this is that nobody has yet dared to think of 'careers for all'."  

On 3 October 1968, the 5,000-word "Projet de Loi d'orientation de l'Enseignement supérieur", or "Bill for the Orientation of Higher Education", was published in L'Éducation, the semi-official weekly. Commenting on this Bill, Pierre Grappin, the former Dean of the Nanterre Faculty, acknowledged the fact that it owed much to the principles and ideas developed during the "Colloques de Caen" (vid supra, chapter 14, subsection b). To name but one example, when the three hundred members met in 1966 and made fifteen recommendations, their fourth one consisted in limiting each university to 20,000 students.  

In brief, the 5,000-word Bill was subdivided into five parts. The first part provided an outline of the history of the Imperial University. In the following section, the characteristics were listed, e.g. being adaptable, transmitting knowledge, preparing for a profession, undertaking research work, etc., including the concept that education is a lifelong process. Part three defined the new framework which was going to allow for autonomy of the university and "participation" from outsiders in the "Conseils régionaux", as well as students. In the following section, the teaching methods were reviewed while the last part reminded the teaching profession that, although the principles can be defined and the means can be provided by

law, efficacy can only be the outcome from the interaction between teachers and students.

"Participation", or "sharing", forms the "leit-motiv" of Part three. This concept, considered so important by the Left-wing supporters of President de Gaulle (that is to say "la Gauche gaulliste") was the key-word of the Bill and, indeed, of the whole concept of the reform for, as has been stated elsewhere, "no society can long exist which does not give its members a sense of sharing in its life. Mere efficiency, material wealth, or theoretical beliefs count for nothing". Furthermore, "man everywhere wants progress and participation" as "participation" is a right basic to democratic principles" and at the time, it seemed that the students were determined to pay the price for it as, at the outset (4 May 1968), Daniel Cohn-Bendit is reported to have proclaimed that:

"Nous ne voulons pas qu'on nous impose un destin, nous voulons le choisir. -5- Même si on nous offrait le paradis nous ne le voudrions pas. Nous voulons le prendre." 6

However, "participation" was not really a new concept in French education. In a document signed on 21 September 1944, René Capitant, then Minister of National Education, gave official recognition to "participation". He explained that:


"Le conseil interieur (...)s'efforcera
d'amener graduellement (les élèves) à
un sentiment de la discipline collective qui sera en partie leur œuvre propre. (...) Je ne vois que des avantages à ce que le conseil s'adjoigne (...) quelques grands élèves proposés par leurs camarades."

Again, in 1960, Madame Devaud¹ asserted that:

"Il faut faire confiance aux jeunes en leur confiant des responsabilités. J'ai été la première parlementaire à déposer une résolution, transformée par la suite en proposition de loi concernant la participation des étudiants à la gestion de leurs affaires." ²

At the time of the French "révolution culturelle", or "cultural revolution", Monsieur Beucher, Director of the "Ecole Boulle" (the Parisian municipal trade school for cabinet-makers)³, appraised the majority of the present generation of pupils. Monsieur Beucher's considered opinion was that:

"Nous en sommes restés à une conception de l'adolescence vieille de trente ans. Jamais comme aujourd'hui les jeunes ne se sont sentis autant responsables de leur avenir. (...) Voilà que tout à coup se sont établis de nouveaux rapports entre professeurs et élèves. Cela, j'en suis persuadé, restera." ⁴

¹ Madame Devaud (reported by Claude Gambiez, in "La 'Cogestion' remise en cause", le Figaro, Paris, No. 5051, 29 November 1960, p. 21).
² Our emphasis.
⁴ Monsieur Beucher (reported in "De Nouveaux Rapports entre professeurs et élèves", Le Monde, Paris, No. 7282, 13 June 1968, p. 11).
Monsieur Beucher's view has been confirmed by a Government-appointed commission. In their report, the Joxe Commission declared that:

"Shaken by a multiplicity of factors, the most intimate educational relationship -- that between master and pupil -- has undergone a decisive and subtle transformation." 1

A decade earlier, a sociologist endowed with insight had explained that the climate of change was an attempt to adapt to the consumer society. He wrote that:

"Les relations d'autorité entre parents et enfants et entre maîtres et élèves -2- commencent à se transformer sous la pression du climat démocratique général dans lequel vivent nos sociétés industrielles." 3

"The authoritarian relationship between parents and children and between teachers and pupils -2- begin to change under the pressure exerted by the general democratic climate within which our industrial societies live." 3

On 7 November 1968, all the deputies voted the new law, 4 with the exception of the Communists who abstained as the senators had done when the votes had been cast in the Senate on 25 October 1968. 5 In the National Assembly, there were also six abstentions from "U.D.R." deputies (Messieurs Fouchet, Frisse, Marette, Sanguinetti, Triboulet, and Westfal). 6

The law was published on 13 November 1968 in the Journal officiel.


2. For the current position, cf. "La Relation Maître-Elèves", in Cahiers Pédagogiques, (Paris), No. 81, March 1969 (Entire No.).


4. Jean Carlier, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. - Broadcast, 14 April 1970.


where its forty six articles extended over five pages. This law can be reviewed and summarized in separate sections. The sections deal successively with:

- the role of the universities in contributing towards the changing society (Articles 1 to 3);
- the conditions under which the universities will be reorganized (Articles 4 to 9);
- the role of the president (formerly the rector) is to co-ordinate higher education together with other types of education; as a chancellor, he represents the Minister of National Education on a statutory bodies and presides over the "Conseil régional", or "Regional Council" (Articles 10 to 13);
- the students' representatives (Articles 14 to 17);
- power, which can be exercised either by the Minister of National Education, or by the president, should the statutory bodies experience grave difficulty over their functioning (Articles 18 to 22);
- the economics and the staffing of higher education and research (Articles 23 to 34);
- the organization which is to be implemented by stages (Articles 35 to 46).

This last section calls for further details. Articles 35 to 46 define the various phases of implementation. The first one put the onus on the Minister of National Education who, after consultations, must establish by 31 December 1968, a provisional list of "U.E.R.s", the new units replacing the existing faculties. The second phase compelled the "U.E.R.s" to work

out their own statute by 15 March 1969. In case of difficulty, a decree 
would have provided the "U.E.R." with a provisional statute. A further 
phase spread over the first half of 1970, which was to be devoted to the 
reorganization of the twenty three universities (vid supra, chapter 14, 
subsection a) into sixty four "U.E.R.s" of a more manageable size, i.e. units 
of approximately 10,000 students (Law of Orientation, Articles 4 to 9).¹ 
The last phase would see the new structures finally set up. These implied 
that both notions of Deans and Faculties would be superseded by respectively 
the "Assemblies constitutives" (the statutory bodies on which sit about a 
hundred delegates from "within" the academic spheres, largely at professorial 
and student levels, but also delegates from the technical personnel² and 
members of the community "without" the university world) and the "U.E.R.s", 
or "Unités d'enseignement et de recherches", a structure which was advocated 
by "les Compagnons" during the inter-war years.³ 

In an earlier chapter (chapter 15), attention has been drawn to the 
disquieting situation with regard to the "débouchés", or "openings". In 
1970, two new ventures were offered to the student community. First, Marcel 
Bleustein-Blanchet, General Manager of Publicis, put over his revolutionary 
idea of: 

"100,000 emplois pour 100,000 étudiants." ⁴ "100,000 posts for 
100,000 students." ⁴ 

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¹ "Loi No. 68-798 du 12 novembre 1968", in Journal officiel de la 
République française. Lois et décrets, (Paris), No. 266, 13 November 1968, 
pp. 10579-80. 

² Doyen Remond, on R.T.L., 4.30 p.m. - Non-Stop, a live broadcast, 24 
July 1970 (cf. P. Brogan: "Riot Police Watch the Ivory Tower", in the Times 

³ Les Compagnons: "L'Université nouvelle", in les Cahiers de Brobus, 
(Paris), No. 2, July 1919, pp. 152, 155. 

⁴ cf., for example, Thérèse Guitton: "10.000 Places dans les entreprises 
pour 10.000 enseignants", in Le Figaro, (Paris) No. 8009, 16 June 1970, 
p. 18.
Then every Baccalaureate candidate was provided with printed forms he was invited to fill in. These details were for the first time in Europe, fed into a computer, and then a document advising upon the best suited openings, or "dévoucés", was sent to the applicant. The experiment was an immediate success: already before the completion of the examinations, 40,000 candidates had returned the questionnaire which had been issued by the "O.N.I.S.E.P.", or "Office national d'information sur les enseignements et les professions". By 1970, the latter had an office in every university town. An initial sorting out showed that 40 per cent. of enquiries came from candidates who were sitting the Literary examinations (Baccalauréat Section A, vid supra, chapter 8). On the eve of the 1971-1972 academic year, Olivier Guichard, then Minister of National Education, declared that this relatively new venture was, by then, functioning normally.

These initiatives constitute an important step forward with regard to "dévoucés" which, at the time, contributed so much to the 1968 student unrest (vid supra, chapter 15) and which is still proving to be so intractable an issue that, to-date, "the Ministry of Education has appointed no fewer than 14 working parties to study the various aspects of the problem".

1. On France-Inter, 8.0 p.m. - News-Broadcast, 16 June 1970.
4. Europe-1, 8.0 a.m. - News-Broadcast, 18 July 1970.
5. Ministre Guichard's Press conference (reported on France-Inter, 8.0 p.m. - News-Broadcast, 6 September 1971).
Chapter 17. The Implications of the 1968 Reform for the Academy of Paris.

"Dans les vingt prochaines années, la concurrence internationale sera liée, en grande partie, aux investissements de type intellectuel." 1


Philosophe Renan once explained that:

"Paris a été le plus complètement et le plus légitimement le centre de l'Europe, sous Philippe-Auguste, ou, pour mieux dire, sous Louis le Jeune et Suger, à l'époque d'Abélard. Alors se fonda quelque chose d'admirable et extraordinaire, je veux parler de l'université de Paris, bientôt imitée dans toute l'Europe latine. L'université de Paris, qui commence à paraître vers 1200, est, dis-je, quelque chose de tout à fait nouveau et original." 2

The University of Paris has obtained its first statutes in 1208. Known as "Universitas magistrorum et scholarium Parisiensium", 3 it was transferred later on by Abelard to the Montagne-Sainte-Geneviève in the "Quartier Latin", or "Latin Quarter". The 1208 statutes have served as a model for Oxford 4 so that:

"L'Université d'Oxford est un reflet de celle de Paris." 5 "Oxford University is a reflected image of Paris." 5

By 1554, the University of Paris was known as the Sorbonne 6 (after the

1. Or: "In the next twenty years, international competition will, to a large extent, be tied up to the investments of an intellectual kind" (Edgar Faure's "Préface" to Pierre Daumard: Le Prix de l'Enseignement en France, Paris, 1969, p. II).


name of Robert de Sorbon, the founder of the theological college)\(^1\) and its major statute,\(^2\) registered by Parliament on 3 September 1598, shaped the Sorbonne for two hundred years.\(^3\)

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Sorbonne became the seat of the Academy of Paris.\(^4\) It has dominated the education scene first in Île-de-France and soon, its sphere of influence has spread to the whole centralized system of national education. By the early nineteen seventies, the registration numbers were reaching 190,000 students\(^5\) (the Liberal Arts Faculty has 1,097 lecturing-staff on its payroll).\(^6\) It is therefore one of the largest in the world.

Although with the opening of Limoges and Nice (Decree of 20 April 1965),\(^7\) the total number of French academies has been raised to twenty three, the Academy of Paris still attracts almost one French university student in three. Earlier on in the century, Gaston Vidal deplored:

"Paris apoplectique; la province anémiée."\(^8\)

"Paris suffering from a stroke; Provincial (universities) suffering from anaemia."\(^8\)

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1. L. Russell Muirhead, op. cit., p. 89.
2. "Statuta Facultatis Artium", whose articles 25 to 28 are reprinted in Octave Gréard, op. cit., p. 15 (Footnote).
It can therefore be said that Gaston Vidal's metaphor still obtains.

We have already seen how, in an attempt to slow down the growth for the Sorbonne, colleges and faculties had been sited, from 1958 onwards, in selected provincial towns (cf. Table XXXIII). However, it became soon apparent that the effects of that democratic approach would be insufficient to control the expansion of the Parisian faculties. Consequently, restricting measures were unavoidable. Only students living in the Paris region have the right to register at the Sorbonne.

These measures have not as yet reversed the trend set by the Bureaucratic centralization which, for so long, has slowly, but steadily, diverted the financial resources from the provincial universities to the benefit of the University of Paris. Besides, with the financial resources being continually in short supply, so long as the "running" expenses per student remain at half the cost of what they are elsewhere, the pressure is not likely to ease off.

In spite of governmental action, Gerald Antoine, a Professor in the Sorbonne, pointed out that this university with a number of students out of all proportions, was still functioning only because about 50 per cent. of its students never attended a lecture and only 10 per cent. used the libraries. In 1966 Pierre Bourdieu, in one of his studies, revealed the percentages of students in Medicine who did not attend lectures regularly. As many as two students out of every three attended less than half their lectures. Worse still, half of these, that is to say 30 per cent. of the

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1. Les Compagnons: "L'Université nouvelle", in Les Cahiers de Probus, (Paris), No. 2, July 1919, p. 149.
total, attended only one lecture a week, or none at all.\(^1\)

Owing to the sheer number of students then, the working conditions have been seriously impaired for some considerable time. So much so that this situation led Monsieur Wagner, Professor in the Sorbonne, to comment that:

"Ce n'est pas l'effet d'un hasard si les événements ont débuté à Paris. The Nanterre Faculty of Liberal Arts was suffering (from) every favourable condition leading to a revolutionary upheaval. (...) Neither a single lecture nor a single practical work session were taking place in bearable circumstances." \(^2\)

Professeur Wagner had entitled his paper "the Sorbonne, a ship that must sink".\(^3\) One of the contributory factors was the tremendous expansion of the University of Paris. This expansion was going to worsen as the direct result of the student unrest consisted in boosting the rate of passes in the Baccalauréat examinations, which jumped from 60 per cent. to 80 per cent. (cf. Table VIII).

Forced to deal with this sudden expansion, Ministre Faure announced the opening of ten new university campuses\(^4\) in the Paris area for the 1968-1969 academic year. Some of these, Villetaneuse (vid. inf., this chapter), Verrières-le-Buisson, Satory, had been planned earlier in the year by Ministre Peyrefitte who had the support of Recteur Roche and Préfet Delouvrier

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but Premier Ministre Pompidou refused to listen to "la voix du bon sens". Together with the extensions of the existing campuses at Nanterre and Orsay, the new centres made it possible to accommodate the 35,000 extra students in the University of Paris by 15 November 1968. Considering the whole of France, it could be said that 40 per cent. of the university buildings in existence by 1971 had been built in the nineteen sixties.

With regard to the University of Paris, one of the new campuses had been developed in the former N.A.T.O. headquarters at the Porte Dauphine (which had been earmarked to rehouse the Ministry's services). All the others consisted of new buildings, some of which were originally intended as secondary schools or "Ecoles normales". Several of the new centres, i.e Paris-Nord, Orsay, Vincennes, Antony, and Porte Dauphine, were selected as pilot projects for a new kind of university, in which new diplomas and teaching methods would be introduced, in order to promote more contacts between different academic disciplines. Most of the details were left to the students and lecturers to work out for themselves. These extensive plans led Edgar Faure, the then Minister of National Education, to seek priority for his budget, which he justified by declaring his intentions of recruiting an extra 35,000 university lecturers and secondary teachers by means of the traditional competitive examinations.

The post-1968 period has undoubtedly been a trying one. The acute shortage of staff has led to protracted exchanges of view between the

university professor and the authority. By 1969, Nanterre-la-Folie badly needed forty-five extra lecturers. Here, quick action set once more the "Académie de Paris" in the limelight for, within twenty-four hours, it was disclosed that Monsieur Las Vergnas, Dean at the Sorbonne, was also asking for more lecturers. André Giraud, then Director of Ministre Guichard's Cabinet, made the Ministry's position known in an open letter. The reply stated that, as the number of students had remained constant since 1968-1969 at the Sorbonne and as more lecturers had been appointed there, the teaching situation could not possibly have worsened. At the Sorbonne, the "Conseil transitoire de gestion" decided to stage a one-day token strike in protest against the inadequacy of the current education budget.

However, since then, Professeur Duverger has rightly pointed out that "the problem is not only one of numbers but of composition as well. Low salaries often discourage qualified people, and what appears to be the resultant saving does little more than disguise a considerable loss in productivity". It is therefore first and foremost a question of money even in France, in spite of a British observer's assessment of "French universities -- cheap and functional".

By 1970, there were signs that the French electorate were questioning the cost of the steady expansion of higher education. For example, it has

2. The Sorbonne "Conseil transitoire de gestion" (reported in le Monde, Paris, No. 7742, 4 December 1969, p. 13).
been said that:

"Comme le Doyen Ricoeur, qui a raison de s'en plaindre (...), s'ils (sc. les étudiants.A.S.L.) se plaignent de la surpopulation de Nanterre prévue pour 8,000 étudiants alors qu'il y en a 15,000, -1- ils risquent de s'entendre dire qu'il faut en supprimer la moitié." 2

"Like Dean Ricoeur, who is right to complain about it (...), if they (sc. the students.A.S.L.) complain about over-crowding in Nanterre designed for 8,000 students whilst there are 15,000 of them, -1- they take the risk of being told that it is necessary to do away with half of them." 2

Such was at the time public opinion in France, an opinion which could ponder at leisure over the fact that each university student was straining the public purse at the rate of 4.966 fr,3 or £ 382 a year.

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For the Academy of Paris, the Law of Orientation for Higher Education has proved to be extremely challenging. This law compelled every university faculty to reorganize within a framework of one or more multidisciplinary units of some 10,000 students (Articles 4 to 9).4 Consequently, in 1970, the existing twenty three academic regions have been split up into sixty four separate multidisciplinary "U.E.R.s",5 or "Unites d'enseignement et de recherche".

If the provincial academies in existence at the time were merely subdivided into two units, e.g. Nancy, possibly into three such units,


2. Jean Carlier, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. - Broadcast, 5 March 1970.


Table XL showing the thirteen "U.E.R.s" organized in the Paris region, together with their disciplines, President, lecturers, and buildings, where available.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IN CENTRAL PARIS:</th>
<th>&quot;U.E.R.&quot;</th>
<th>Disciplines</th>
<th>President/Lecturers/Buildings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paris-II</td>
<td>Applied computer science, Economics, Law, Social psychology.</td>
<td>Président Georges Vedel, visiting lecturers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris-VII</td>
<td>Anthropology, English, French literature, Geography, Latin, etc.</td>
<td>Président Michel Alliot, lecturers who opted out of the traditional Paris IV to VI, Jussieu Centre.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued following
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E.R.&quot;</th>
<th>Disciplines</th>
<th>President/Buildings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ris-IX</td>
<td>Applied economics, Technostructure (or &quot;Management&quot;).</td>
<td>Président Jean-Paul Gilli, Porte Dauphine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ris-XII</td>
<td>Law, Medicine.</td>
<td>Président Jean Sorel, Créteil and Saint-Maur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is-XIII</td>
<td>Economics, Liberal arts.</td>
<td>Président Jean Sorel, Saint-Denis and various new campuses.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e.g. Montpellier, Toulouse, Lyon, and Lille, the "Law of Orientation" has meant for the Academy of Paris a carve-up of five faculties into some thirteen distinct units (cf. Table XL), for which Robert Mallet, Rector of the Academy, has serious misgivings.

The reformers' decision has meant that:

- transitory "Conseils de gestion" would first be established (Decree of 7 December 1968);
- the "Conseils de gestion" would be responsible for forming the "Assemblée constitutive", or "Constituent Assembly'';
- the "Constituent Assembly" would elect a president (Law of Orientation, Article 15).

Out of the thirteen "U.E.R.s" located in the Paris region, seven of these are in central Paris (cf. Table XL). The new measures have not been received favourably by all academics. Professeur Duverger, the political Scientist, has expressed the opinion that:

"En mai 1968, les étudiants révoltés n'ont pas réussi à détruire l'université de Paris. On peut craindre que leurs aînés n'y parviennent." 6

"Students in the full flush of revolt in May 1968 did not manage to destroy the University of Paris. Despite an unquestionable goodwill at all levels, their elders may involuntarily achieve this goal." 7

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Professeur Duverger has explained that:

"On a joué le jeu de la loi d'orientation en créant des universités nouvelles (...) on prétend limiter ces universités aux seuls moyens dont disposaient les anciennes facultés, ce qui rend leur fonctionnement impossible. Les sept universités de Paris-Centre ne disposeront ni de bâtiments nouveaux, ni de postes administratifs nouveaux (sinon dans une proportion très faible). Elles sont ainsi condamnées à rester dans une large mesure des universités de papier, existant dans les textes et non dans la réalité." 2

If the Government decided to maintain this subtle device to hamper any further development, and the outward signs are that it will (for, in July 1970, Olivier Guichard, then Minister of National Education, has revealed that the special provisions regularly made available throughout the 1968-1970 period directly to higher education in Paris cannot be sustained any longer4), then the prospects for the new universities are bleak indeed. Raymond Las Vergnas, the President of Paris-III, described the hopelessness of the issue which is at stake. He stated that:

"We cannot function without a minimum of resources and already we are assured that we shall not get them." 5

1. Brackets in original.


4. Ministre Guichard (reported on Europe-1, 8.0 p.m. - News Broadcast, 24, July 1970).

The aim was obvious. Professeur Duverger defined it simply and clearly, when he claimed that:

"La grande idée est de dégager leurs effectifs en poussant les étudiants vers la périphérie." 2

"The aim is to reduce the concentration by forcing the students to the outlying campuses." 2

As the demand for higher education in the Paris region has led to constant further developments, first, in 1965 in the form of new centres (cf. Table XXXIII), followed by the organization of the six "U.E.R.s" forming "une grande couronne", or ring, round Greater Paris, it could have been anticipated that sooner or later the opening of new "U.E.R.s" might be deemed necessary. Yet the Ministry of National Education openly acknowledged that:

"La loi d'orientation n'a pas prévu la création d'une université ex-nihilo." 4

"The Law of Orientation (for Higher Education) did not provide for the founding of a university 'ex nihilo'."

The problem arose when it was considered desirable to unearth Ministre Guillaumat’s project dating back to 1960, a project which consisted in designing a "scientific and technical" university in the Paris region. In the middle nineteen sixties, Ministre Fouchet chose Villetaneuse. Early in 1968, Ministre Peyrefitte wanted to proceed with the project, but was firmly opposed by Premier Ministre Pompidou (vid supra, this chapter).

When, in 1972, Ministre Guillaumat's project was turned into the first

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2. Our emphasis.


of the "third-generation" universities, Compiègne was chosen for practical as well as political reasons. First, the area afforded ample building space and the town was prepared to grant free of charge part of the land required. Secondly, the political and social climate prevailing in Compiègne enhanced its position as opposed to sites located in the Parisian "banlieue rouge", or "red belt", such as Villetaneuse...¹

Compiègne's first president is M. Denielou, a senior civil servant in the "Commissariat à l'énergie atomique". The President and the administrators have decided that their university will be, on a small scale, an admixture between the very French "Instituts nationaux de sciences appliquées", or "National Institutes of Applied Sciences", and the "M.I.T.", the world-famous Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Compiègne will have its first intake of students in 1973 and it is planned to have 3,000 students in 1975.²


Conclusions.

The ultimate result of the Law of Orientation (1968) on the Academy of Paris remains doubtful. Half a century ago, "les Compagnons" already remarked that:


"Everything stems from Paris. Everything, obstinately and unrelentingly comes back there due to an ill-fated centralization. From Paris, the teachers leave after the competitive examinations. From Paris the syllabi and instructions are issued. In Paris politicians decide upon the meagre budget. Towards Paris are turned the ambitions and efforts of the best ones among the pupils and the masters." 1

In the nineteen sixties, Paris became more than ever the pole of attraction. For example, from 90,000 students in 1962 (cf. Table XXIX), the thirteen "U.E.R.s", the former faculties, have enrolled 190,000 students in the 1970-1971 academic year, 2 in spite of the Government action fostering decentralization. Similarly, in Great Britain, Oxford and Cambridge dominate the academic scene. Bruce Truscott, a Professor of Languages, once commented that:

"To Oxbridge all the best people eventually gravitate, whereas to Redbrick no-one, if he can help it, ever comes at all (...). If a learned society is looking for persons on whom to bestow one of its coveted fellowships, it may perfectly well ignore Redbrick altogether, but it will certainly begin by asking: 'Well, now, first of all, who is there at Oxford and Cambridge?' A Cabinet Minister may need an educationist for a Royal Commission; a foreign statesman may want to recommend some English scholar for a decoration; an Eastern potentate may be seeking


a temporary home for his son. Each of these, except for some rare and particular reason, will look first to Oxbridge and as likely as not there will be no need to look farther."

The growth of the Academy of Paris is a phenomenon which has been explained sociologically. In Durkheim's words:

"L'enseignement est un produit de la concentration." First, the concentration of "cadres", or middle-rank executive and administrative staff, influences the proportion of the age cohort with a high Terminal Education Age. Secondly, an analysis has revealed that the higher the social class background, the greater the likelihood to live in a large town, so that both factors are cumulative.

The conclusion has been drawn by Messieurs Bourdieu and Passeron. They wrote that:

"Sachant que les avantages culturels qui sont régulièrement associés à l'origine bourgeoise sont redoublés par la résidence parisienne, on comprend que, cumulant tous les privilèges, les étudiants bourgeois de Paris soient en mesure de manifester, plus que tous les autres, la désinvolture et le détachement à l'égard des études où l'on reconnaît la maîtrise intellectuelle." This casual attitude displayed by the French academic students is in sharp contrast to educational institutions elsewhere.

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5. Ibid., p. 76.
contrast with the image of the "D.A.R.", the American "grind" who won the nickname of damned average raiser.

So powerful is the attraction of Paris on students that long before the "Halle-aux-Vins" Centre was ready for occupation, the number of undergraduates who had been enrolled and were proceeding with their study, were already in excess of the overall number the Centre had been intended for (6,900 in October 1968). Another example is afforded by the "Censier" Centre, which was planned for 10,000 undergraduates and currently has a population of 27,000 Liberal Arts students. Even the outlying campus of Nanterre-la-Folie built for 8,000 students, not only copes with an attendance of 16,000 students (12,000 in Liberal Arts, 4,000 in Law), but still has a 2,000-strong waiting-list.

It is likely that the strict control imposed on the availability of further financial resources will have on the Academy of Paris, a similar effect to the one which is only too familiar in other countries, e.g. Great Britain where the Tress-Brown Index has effectively controlled the growth of the university faculties. The rapid growth of the Academy of Paris is of relatively recent origin (cf. Table XXXIX). For example if, between 1954 and 1962, the rate of growth in university attendance in the Paris region was as small as 4 per cent. (the percentage of the age cohort passed from 7.6 to 7.9 per cent.), the demand for educational participation at university

5. On R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. - News-Broadcast, 4 December 1969.
reached 137 per cent. in Limousin (the percentage of the age cohort passed from 4.1 to 9.7 per cent.), 122 per cent. in Brittany (from 3.2 to 7.1 per cent.), etc. (cf. Table XXI).

Strict control over the finances may ultimately achieve the object, where all other measures have failed in the nineteen sixties (vid supra, this chapter), that is to say "forcing the students to the outlying campuses".  


"Les rapports des jurys des grands concours, (agregation, grandes écoles) constituent (...) des documents exemplaires pour qui veut saisir les critères selon lesquels le corps professoral forme et choisit ceux qu'il estime dignes de le perpétuer."

In chapter 16, we looked at the 1968 educational reforms and it is now intended to examine some of the forces which have been delaying the implementation of the reforms. In France, the traditional elements with their conservative outlook are those most reluctant to see the occurrence of changes in the system of education. However, educational reforms have been decided in spite of the foreseeable difficulties with regard to their implementation.

The first major problem forced the authorities to deal with the shortage of buildings. We saw what emergency measures had been taken in the Paris region, which is a key area (vid supra, chapter 17). With the continued expansion, it was estimated that by November 1969, some 25,000 students ought to have been moved urgently into new buildings.\(^1\)

Another recurrent problem, shared by most Western countries, is the shortage of teachers, from which France has not escaped. In 1968, Edgar Faure, then Minister of National Education, acknowledged it,\(^2\) as others had

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1. Or: "The reports issued by the Examining Boards for competitive examinations (i.e., 'agregation', 'Grandes ecoles') constitute genuine documents for whoever wishes to grasp the criteria within which the dons train and choose those they deem worthy of perpetuating them" (Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron: "L'Examen d'une illusion", in Revue française de Sociologie, Paris, Vol. IX, Special Number, 1968, p. 228).


On a local scale, the Dean of Nancy Faculty of Law provided evidence when he stated that the staffing crisis was serious. He deplored that three of his "maîtres-assistants", or lecturers, had taken up appointments in the Paris faculties and an observer reported that raw students, in particular, feel that "the regular exodus of professors for Paris"^2 may have a nefarious effect on their studies. However, with regard to staffing conditions, even Paris has experienced an acute shortage. For example, only about half of the 120 new posts created for the 1968-1969 academic year had been filled before the end of the year at the Liberal Arts Faculty of Nanterre-La-Folie. This situation was still prevailing a year later. In an attempt to assess the position in the course of the autumn 1969, it was reported that:

"At Nancy—as in fact in most academies—the shortage of lecturers is well known. The difficulties can be special, even specific, as in Economics, where only three out of nine lectureships are filled up (...) one is forced to acknowledge that an ever increasing number of lecturers manage to be appointed in Paris.

The Dean (sc. Mr. Journaux, Liberal Arts Faculty, Caen.A.S.L.) thinks that with 149 lecturers and an overtime of 400 hours, the Arts


At the Nanterre Faculty of Liberal Arts, Paul Ricoeur replaced Doyen Grappin after the May 1968 turmoil. A co-director of "L'Ordre philosophique" Library, Doyen Ricoeur had already won international fame for his lifelong research on philosophical issues, which enabled him to be appointed to the Chair of Philosophy in the University of Chicago (Illinois) in March 1970, when he decided to resign his position at the Nanterre Faculty. In 1969, Paul Ricoeur revealed that, at the Nanterre Faculty of Liberal Arts, 2,000 students were on a waiting list, in spite of the fact that 16,000 students had been enrolled in this faculty designed, as we have seen (vid supra, conclusions to chapter 17), for 8,000 undergraduates. At the Nanterre Faculty of Liberal Arts, Spanish and Psychology were, in 1969, the two disciplines mainly affected by the acute shortage of "maîtres-assistants", or lecturers.


4. Bernard Lefort, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. - Broadcast, 11 April 1970.


In 1970, Pierre Armand, the President of the "Fédération des parents d'élèves", a parents' association grouping 600,000 families, deplored that there were still 26,000 unfilled posts (A thorough study of the budgets for the 1952-1967 period led its author to conclude that 26,000 posts constituted the yearly average of appointments. From 1967 onwards, the Minister of National Education has recruited a minimum of 45,000 civil servants per year ... until 1970!) Teachers' unions pointed out that the 26,000 unfilled posts were Ministre Guichard's own estimate. In that year, the "S.N.E.-Sup." sent a letter to Jacques Chaban-Delams, then Prime Minister. They deplored that:

"Le gouvernement a décidé de ne crêer pour la prochaine rentrée scolaire que huit mille posts supplémentaires d'enseignants, alors que le ministre de l'éducation nationale en avait demandé vingt-six mille." 5

"For the new academic year the Government has decided to appoint only a further eight thousand teachers, whereas the Minister of National Education had planned for twenty six thousand." 5

The "Syndicat national des instituteurs" stated that:

"(Le "S.N.I.") constate que sur 26,000 posts supplémentaires d'enseignants demandés par le ministre lui-même, -6- 8,000 seulement ont été accordés. Ainsi, l'université se trouve une fois encore sacrifiée." 7

"(The "S.N.I.") realizes that out of 26,000 teachers asked for by the Minister himself, -6- only 8,000 have been allowed. Thus, the University (sc. National Education.A.S.L.) is once more sacrificed." 7

2. On France-Inter, 8.0 p.m. - News-Broadcast, 25 June 1970.
6. Our emphasis.
Table XLI showing the teacher/pupil ratio in the various types of institution for selected years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of institution</th>
<th>1938</th>
<th>1952</th>
<th>1956</th>
<th>1958</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1962</th>
<th>1965</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University faculties</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Lycees&quot; and colleges</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;C.E.G.s&quot; (formerly &quot;Cours complémentaires&quot;, now &quot;C.E.S.s&quot;)</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary schools</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The prospects for the new academic year were bleak. At its best, the staff-student ratio was 1 in 16 in the Science "U.E.R.s" (the former faculties) but, in 1969-1970, at its worst it was 1 in 40 in Liberal Arts and 1 in 50 in Law. In 1966-1967, the average figure had been 1 in 24\(^2\) (cf. also Table XLI). Yet, the teaching staff that took one hundred years to double (1840-1951), doubled again in the course of a single decade (1951-1960), only to double once more\(^3\) within the next three years... In the United States, the number of instructional staff in public schools exceeded 1,643,000 in the early nineteen sixties. It represented an increase of 50 per cent. over the previous decade.\(^4\) This situation is therefore not peculiar to France. Neither is the fact that the public service, and here we mean the educational system, is the biggest employer of highly educated manpower. It has been said that half the universities' output in the Liberal Arts could be absorbed by the teaching profession, but for the fact that the country is not as yet prepared to divert the necessary amount of money from expenditures of some other nature. In Great Britain, the teaching force has reached 474,000, a figure which formed in 1966 over 28 per cent. of economically active qualified manpower.\(^5\)

The fact remains that in France, as Monsieur Blois, Dean of the Nantes Liberal Arts Faculty, has deplored:

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5. Statistics from "System Generates Own Momentum for Further Expansion", in *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, (London), No. 9, 10 December 1971, p. 3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's socio-economic group</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1962</th>
<th>1964</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural workers</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural owner-occupiers</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural tenants</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory owners</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business owners</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans and craftsmen</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher managerial</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High civil servants</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal professions</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary and tertiary teachers</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle rank executives</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil servants</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary school teachers</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical staff</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop assistants and representatives</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foremen</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled workers</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Continued on foll
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's socio-economic group</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1962</th>
<th>1964</th>
<th>1967</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic staff</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed with independent means</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Absolute numbers (in 000s)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1962</th>
<th>1964</th>
<th>1967</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>214</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:**


"Every year the number of students has grown quicker than the teaching staff's. At the end of last year, the Nantes Faculty had 4,300 students for a teaching force of 102."

Having examined the educational investment, Pierre Daumard concluded that, as the yearly "running" costs per student have in the main remained at the same level between 1955 and 1968, the recruitment of teaching staff has not kept pace with the increase in the number of students which means in the final analysis, a worsening in the teacher-student ratio.  

The inadequate staff-student ratio must be seen as the price which is being paid for keeping university education practically free of selection.  

The number of students has passed from 152,000 in 1955 to 508,000 in 1968 (cf. Table XXXII). The increase represents a major social revolution by providing an enlarged elite. Behind the growing demand (cf. Table XXXI) lie fundamental changes of political and social outlook; aspirations to this higher standard of education are not unfrequently taken for granted in the middle class and are penetrating into working-class families (cf. Table XLII), in particular those families in which one or both parents have themselves had some experience of education beyond the minimal school-leaving age.

With regard to the teaching vacancies, the figure of 26,000 posts mentioned above (vid supra, this chapter) included a certain number of

"surveillants", who are university undergraduates. In 1968, there were 25,000 young women and 10,000 young men working approximately 38 hours a week\(^1\) and earning on average 900 fr (£ 69) monthly, which enabled them to pursue their university studies.

The "surveillants" have traditionally assumed the responsibility for the discipline in the "Lycées". Under the supervision of the "censeur" ("a sort of sergeant-major"\(^2\)), every "surveillant", or "controller", keeps an eye on two hundred pupils. A 1971 opinion pool having revealed that 51 per cent. of parents would like to see a stricter discipline in secondary education, it prompted Olivier Guichard, then Minister of National Education, to say that their attitude should entice the government service to be up to its task\(^3\).

Set up in 1968, the Mallet Commission decided to change the status of the "controllers", whose role should consist, from then on, in promoting self-discipline among the pupils and to organize the social and educational extra-curricular activities, which constitute a new venture in French education.

The "controllers" represent 5 per cent. of the student population (cf. Table XLV) and a sociological enquiry has brought out the fact that 37 per cent. of students with a low socio-economic background support themselves through their own work.\(^4\) A more recent study has revealed that a worker's son obtained on an average 27 per cent. of his resources from his family.

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The students with an upper middle-class background secured 69 per cent.\(^1\) of their financial need from their family. Furthermore, this financial help extended to 95 per cent. of sons with a background pertaining to the liberal professions and the higher-rank executives. Similarly, 88 per cent. of business owners provided for their sons. On the other hand, only 30 per cent. of sons whose father’s occupation was connected with agriculture and 34 per cent. of industrial workers’ sons secured such financial help.

Whilst 30 per cent. of students lived solely on their parents’ aid, the percentages ranged from 15 per cent. for the industrial workers’ sons, to 46 per cent. of students whose fathers belonged to the liberal professions. This led Pierre Daumard to conclude that the student’s budget was very much tied up to his social background, with regard to its amount and where it came from.\(^2\)

In France, some educational reforms, even when favoured by the conventional wisdom, can be fiercely opposed by minority groups. Such was the case when the teaching of Latin came under review (vid supra, chapter 13) and also when the desirability of maintaining the "Agrégation", whose examinations were defined by the Statute of 23 July 1896\(^3\) was questioned. In June 1966, Christian Fouchet, then Minister of National Education, declared that he was prepared to bring the "Agrégation" to an end for the very reason that it could no longer be justified.\(^4\) The "Agrégation", which has been

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equated with a B.Litt., entitles the holder to a permanent teaching post in a "Lycée" and to teach his subject in the university. Until the beginning of the Second World War, the competitive examinations for the "Agrégation" were organized to meet the needs of the "Lycée". Since then, the growing tendency has constantly been towards greater and greater specialization. This is in marked contrast with the ideal of a wide, non-vocational culture, which is the accepted aim of secondary education.

During the 1968 debates over the reform of higher education, Edgar Faure, the then Minister of National Education, made it clear that he was also in favour of discontinuing the "Agrégation". On this point, he was defeated by vested interests. The "Agrégation" was successfully defended by the powerful "Société des agrégés", to whom "le reformateur est l'ennemi. Voilà le fond", or "the reformer is the enemy. That is the reason".

However, their opponents commented that:

"Les deux arguments des défenseurs de l'agrégation (...) sont celui du 'concours démocratique' et celui du 'niveau'." 4

"The two claims made by the 'Agrégation' supporters (...) are that it is a 'democratic competitive examination' maintaining a 'standard'! 4

With regard to the concept of "standard", Professor Husén, the Swedish Psychologist, has asserted that:

"'Standard' is an old notion in pedagogical folklore." 5

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3. Jean Ferniot, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. – Commentaire, 2 February 1970.
It seems that the controversy over the "Agrégation" can be better explained by the notion of "patronage". In the middle of the nineteenth century, William Gladstone, Prime Minister of the U.K., acknowledged:

"I speak with diffidence; but (...) we passed over from prerogative to patronage." ¹

In France, Messieurs Bourdieu and Passeron have ventured a plausible explanation when they wrote:

"Aussi les rapports des jurys des grands concours, (agrégation, grandes écoles -2-) constituent-ils des documents exemplaires pour qui veut saisir les critères selon lesquels le corps professoral forme et choisit ceux qu'il estime dignes de le perpétuer." ³

Indeed the reports issued by the Examining Boards for competitive examinations (i.e. 'Agrégation', 'Grandes écoles' -2-) constitute genuine documents for whoever wishes to grasp the criteria on which the dons train and choose those they deem worthy of perpetuating them." ³

On the other hand, in England, when commenting on his model for the university appointments procedure, Wilhelm Baldamus, Professor of Sociology in the University of Birmingham, conceded himself that:

"According to my conscience and the way I have been shaped myself by the traditions of the academic community, -4- my constitution renders me unable to do anything BUT -5- stick to the principle of professional competence." ⁶

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2. Brackets in original.


4. Our emphasis.

5. Emphasis in original.

A Frenchman once recalled that his father:

"immediately entered the class or circle which in France is called 'les universitaires'. It is a class of people very much apart from the rest of the population and very self-contained."

Owing to this blanket of secrecy, as Professeur Nathan conceded:

"La carrière universitaire (...) est la plus mal connue qui soit." 2

In an eight-year extended study in Great Britain, Professors Halsey and Trow 3 have found that, in 1971:

- two thirds of British dons were strongly opposed to mass higher education. In the main, British academics were more conservative than Robbins 4 (p. 263) 5;
- there was little support, even from Left-wing dons, for the extension of university places to larger proportions of the population (p. 267);
- British academic men were not prepared for an expansion which would threaten the central characteristics of elite universities (p. 270).

In France, the academic profession enjoys great prestige. 6

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1. Reported by Rhoda Metraux, in "Themes in French Culture", Hoover Institute Studies, (Stanford, California), Series D, No. 1, April 1954, p. 2.
5. Page numbers refer to Halsey and Trow, op. cit.
have surmised that the members of the "oligarchie de pontifes", or
"oligarchy of pundits", are characterized by:

"Le refus de renoncer aux moyens de créer et de contrôler les conditions de la 'rareté universitaire.'" 2

"The refusal to forsake the means which promote and control the conditions leading to the university 'scarcity.'" 2

Their statement has been confirmed by some of the events which took place in that year and provoked a reaction from "la République des professeurs". 3

For example, the Science lecturers in the University of Caen, who belonged to the "autonomous" faction (vid supra, chapter 6), held in 1968 a meeting in order to:

"protester contre la prétention inqualifiable des étudiants de participer à poids égal avec les professeurs à la répartition des moyens de recherche, à la nomination des professeurs, à la nomination du personnel technique." 4

"protest against the outrageous claim from students to participate on an equal footing with the lecturers in the allocation of the resources for research, in the appointment of lecturers, in the appointment of technical assistants." 4

Yet, as Emile Durkheim has pointed out, historically, such models have existed. He has explained that:

"A Bologne, on ne professait que le droit; les étudiants en droit étaient des hommes d’un certain âge; très souvent des ecclésiastiques déjà munis de bénéfices. De pareils auditeurs n’emendaient pas se laisser régenter. Ils formaient donc une corporation, une 'Universitas', distincte et indépendante du collège"

"In Bologna, Law was read exclusively; the Law students were middle-aged; usually clerics already purveyed with church living. Such an audience was not going to be ruled. Consequently a guild was formed, a 'university', separate and autonomous from the masters' college; owing to its strong organization, their guild

1. Les Compagnons: "L'Université nouvelle", in Les Cahiers de Probus, (Paris), No. 2, July 1919, p. 158.


At the time of the student unrest, Doyen Vedel has described the paragon of virtue. His fictitious character says that:

"Un étudiant ne doit point avoir de plus haut dessein que d'être fidèle à son maître, à son prince et à celui qui, plus tard, lui distribuera le pain." 2

"A student must not have a higher intention than being faithful to his master, to his prince and to the one who, later on, will provide him with his bread and butter." 2

If, in practice, such is the submissive attitude of the French students as revealed by a sociological analysis, 3 we shall see that the minority of politically-committed students (23 per cent. of male students, 7 per cent. females) 4 have a militant outlook. For example, when the "U.N.E.F." the "Union nationale des étudiants de France", held its fifty-sixth Annual Congress (1968) in Marseille, Jacques Sauvageot was elected as its president with almost 70 per cent. of the votes cast. 5 The new President was a well-known figure in student circles as he had played an important part during the May 1968 unrest. 6 After his nomination, Jacques Sauvageot

4. Ibid., p. 172 (Table 2.27).
6. cf., for example, the sample investigation of the "I.F.O.P.", in "La Cote de Sauvageot", l'Express, (Paris), No. 906, 18 November 1968, p. 30.
pledged himself to ensure that every promise made to the students would be implemented to the full within a reasonable length of time.

In 1970, the union's membership had fallen to 30,000 students,' a figure representing 5 per cent. of the university enrolments, as opposed to the 30 per cent. of 1960' (100,000 members). Characteristically, the members are politically-minded, so much so that, by 1970, their sub-groups reflected some twenty different tendencies. Upholding the ideals spreading from the extreme Right to the Left, these sub-groups were:

- "Restauration nationale", 3
- "Union nationale universitaire", 4
- "Mouvement de l'amphi 1000",
- "M.O.D.E.L.",
- "G.A.E.D.",
- "C.E.I.U.", 5
- "Action française",
- "Occident",
- "G.U.D.", or "Groupe Union Droit",
- "F.N.E.F.", the Right-wing "Fédération nationale des étudiants de France", 6
- "C.L.E.R.U.", or "Comité de liaison étudiant pour la rénovation universitaire", 7

- "U.N.E.F."
- Communist "U.N.E.F. - Renouveau"
- "Etudiants socialistes unifiées"
- Trotskyist "Comité d'action-IVème Internationale"
- Trotskyist "A.J.S.", or "Alliance des jeunes pour le socialisme"
- "Maoistes",
- "Mao-Spontex", or "Maoistes-spontanéistes",
- "M.A.R.C.", or "Mouvement d'action et de recherche critiques"
- "Anarchistes",
- "Union des étudiants communistes" and finally,
- "Gauche prolétarienne".

The multiplicity of sub-groups is a traditional feature of student circles.

In the course of a sociological enquiry, research workers have explained that:

"Le charme de certains engagements politiques tient souvent pour une part, à ce qu'ils permettent de consommer symboliquement la rupture avec le milieu familial sous la forme à la fois la moins coûteuse et la plus scandaleuse. (...) Il est peu de sociétés où les sectes s'opposent, se composent et se décomposent aussi rapidement et selon des mécanismes aussi complexes." 3

The "Gauche prolétarienne", or "Proletarian Left", was formed on the initiative of Alain Geismar, D.Sc., a former Secretary General of the

1. J. Carlier, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. - Broadcast, 4 February 1970.
"S.N.E.Sup.", the "Syndicat national de l'enseignement supérieur". Alain Geismar, an Assistant Lecturer at the Science Faculty (Paris), shared the leadership of the 1968 events with Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Jacques Sauvageot. ¹

On account of its "subversive" militant action, the "Gauche prolétarienne" has been dissolved on 27 May 1970, by Raymond Marcellin, the "Ministre de l'Intérieur", or "Home Secretary".

Another faction, the "Etudiants socialistes unifiés" took the leadership of the "U.N.E.F." in 1967. Previously, a sociological enquiry into the unionist bureaucracy had revealed that:

"Les minoritaires d'un groupement peuvent s'opposer à la majorité de ce groupement sans rejoindre pour autant la position des majoritaires d'un groupement plus vaste où ceux dont ils se distinguent sont eux-mêmes minoritaires." ²

"The minority of a group can be opposed to the majority of that same group without necessarily being in agreement with the ideology of the majority of a larger group to which the medium-sized group is itself in the minority." ²

When, in 1970, the "U.N.E.F." held its 58th Congress, no sub-group could obtain sufficient votes to secure a working majority. By 1971, as two distinct factions were concurrently claiming to hold office, a Paris Court ruled that neither Communist "U.N.E.F.-Renouveau" nor Trotskyist "U.N.E.F.-A.J.S." had a right to the title.³

The university councils on which students have as many representatives as the teaching staff,⁴ have been formed in compliance with the Law of 12

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¹. cf., among others, The Observer magazine, 15 September 1968; the Observer Review, 6 October 1968.


November 1968 (Articles 10 to 17).\(^1\) These councils have undoubtedly led to a certain decentralization. Yet, when he commented upon these councils, Monsieur Gautier,\(^2\) Rector in the University of Toulouse, said that decentralization gave him a discretionary role rather than less power. He explained that he had become the umpire between rival factions with, of course, ultimate power and even duty to decide (Law of Orientation for Higher Education, Articles 18 to 22).

In 1970, it was constantly stressed in France, that the reforms were still in their infancy (Professeur René Passet\(^3\) has stated that "Etudiants et enseignants ont connu le 'provisoire' de 1968 pour déboucher sur l'actuel 'transitoire' en attendant le prochain 'constituant'."\(^4\)); that the Law of Orientation was not as yet truly implemented (the Faure reorganization was officially completed on 25 April 1972 when the last necessary decree was published in the *Journal officiel*) and that French people frequently remarked that no one really knew how these reforms would ultimately work.

Early in May 1968, the middle class chuckled:

"Une secousse!"  
"A jerk!"

To that, Philosophe Ricoeur retorted wisely:

"Non, il y en a pour dix ans..."  
"No, this will last ten years..."  


\(^5\) Doyen Ricoeur (reported by Remo Forlani, on R.T.L., 9.0 a.m. - News Broadcast, 8 March 1970).
And a French observer held a similar view about what would be happening:

"Une longue période d'instabilité se prépare." ¹ "A lengthy unsettled period is beginning." ¹

The comments made at a later stage in the British specialized press recall these earlier statements. It has been surmised that:

"The Government seemed to be heading for another collision with its youth, both in schools and universities. Class councils were approved in every class after 1968, and it has taken the pupils all this time to realize that they were a sop, to calm the post-riot 'anarchists'. In the early days, they were proud of their newly gained voice, and took some pains to deal with internal problems of course structure and class discipline. They held regular meetings attended by their teachers but disenchantment set in swiftly." ²

Disenchantment is largely attributed to the ambiguity³ in the diverse rôles of the "professeurs". On the one hand, the latter have acquired increase freedom with regard to "statutory orientation" (vid supra, chapter 14).

But, on the other hand, a French observer has pointed out that:

"L'autonomie existe davantage sur le papier que dans les faits. Qu'il s'agisse de créer un laboratoire, d'enseignement, de pourvoir une chaire ou de publier des actes ou une revue, ou même de recruter des secrétaires, les intéressés restent à la merci de bureaux parisiens débordés." ⁴ "Self-government exists on paper rather than in practice. Whether it be for designing a laboratory, a new approach to teaching, for providing a professorship or for publishing statutes or a periodical, or even for recruiting secretaries, the delegates depend upon the overworked Parisian offices." ⁴

Furthermore, Georges Vedel, President of Paris-II, gave a warning to pupils and students by drawing their attention to the fact that:


"Le temps n’est plus à ce stade, des systèmes indéfiniment ouverts sur les rêves de l’avenir; il faut orienter, il faut, hélas! sélectionner, il faut juger et entrer dans le jeu des hommes."

The time has gone when systems remained for ever open to pipe-dreams as to the future; it is necessary to channel, it is, alas! necessary to select, it is necessary to judge and join in the big fight."

Such principles, which run contrary to the ideal of the Faure Law (but see Article 21), have gained ground rapidly. Medicine studies are a case in point. We have seen that Medicine was the fashionable subject in 1967 (vid supra, chapter 14). We are also aware of the liberalizing effect of Ministre Faure’s "Law of Orientation for Higher Education", 1968 (vid supra, chapter 16). By 1969, the cumulative effect of these measures led to the very real problem of large numbers of medical students entering the second cycle of their studies, when they begin to make direct use of hospital facilities. For a decade, it had been the general rule that every medical student would gain first hand experience by being attached to a "Centre hospitalier universitaire", or Teaching hospital. The "C.H.U.s" sprang from the 1961 reform.

Bearing in mind the statutory training, working parties considered that 7,000 students should be the optimum figure. The yearly figure actually coincided with the number of such students reaching in 1968 the stage at which appropriate training makes more demand on the existing facilities. As the Council of State, which is France’s highest legal authority, had to face the fact that there were currently 25,000 medical students (including freshmen), it opposed no longer a selective procedure,


with the proviso of a statute (according to the Ministry of National Education, the "C.H.U.s" could provide approximately 25,000 places for advanced medical students, on completion of their first three-year cycle of theoretical studies).

The Council of State's decision resulted in a decree (Decree of 26 September 1969) which imposed "une sélection rigoureuse", or "a drastic selection", at the end of the first year of study in the form of a 30 per cent. pass-mark based on the students' acquired knowledge (Article 5). As a result, students went on strike every year ever since but, in the words of an observer, "the time has passed when violence in universities made the newspaper headlines in France" and in fact, even inside a "university, it is possible to meet students who have no idea of what is going on!"

The acceptance once again of the "Law of Orientation" (November 1968) has raised growing concern among several minority groups. One of the reactions is that old habits do die hard. A leading figure in the university went as far as saying that:

"La démocratisation (...) sort définitivement vaincue d'un combat où, naguère, elle avait remporté quelques succès locaux."  
"Democratization (...) comes out defeated for good from a struggle in which, formerly, it had scored some isolated success."  

The train of thought, substantiated by sociological research, is that the students whose families are wealthy, will always find ways and means to

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5. Ibid.

pursue and complete their studies. The number of French undergraduates
attending universities abroad was not by any means small in the post-1968
years. Well-off parents tend to endow their children with the sort of
education favoured by the upper class and Jose-Luis de Vilallonga has
confirmed that, as Oxford and Cambridge lose ground, the "Smart Set"
increasingly turn to Switzerland. On the contrary, gifted students whose
families have limited means, will not wish to commit their parents to a
financial burden for several years.

It is therefore likely that the new element of statutory orientation,
together with compulsory attendance at lectures, will not only reduce the
high percentage of students deemed unable to complete successfully the
course of study that they had selected or that their parents had "advised",
but also eliminate a high proportion of "ghost" students who will take up
employment without spending several years of leisure, a practice which
results in increasing the average cost per academic award.

The desire to dispose of the "ghost" students is understandable in view
of the permanent pressure exerted by the fast growing number of undergraduate
In the light of enquiries into students' financial resources (vid supra,
this chapter), we can surmise that "ghost" students with a low socio-economic
background were likely to spend to a greater or a lesser degree, part of
their time in employment in order to finance their studies. On the other
hand, students financially independent constitute a sizable proportion of

1. cf., among others, Georges Vedel: "A Propos de la Loi d'orientation",

is banned in England pending court proceedings.

3. Jean Carlier, on R.T.L., 8.0 a.m. - Commentaire, 14 April 1970.

4. A. Page: "Coûts unitaires de fonctionnement (...)", in Education,
informacion y desarrollo, Barcelona, Espana, 1967, p. 255. cf. also B.
Frappat: "Short Academic Year Rouses Critics (...)", in the Times Higher
Education Supplement, No. 1, 15 October 1971, p. 15.
all French students\footnote{Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron: Les Héritiers, (Paris, 1964), p. 151.} but, among these, "les minets" (the "pets") and "les fils à papa",\footnote{Claude Paillat: Archives secrètes 1968-1969, (Paris, 1969), p. 97.} whose fathers are comfortably well off, together with "les chouchoutes" (the "mothers' darlings") form the largest part of "les éternels étudiants",\footnote{Pierre Bourdieu and J.-C. Passeron, op. cit., p. 25.} for whom studying is not likely to take up a substantial part of their time. This may have therefore been a contributory factor, which has insidiously fostered the student unrest in France, considering that it was initiated by the middle-class students\footnote{Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville: French Revolution 1968, (London, 1968), p. 26.} of the Nanterre Faculty (vid supra, chapter 15). Jérôme Carcopino has elsewhere expressed the view that: "Un peuple qui bâille est mur pour la révolution."\footnote{Académicien Carcopino (cited by Pierre Vinne, on France-Inter, 7.30 p.m. - Point d'interrogation, 17 June 1970).} "A yawning people is ready for a revolution."\footnote{Académicien Carcopino (cited by Pierre Vinne, on France-Inter, 7.30 p.m. - Point d'interrogation, 17 June 1970).} Consequently, it cannot reasonably be ruled out that their idleness may have enticed the students to voice their claims with a view to securing, first, participation in the management of their studies and also, once they have successfully completed them, an increased share of the country's resources in the form of "débouchés", or "openings".
Conclusions.

"Notre système éducatif, le plus centralisé, le plus lourd et le plus isolé du monde, doit disparaître d'ici à quinze ou vingt ans."
- Olivier Guichard, Minister of Education.

It is a well-known fact that institutions cannot be transformed in a decade and consequently, the effectiveness of the reforms can only be fully assessed over a period spanning a generation. However, there already outward signs that the reforms implemented in the nineteen sixties in secondary education will bring enlarged age cohorts of pupils up to university entrance level. For example, by 1970, when the pupils of the first intake that had benefited from a full four-year "observation" and "orientation" phase, were completing their secondary education, the Sixth Form was absorbing a further 40,000 pupils, a figure representing 5 per cent. of the age group.

Besides, connected with this issue are Raymond Poignant's findings. Several years ago, Raymond Poignant made a comparative study by socio-economic groups for selected years, i.e. 1954 deemed to be representative of the period preceding Decree No. 59-57, and 1962 being representative of the period which followed the Decree. University enrolments for a particular year, Raymond Poignant surmised, is largely determined by the new entrants into secondary education some nine or ten years before. It follows that the number of pupils having moved into the First Forms in 1962 would determine the number of university enrolments in the years 1970-1972.

1. Or: "Our educational system, the most centralized, the clumsiest, and the most isolated in the world, must vanish within fifteen or twenty years" (Ministre Guichard, reported by Claude Gambiez, in "La Nouvelle Société exige une nouvelle éducation", Le Figaro, Paris, No. 8016, 24 June 1970, p.11)
Raymond Poignant concluded that the tangible increase recorded in the rates of entry into the First Forms for the various socio-economic groups in 1962, as compared with the 1954 returns, will deeply change the educational set-up until 1975.¹

By the middle nineteen sixties, university enrolments in France felt the full impact of the demographic spurt.² About half the increase in the university population is due to the growing numbers swelling the eighteen-to-twenty four age group. From 3,890,800 in 1962-1963, the 1970-1971 figure is thought to reach 5,652,400.³ The other factor which influences directly university registration is the rate of passes in the Baccalaureate examination for, in the late nineteen sixties, 80 per cent. of Baccalaureate holders were entering higher education (cf. Table VIII). In the 1964-1965 academic year, the university population already reached 367,000 students (cf. Table XXXII).

In Great Britain, there were about 308,500 full-time students in the autumn of 1969, who were following degree courses. 225,500 had enrolled in the universities⁴ and 16,000 were studying full-time in other colleges. Another 3,000 were part-time students and 10,000 were attending sandwich courses. It seems that an increasing number of students have been seeking an "alternative route" after the Tress-Brown Index had effectively controlled

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the growth of the university faculties. On the other hand, in 1965, Louis Cros foretold that, in France:

"Within the next five years the numbers in universities will double." 2

Since then, Louis Cros's forecast has been confirmed when the 1970-1971 university population was as large as 682,000 students and even more so when the 700,000 mark was reached in 1971-1972 (cf. Table XXXII). A systems analyst has explained that France was "making the difficult transition from what was once a highly selective system to a more open one". 3 Undoubtedly, higher education is in a stage of continued expansion with the result that a blueprint is being gradually turned into a structure.


SECTION C - EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN THE 'SEVENTIES'.

"L'ère où nous nous trouvons, et que marquent l'accélération du progrès scientifique et technique, le besoin de promotion sociale, (...) nous impose au dedans de nous-mêmes et dans nos rapports avec les autres une immense rénovation." – Président de Gaulle (Le Monde, 7 February 1962)

Chapter 19. The "Second cycle" of Secondary Education: the New Role of the "Lycee".

"Les programmes ont trop séparé la culture scientifique de la culture littéraire, et il devrait être superflu de dire au pays de Pascal, de Descartes, de Condorcet, de Claude Bernard, qu'elles sont l'une et l'autre, nécessaires à 'bien penser'." – Ministre Bérard, January 1921.

We have already seen how inadequate the educational system has been to increase its output of personnel with the specialized knowledge required by a fast developing technology (vid supra, chapter 9, subsection b).

A few years after World War II, Dr. Douglas commented upon the "particularly striking deficiency in the small number of technicians that have been trained" in France, which denotes a built-in weakness that Yvon Delbos and his supporters had seriously attempted to phase out of the

1. Or: "The age in which we are living -- marked as it is by the acceleration of scientific and technological progress, the need for social betterment (...) -- demands a vast regeneration both within ourselves and in our relations with others" (Charles de Gaulle's television address, 5 February 1962; translation from the French Embassy, in The New York Times, New York, Vol. CXI, No. 37999, 6 February 1962, p. 6).

2. Or: "The (school) programmes have separated too much the scientific culture from the literary culture, and it should be superfluous to say in Pascal's, Descartes', Condorcet's, and Claude Bernard's motherland, that both are needed for 'clear thinking'" (Léon Berard's speech of 20 January 1921, reported by François Datin, in "Avant la Réforme de l'Enseignement secondaire", Études, Paris, Vol. 168, 5 August 1921, p. 309).


The shortage of technicians has been a recurring theme ever since. For example, the general trends outlined in the Fourth Plan (1962-1965) stressed the need for a larger number of highly qualified young people who form the "cadres moyens", or middle-rank executives. More recently, with regard to the "E" Series (cf. Table XIII) of the "academic" Baccalaureate, which is a technological qualification of a high level (and should therefore not be confused with the "Technical Baccalaureate"), our attention was drawn to the fact that only 9,500 candidates obtained it every year. This figure represents approximately 4 per cent. of the pupils who succeed in the Baccalaureate examination (vid supra, chapter 11).

Consequently in the early nineteen seventies, it was currently estimated that France's requirements in higher-rank executives and administratives with an adequate scientific and technological knowledge were only covered in the proportion of half her needs (this, of course does not preclude the fact that, as Professor Kindleberger has remarked, "in the short space of fifteen

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Table XLIII  showing the trend in the student enrolment in the various disciplines for selected years.

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<td>4.3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
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Absolute numbers (in 000s)  
118 134 214 282 367 508 587

Sources:  
years, French engineering has risen from a European substandard to the equivalent of the world's best"). Not surprisingly then, an observer deplored that:

"La France souffre d'un grave déficit de cadres supérieurs et d'ingénieurs." 2

"France suffers from a severe shortage of higher-rank executives and graduates in engineering." 2

But, as Professeur Nathan observed;

"Les plus hauts personnages de la politique et de l'Université ne perdent pas une occasion (...) d'attirer l'attention sur les besoins de la France en ingénieurs, techniciens, etc." 3

"The highest officials both in politics and in the University do not miss any opportunity (...) to draw the attention with regard to France's needs for graduates in engineering, technicians, etc." 3

This political action paid dividends. The number of undergraduates in Science faculties, which was below 40,000 in 1956, had jumped to 88,175 in 1963. 4 By the early nineteen sixties, Science attracted a larger percentage of students than the Liberal Arts and the Social Sciences grouped together (cf. Table XLIII). However, by 1967, the Science disciplines appeared once more to lose ground (cf. Table XLIII), in spite of the fact that, as the Aigrain Commission has shown, grants were overwhelmingly awarded to students undertaking higher studies in Technology. For example, in 1965, they obtained 53 per cent. of the grants, 5 but students in faculties received only 17 per cent. (30 per cent. were granted to "other" students; eg. 27 per cent. to propaedeutic students. vid supra, chapter 14, subsection a).


2. Jean Ferniot, on R.T.L., 8.15 a.m. - Commentaire, 8 June 1971.


An analysis of the 1969-1970 university registrations revealed a worsening of the situation. A summary of the trend in provincial universities indicated that:

"Si les effectifs (sc. le nombre d'étudiants A.S.L.) restent la plupart du temps les mêmes ou sont en légère augmentation, le rush -1- sur les lettres au détriment des sciences s'accentue et cela est particulièrement sensible dans l'Académie de Caen où sur les 10.500 étudiants, contre 10.000 l'an passé, 45 % sont inscrits à la Faculté des lettres.

Même phénomène dans l'Académie de Nancy (...).

Lyon, 40.000 étudiants, note également un fléchissement en Faculté des sciences.

L'Académie d'Amiens qui voit ses effectifs augmenter pour arriver à 6.500 étudiants, se caractérise aussi, tant à Amiens qu'à Saint-Quentin, par une diminution des inscrits en sciences." 2

Of course, this trend in France merely reflects the world-wide swing against Science and Technology. In 1971 for example, in the course of their enquiry, a team of Professors spoke of the relative decrease in Technology as a proportion of the whole and the increase of the Social Sciences and Humanities3 (for French statistics, cf. Table XLIII). But, in the early nineteen sixties, Raymond Poignant, at one time Chairman of the "Commission de l'équipement scolaire", stressed an important issue of the Commission's

1. English in original.


report. He commented that:

"La Commission n'a pas dissimulé dans son rapport que l'option en faveur des sciences et des techniques prises à ce niveau, bien que souhaitable, voire indispensable, ne se concrétisera pas nécessairement; il faudrait, en effet, que le nombre de bacheliers scientifiques puisse évoluer au même rythme; c'est là, dans les circonstances actuelles, poser un bien difficile problème à l'enseignement secondaire." 1

"In its report the Commission has not concealed the fact that the choice in favour of Science and Technics at this level, although desirable and even indispensable, will not necessarily materialize; it would in fact be necessary that the number of Baccalaureate candidates in scientific options evolved at the same rate; and in present circumstances, that sets a very difficult problem to secondary education (sc. Secondary schools.A.S.L.)." 1

With regard to the entrance examination to the "Ecole polytechnique", Louis Armand, the then Chairman of its "Conseil de perfectionnement", or Steering Committee, is reported to have declared:

"I know that people contrast it (sc. the entrance examination.A.S.L.) with the training to which access is not by competitive examination, but which involves streaming as the course proceeds, a system widely practised abroad and one which, I agree, it would be right to develop in France. And so we must congratulate ourselves on the creation of institutes of applied science such as the one in Lyon.

The introduction of such a variable section into the syllabuses for the examinations is unthinkable without some previous reform of secondary education." 2

The last two quotes, i.e. Raymond Poignant's and Louis Armand's, end on a note which sets the problem at the stage where the bottleneck exists, that is to say secondary education. Although, in the Baccalaureate, specialization is a matter of emphasis within a wide course so that, even in his last year at school, the mathematician studies Philosophy, a Modern


Table XLIV showing the time-table for some subjects characteristic of the various Baccalaureate sections (underlined: "Classe de l'ère"; plain: "Classe de seconde"; in brackets: optional).

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Language, History, and Geography¹ (cf. Table XLIV), as we shall see, some pressure groups consider that further reforms are imperative.

In France, it is currently believed that the Liberal Arts and the Sciences, when taken in the broadest sense, can enhance each other. Such is the view held by Jean Capelle, a former Director General of Schools' Organization and Programmes. When addressing in 1962 the "Association des Cadres Dirigeants de l'Industrie pour le progrès économique et social" ("A.C.A.D.I."), he declared that:

"Le mariage de l'art et de la technique est quelque chose de fondamentalement heureux." ²

"The mingling of Liberal Arts and Technology is something fundamentally successful." ²

Similar opinions were put forward at the beginning of this century. Two examples will illustrate this point. First, "Les Compagnons", who were convinced Latinists (vid supra, chapter 3, subsection b), went as far as saying:

"Les sciences achèvent l'éducation de la raison commencée par les disciplines littéraires." ³

"The Sciences crown the education of the reason which started with the literary subjects." ³

Besides, when recalling his youth, Anatole France ⁴ deplored that:

"En ce temps-là, les élèves de l'Université de France (étaient) mis en demeure, aux sortir des classes de grammaire, d'opter, sur le seuil de la classe de

"In those days, the pupils in the French educational system (were) forced, on leaving the foundation course, to opt, on entering the Fourth Form, either for Liberal Arts


troisième pour les lettres ou les sciences, et obligés, à quatorze ou quinze ans, de bifurquer (...).
Cependant, quelque parti que nous prissions, notre esprit en devait souffrir un grand dommage; car les sciences, séparées des lettres, demeurent machinales et brutes, et les lettres, privées des sciences, sont creuses, car la science est la substance des lettres." 1

Anatole France's view was supported by Léon Bérard, then Minister of Public Instruction. He asserted that:

"Les programmes ont trop séparé la culture scientifique de la culture littéraire, et il devrait être superflu de dire au pays de Pascal, de Descartes, de Condorcet, de Claude Bernard, qu'elles sont, l'une et l'autre nécessaires à 'bien penser'" 2

There is therefore evidence for the need of a reconsideration of the current practice which consists in specializing either in Science or in Liberal Arts. Consequently, further reforms are likely to be necessary before Science and Technology attract in France a larger share of the pool of ability. So, in order to reverse the trend, Ministre Guichard has been pursuing further a reform initiated by Edgar Faure, his predecessor in the Ministry. The change which entailed the introduction of a "common trunk" for all pupils 3 throughout the second "cycle" of secondary education which, it is hoped, will postpone specialization, making this the preserve of higher education. As an officially-appointed commission once pointed out,

1. Our emphasis.


it would have a further advantage. The Commission expressed the opinion that:

"Dans un état démocratique, où tout travailleur est citoyen, il est indispensable que la spécialisation ne soit pas un obstacle à la compréhension de plus vastes problèmes et qu'une large et solide culture libère l'homme des étroites limitations du technicien." 1

"In a democratic state, where every worker is a citizen, it is indispensable that specialization should not be an obstacle to the understanding of vaster problems and that a wide but sound culture frees man from the narrow limitations of the technician." 1

It is not surprising then that when, in May 1971, Ministre Guichard addressed the "Federation des parents d'élèves des écoles publiques" (1,200,000 members)2 at their Annual Congress, he announced that the reform he had had in mind would become effective in September 1973.3 In the words of the Minister, the reform will introduce:

"Une dimension nouvelle dans notre enseignement: celle d'une information culturelle qui ne soit pas tenue au cadre strict des disciplines, qui soit variée et ouverte." 4

"a new dimension in our educational system: an open and varied cultural information which is not shackled by the framework of subjects." 4

Furthermore, Olivier Guichard5 explained to the National Assembly that:

"Le point essentiel est la formation fondamentale commune. L'expérience des sections nettement différenciées a prouvé combien il était dangereux de s'en écarter. Rien n'impose que le second cycle soit entièrement spécialisé, et notre conception de la culture l'exclut." 6

"The main point is the shared basic training. How dangerous it is to get away from it has been proved by the experience of sharply separated multilateral streams. Nothing is forcing secondary education to be completely specialized, and our concept of culture rules it out." 6

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2. On Europe-1, 7.30 a.m. - News-Broadcast, 23 May 1972.


6. Our emphasis.
The reform will promote a modern culture, based on a common trunk which, apart from some options, is made up of such subjects as Mathematics, French, Modern Languages, etc.

Secondary education's second cycle caters for the fifteen to eighteen year-old pupils. It will consist of a common syllabus in Mathematics and French in the "Classe de seconde", or Fifth Form. A similar set-up will also obtain in the "Classe de première", which equates with the English Lower-Sixth Form, but, in that year, every pupil will opt for extra Mathematics or French. Only in the "Classe terminale", or Upper Sixth Form, will every pupil face the choice of Literary versus Scientific specialization.¹

Further reforms are therefore being introduced in French secondary education in the early nineteen seventies. This trend reflects a worldwide phenomenon. For example, when the U.N.E.S.C.O.'s Director General made his "General Assessment" of International Education Year, he stated that 1,604 projects² listed in the calendars published by eight countries³ reflected a widespread "dissatisfaction and a search for ways of bringing about renewal", a view which confirmed Eteki Mboumoua's, the retiring President, which he had expressed as "a world-wide confrontation of the pattern of education today with the needs, aspirations and possibilities

³ Ibid., p. 21.
⁴ Ibid., p. 29 (cf. also "Education Put to the Question", in Unesco Courier, January 1970).
of the future of our race". The U.N.E.S.C.O. delegates' assessments are in keeping with the views of leading French figures such as Gaston Berger (cf. epigraph, chapter 8), Pierre Clarac, and others. For example, Messieurs Bon and Burnier surmised that:

"Le cycle des réformes ne vient sans doute que de commencer." 2

"It is probable that reforms have barely been started." 2

On the other hand, Pierre Clarac 3 wrote that:

"Il faut souhaiter que l'enseignement du second degré et l'enseignement supérieur continuent à se développer et (...) répondent aux besoins véritables d'une société en pleine transformation." 4

"It is desirable that secondary education and higher education develop further and (...) meet with the real needs of a deeply changing society." 4


4. Our emphasis.
Conclusions.

The development of the training in Science and Technology has been expounded at various stages of the thesis (vid supra, chapters 11 and 14, subsection b) and the picture that emerges points to further reforms as outlined in this chapter. The extent of the problem has been highlighted by an analysis comparing the scientific and technological manpower. Among the West-European countries, France ranks second to none with regard to the output at graduate and "higher technician" levels both for the percentage of the age group in Science and Technology and for the percentage of the age cohort in Engineering and Technology.

In France, the educational policy has once again moved towards "interrelated" studies as shown by recent reforms in secondary education with an extension of the common curriculum and the structural reform of higher education into new multidisciplinary units (vid supra, chapter 17). In the early nineteen sixties, when the percentage of students in Science and Technology was reaching its peak (cf. Table XLIII), the "Commission de l'Equipement scolaire, universitaire et sportif" showed that France's need for qualified humanists were not "below the prevision for scientists". The report led Professeur Fourastié to emphasize the importance of interrelated studies. He surmised that:

"Les premiers résultats de l'étude ont montré que les besoins de qualifications en sciences humaines..."  
"The preliminary results of the study have shown that the need for qualified humanists are not below..."

n'étaient pas inférieurs à ceux des sciences physiques. Au contraire, le besoin est et sera très grand de personnes compétentes en économie, en sociologie, en psychologie, en relations humaines, en sciences administratives, en arts... Mais à la condition que ces HUMANISTES ne s'évanouisissent pas devant une barre de fraction, un logarithme, une exponentielle ou un calcul statistique."

On the contrary, the need is and will be large for educated people in Economics, in Sociology, in Public Relations, in Business Management, in Arts... Provided these HUMANISTS do not faint when faced with a fraction a logarithm, an exponential or a statistical calculation."

1. Emphasis in original.

Chapter 20. Technological Change and Education.

"Il suffit de lire une page des petites annonces de nos grands quotidiens pour discerner que la matière grise est (...) une denrée très rare."
- Philippe Simonnot, 14 April 1970.

In the main, education consists in preparing the young people for economic employment. For example, it has been suggested that the relatively rapid growth in French secondary and higher education was the result of the demand for skilled and highly skilled manpower and the changed attitude of parents towards financing their children's education. Furthermore, once the French principle of equality which, with regard to education, gained as early as 1946 official recognition in the Fourth Republic Constitution, it had become clear that sooner or later, France would offer "on demand" further opportunity to adults in order to educate and train themselves for "no medicine can replace education".

In October 1946, the Constituents of the Fourth Republic had unanimously agreed that:

"La nation garantit l'égal accès de l'enfant et de l'adulte à l'instruction, à la formation professionnelle et à la culture."
"The Nation secures equal access for children and adults to education, to the professional training and to culture."

Since then, it has also become widely accepted that the education dispensed in the schools must prepare the pupils in such a way that, when unpredictable

1. Or: "Two or three pages of situations vacant in our leading dailies are enough to grasp that the grey matter is (...) a very scarce commodity" (Philippe Simonnot: "Les Nouveaux Bourgeois et le pouvoir", in Le Monde, Paris, No. 7853, 14 April 1970, Supplement, p. 1).


3. For a discussion, cf. the "Billères Bill", 1956, Part I, Section 2 (reprinted as Appendix XV to Luc Decaunes et al., op. cit., pp. 357-90).


technological innovations warrant it, they must be able to adapt\textsuperscript{1} to the required changes for, as Paul-Marie de La Gorce has pointed out:

"On admet aujourd'hui qu'un taux d'expansion de 4\% par an implique au moins un changement d'emploi ou de métier au cours d'une vie d'homme." \textsuperscript{2}

"It is now admitted that a yearly growth rate of 4 per cent. implies at least one change of job or trade within a life-span." \textsuperscript{2}

Besides, Wilbert Moore has remarked that "the key to changing occupational structures is mobility".\textsuperscript{3} Already more than two million employees change occupations every year\textsuperscript{4} and, in France, for half of them, it entails moving houses. It is currently estimated that the rate of mobility is bound to increase. A former Minister of National Education has explained that:

"Les mutations technologiques prévisibles dans les trente prochaines années requièrent des jeunes d'aujourd'hui qui devront les vivre, une aptitude à la mobilité, une capacité de faire face aux changements professionnels, une adaptabilité, une disponibilité propre qui sont liées en partie au niveau culturel des sujets: or, la capacité de saisir le changement nécessaire et de s'y adapter est une des conditions fondamentales du progrès de notre économie." \textsuperscript{5}

"The technological changes foreseeable within the next thirty years require from today's youth who will have to experience them, an ability to mobility, an aptitude to face the professional changes, an adaptability, a genuine awareness which are partly tied up with the cultural level of the individuals: now, the aptitude to grasp the required change and to adapt to it is one of the basic conditions for the advancement of our economy." \textsuperscript{5}

According to an O.E.E.C. study, technological change benefits more the younger men who hold formal qualifications.\textsuperscript{6} More recently, Wilbert Moore

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has surmised that "the opening up of new occupations by new entrants to the labour force is an enduring feature of modernized economies."¹ In France, the concept of change has been readily accepted because it was clear that it neither threatened social status nor conflicted with order² so that if, under the Fourth Republic, the French State has weakened in the political field, this has gone hand in hand with its reinforcement with regard to the economic developments. Furthermore, the recent economic progress (vid supra, chapter 10) has influenced the politics of education. As Alfred Grosser has expressed it:

"La modernisation économique a fait éclater les modes traditionnels de pensée et d'action. Cette modernisation elle-même est à la fois la cause et la conséquence de l'irruption en France d'une civilisation technique dont les effets se font sentir des les dernières années de la IVème République. La pensée politique s'en trouve transformée dans son ensemble: -3- au lieu de s'inspirer de la tradition, elle doit tenir compte de l'incessante transformation du monde en général et de la France en particulier." ⁴

This constant transformation is peculiar to "industrialism. As contemporary leading economists have phrased the point:


3. Our emphasis.

"The science and technology of the industrial
society is never static; it generates continual,
rapid, widespread changes—1—in production methods
and products, which in turn create frequent changes
in the skills, responsibilities and occupations of
the work force."

However, until the nineteen seventies, in spite of Law No. 59-960, the
venues for the furtherance of their education have been few and far
between for the "ouvriers spécialisés", whose lowly status equates with
the labourers. One such avenue affords a good example of positive action
on the part of the "A.N.I.F.R.M.O.", or "Association nationale inter-
professionnelle pour la formation rationnelle de la main-d'oeuvre". This
institution has promoted the "F.P.A.", or "Centres de formation
professionnelle des adultes", which are controlled by the "Ministère du
Travail", or Ministry of Labour. One hundred five centres specializing
in job upgrading have since their inception in 1949, turned out more than
200,000 skilled workers.

This "second chance" has therefore been increasingly given to workers
who had not previously acquired the necessary training, unlike "ces jeunes
ouvriers — à qui la République assure maintenant une instruction générale
et une formation technique qu'autrefois beaucoup de chefs d'industrie
n'avaient pas", or "those young workers — to whom the Republic now

1. Our emphasis.


dispenses a general education and a technical training that many an industrial leader did not have formerly. But, statistics over the following twenty years show that the managers in the private sector of industry who held formal qualifications to one advanced level or another (e.g. "bachot", degree, etc.) were still few and far between. For example, Michel Vermot-Gauchy found that, in 1954, out of 786,000 higher and "middle-rank" employees in the private sector of industry, only 98,000 had been awarded a qualification of higher education standard and 304,000 had successfully completed their secondary education, but 384,000 had not obtained a paper-qualification at either of these levels. ¹

Furthermore, in 1954, 85 per cent. of the total population in gainful employment held no paper qualification either at secondary or higher education level and yet, it is with this "peuple sans éducation"² that "over the last ten years, (France) became an exporting country"³ and that "French agriculture has increased her sales sixfold in ten years"⁴ which means that France passed "from a stalemate economy to an expanding one", or "d'une économie de stagnation à une économie de croissance"⁵ (Arnold Anderson has made a similar point with regard to the U.S.A. He has

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¹ Michel Vermot-Gauchy: L'Éducation nationale dans la France de demain, (Monaco, 1965), p. 159 (Table VIII).
³ Raymond Aron, on Europe-1, 9.15 a.m. - Chronique, 24 October 1971.
⁴ Raymond Cartier, on R.T.L., 8.45 a.m. - Tribune libre, 5 November 1971.
commented that "it was a modestly educated population that conducted our development".

The shortage of qualified manpower has been a recurring theme in this study (vid supra, chapters 9, 19). Professeur Crozier has pointed out that:

"Le nombre de concours où il y a davantage de postes offerts que de candidatures acceptables ne se comptent plus."  

"The number of competitive examinations where there are more openings available than suitably qualified candidates are a common feature."  

Similarly, Philippe Simonnot has drawn attention to the fact that the situations vacant in the press provide ample evidence with regard to the country's need in manpower (vid supra, epigraph, this chapter), a point already made by Jacques Derogy, in the course of the preceding decade.

In France, the problem consists in making it possible for the "ouvriers spécialisés", whose lowly status equates with labouring, to obtain an adequate retraining for, in the words of Wilbert Moore, "mechanization engenders the dissolution of some skill combinations and the need for other, new combinations". For example, in 1955, Jean Berthoin, then Minister of National Education, claimed that:


"Il est vrai que telle usine qui employait hier 1000 ouvriers n'est plus, aujourd'hui, qu'un ensemble d'automatismes que surveillent trente spécialistes."  

"It is true that such a mill which employed 1,000 workers yesterday is reduced today to an automated production plant supervised by thirty technicians."  

At the time, René Billères, the new Minister of National Education, made an attempt to deal with the emerging problem of permanent education which would enable workers to improve their skill and knowledge (Billères Bill, Articles 17, 18). Since then, there has been growing concern about the number of unemployed seeking a job, especially when the official figure reached once more 300,000 in June 1971 (the previous unemployment crisis dates back to the spring of 1967). A breakdown of the total figure showed that 60 per cent. of the people receiving unemployment benefit were the "ouvriers spécialisés", that is to say the labourers. Today it is the uneducated who are economic liabilities, as indicated by the fact that untrained workers are unemployed in the face of shortages of personnel at the professional level. It is to ease off unemployment that the condition for retraining have been detailed in the "Loi-Cadre du 16 juillet 1971". 

Le Monde education correspondents have analysed this "Loi-Cadre" and, in their summary, they stated that:

1. Ministre Berthoin's inaugural address, Montrouge "Centre d'apprentissage" (reported in l'Education nationale, Paris, No. 16, 5 May 1955, p. 9). 


3. cf., for example, "Indices commentés", in le Monde, (Paris), No. 8288, 7 September 1971, p. 16. 


"The continuous training bill is certainly the most revolutionary text (...). In fact, this bill, which for the first time outlines a well worked-out and comprehensive framework, also defines the extra financial means (through, for example, the 'training' levy -1-) with a view to enable every worker, whether earning a wage or not -2- to improve his skill and his qualification or to change jobs. This group of bills are in keeping with the government avowed politic of industrialization and the stress is clearly apparent in the preambles over 'the needs for the economic and social development' or 'the adaptability of the workers with regard to change'."  3

The law, whose application will ultimately depend on decrees, is the result of the State action announced by Premier Ministre Chaban-Delmas in his television address on 3 June 1971 for, as Professor Hoffmann had formerly expressed it:

"Ever since 1940 France's political regimes have intervened in society not merely to protect it but to transform it."  6

More recently, Michel Debré, newly appointed "Ministre des Finances", or Chancellor of the Exchequer, has explained that:

1. Brackets in original.

2. Our emphasis.


6. Our emphasis.
"Il appartient à l'État de choisir, de commander, d'imposer, car il n'est pas un arbitre entre intérêts privés marquant les points et annonçant les résultats. Il est l'expression de l'intérêt général, des droits de la nation et des exigences de la liberté. A cette éminente responsabilité correspond un pouvoir de décision et d'intervention qui, certes a des limites, mais dont le principe en aucun domaine ne peut être discuté." 1

and Professeur Crozier has pointed out that:

"Le rôle de l'État est si considérable désormais dans l'ensemble français, à la fois dans l'ordre financier, dans l'ordre de la réglementation et dans l'ordre psychologique et social, que son engagement est absolument décisif." 2

Not surprisingly then, in his television address of 3 June 1971, Jacques Chaban-Delmas, then Prime Minister, stated that:

"Pour passer d'une société à une autre, il n'y a pas de chemin plus direct que d'agir sur le destin de chacun. -3- (...) On parle parfois de révolution silencieuse: -4- voilà une réforme qui la rend possible." 5

for, in Ministre Fontanet's words:

"In order to change from one society to another, the best way consists of acting upon everyone's destiny. -3- (...) Sometimes a silent revolution -4- is referred to: there is a reform which makes it possible." 5


3. Our emphasis.


And, in his speech of 9 June 1971 at the National Assembly, the Prime Minister aptly summed up by saying that:

"L'éducation permanente (est le) stade supérieur de l'évolution qui fait accéder à la nouvelle société." 2

Continuous education (is the) higher stage of the evolution which leads towards the new society." 2

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Conclusions.

Whatever the judgement on the tools with which the various aspects of the reforms will be accomplished, they constitute a succession of attempts to overcome omissions and to cope with the social, political, and educational problems of contemporary France.

The importance of the reforms is in the political and cultural point of view from which it attempts to face the basic problem of national life; that of enabling men to grow up to the minimum intellectual stature which will equip them for a fuller participation in the life of the "nouvelle société"; but also that of enhancing the country's economic output.

The reforms aim to achieve a better employment of human resources in the economic system. They exhibit a political responsibility which should help public opinion to realize the priority of certain demands and to improve the patterns and categories of economic and political evaluation. It is an acknowledgement of the priority of education over other social forces and therefore of trust in the intellectual resources of the country.
"Diriger l'avenir, planifier le développement, vouloir prendre consciemment les décisions qui engagent l'avenir de la société, c'est-à-dire notre avenir et celui de nos enfants, c'est une tâche noble entre toutes. Tout le monde souscrit comme tout le monde souscrit à la démocratie.

Mais devant les conséquences d'un tel idéal, tel qu'il doit s'incarner dans la machinerie du Plan et dans l'action bureaucratique de l'État qui en découle, le simple citoyen est pris de malaise et même d'angoisse."

- Professeur Crozier, 1970. 1

Introduction to PART III.

"The reforms have been introduced with a speed and thoroughness which would be unthinkable where a decentralized 'democratic' system is in operation."

- A British observer, November 1969. 2

In a country enjoying an old civilization with a thousand roots and feelers, 3 the two great agencies which surround external life and internal character are government and education. A successful school system must therefore be a natural outgrowth from the wants of the nation. It is this interrelationship in connexion with decision making that we look into in chapter 21.

Without an adequate allocation of finance, policy making in education is bound to remain a dead letter. With regard to France, it is possible to find out the amounts spent on the various types of education and even to

1. Or: "Shaping the future, planning the development, wishing to make consciously the decisions which commit society's future, that is to say our future and our children's, is a most noble task. Everybody abides by it as everybody abides by democracy.

But facing the consequences of such an ideal, as it must be integrated to the Planning machinery and the State bureaucratic services which derive from it, the ordinary citizen is filled with uneasiness and even anxiety" (Michel Crozier: _La Société bloquée_, Paris, 1970, p. 203).


work out what the actual spending represents as a percentage of the necessary investments expressed in the official five-year Plan. In chapter 22, we examine the influence of French planning with particular reference to the investments in education and how the French government service has dealt with the pressing needs for more schools and how it has spent the ever-increasing share of the nation's wealth devoted to education.

To-date, analyses of this type are almost non-existent in France.

Consequently:

"La connaissance que la société française a d'elle-même reste très limitée." 1

"The knowledge that the French society possesses of itself remains very limited." 1

Professeur Crozier went as far as saying that:

"La société française de fait ne s'est jamais si mal connue." 2

"In fact never before has French society known itself so badly." 2

2. Ibid., p. 231.

"Il faut, et le plus vite possible, que l'enseignement, dans un pays comme le nôtre, échappe complètement à la politique."
- Président Herriot, February 1918.

Political instability which characterized France in the nineteenth century, impaired the development of a modern educational system. By the middle of the nineteenth century, several countries were successfully promoting industry and establishing compulsory education while France was still relying upon the goodwill of the parents, whose responsibility and moral obligation it was to send their children to the municipal school. Not until the eighteen eighties when strong-willed Jules Ferry enacted a comprehensive body of laws, was primary education made compulsory in France (vid supra, chapter 1).

Economic and ideological factors have increasingly influenced the French educational scene. For example, selection is chancy, affected by social class, divisive, and pernicious (vid supra, chapters 9 ff.). Consequently, it must be avoided in any form. This ideology, coupled to the fact that an increasing number of new jobs require both a high level of skill and a good educational background (vid supra, chapter 14, subsection a), has deeply influenced French educationists in the nineteen forties. During the four years of forced idleness (1940-1944), educationists could figure out what post-war France should be like. They agreed that the country would have to rely heavily upon the educational

1. Or: "It is necessary that, in a country such as ours, education completely escapes as soon as possible from politics". Edouard Herriot: "Agir. La Vie dans l'Enseignement!", in Conférence aux Annales, February 1918 (cited by Les Compagnons, op. cit., No. 1, p. 67).

2. cf., for example, Ernest Renan's conference: "La Part de la famille et de l'Etat dans l'éducation", 19 April 1869 (in Ernest Renan: La Réforme intellectuelle et morale, Paris, 1871, p. 325).
system to train the manpower required in order to insure the economic rebuilding, a problem which the previous generation had been forced to face once the First World War was over (vid supra, chapter 4, subsection a).

For their discussions, the educationists could take as a starting point the 1937 Orientation classes venture for, at the time, Ministre Zay's experiment had provoked heated debates. The first study group formed by French people living in Algiers where they had fled, produced in 1944 under the chairmanship of Monsieur Dury, the Algiers Plan. This led Rene Capitant, the first post-war Minister of National Education, to appoint officially a commission headed by Left-wing Professeur Langevin who, on his death (1946), was succeeded by the also Left-wing Professeur Wallon. To his credit, it must be acknowledged that Humaniste Langevin was aware that his Plan was both comprehensive and far-reaching. Consequently, the committee's chairman knew that it would be unconceivable to think that the Plan might be implemented "in extenso". However, in the following years, Ministre Capitant's successors produced plans (Delbos, 1950; Depreux, 1951; Brunold, 1953; Berthoin, 1955; and Billeres, 1956) which selectively adopted several ideas suggested in the original reform.

At one time considered revolutionary, these ideas had long since lost their aspect of being a novelty and had become more acceptable to a larger proportion of the French audience. It is therefore understandable that, under the auspices of the Constitution of the Fifth Republic, Président de Gaulle and his Minister of National Education were able to implement


quickly, in January 1959, some reforms which would ultimately remove the existing post-primary structures, e.g. the "Lycées", their preparatory classes, and the "Transitional classes" in primary schools.

In France, education has been compulsory for just under a century (vid supra, chapter 1). It has consistently recurred that the reform of a particular stage of education has made it imperative to reform the following stage of education, which had just received the new generation of pupils. For example, the Ferry Reforms of primary education in the 1880s were followed by reforms of secondary education at the turn of the century (vid supra, chapter 3, subsection b).

The decision of reforming the next stage of education can be influenced by public opinion. When it is exerted by too direct means, public opinion can throw the university into the arena of "party-political" warfare. In this case it is a question of adjusting the proper area of the institution's self-determination and control by its own members in relation to that proper area in accordance with society's own demands and need.

The issue is a complex one for, as we have seen at various stages of the thesis, there are in France many minority groups¹ (i.e. Jean Meynaud has isolated 306 pressure groups²), not least teachers' unions such as "S.N.I." and "S.N.E.S.", whose "power is so great that the name of their secretary was sometimes given to whom asked for the name of the minister"³.

These diverse publics are usually active and very vocal. Occasionally,

they take an arrogant tone, charged with aggression, to voice their
different demands, needs, and values. Such was the May 1968 street action
(vid supra, chapter 15). In its wake, the decision makers had to take
some measures in order to quieten down the most vocal people among the
Nation, for "on satisfait ceux qui orient le plus". Once more, the
"U.N.E.F." was the amazing winner ("dont le tort fut d'avoir trop souvent
raison avant le ministre lui-même", or "whose shortcoming has been all
too often to be right earlier than the very minister"), the Parliament
having produced a statute based on the pledge the "U.N.E.F." had made in
their June 1968 manifesto, known as the "Charter of Nanterre", granting
"autonomy" based on "cogestion". It simply meant that, in compliance with
the law, the Bureaucracy in Paris was superseded and replaced by the
universities' governing body, teachers and taught having the responsibility
to decide "the date of the start of term", to produce the syllabi, and
even to assess the students' performance for the award of first degrees
(Law of Orientation, Articles 14 to 17). This led Professor Hoggart to
comment that the French "loi d'orientation" was a brilliant, imaginative,
and attractive law, brought in almost overnight. A British observer has

1. Michel Debré, op. cit., p. 46.
3. D. Lee: "Liberté, Égalité...Débouchés", in Student Life, (London),
No. 5, October 1968, p. 8.
4. Anonymous: "D'Une Ville à l'autre", in Le Monde, (Paris), No. 7282,
13 June 1968, p. 10.
5. Bruno Frappat: "Short Academic Year Rouses Critics of University",
in the Times Higher Education Supplement, (London), No. 1, 15 October 1971,
p. 15.
République française. Lois et décrets", (Paris), No. 266, 13 November
1968, pp. 10580-81.
7. Richard Hoggart's third Reith lecture, 1971 (reported in the Times
remarked that:

"The various reforms inaugurated after May, 1968, did something to reduce the importance of the exam system. What they call a 'continuous control of knowledge' was introduced. Students accumulated credits in the manner of their American comrades throughout their academic career."  

But this principle of "cogestion", or "autonomy", has been considerably reduced as soon as the examination clauses were once more set by the Bureaucracy in Paris for several paper qualifications. For example, the examination clauses for the 1970-1971 academic year were published in the Departmental Order of 19 June 1970. The ideals of the reform were short-lived. The Law of Orientation was stultified further by the decision makers who imposed "une sélection rigoureuse", or "a drastic selection", in the form of a 30 per cent. pass mark (Decree of 26 September 1969, Article 5) for First-year Medicine students (vid supra, chapter 18).

Even the organization of the new structures defined in the "Law of Orientation for Higher Education" has proved to be difficult. In 1968, it had been anticipated that 30 million fr would be allocated in the 1969 budget for the appointment of the personnel required by the new structures. As a result of the January 1969 economy measures, the Government decided to cut by half the required amount to as little as 15 million fr. A British observer has remarked that "the age old centralization of French authority,


including educational authority, survives every reform".¹ This view is also held by a former prominent member of the Ministry. Michel Alliot, at one time Director of Ministre Faure's Cabinet, now President of "Paris-VII", has deplored that:

"Nous sommes privés de tout moyen pour confirmer notre autonomie. On nous disait l'an dernier: nous crerons des postes, nous vous ouvrirons des crédits quand vous aurez innové; on nous dit aujourd'hui: ne faites pas d'innovations car il n'y a pas d'argent. (...) C'est le retour à une politique autoritaire, centralisée et parcimonieuse, -2- un frein terrible alors que nous étions en plein élan!" ³

Since then, there have been no signs of reversing this trend. On the contrary, the budget for higher education which had been reduced in 1969 and again in 1971, was cut back further for the 1972-1973 academic year.⁴ The direct result is that the number of civil servants appointed has been constantly reduced in the years following the settlement brought about by the "Law of Orientation". The statistics show that:

"Alors qu'en 1968 ce ministère obtint 57,000 postes nouveaux et 49,000 en 1969, le budget de 1970 n'en prévoyait que 24,000." ⁶


². Our emphasis.


In 1971, it slumped to 21,500! Not surprisingly, Professeur Crozier has concluded that:

"Malgré la loi d'orientation, le système universitaire français reste bureaucratique." 2

"In spite of the Law of Orientation, the French higher education system has remained bureaucratic." 2

(Bureaucratization is "the organization of specialists into coordinated units"). 3 The limited extent of the recent reforms led Georges Vedel, President of Paris-II, to exclaim:

"La direction prise n'est pas celle sur laquelle on avait prétendument mis le cap." 4

"The direction taken is not the one towards which they had pretended to be moving." 4

The higher the ideal was upheld, the sharper disillusionment has become. Edgar Faure, whose name became attached to the Bill, has himself conceded that:

"Le projet de loi (...) transformé par le gouvernement revient au système de la décision centralisée et autoritaire." 5

"The bill (...), having been amended by the Government, returns to the system characterized by authoritarian, centralized decision making." 5

which dispels any doubt as to whether the spirit of the reform has been preserved by the legislative body. The result is plain. Documents issued by the Ministry have revealed that, in 1969-1970, 173,913 students were enrolled in excess of the total number of places available in higher education. 6


Such are the facts. To the sociologists in sympathy with the "convergence theory", the educational system is shaped by "a social order in which an 'omnipresent State' regulates competition and conflict between a multiplicity of interest groups on the basis of an accepted 'web of rules' and at the same time provides the means through which a degree of democratic control can be exercised over the working of the economy and over other key social processes such as the provision of welfare and public services, education and so on". An "omnipresent State" in early twentieth-century France meant that:

"C'est de l'administration qu'en pratique dépend toute la marche de l'Etat. C'est d'elle aussi que dépend la vie ou la mort des lois que vote le Parlement... Le gouvernement tend à devenir et, semble-t-il, d'une manière inéluctable, une simple figuration." 3

The idea has gained ground in recent years. For example, in 1963, Robert Buron, a former Minister, has explained that:

"Le cas le plus fréquent est celui des ministres qui, laissant gouverner l'administration, se contentent de défendre, souvent avec ardeur, auprès des assemblées et de l'opinion la politique qu'elle mène." 5


4. Emphasis in original.

A plausible explanation has been put forward by John Galbraith. The American Economist wrote that:

"Power passes to the technostructure when technology and planning require specialized knowledge."  1

This theory had been previously propounded by Jean Meynaud, 2 who surmised that:

"En réalité, la seule question que l'on puisse raisonnablement envisager est de savoir si les technocrates en puissance constituent une catégorie large ou étroite. Je penche nettement pour la seconde branche de l'alternative.

Etudiant 'Ces Princes qui nous gouvernent', -3- Michel Debré fixait leur nombre à sept ou huit cents: en ajoutant les entourages (clients et fidèles -4-) et les candidats à la succession, il arrivait à une total de l'ordre de trois à quatre mille."  5

"As a matter of fact, the only question that one can reasonably consider is whether the technocrats in power form a broad or narrow category. I am clearly inclined towards the second alternative.

Studying 'Ces Princes qui nous gouvernent' -3- (sc. the princes who govern us.A.S.L.), Michel Debré estimated their number between seven and eight hundred, by adding their circle (clients and followers -4-) and candidates, he settled for a total approximating three to four thousand."  5

The bearing on the educational system is that, in theory, after consulting the numerous reports issued by officially appointed commissions, the French Minister of National Education enacts educational reforms on the recommendation of his Director of Cabinet 6 and other civil servants (but there is, in France, an old notion that the consultative bodies are mere

4. Brackets in original.
5. Michel Debré, op. cit., p. 18.
theatrical sets covering up autocracy).¹

However, in spite of successive educational reforms, the consensus of opinion is that the educational system has remained fossilized² for almost a hundred years. Indeed, the reforms of secondary education, which were implemented successively in 1902 (Leygues Reform), 1923 (Berard Reform) 1925 (Albert Reform), and 1941 (Carcopino Reform), albeit amounting to a stop-and-go policy against Latin or in favour of it, hardly influenced the number of pupils opting for Classical studies (vid supra, chapter 3, subsection b). Furthermore, although the "Ecole unique" had gained support both from official circles (e.g. President Herriot, 1924; Ministre Zay, 1937) and from the strong current of opinion in favour of it in the wake of World War I, the "Ecole unique" venture was still no more than a pipe dream at the time of the "drôle de guerre", the "phoney war"³ of 1938.

The inter-war "status quo" reflects the inadequacy of the contemporary Ministers of Public Instruction. The literature of the time is replete with examples. "Les Compagnons" stated that a Radical politician declined the post as being unworthy of the Party he represented.⁴ They made the further comment that, due to their incompetency, the only imprint left by the successive Ministers (there had been six Ministers between 1914 and 1918) was their mediocrity.⁵ In the following decade, Albert Thibaudet,
one of the most clear-sighted commentators of the Third Republic,\(^1\) claimed that:

"L'Instruction publique: (...) 2 "Public Instruction: (...) is a c'est un portefeuille de repos." 2 safe portfolio." 2

Once World War II was over, public opinion increasingly believed that educational reforms would contribute to speed up the process of rebuilding the French economy. A British scholar has surmised that "immediately after the end of a disastrous war the impetus for reform was strong".\(^3\)

Everyone of the successive Bills, which was an attempt to reform the educational system, failed to obtain a majority vote (and yet, under the Fourth Republic, as many as one law in three were initiated by the National Assembly).\(^4\) As we have shown (vid supra, chapter 5), political instability even prevented some of these Bills being put to the Parliament's decision.\(^5\)

Such is the illustration characteristic of a crumbling political regime and its weak ministers who ultimately saw the fall of the short-lived Fourth Republic\(^6\) (1946-1958). The staffing of the primary schools affords a typical example, among others, of the shortcomings of the time. From 1954 onwards, almost every year, the Ministry of National Education had to appoint as primary-school teachers more pupils on completion of

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5. Ibid., p. 49.
their secondary education than primary-school teachers coming out of
the monotechnic institutions, in spite of the fact that, in its report
published in 1952, the "Le Gorgeu Commission" had forecast a 25 per
cent. increase, i.e. 1,200,000 pupils, by 1956 in primary schools (vid
supra, chapter 4, subsection b). The "Ecoles normales" did not cope
with the increased demand until 1958, whereas the primary schools began
to receive in 1952 the children from the enlarged age cohorts,
notwithstanding that, in 1965, 68 per cent. of French junior-school posts
were held by female-teachers (cf. Table XLI).

The Ministry of National Education has again displayed resistance
to change and a return to the former conditions was largely due to the
more manageable primary-school intakes resulting from regular smaller
age cohorts. As Professeur Sauvy once wrote, "L'Etat a toujours été si
imprévoyant", or "the State has always been so improvident". Nor is the
staffing of primary education an isolated example. In secondary educatio
for instance, the inadequate investment in school buildings has had a

1. cf., among others, Pierre Daumard: Le Prix de l'Enseignement en

2. Raymond Poignant: "Victor Le Gorgeu", in l'Education nationale,
(Paris), No. 24, 19 September 1963, p. 16.

nationale", in Jean-Louis Crémieux-Brilhac (ed.): L'Education nationale,
(Paris, 1965), p. 494 (Table IV).


6. cf., for example, Commissariat général du Plan d'Equipement et de la
Productivité: "Le Vème Plan", in la Documentation française illustrée,
(Paris), No. 221, November 1966, p. 60.

detrimental effect, which has proved to be cumulative. First, we have seen that it seriously impaired the implementation of the Statutory school-leaving age, after it had been raised to sixteen years¹ (vid supra, chapter 7). Secondly, in the words of a French observer:

"Il faut noter que dans les faits la prolongation de la scolarité jusqu'à seize ans a eu pour conséquence de maintenir un grand nombre d'élèves (quatre cent quatre-vingt-dix mille -2-) dans les classes de préparation au C.A.P. en trois ans, contrecarrant ainsi l'application de la réforme de l'enseignement technique court (sc. Reform of 4 April 1963. A.S.L.)."

Such facts indicate that the Ministry of National Education does not control events; clearly, it adapts to the demands emanating from external forces. The comments made on the British senior civil servants of the D.E.S. also fit the French Ministry that could be accused "of perfunctory consultation; of inertia rather than innovation; of monotechnic conservatism rather than interprofessional experimentation; of constraint rather than construction; of failing to state unmistakably in an age of permissiveness what it feels to be the major priorities in the personal development". ⁴ Professeur

². Brackets in original.
Sauvy has pointed out that:

"Non seulement un ministre n'est jamais omniscient, mais il n'est pas davantage l'omnipotent que le public voit ou voudrait voir en lui." 1

Similarly, in Great Britain, the "disclosure from two of the ablest education ministers of the past decade only serves to strengthen the main impression of the book (sc. Professor Kogan's A.S.L.) 2 -- that education ministers have less power than appears at first glance". 3

However, it would be too rash to conclude that the paucity of educational reforms is solely accounted for by the political instability which characterized the Fourth Republic. The effect of the economic factors of the time must not be underestimated. Basically, educational reforms have been vitiated by the financial limitations imposed through the successive economic plans, which have constantly channelled the bulk of the financial resources into the sort of industrial investment that gives a more tangible return. 4 (Ministers form almost half the members of the twenty five-strong council for the Economic Plan, significantly the Minister of National Education has been left out!) 5


Some politicians have realized that investments can easily reflect an "orientation malsaine des capitaux", or an "unhealthy channelling of investments". When discussing "social balance", Professor Galbraith has pointed out that:

"It is the state which, through primary and secondary schools, and through the colleges and universities, makes the largest investment in individuals (...). The high returns to scientific and technical training, which are common probabilities, do not cause the funds to move from material capital to such investment." 2

Indeed, technical education was allowed to suffer. In 1959, Jean Berthoin, then Minister of National Education, acknowledged the problem caused by the shortage of places in technical education. In the Preamble to Decree No. 59-57, it is stated that:

"L'enseignement technique (...) compte aujourd'hui 330.000 élèves et en refuse durement près de 60.000 chaque année." 3

Yet in 1965, in the words of a former Minister, it could still be said that:

"Des milliers d'enfants n'ont pu en septembre dernier, être reçus, faute de place, dans un établissement technique." 4

The fact is that, for several years, i.e. from 1957 onwards the financial expenditures did no more than place the enlarged age cohorts in the existing traditional institutions.

To conclude, the educational investment barely met the expansion imposed by the demographic spurt. Without an adequate financial support, educational reforms had to be delayed and, using a cliche, "history was allowed to repeat itself" for, in the post-World War I years, "les Compagnons" deplored that education was suffering:

"de la négligence et de l'incompétence des politiciens, de l'inertie et de la faiblesse des pouvoirs administratifs, de l'indifférence de la bourgeoisie à l'égard de la science française."  

Neither level of the three-tier hierarchy was sympathetic to the educational system.

This was certainly not the case under the Fifth Republic, when General de Gaulle returned to power in 1958. Richard Tawney once declared that:

"Amid prophecies of moral degeneration and economic disaster, society begins to make collective provision for needs which no ordinary individual (...) can provide himself."  

Richard Tawney's remark befits the French political régime of the time.

We have seen (vid supra, chapter 7) that, as the Constitution of 1958 grants full governmental powers to Président de Gaulle and his Ministers (Article 38), they promulgated in January 1959 decree No. 59-57 reforming the educational system, as well as Order in Council No. 59-45.

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and the subsequent ones are an indication that, to a certain extent, the
Minister of National Education acts under the impulse of the President.¹

In any event the President is consulted on all matters for, in France,
the Head of State believes in "l'exercice solitaire du pouvoir";² or
"the individual power control". There is evidence that, on an educational
policy, the views of the President, the ideals of the Prime Minister, and
the measures deemed desirable by the Minister of National Education diverged
so much that the leaders' interrelationship has considerably slowed down,
even impaired, the reforms. For example, Gaston Defferre wrote of the
"conflicts which opposed (and are still opposing)³ the Minister of National
Education and the Prime Minister, under the arbitration of the President",
or the "conflits qui opposaient (et opposent encore) le ministre de
l'Education nationale au Premier ministre, sous l'arbitrage de l'Elysée".⁴
That is not all for, if the President can act as an umpire, in case of con­
­flict over the budget between the Minister of Finance and the Minister of
National Education, the Prime Minister has to make the final decision.⁵
Premier Ministre Pompidou used to insist upon vetting everything "avant
publication",⁶ or "prior to printing", when Alain Peyrefitte was in office

¹ cf., for example, André Chandernagor: Un Parlement pour quoi faire?
² Georges Leroy, on Europe-1, 7.10 a.m. - Commentaire, 6 July 1972.
³ Brackets in original.
⁵ Dominique Roux, on R.T.L., 7.45 a.m. - Broadcast, 15 July 1972.
at the Ministry. Not surprisingly, a member of Parliament has surmised that "dice are cast beforehand"\(^1\) and that "le Parlement n'est consulté qu'après coup",\(^2\) or "Parliament is consulted afterwards". The fact that Georges Pompidou was out of office when Latin met its fate,\(^3\) may explain the President's ambiguous statement made on 5 April 1970 in Albi. The Latinists' hopes having once more reached a climax, a Press conference had to be held on 7 April 1970 by André Giraud, Ministre Guichard's Director of Cabinet. Such is the importance of the highest civil servant that he spoke in an official capacity.

The Minister's Cabinet, the "état-major technocratique", constitutes "a kind of social milieu hardly definable".\(^5\) It is partly made up of high civil servants, partly of the Minister's own political colleagues, including members of Parliament, personal friends, and pressmen\(^6\) (when Christian Fouchet was Minister, there was not a single teacher in his Cabinet,\(^7\) but it has been said that "great" ministers, Jules Ferry and Jean Zay among others, chose members of the teaching profession as colleagues).\(^8\) The Minister takes great care in selecting his auxiliaries

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whose course of action will make or mar the Minister's career, considering that "un homme politique est responsable de son entourage". In the future, "ces princes qui nous gouvernent" will increasingly belong to a modern caste, the "Conseillers techniques", or technocrats, "ces petits maitres", "the little masters" moulded by the "E.N.A.", or "Ecole nationale d'Administration", Michel Debre's post-World War II foundation for, as a politician has remarked:

"Ils sont actuellement indispensables "They have become necessary for the à son (sc. la société industrielle. (industrial society) to operate." 5 A.S.L.) fonctionnement." 5

Besides its political function, the Cabinet's role consists in communicating with external agencies, including the Press. Politicians and specialists help one another in the day-to-day encounters. It is these detached specialists that the Minister trusts and he often turns first to them so that, after having established some preliminary contacts with the parties involved, they submit to the Minister their informed account.

The Parliamentary members also act as informants to the Minister, but on a higher level. Their rôle is twofold. First, they relate to the Minister the Assembly's daily debates; as well as the casual encounters

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1. Philippe Alexandre, on R.T.L., 7.15 a.m. - Chronique, 14 September 1972.
taking place behind the scene, for the decision makers know that these can be of greater importance than the more formal proceedings or, as a French minister's wife has put it, "les coulisses politiques sont plus importantes que la scène principale"\(^1\) (e.g. Georges Marchais's press conference held on 4 April 1972 in the lobby of the Palais-Bourbon).\(^2\) Secondly, the Parliamentary members are supposed to know the Minister's very thoughts, so that they are in a position to explain them even to awkward listeners.\(^3\) Ultimately, a statute depends upon their skill which may, or may not, wrench a majority vote from Parliament.\(^4\) It may be added that, although in 1871 the National Assembly established the procedure whereby the Parliament would constitute the legislative body whose majority votes pass or reject the debated bills,\(^5\) it is now common practice to vote by proxy\(^6\) in accordance with the regulations (Articles 63, 64).

The passing of the Law of Orientation for Higher Education by both Assemblies affords a concrete example. Debated between the 3rd and the 25th October, 1968, the Bill became law on 12 November,\(^7\) the Communists

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alone having abstained from voting in both Assemblies, as well as six "U.D.R." deputies (vid supra, chapter 16). But, if an all-embracing reform is referred to Parliament, smaller measures are acted upon without their being consulted. For example, Latin is a highly controversial issue of French education we have looked at (vid supra, chapters 8, 13). In chapter 8, Academicien Armand's quote showed that Latin had lost ground with regard to the social prestige which was at one time attached to it. Ministre Faure seized the opportunity afforded by the 1968 social and political unrest to postpone the teaching of Latin by one year. This decision was taken in full sympathy with the pedagogic experts, the teachers' unions, and even the parents' associations. A notable exception, the "Association pour la defense du latin" insisted that the matter should be referred to the unbiased decision of the National Assembly.

A year later, the Minister of National Education postponed the teaching of Latin by a further year. As Latin was consecutively dealt with in autumn 1968 and in autumn 1969, it provides evidence that, in France, educational reforms are made in successive, easy steps by the Bureaucratic machinery. With regard to the bureaucratic educational system, Professeur Crozier has explained:


"De fait, le système d'éducation français peut être facilement qualifié de bureaucratique. Il l'est tout d'abord dans son aspect proprement organisationnel où la centralisation et l'impersonnalité sont poussées au maximum. Il l'est, en second lieu, dans sa pédagogie et dans l'acte même d'enseignement caractérisés par l'existence d'un fossé entre le maître et l'élève qui reproduit la séparation en strates du système bureaucratique. Il l'est encore dans son contenu trop abstrait, sans contact avec les problèmes de la vie pratique et de la vie personnelle de l'élève. Il l'est enfin dans l'importance qu'il donne au problème de la sélection d'une petite élite et de son assimilation aux couches sociales supérieures, au détriment de la formation même de l'ensemble des étudiants." 1

The lengthy thesis has shown that owing to the unavoidable difficulties such as financial limitations, the relative slowness of an extensive building programme and, not least, the training of teachers, even when a far-reaching reform is deemed desirable, the Minister of National Education can conveniently proceed by successive steps (e.g. the 1959 Decree, the 1960 Decree, the 1963 Decree, and the 1964 Departmental Order) in accordance with the Constitution of the Fifth Republic (Articles 24, 37, and 38). 2

This type of procedure affords the added advantage of allowing pressure groups not only to put their claim forward but also, to substantiate such claim in the light of the new structure's results. Among others, one can


quote such examples as Jean Guilhem's enquiry (1961), the criticism of the "U.N.E.F." about the multiplicity of institutions (1961). Both instances, which led to the statutory reforms of 1963 and 1964 (vid supra, this chapter), illustrate how, through his "participation", the French citizen, the member of the "société de masse", contributes to influence his way of life in general, and the educational system in particular.¹

Besides, in the Foreword (vid supra), reference has been made to the influence of individual educationists. If many ministers are merely remembered for having signed a document sometimes approximating a reform (whose trend has occasionally been reversed in the following years, i.e. Ministre Leygues, 1923; Ministre Fouchet, 1965), the high civil servants have not unfrequently left their imprint. Over the last decade, there have been M. Laurent, who is still remembered for his shrewd management of the Ministry in the period preceding the 1968 student unrest;² Michel Alliot, Director of Ministre Faure's Cabinet in 1968-1969,³ recently nominated President of an "U.E.R." (Paris VII) and, last but not least, André Giraud,⁴ whose reform of the Ministry's structure resulted in distributing more specific areas of work to an increased number of Directorates.⁵ Furthermore it must not be forgotten that other educationists have also promoted education through lifelong dedication. For example, paying tribute to Freinet,

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². On Europe-1, 12.30 p.m. - News-Broadcast, 14 May 1972.


⁵. The detailed list of "directeurs" has been published in Le Monde, (Paris) No. 7827, 13 March 1970, p. 8.
Jean-William Lapierre wrote that:

"Rares sont les pédagogues qui, comme Freinet, (...) un herétique pour les bureaucrates de la rue de Grenelle, (...) ne cessa jamais d'être, au sens le plus exact du terme, un ministre de l'éducation nationale."

"Few are the educationists who, like Freinet, (...) a dissenter for the 'rue de Grenelle' bureaucrats, (...) never stopped being, in the true meaning of the word, a minister of national education."

As we have seen, reforms can be effected without any statute (vid supra, this chapter) but, furthermore, reforms can in fact be implemented without the decision having been first even formalized. This has happened when a powerful group, the "Société des agrégés", succeeded for some time in imposing its minority view upon successive Ministers of National Education. The Ministers' repeated failures to discontinue openly the "Agrégation" have been mentioned above (vid supra, chapter 18). They confirm the truism that ideas always survive by considerable margin the events that make them obsolete. The out of date establishment is still held up for a time by the vested interest of minds that do not wish to do change.

However, it appears that the Ministry has not bowed down, as it is noticeable that, for some considerable time, the competitive examination leading to the "Agrégation" has been used as a filter. From the late nineteen sixties onwards, comparatively fewer candidates succeed in obtaining their "Agrégation". For example, the government service offered only 1,450 posts in the 1968 competitive examinations (1,350 in 1967), as opposed

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1. cf., for example, Elise Freinet (ed.): Naissance d'une pédagogie populaire, pédagogie Freinet, (Paris, 1968).
2. Emphasis in original.
to 1800 in 1963, in spite of the fact that, by 1964, as many as 30 per cent. of the posts to which, by statute, "agrégés" should have been appointed, had been filled with less well-qualified teachers; the 1964 figure was 50 per cent. higher than in 1957. Recently, the documents emanating from the Ministry showed that the rate of passes for the "Agrégation" examinations was 11.5 per cent. in 1971.

The result is that this traditionally powerful pressure-group, whose political action has not unfrequently imposed the "status quo" in the past, is being constantly weakened as vacancies are being currently filled with teachers who have not been awarded the "Agrégation", a situation which the "agréges" are bound to resent deeply for in France "respect and esteem depend more on diploma and degree than on the work done". As John Ardagh has observed, "everyone must abide by his 'titre', no one must poach in another's preserve".

Nor is this example an isolated one. Another case in point occurred at the beginning of 1970 when Ministre Guichard and his adviser, Recteur Gauthier decided to confirm that the Second Modern Language would become optional and would be postponed until the "Classe de 4ème", or Third Form.

8. André Parineau, on 4.0 p.m. - Hebdo-R.T.L.-Week-end, 7 February 1970.
Summing up, in an industrial society whose government service is the acting agent of a bureaucratic State, the ministers sign documents the high civil servants have prepared on the basis of the technocrats' ideas, suggestions, and estimates ("le technocrate propose, le politique décide") notwithstanding a considerable pressure, as Professeur Crozier has rightly pointed out, exerted by a growing proportion of people, whose relatively extended education not only enables them to put the problems into perspective better than their forefathers used to do, but also to find new ways and means which make their will perceived by the decision makers. The vocal people are therefore the active members of the modern societies which:

"réclament toujours davantage des hommes mieux instruits, plus ouverts à autrui et plus désireux de participer à l'oeuvre commune." 

Not surprisingly then, the hierarchical tones of voice do persist, they tend to be high-pitched and urgent.

Let us simply conclude that the era of the autocrats has come to an end. This evolution has conferred a new character to the function of the Members of Parliament, which consists in making sure that the bills drafted

2. Ibid., p. 68.
4. Ibid., p. 40.
by the specialists\(^1\) and the technocrats,\(^2\) do not unduly ignore those human interests that the electronic computers cannot take into account.\(^3\)


Table XLV showing the status of the personnel of the Ministry of National Education, in 1968.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary teachers</strong></td>
<td>230,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.S.N. specialists</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary teachers</strong></td>
<td>145,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technological teachers</td>
<td>28,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University staff</td>
<td>29,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teaching staff</strong></td>
<td>444,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government service personnel</td>
<td>86,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspectors</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Controllers&quot;</td>
<td>36,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student-teachers (as their training is salaried)</td>
<td>34,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (technological advisers, librarians, etc.)</td>
<td>21,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-teaching staff</strong></td>
<td>179,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>623,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 22. Educational Investments and the Allocation of Finance.

"Un fonctionnaire sur deux pourvoit à l'éducation d'un Français sur quatre. -1- Mon département ne peut plus gérer sept cent mille personnes (cf. Table XLV.A.S.L.) comme il en gérait naguère cent mille, ni dépenser vingt milliards comme il dépensait vingt millions il y a vingt ans." 2


Owing to the population spurt, it is to be expected that one of the characteristics of French National Education would be in the form of sizable investments so that it could cope adequately with the swelling numbers of pupils and students. French scholars have surmised that, when a particular sector of education suffers from a shortage of buildings and/or teachers, the demand is likely to be lower than desirable had the facilities been in existence. 3 Technical education and teachers training may be taken as obvious examples (vid supra, chapter 21). It means that the rôle of the administrators of National Education consists in foreseeing the needs, both with regard to their optimum level and the changing trends, because there is no satisfactory way of dealing with a shortage of school building. 4 A politician has revealed that, when schools have to be built in an emergency, their cost goes up by 40 per cent. 5 Inadequate planning results in considerable wastage of taxpayers' money.

---

2. Or: "One civil servant in two provides education to one Frenchman in four. My department can no longer administer seven hundred thousand people (cf. Table XLV.A.S.L.) as it administered one hundred thousand formerly, nor spend twenty thousand millions as it spent twenty millions twenty years ago" (reported by Pierre Daumard, op. cit., p. 21).
We shall see that the Ministry consistently remained understaffed (vid inf., this chapter). For some considerable time the high civil servant were too few in number and so much depended on their ability to hold administrative efficiency, financial feasibility, and educational necessity in balance. But, in France, the Ministry's high civil servants have been considerably helped by the machinery which had been set up and developed for the successive five-year plans.\(^1\) We have already seen the decisive role which has been played in 1958 by the "ad hoc" commission known as the "Le Gorgeu Committee", or "Commission de l'Equipement scolaire, universitaire et sportif" (vid supra, chapter 14).

When, in the middle nineteen sixties, the Commission sat with a view to determine the needs for the Fifth Plan (1966-1970), it assessed the achievements of the Fourth Plan (1962-1965). Only when the spendings of the different levels of education are scrutinized, do they reveal disquieting facts.\(^2\) For example, not more than 58 per cent. of the minimum estimated as 60 million fr had been actually spent for the training of the primary-school teachers and, similarly, only 36 per cent. of the minimum estimated as 140 million fr had in fact been spent for the education of the E.S.N. children.\(^3\) As, in 1970, the State offered a mere 45,000 places to the 100,000 E.S.N. children in need of special education,\(^4\) the direct result has been that the responsibility for that type of specialized

---

Table XLVI showing the investments required as estimated by the "ad hoc" commission, the amounts revised by the Government, and the reductions for the Fifth Plan (1966-1970).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Commission's requirements</th>
<th>Government's promise</th>
<th>reduction in per cent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in million fr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-primary</td>
<td>1,454</td>
<td>1,160</td>
<td>-20 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>2,761</td>
<td>2,350</td>
<td>-15 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First &quot;cycle&quot;</td>
<td>8,239</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>-9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Short&quot; studies</td>
<td>1,898</td>
<td>1,710</td>
<td>-10 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Long&quot; studies</td>
<td>2,192</td>
<td>1,250</td>
<td>-42 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.S.N. children</td>
<td>1,250</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>-28 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>6,305</td>
<td>4,820</td>
<td>-23 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding and &quot;charities&quot;</td>
<td>2,094</td>
<td>1,310</td>
<td>-37 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary equipment</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>-22 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas &quot;départements&quot;</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>-8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equipment for social activities and sports</td>
<td>4,340</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>-19 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31,714</td>
<td>25,500 (average: 20 %)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

education was therefore shifted on to the denominational schools! (vid supra, chapter 8).

It is however important to look at the outcome of the consultations between the Commission and the Government. For example, the minimum requirements arrived at by the Commission were seriously cut down by the Government (cf. Table XLVI). First Table XLVI shows a reduction of 42 per cent. in the investments for the education of an "academic" type (although, in the post-World War II period, the number of "Lycées" has grown from 560 to 1102). Secondly, the equipment for the education of the E.SN. children was reduced by 28 per cent. (it had been cut by 64 per cent. over the previous five years. vid supra, this chapter) and the provision for boarders was reduced by 37 per cent. although we know that an enquiry had brought out the fact that their superior boarding facilities played no small part in the prosperity of the denominational schools (vid supra, chapter 8).

Some light on the procedure with which the final figures were arrived at, is thrown by the Report itself. It is stated that:

"La commission, après avoir procédé à une série d'évaluations partielles en vue d'aboutir à un montant global, a dû faire l'inverse, c'est-à-dire recomposer à partir d'un montant global la ventilation des évaluations partielles." 5

"After having proceeded with a series of itemized estimates with a view to arriving at a total amount, the Commission had to proceed in reverse, that is to say redefine the series of itemized estimates based on a total amount." 5


4. Enquiry of the "S.N.E.S.", op. cit.

The breakdown of the figures revealed that the reductions were as high as 24 per cent. and 21 per cent.\textsuperscript{1} respectively in higher education (faculties and "Ecoles nationales supérieures d'ingénieurs") and the "I.U.T.s" (vid supra, chapter 14). The consequence was that the development of the "I.U.T.s", instituted by the Decree of 7 January 1966,\textsuperscript{2} was stultified from the onset, in spite of the common knowledge of the "particularly striking deficiency in the small number of technicians that have been trained"\textsuperscript{3} in France. The result was that the total studentship of the "I.U.T.s" only reached 38,000 in 1971 (the planners had recommended the provision of 166,000 places by 1972)\textsuperscript{4} while the faculties increased their student population by 162,000 between 1967 and 1971 (cf. Table XXXII).

Such has been the effect of the interaction of the officially appointed Commission and the Government. It remains to see how effective the high civil servants of the government service are, in administering France's largest employing agency\textsuperscript{5} for the Ministry of National Education which controls half the total force of France's civil servants\textsuperscript{6} is a microcosm of

\textsuperscript{1} Statistics from the Commission, op. cit.

\textsuperscript{2} Anonymous: "Instituts universitaires de technologie", in l'Éducation nationale, (Paris), No. 796, 15 September 1966, p. 8.


\textsuperscript{4} Commissariat général du Plan d'Equipement et de la Productivité: "Le Vème Plan", in la Documentation française illustrée, (Paris), No. 221, November 1966, p. 60.


Table XLVII showing the allocation of finance for investment to the different levels of education in selected years (1955-1969).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Primary ed.</th>
<th>Secondary education</th>
<th>Higher ed.</th>
<th>University &quot;charities&quot;</th>
<th>C.N.R.S. research</th>
<th>Library</th>
<th>Ad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>42.4 %</td>
<td>37.4 %</td>
<td>13.4 %</td>
<td>2.3 %</td>
<td>2.7 %</td>
<td>0.6 %</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>49.4 %</td>
<td>38.2 %</td>
<td>7.3 %</td>
<td>2.0 %</td>
<td>1.5 %</td>
<td>0.2 %</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>47.4 %</td>
<td>39.3 %</td>
<td>6.3 %</td>
<td>2.0 %</td>
<td>2.8 %</td>
<td>0.5 %</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>43.1 %</td>
<td>37.7 %</td>
<td>12.9 %</td>
<td>1.6 %</td>
<td>2.8 %</td>
<td>0.3 %</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>37.1 %</td>
<td>41.8 %</td>
<td>12.8 %</td>
<td>2.4 %</td>
<td>4.0 %</td>
<td>0.5 %</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>30.9 %</td>
<td>43.6 %</td>
<td>15.4 %</td>
<td>3.4 %</td>
<td>5.7 %</td>
<td>0.3 %</td>
<td>0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>31.0 %</td>
<td>45.9 %</td>
<td>15.9 %</td>
<td>2.1 %</td>
<td>4.4 %</td>
<td>0.2 %</td>
<td>0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>24.3 %</td>
<td>50.8 %</td>
<td>16.0 %</td>
<td>2.4 %</td>
<td>5.4 %</td>
<td>0.1 %</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>17.4 %</td>
<td>47.7 %</td>
<td>26.5 %</td>
<td>4.5 %</td>
<td>2.3 %</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>19.5 %</td>
<td>50.6 %</td>
<td>23.9 %</td>
<td>3.3 %</td>
<td>1.6 %</td>
<td>0.1 %</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>18.7 %</td>
<td>48.7 %</td>
<td>24.2 %</td>
<td>4.9 %</td>
<td>2.8 %</td>
<td>0.1 %</td>
<td>0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>14.2 %</td>
<td>54.1 %</td>
<td>20.7 %</td>
<td>6.8 %</td>
<td>3.3 %</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>12.8 %</td>
<td>52.1 %</td>
<td>24.6 %</td>
<td>5.9 %</td>
<td>3.6 %</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>11.3 %</td>
<td>55.3 %</td>
<td>24.5 %</td>
<td>3.2 %</td>
<td>4.2 %</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>12.0 %</td>
<td>51.8 %</td>
<td>28.0 %</td>
<td>2.2 %</td>
<td>4.7 %</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the "République des fonctionnaires", or "Civil Servant's Republic".

A comparison of the yearly investment with the "running" cost over the 1959-1969 period indicates not only fluctuations but even a tendency towards a reduction of the investments, in spite of the pressing need with regard to secondary education (the number of "C.E.S.s" in existence at the end of 1971 fell short by 1,000 on the ultimate target deemed desirable), as well as higher education (vid supra, chapters 16 ff.).

In the light of his study of the long-terms variations of investment within the different educational sectors, Pierre Daumard remarked that, whilst the various levels have attracted a larger share of investments, the disturbing fact was that the administrators of National Education have only acted under the pressure of the population bulge, although the needs for the latter were foreseeable (cf. Table XLVII). Such a course of action is not in keeping with a planning policy which, in France, is the acknowledged ideal (vid supra, chapter 10).

We can therefore surmise that the administrators of National Education have not shown competence to cope with the administrative implications imposed by the decision makers and highlighted by the planners. For example, the Statutory school-leaving age was raised from fourteen to sixteen years in 1967, a decision dating back to 1959 (Order in Council of

1. Ibid., pp. 139-54 (John Ross's translation, pp. 198-215).
Table XLVIII showing the percentages of spending expressed as a proportion of the yearly budget and as a proportion of the resources available (yearly budget plus the amounts left over from former years, last column), 1955-1965.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage of spending expressed as a proportion of the yearly budget</th>
<th>Percentage of spending expressed as a proportion of the resources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>77 %</td>
<td>63 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>65 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>111 %</td>
<td>81 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>100 %</td>
<td>84 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>93 %</td>
<td>80 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>76 %</td>
<td>63 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>94 %</td>
<td>63 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>124 %</td>
<td>80 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>121 %</td>
<td>88 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>98 %</td>
<td>86 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>113 %</td>
<td>95 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have seen that the inadequate provision in school building delayed the widespread raising of the Statutory school-leaving age² (vid supra, chapter 7). Yet, the administrators of National Education made use of less than two thirds of their financial resources not only in 1955 and 1956, but also in 1960 and 1961 (cf. Table XLVIII). This led Pierre Daumard to surmise that:

"Il y a par conséquent, une sorte de carence administrative extrêmement grave, -as if the government service of National Education was suffering from a kind of 'stiffness' that prevents its adaptibility to the deep changes which are occurring." ⁴

Among typical instances of the inadequacy of the government service, a French scholar mentioned that the application form for the budget of the Paris Faculty of Science had been lost three times within a year by the government service.⁵ Another example, the government service overlooked to apply in time for the renewal of the planning permission which had been previously granted for the "Halle-aux-Vins" building site of the Science Faculty in Paris. The Dean of the Science Faculty lamented that he had been urgently asked in 1962 for his plans but six years later the Ministry's proceedings had not got beyond the stage of acquiring the building plot.⁶


3. Our emphasis.


Nor was the Science Faculty the only one to suffer from such mishaps. In 1968, it was deplored that the 30,000 undergraduates of the Faculty of Law and Economics in Paris were still waiting for the "Rue d'Assas" Centre's lecture-theatre and parking which had been duly planned for several years.  

Again, the one million-dollar foundation offered by Ford to establish a museum of Human Sciences was pending for ten years, until the government service found a building site in Paris. Similarly, for more than ten years a building plot had been earmarked for the building of the first secondary school in the twentieth "arrondissement" of Paris. In 1970 local residents were told that the financial requirements would be duly allocated in the Sixth Plan (1971-1975).

The government service administering National Education has undoubtedly remained understaffed for too long. In 1967, Alain Peyrefitte, the then Minister of National Education, acknowledged that:

"Mon département ne peut plus gérer sept cent mille personnes comme il en gérait naguère cent mille, ni dépenser vingt milliards comme il dépensait vingt millions il y a vingt ans."  

And an observer recalled that:


"Un précédent ministre de l'éducation nationale, pour souligner l'ampleur de sa tâche aimait à dire: 'Je suis le patron de la première entreprise du monde par le nombre de son personnel.' Avec ses huit cent mille professeurs, administrateurs, techniciens, etc., l'éducation emploie, en effet, plus de personnes que la grande entreprise américaine, la General Motors (sept cent cinquante mille personnes aux États-Unis, en Europe et ailleurs.)"

1

It stands out that the government service has not kept pace with the colossal enterprise National Education now is. For example, Table XLVII shows that, when its running costs are expressed as a percentage, they were lower in the 1959-1969 decade than in the years 1957-1958, in defiance to Parkinson's Law.  

2 Alfred Grosser has explained that:

"Le ministère était mal géré, en grande partie parce que l'Education nationale, devenue en quelques années le premier employeur et le premier constructeur de France, était tragiquement sous-administré. Les fonctionnaires étaient trop peu nombreux, mal répartis, mal préparés à leurs tâches nouvelles et ne disposaient pas des instruments modernes de gestion." 5

5

The Ministry has since then been reorganized and its yearly output has been greatly improved (vid supra, chapter 13 and, especially, Table XVI).

1. Brackets in original.


"Les incohérences", to use Pierre Avril's term, are that the same Ministry has even occasionally achieved a real feat.¹ For example, the Vincennes Faculty was built in three months.²

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2. Pierre Daumard, op. cit., p. 60 (Footnote).

"Plus les sociétés sont primitives, plus elles sont ressemblantes."
- Emile Durkheim, 1893. 1

To Earl Hopper, a thesis on an educational system must be a sociological appraisal which goes beyond mere description.2 The present thesis complies with that requirement if only by showing the intricate interplay between politics and education.

However, some contemporary leading sociologists hold the view that a thesis should be an attempt to prove or disprove a theory. Selected aspects of the French educational system are therefore discussed with that particular aim in mind.

Feldman and Moore have asked "Are industrial societies becoming more alike?"3 In a similar vein we may wonder whether educational systems are becoming more alike. Summing up the theory of the sociologists in sympathy with the "Convergence thesis",4 it has been expounded that "in regard to differentiation, the major proposition that is put forward is that, in course of industrial advance, there is a decrease in the degree of differentiation."5

1. Or: "The more primitive societies are, the more alike they are" (Emile Durkheim: De la Division du travail social, Paris, 1893, p. 142).


Although "nothing is ever quite the same in France as in England"\(^1\) and that "in practically all respects, the French educational system is at variance with ours"\(^2\), in many ways, it can easily be shown that the French educational system is converging towards the path followed by, say, the British educational system. Generally speaking, in both countries, the children are educated in some sort of primary (or elementary) school and, on completion of this period, the trend is that eleven-year-olds transfer to a comprehensive school, known as "C.E.S." in France, in which a general education is dispensed usually for four years. Then, without either an external examination or an internal one, children transfer to an academic or technical establishment, in France usually a "Lycee", in Britain possibly an "Upper High School" as in Leicestershire, sometimes in a "Sixth Form College" which is the case in North Devon, Hampshire, Luton, Preston, Southampton, Stoke-on-Trent, Scunthorpe\(^3\), etc.

However, once higher education comes under examination, it is much more difficult to prove that the evolution is moving towards decreasing differentiation. This is less surprising than appears at first glance. For example, when studying the Russian and American industrial economies from the convergence standpoint, Professeur Crozier explained that:

"Le rêve de la convergence s'est effondré en même temps qu'un certain idéal de progrès facile et indéfini."\(^4\) of easy and unending progress.

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2. Ibid.
In sum, Michel Crozier surmised:

"Si seulement, réfléchissait-on, on parvenait à déplacer le champ de la discussion, Russes et Américains découvriraient qu'ils ont au fond les mêmes problèmes (...). Reconnaitre ces problèmes et ces contraintes, pensait-on en même temps, devrait conduire non seulement la Russie et l'Amérique, mais aussi toutes les sociétés modernes à hâter l'évolution naturelle qui doit les amener à la convergence."

"L'ouverture bénéfice aux plus souples. La théorie de la convergence qui prétendait mettre les deux systèmes sur le même pied a abouti en fait à accentuer le retard soviétique."

Professeur Crozier concluded that:

"L'expansion économique continue et l'application de plus en plus rapide des découvertes scientifiques aux progrès technologiques qu'elle favorise ne fait que multiplier les disparités et les divergences entre nations."

"Economic expansion is still progressing and the increasingly fast application of scientific discoveries to technological progress it enhances only results in the growing disparities and differentiation between nations."

If such is the trend of the world leading economies, are the implications for the educational systems very different? For the country under examination, there is evidence that, at the present time, the stumbling-block is that "teachers in France are notoriously stubborn" (teachers' unions even refused to give evidence to the Government-appointed...

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2. Ibid., p. 187.
3. Ibid., p. 189.
commission headed by Louis Joxe!\textsuperscript{1} and reluctant to change at all levels.\textsuperscript{2} These characteristics led an English observer to surmise that "the reform of pedagogic methods can come only with a change of generation",\textsuperscript{3} a point that is driven home by John Ardagh's photograph of a Junior Form, in which the children have, under dictation, written on their slate the words "J'obéis", or "I obey", and every pupil is upholding the slate to enable the teacher seeing it.\textsuperscript{4} In the course of fieldwork undertaken in May 1966, the present author has witnessed this method at the "Ecole primaire Painlevé", Douai (Nord), a school specially selected by the local "Ecole normale d'instituteurs" for the training of its would-be teachers. Such facts show how traditional French primary schools have remained in comparison with "the modern British primary school", whose "vertical grouping and integrated day are fancy words for a rave-up", where the children are "noisy and active, discovering and creating, all so concerned with what one of them called 'making life'."\textsuperscript{5}

With regard to the secondary level, both countries are moving towards comprehensive education (although by 1972, in Britain "the expected move to total reorganization has in fact occurred in only very few authorities").\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{1} Commission Louis Joxe: Rapport, 1972 (cf. also Patrick Brogan: "Report Calls for a Full-Scale Redefinition of the Role of Teachers", in The Times Educational Supplement, London, No. 2982, 14 July 1972, p. 12.)

\textsuperscript{2} cf., among others, Bruno Frappat: "Adult Education Has Not Found Its Place", in The Times Higher Education Supplement, (London), No. 9, 10 December 1971, p. 10; Rose Vincent: "Radiographie d'un lycée", in Elle, (Paris), No. 1340, 23 August 1971, p. 58.

\textsuperscript{3} John Ardagh, op. cit., p. 315.

\textsuperscript{4} Ibid., photograph facing p. 307.

\textsuperscript{5} Joan Goldman: "They Call Us Liberty Hall (...)", in the Teacher, (London), Vol. 18, No. 21, 19 November 1971, p. 10.

In France, it means that the teachers in the 2,122 "C.E.S.s" (cf. Table XVI) follow the instructions issued by the Ministry. The Minister's department has a reputation for sending out Circular-Letters "pour faire comprendre ce qu'ils ont voulu dire" in their decrees for, as a British observer has remarked:

"When the French claim to be logical, they really mean that they like everything to be written down in long and elaborate texts."  

On the contrary, in Britain, the internal organization of a comprehensive school depends so much on the head teacher. The choice for or against streaming, the emphasis on Science or Languages, etc., will be dictated by his own views of education for, as Dennis Marsden, Sociology Lecturer in the University of Essex, has shown in a Fabian pamphlet, the organization and attitudes found in education are a consequence of teachers' values.

In the final years of secondary education, the Fouchet Reform (1965) led to a "rapprochement" with the relatively early specialization taking place in British schools. This reform was ambiguous because, although basically liberal, it was commonly felt that it imposed too soon a specialization in the Science and Mathematics options. But, in the post-1968 period, the Guichard Reform (1971), which is introducing in 1973 a common syllabus for the basic subjects up to the final year of secondary education.

1. Pierre Meutey, on Europe-1, 7.50 a.m. - Broadcast, 8 December 1971.
education\(^1\) (vid supra, chapter 19), leads to further differentiation between the French and British educational systems. Unlike Britain which changed from a group examination to a single subject-based one in the late nineteen forties (on the recommendations of the Secondary School Examinations Council),\(^2\) France is still holding on to the Baccalaureate, its secondary education final examination, as do most other countries. In spite of their traditional paper qualification, French schools retain 30 per cent. of eighteen year-olds,\(^3\) a percentage which represents three times the "holding power" of English schools\(^4\) ("less than five out of every ten of our thirteen-year-olds at grammar schools today will still be there at 17. In France the figure is nine out of ten").\(^5\)

With regard to university, a similarity between France and Great Britain is even more difficult to establish, as already noted (vid supra, this discussion), save for their student population which remained small throughout the inter-war period\(^6\) (cf. Table XXXII). In Great Britain, the single subject-based examination which influences secondary-school work,

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1. Anonymous: "Le Système d'enseignement", in le Monde, (Paris), No.8289, 8 September 1971, p. 11.


virtually controls "entry to higher education". The result, which has been decried by Wilfred Halls, is a pathetically small university population. In 1967, it only represented 6.1 per cent. of the student age group. In comparative terms, by 1972, the situation had worsened as it was reported that "almost half the 125,000 sixth formers who have been trying to get into universities (...) will be disappointed. They won't find a place". This "status quo" in British university education has been partly explained by a certain "embourgeoisement" of the academics (vid supra, chapter 18). In France, no selection takes place for "people holding (the Baccalaureate) have the automatic right to go to a university." The result is that the French "open door" policy to university entrance fosters "le système le plus égalitaire", or "the most egalitarian system"

2. Wilfred D. Halls, op. cit., p. 19 (Tables 1, 2).
French university education has been witnessing a major revolution. The number of students, which rapidly increased from 132,000 in 1955 to 508,000 in 1968, has promoted an enlarged elite (cf. Table XXXII).

The reasons for the expansion are multifarious: social, political, but the prestige linked with "Paris (which) has been central to the artistic and cultural life of Europe since the Middle Ages (...) represents an atmosphere, a way of life",¹ in short, Paris "the café-concert of Europe, the city of gaiety and vice from which France was to derive such a reputation"² has been no doubt a contributory factor. Furthermore, the glamourised student life³ enjoyed by "ceux à qui il faut le plaisir"⁴ "comblant leur maîtresse,⁵ s'amusant avec leurs amis de fête", or "those who choose a life of pleasure" "showering everything on their mistress, enjoying themselves with their playmates", as illustrated in "la Bohème", Giacomo Puccini's masterpiece, as well as the spread of an hedonistic culture from Saint-Germain-des-Prés,⁷ "the rich man's Pigalle"⁸ of the

⁵. Ibid., p. 223.
⁶. After Henry Murger's La Vie de Bohème, (Paris, 1851).
⁸. Ibid., p. 779.
post-war Existentialist movement and, attached to it, the hero-worship of its leading figures, Jean-Paul Sartre and Juliette Gréco, have played no small part in boosting the values pertaining to student life. As Professor Hofstadter has pointed out, Bohemian society is "offering the individual a haven in the earlier transitional phases of his life", which can be summed up as "La Bohème, ça voulait dire: on est heureux". Saint-Germain-des-Prés in general and, in particular, Boulevard Saint-Michel, whose nostalgic memories are found in the folk-lore (i.e. "Le revois-tu mon âme / Ce boul' Mich' d'autrefois") form the student district "par excellence", "the teeming ant-heap of the Quartier Latin" that won the reputation of being "le carrefour de la jeunesse du monde entier", or "the crossroads of the whole world's youth". French students form "a swarming mass of young people, going in and out through the archways, up and down the Boulevard Saint-Michel, filling the cheaper cafes to overflowing (British students patronize the 'cafés de la rue Mouffetard'.A.S.I.), dispersing with the purposefulness of children coming out of school, or combining love and study, in unequal proportion".

2. cf., for example, Jean-Paul Sartre: L'Existentialisme est un humanisme, (Paris, 1946).
The conclusion is that, owing to the high status attached to student life, 'un étudiant' is in many ways, quite a different being from a student and their living conditions cannot reasonably be directly compared in spite of the British dream universities (vid supra, chapter 14, subsection a). For example, a senior lecturer claimed that British universities' "intense pressures upon them (sc. the undergraduates.A.S.L.) do not make for reflection, still less for gracious living". And in the post-war period, Sir Moberly had deplored that "our predicament then is this. Most students (...) are not incited to disentangle and examine critically the assumptions and emotional attitudes underlying the particular studies they pursue the profession for which they are preparing, the ethical judgements they are accustomed to make (...). Fundamentally, they are uneducated." 

Unlike the three-year course shaped by the aims of a British university education as defined by Halsey and Trow, French university education has retained for so many (cf. Table XLIII) its essentially academic character,


"arising from the bourgeois cult of the man of letters"\textsuperscript{1} increasingly
"aped by the petite bourgeoisie".\textsuperscript{2} This intellectual snobbery is reflected
by Professeur Urbain's statement that:

"Il faut considérer en premier lieu que l'enseignement des facultés est un enseignement général et qui n'aboutit à aucun métier." \textsuperscript{3}

"First and foremost it must be realized that the education in the faculties is general education which does not open on any profession." \textsuperscript{3}

\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid., p. 228.
\item Professeur Georges Urbain (interview by Guy Laborde, in \textit{le Temps}, Paris, No. 26417, 26 December 1933, p. 6).
\end{enumerate}
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON FRENCH SOURCES.

Full references are given in the form of page footnotes throughout the thesis. The following notes are intended to provide a summary of the main sources.

1. **Official Publications.**

   *Journal officiel de la République française,* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale).

   Separate issues cover *Lois et décrets, Débats parlementaires: Sénat,* and *Débats parlementaires: Chambre.*

2. **Semi-Official Publications.**

   *Avenirs,* (Paris: Bureau universitaire de statistique).


3. **Newspapers.**

   *Le Monde,* (Paris),
   *Le Figaro,* (Paris), and
   *L'Humanité,* (Paris) are the three newspapers found in some British libraries.

4. **Periodicals.**

   *Cahiers pédagogiques.* First published in 1945 as *Cahiers pédagogiques pour l'enseignement du second degré* by the "Comité universitaire d'information pédagogique", it has become in 1964 the organ of the "Fédération des Cercles de recherche et d'action pédagogiques".

   *Esprit,* (Paris).

   *Etudes,* (Paris).

   *Revue de l'enseignement supérieur,* (Paris).

   *Revue française de Sociologie,* (Paris).

5. **Books.**

In view of the rapid evolution of the French educational system, advice for further reading will be restricted to Joseph Majault: *La Révolution de l'Enseignement; Inventaire de l'avenir*, (Paris: Laffont, 1967, 10.20 fr).

6. **Telecommunications.**

The growing rôle played by the mass-media in making rapidly available up-to-date information about everyday debates has led the author to put to use radio-broadcasts, which are indicated in British Standard Time.
LIST OF DIAGRAMS AND TABLES.

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