THE ECOLE UNIQUE MOVEMENT IN FRANCE:

HOPE AND DISAPPOINTMENT

by

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The Ecole Unique Movement in France: Hope and Disappointment

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ABSTRACT

The école unique was controversial from the first time it was introduced in the 1920's by the Compagnons de l'Université Nouvelle. Reformers hoped that these free, common junior high schools would eliminate the social divisions between different post-primary programs and minimize class distinctions between students in order to assure each student the education s/he deserved on the basis of his/her intellectual ability and not his/her financial standing. During the Fourth Republic, reformers attempted to introduce both moderate and radical versions of the école unique, but none were successful. Not until the Fifth Republic were gradual alterations made. Finally in 1975, education minister René Haby introduced France's first real écoles uniques, named the 'collèges'. Why had it taken 55 years to reform the French secondary education system? Upon reassessing the material available on the subject, and supporting this with new material on the Haby plan, it is apparent that the école unique was at the heart of a fierce debate between education reformers and education conservatives imbued with contradictory educational philosophies. This debate symbolized a traditional split between elitism and democracy in French society, and any compromise between the two signaled defeat, as each side believed the other's success would be made at their expense. More importantly, one must address the question of why the école unique, once in place, was virtually ineffective at solving the problems which reformers had expected it to solve. After exploring the entire reform movement and all of the difficulties encountered by education reformers, one may

conclude that the reformers expected far too much from the education system: education itself is incapable of producing social democracy.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BEP	Brevet d'enseignement professionnel
BT	Brevet de technicien
BTn	Baccalauréat technique
CAP	Certificat d'apprentisage professionnel
CEG	Collège d'enseignement général
CEP	Certificat d'enseignement professionnel
CES	Collège d'enseignement secondaire
CET	Collège d'enseignemt technique
CPA	Classes préparatoires à l'apprentis
CPPN	Classes pré-professionnelles de niveau
CGT	Confédération générale du travail
ENP	Ecole normale primaire
ENS	Ecole normale supérieure
EPS	Ecole primaire supérieure
ESM	Enseignement spéciale modern
ESS	Enseignement spécial secondaire
LEG	Lycée d'enseignement général
LEP	Lycée d'enseignement professionnel
SNI	Syndicat national des instituteurs

INTRODUCTION

In 1975 legislation outlining a new educational structure for France brought strong criticism from stalwart education reformers. With this plan education minister René Haby had boldly implemented the école unique - the institution in which education revisionists had, since the inter-war period, invested so much hope for an education system designed to equalize educational opportunities and mobilize the nation's resources. The plan was law, a democratic system seemed assured. But was it? The vision of democratic education, as first defined by the Compagnons de l'Université Nouvelle in the 1920's and organized in the 1947 Langevin-Wallon plan, was a disappointment to all; in spite of much preparation and initiative the results were unsatisfactory. The transformations that had been expected failed to materialize. The Haby plan proved as ineffectual as all previous efforts to create a democratic education system. This thesis will include a discussion of the movement to reform the French public secondary education system through the école unique, as well as an investigation of the complications accompanying this movement.

In the 1880's, education minister Jules Ferry made primary education compulsory and free, and by the early twentieth century all children received some form of early education. However, in the first decades of this century there were three different types of post-primary education, each with its own administration, curriculum, teaching staff, clientele and objective. Secondary schools offered France's best

students a curriculum based mainly on the classical humanities, in preparation for high level professional or government positions. Although secondary candidates were to be selected according only to their intellectual abilities, most secondary students were from one class, the bourgeoisie, because their social and economic backgrounds ensured that they were best prepared for the liberal humanities as required by secondary schools. The secondary program was sanctioned by the baccalauréat, both the school leaving certificate and the entrance examination for higher education. The primary system had its own higher primary schools with modern curricula, which prepared students as loyal citizens and trained a mostly lower and lower middle class clientele for useful vocations. Students who chose to continue their educations past age 11 received a certificate, not the baccalauréat, and therefore had little chance of moving into higher education. These systems were not closely linked, allowing very little transfer of students between programs, even if one program was more appropriate for a child than another: they were "limited by narrow bridges that only the gifted and ambitious among the poorer classes could hope to cross".[1] This structure was further complicated by the presence of a third technical system which was juxtaposed to the other two. This system also trained talented individuals from the lower and lower middle class for narrow, limited occupations (except for a very few elite programs), diverting them from higher education.

After World War I, the French population became increasingly aware of the inherently undemocratic nature of the French education system

through the efforts of persistent educational reformers. Democratic reformers believed that education, including secondary education, was an indispensable right to which all people were entitled. The reformers also desired better coordination between the three systems, and secondary school access for a greater proportion of the population. Implicit was the idea that economic and social inequalities between students must be overcome so that all children might have equal opportunity to ascend the social ladder. In 1920, a group of ex-officers interested in educational reform known as the Compagnons de l'Université Nouvelle introduced the école unique, a common junior high school designed to modify the political, social, and economic character of the secondary student population. No longer would students be forced to give up the possibility of a professional career at an early age. Instead all students attending the école unique would complete the program and only then would selection for academic, technical or vocational school take place. By postponing this orientation until age 15, the Compagnons believed that student inequalities would be minimized and that talented students from all classes would gain access to elite secondary programs. The plan seemed simple and direct, yet throughout the duration of the Third Republic both reformers and education ministers failed to establish the école unique, despite various attempts.

If the education system was in need of reform before World War I, after the Second World War the situation became acute with the drastic rise in secondary school enrollment and the even greater demand by

others to enter this system. A concerted effort was made by the Langevin-Wallon commission, created in 1944 by Charles de Gaulle, to democratize the education system. This group was charged with organizing a lasting structure for the école unique. Their plan swiftly became the basis for all succeeding education reform proposals. Success was anticipated, but failure was the result. During the Fourth Republic, attempts made by succeeding education ministers to institute even moderate versions of this plan were unsuccessful.

Education reformers could not have been overly optimistic at the commencement of the Fifth Republic. However, during the next decade and a half, conservative education ministers slowly created the pre-requisite structure for the école unique. The 'collèges', France's first true écoles uniques, emerged in 1975 from these limited changes. But although the primary and secondary systems had been united, and more and more students attended the collèges, no significant change had been achieved. The students selected for the best educations and therefore the best professions continued to be drawn from the bourgeoisie, despite the institutionalization of the école unique. The école unique had become reality, but the process of elite selection within secondary education continued. It had been internalized alongside the democratic process of orientation. Real change and real reform, real equality and real democracy remained elusive.

Why had the reformers, so vigilant in their efforts, been so slow to institute the école unique? And why had the école unique, once

achieved, ultimately failed to meet the expectations of reformers for a democratic education system? Some authors have attempted to answer these questions, but no satisfactory explanation of the école unique movement has appeared thus far. A number of informative surveys of the history of the French education system exist, but their authors intended only a general focus. The best known surveys are Félix Ponteil's Histoire de l'enseignement en France de la révolution à nos jours, Pierre Chevallier's L'Enseignement Français de la Révolution à nos jours, Joseph Moody's French Education since Napoleon, and two by Antoine Prost: Histoire de l'enseignement en France 1800-1967 and a three volume in depth survey entitled Histoire Générale de l'enseignement et de l'éducation en France. The latter work is impressive, but in spite of its comprehensiveness, little specific explanation of the reform movement is made. These authors cover many subjects: curriculum, laïcité, administration, pedagogy, et cetera., but the école unique movement is only a small part of these works. As well, the events and initiatives of the Fifth Republic, so pivotal in the history of the reform movement, are often neglected. Some authors, such as Prost, have covered the seventies without revealing the nature and extent of the difficulties inherent in achieving secondary school reform. Others, such as H. D. Lewis, discuss many topics involving the education system during the 1970's, but offer only a glimpse of the école unique movement and its failure in books such as The French Education System. They do not offer a cohesive explanation for the failure.

There are authors whose interests lie in educational reform, but whose works cover different eras. For example, R.D. Anderson and Patrick Harrigan contemplate the problems of the Second Empire in Education In France 1848-1870, and Mobility, Elites, and Education in French Society of the Second Empire respectively. These books cover a period before the école unique became the focus of the reformers' hopes and dreams. John Talbott does discuss the complexities of the movement from its inception in the 1920's to the Second World War in The Politics of Educational Reform in France 1918-1940. His conclusion is limited, however, by the absence of discussion on the continued efforts of reformers in the two subsequent republics, especially education minister Haby, whose legislation was at once the reformer's ultimate and most disappointing achievement. W. R. Fraser's Education and Society in Modern France and Reforms and Restraints in Modern French Education do not address the issues surrounding the eventual implementation of the école unique in 1975. This event offers more information on the complexity of the école unique movement than does a survey of the failures of the Fourth Republic. Jean Capelle's L'Ecole de demain reste à faire, and Louis LeGrand's Pour une collège démocratique do cover the events of the 1960's and 1970's, but in their enthusiasm to recommend new solutions to the problem of educational reform, they brush over the failed attempts preceding their own proposals. Finally, Antoine Prost's L'Enseignement, s'est-il démocratisé? also addresses the subject of democratization, but, as the title suggests, he was more interested in whether or not democratization had occurred than in the reasons for its success and failure.

Clearly, an analysis of the French education reform movement is still required. This thesis intends to fill the gap in the literature on educational reform in France. The intention is to discuss the école unique movement from its inception in the 1920's, to its organization in the 1940's, and its successes and failures in the 1970's. In the process, the reasons for the movement's eventual failure as the ultimate means of achieving democratic education in France in the twentieth century will be identified and explained. Here questions on educational reform are answered via analyses of other writings on the subject area, coordinated into a cohesive and organized survey of the école unique movement. The length and complexity of the reform movement require an inductive, chronological approach. A chronological approach is useful because the difficulties confronted by modern reformers prior to the Fifth Republic will explain the resistance encountered by reformers during this republic and the constant delays impeding early implementation, as well as why the école unique, once endorsed, was unable to relieve the social and political inequalities it was designed to overcome. Information on primary education will only appear as it affects the discussion of secondary reform, as it was secondary education that reformers attacked as the preserve of elitism. Private education will also, for the most part, be absent from this discussion, as the purpose of private schools was never mass education. Therefore all effort will be focused on the attempts to adjust secondary school admission away from its selectivity towards a more democratic, mass-oriented means of recruitment in accordance with the wishes of the Compagnons and subsequent reforms of similar persuasion.

A variety of patterns emerge from such analysis, producing interesting conclusions as to why the école unique was virtually ineffective in altering the conditions reformers so desired to change. The preservation of custom in the face of persistent criticism, a very strong tradition in France, is one such pattern. For example, France's government was structured to match and promote conservative priorities. Yet, as France was also the source of both modern political protest and a commitment to democracy, repeated assaults on the system by democrats seeking equality, opportunity, and change also occurred regularly. The legacy of the revolution persisted, balanced by resistance from traditional structures. This dichotomy was reflected in the education system. Although complex, the dichotomy remained definite between those who preferred an elitist education system based on the selection of the best, and those who insisted on a more democratic system based on the orientation of all students according to their abilities. On either side of this issue were those willing to compromise to a certain degree, but complete compromise was next to impossible, as each group was passionately convinced of the validity of its objective. The debate whether the elitist system should remain or be replaced by a common, free secondary school was further intensified by both side's conviction that educational reform was closely linked to political and social reform. To compromise was not only to give in to the other side; it was also to lose the fight for one's political, economic, social and educational beliefs. As the debate was fierce, and compromise almost impossible, the reform process was greatly obstructed.

Thus the traditional system, orderly and elitist, has successfully warded off constant bombardment by democrats seeking egalitarian education, or has diluted the reformers demands to ensure its own survival at the expense of the democratic ideal. Hence another pattern has emerged: when compromise was occasionally reached, it was on the part of the conservatives, and only when it could be used to their advantage. As those in control of the education system, the conservatives, who favored the elitist system which had been the norm for over a century, were reluctant to allow any changes to this system unless absolutely necessary. Hence, in the twentieth century, when criticism of the traditional structure mounted to the point of being dangerous to the survival of the traditional system, the conservatives allowed some alterations to occur. But these alterations involved the least critical issues that would not threaten the selection process. The conservative elite only accepted the reform of secondary school access when they believed that radical reforms were unable to damage their traditional authority, and when they deemed it more to their advantage to change than to maintain the status quo. These educational elites had been in control of education for many decades, and over the years they had learned how to survive by adapting to the circumstances. Thus education reform was hampered not only by the vicious debate between elitists and democrats, but also because the groups attempting to effect change in the education system were pitted against very cunning conservatives, who had learned how to preserve the traditional system against attacks. Democratic education reform was bound to be difficult in this situation.

The 'reproduction theory', posited by two of France's foremost education theorists, Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passeron,[2] offers the best explanation of the existence of these two patterns which emerged throughout the survey of the école unique movement from 1920 to 1975. They argue that education in France reproduces in children a certain consciousness which teaches them to value one type of culture - an elite, rational, expert, bourgeois culture. In the process, children also learn that much of the working class culture, based on intuition, superstition, and popular tradition, is less worthy. Therefore those who possess the predominant culture should also possess the best positions in society, at the expense of those without this culture. If this regard for bourgeois culture is instilled throughout the process of education, the superiority of that culture will be reinforced throughout the students' educational careers. Consequently, students from bourgeois families have an advantage at school because they are raised by parents with the ability to pass down the attitudes and values most important for success in such a society, whereas children from outside the bourgeoisie will constantly prove to be inferior students because they do not possess the correct culture for the elite programs[3]: "they ignore the fact that the abilities measured by scholastic criteria stem not from natural 'gifts', but from the greater or lesser affinity between class cultural habits and the demands of the educational system or the criteria which define success within it".[4] These children may even begin to remove themselves from the bourgeois programs and schools as they begin to feel the inferiority of their culture. This may

account for the persistent divisions between 'primary' and 'secondary' schools and programs, as well as for why the lower classes failed to flock to the elite system even when access to the system was broadened.

The problem lies in the continued dominance of one social class, the bourgeoisie, over positions of power in French society, due to the combination of the French heritage, which favors elitism, and the elite's ability to survive through constant adaptation to the circumstances. While the bourgeoisie is dominant, Bourdieu and Passeron argue, little will change. Only when this group is successfully opposed by another group in society will reform be potent. Hence, education reform will be ineffective because it only alters the structure of the system and not the values that dominate the selection process. Even radical reform can do little without changing entirely the cultural biases of the schools, and this alteration requires the transformation of society, either through slow, evolutionary change, or through ruthless revolution. Either way, until the dominant culture is replaced, education reform can do little to alter cultural discrimination within the education system. After a thorough assessment of all available information on the history of the école unique movement, the 'reproduction theory' best accounts for the persistent dichotomy of the French education system.

Thus the purpose of this thesis is a careful evaluation of the école unique movement, its origins, and its evolution, in an attempt to explain why democratic education reform in France has been difficult to

achieve, and why, once instituted, very few of the reformers' goals were accomplished. In this way it may also be possible to explain why the process of change in general has been so difficult in French society as a whole despite constant demands for it and the significance of the école unique movement to educational reform, despite its ultimate failure.

[1]Daniel Resnick, "Educational Reform: Recent developments in Secondary Schooling", Contemporary French Civilization, vol. 6, (fall-winter, 1981-82), p. 150.

[2]Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passeron, La Réproduction: Eléments pour une théorie du système d'enseignement, (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1970).

[3]Pierre Bourdieu, "The School as a Conservative Force: scholastic and cultural inequalities", in Schooling and Capitalism, eds. Roger Dale, Geoff Esland and Madeleine MacDonald, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), p. 114.

[4]Christopher Hurn, The Limits and Possibilities of Schooling, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1978), p. 22.

CHAPTER ONE: The Public Education System in France and the Origins of the Ecole Unique Movement

Since 1920 educational reformers in France have attempted to 'democratize' public secondary education through what is known as the école unique. During the Third Republic, students had a choice between three, parallel post-primary institutions: secondary lycées and collèges, higher primary schools and public technical schools. But the differences in administration, curriculum, clientele and professional opportunities made the tripartite system undemocratic in the minds of most reformers. By the beginning of World War Two these differences inherent in the French system of education were obvious, but had yet to be eliminated. This chapter will explore the evolution of the French post-primary education system through the latter half of the Third Republic, and present an outline of the origins of the école unique and the main issues surrounding this movement. The chapter will also provide an explanation for the longevity of the system, despite its inconsistencies, and of the types of reforms necessary to democratize education in the inter-war period. Thus, chapter one will indicate the origins of the problems encountered by modern reformers, and suggest why these reformers were often unsuccessful in their endeavors to reform the French education system through the école unique.

In the early nineteenth century, Napoleon had revitalized public secondary schools, both the lycées and collèges communaux, which provided their clientele with a traditional curriculum based on the classical humanities, in preparation for state service. Theoretically

these schools were democratic, open to all students, of all classes, in accordance with Napoleon's slogan 'careers open to talent'. Yet their clientele was mainly bourgeois and their objective elitist. The purpose of the classical program was the general formation of future French leaders, and cultural transference, with little regard for the training of specific professions. Most educators considered the classical curriculum, based on the study of ancient Greek and Latin works, the best manner in which to cultivate the mind and to form the honnête homme; an upright, loyal, cultured individual: "de bons esprit sans avoir en vue de profession déterminé".[1] The classical humanities offered moral guidelines upon which young men were to base important future decisions: "classical literature contains indispensable insights, and (that) it is a repository of essential wisdom needed to maintain the values of life...school should be a protected oasis where children are given a culture, a formation, not so much to prepare them for outside society, as to protect them against its corruptions".[2] Thus prepared, graduates of secondary schools were deemed ready to respond appropriately and eloquently to any situation.

Upon completion of school at a lycée or collège, students were eligible to write the baccalauréat. This examination was all encompassing, at once the secondary school leaving test, the entrance certificate for universities, and the first of two examinations necessary for acceptance into the preparatory years of the grandes écoles. The baccalauréat was very difficult to pass and few attempted it; of the 100,000 boys in secondary school in 1842, for example, only 4,000 sat the exam.[3] Of those taking the baccalauréat, on average only

45% passed it and therefore had the right to enter higher education.[4] Thus, secondary education at the collèges and especially the lycées, whose purpose was to prepare for the baccalauréat, was the key to higher education and therefore professional status in French society.

However it would be misleading to imagine that the lycées and the collèges communaux were identical institutions. Offering strictly first rate classical educations to the children of the well-to-do, the lycées were based in highly developed urban centres. The collèges communaux, situated in smaller cities and larger towns, offered modern programs with a technical flair to a mixture of middle and lower-middle class students. These programs included history, French and geography courses as well as the classical curriculum. But the existence of classical programs at both institutions signified their separation from the rest of the system.

The superiority of traditional secondary schools over other post-primary schools remained unchanged and seldom challenged. The system was supported by its graduates, powerful enough to resist criticism, its professors, loyal to what they considered the ideal secondary education, and the Université (administration), which adhered to the idea that secondary education should remain elitist. These classicists remained faithful to the supremacy of the ancient authors as the best means to develop mental excellence and hone the mind, in spite of the increasing importance of technology in the early twentieth century.[5] According to one author: "...one of the deepest convictions of the University was that it must give priority to the training of an

elite, instilling through the classics a general culture and an ability to assume leadership in every field. It was this belief that allowed the University - and French society in general - to support in good conscience, a dual system of education, one to prepare the nation's leaders, the other to provide the masses with the rudiments required by modern society".[6] Hence the classical curriculum remained the elite education throughout the Third Republic.

But, by the twentieth century, classicists could not successfully continue to dominate secondary education without compromise. They knew that they needed to adapt their ideals in order to survive; the victory of the Germans in 1871 had revealed France's need for more advanced technical programs and paved the way for the modernists (primary and secondary teachers, intellectuals, et cetera), who considered the classical program too superficial and old-fashioned for the new conditions of the Third Republic.[7] The new popularity of the sciences forced the classicists to consider compromise as a way to secure the superiority of the classics against the sciences, and to reassure their positions, and those of their children, in society. Hence, the '_anciens_' suggested the enlargement of the secondary curriculum to include a diversity of modern as well as classical classes, but demanded the retention of traditional teaching methods and the emphasis on _culture générale_. Their influence in politics and education eventually led to the gradual implementation of their plan. More and more general language, philosophy, history and science courses were added to counterbalance the practical ones and, in 1902 (under the direction of Georges Leguyes), the _collège's_ modern program was officially

transformed from one with a technical orientation to one with a more modern, literary culture. With the law of 1902, secondary students were offerred two options in their first four years of secondary school (classical or modern), and four baccalauréat options in their last three years (A: latin/greek, B: latin/science, C: latin/modern languages, and D: modern languages/science). Sanctioned by its own baccalauréat, the modern D section theoretically became equal to any other classical section, but in reality remained inferior. The traditional secondary curriculum now included not only classical studies, but the liberal humanities and sciences as well.

Although the 1902 legislation allowed lower middle class students to improve their opportunities for social mobility through modern secondary education and the baccalauréat, it also limited educational opportunity for lower class students from outside the secondary system. The new culture générale, encompassing more than classical subjects, allowed the new middle class to become 'gracefully erudite' without Latin, but the modern curriculum had coincidentally become less and less similar to that offered at primary and higher primary schools and more similar to traditional secondary curriculum. The expansion of secondary education to include modern studies "...reflected the integration of the (Third Republic's) new middle class into the ruling strata of modern French society",[8] slowing criticism of the classical secondary curriculum. The end of the modern humanities as curriculum separate from classical studies also removed the competition they once provided, while reinforcing the importance of the classical culture générale. The superiority of latin as the elite-making program was maintained by

preserving the latin/greek section for the best students while using the other three, especially the section D, as programs in which to siphon "unworthy" or less intelligent students.[9] Consequently, the expansion of secondary education accentuated the differences between it and primary education. The conservatives had made allowances for new circumstances, but certainly had not conceded to anything resembling a democratic secondary system. The potential of the modern humanities to introduce a measure of democracy into the secondary education system had been foiled by the innovative tactics of the conservatives, who could adapt their positions on certain issues just enough to stultify criticism, and yet not at the expense of their most dear ideals. This would continue to be a pattern of conservative educational policy throughout the rest of the twentieth century. Thus, until World War One, secondary education, and the classical humanities in particular, retained their prestige and isolation from the rest of the education system.

Consequently, the majority of children did not attend the secondary lycées and collèges. Instead they often turned to other forms of post-primary education, including higher primary schools, which had been re-instituted in the 1880's by education minister Jules Ferry. Administered by the Director of Primary Education, these higher primary Ecoles primaires supérieures (EPS) were created for talented and ambitious children from primary schools who wished to continue their education and improve their social status, but were financially, and/or educationally unprepared for continued schooling at a secondary lycée or collège. Many educators and politicians feared that these ambitious

children, if frustrated by a lack of opportunity, or uncontrolled by some form of education, could be dangerous to society in general.[10] Moreover education ministers hoped that the EPS would also be helpful in providing the mid-level technicians so desperately required by the increasing industrialization of France. The EPS were increasingly popular in the early twentieth century as more and more lower class students looked for limited social mobility outside of the secondary system, essentially closed to them by the 1902 law.

Situated in towns with populations over 6000, the EPS, attached to the primary schools, were attended mainly by prosperous peasant and artisan children. The attraction was pragmatic. These schools provided their students with an education neither narrowly vocational nor highly technical. Instead the EPS offered basic theories and principles applicable to any work. The programs mixed technical and professional studies with practical objectives. In contrast to the classical program, the modern higher primary program included geometry, the physical sciences, natural history and the physical geography of France. The curriculum was flexible and could be adjusted to fit the specific needs of various areas. The aim was to educate students for more effective participation in local industrial, commercial, or agricultural life. The higher primary curriculum was also considerably shorter than classical secondary curriculum. The Brevet d'études primaires supérieures sanctioned three years of study at an EPS. This diploma was not comparable to the baccalauréat because it could not provide students with admission into universities or other institutes of higher learning. Higher primary schools were therefore terminal as most graduates joined

the work force before or upon completion of the program. Yet the EPS did provide a degree of social mobility to those students who had previously remained outside of the post-primary system.

Firmly entrenched in the primary system, the EPS became bastions of democratic education. They raised the level of instruction for the lower classes and elevated their opportunity for employment. At the same time, the EPS allowed the education system to remain conservative; "...The educational system had altered to meet economic needs,...The sons of manual workers could now gain more instruction than previously without competing with the children of the bourgeoisie, who still monopolized secondary and higher education".[11] They were one way to render critics demanding greater possibilities for post-primary education impotent. As well as the EPS, other post-primary institutions, known as the cours complémentaires, arose as annexes to the primary schools in the early part of the Third Republic (1886), but were not well attended until after the Second World War because of the new-found popularity of the EPS.

This division between primary and secondary education was apparent in the administrative, curricular, pedagogical and social differences between higher primary and secondary schools, which made comparison with, or transfer between one and the other, almost impossible. The Director of Secondary Education administered the lycées and collèges, whereas the Director of Primary Education looked after the higher primary schools, each system having its own standards and regulations, goals and programs. Teacher training standards were especially

different as higher primary instructors were trained at local Ecoles normales primaires while secondary professors attended university or the prestigious Ecole normale supérieure in Paris. Not only were the qualifications of the teachers dissimilar, but also the method of teaching was different according to their training. Secondary school professors concentrated on abstract concepts while primary teachers developed students' concrete and practical skills. Finally, the EPS were more numerous, located closer to the students' homes. The lycées were urban institutions, that provided their students with hostile, barrack-like boarding facilities, as the majority of students were forced to relocate to the city.

Other distinctions separated the two systems. Latin and Greek were only available at secondary schools. This discrepancy meant that transfer from an EPS to a secondary school was almost impossible; even entrance into a secondary school was too onerous for the majority of the population graduating from the primary system. Only children educated at the fee paying elementary annexes attached to the lycées, which prepared students specifically for the classical curriculum, were equipped for life at a lycée or collège.[12] Moreover, although the baccalauréat was open to all students, in reality secondary students were much better prepared for the exam. Their educations were specifically tailored for the successful completion of this exam.[13] On the other hand, higher primary course work was geared far more to the vocational primary certificates than to the baccalauréat's liberal humanities. Thus, primary students were effectively restricted from admission to institutions of higher learning via the baccalauréat.

One particularly significant feature of the educational structure was the rigid class barrier which separated the higher primary school's clientele from that of the secondary school.[14] For the most part, upper and middle class children attended lycées and the collèges while lower class children filled the EPS. Many factors were barriers to the latter's entering lycées. Firstly, the annual fees demanded by annexes and secondary schools combined with the income lost by a student's unproductive years at school were often enough to keep peasant and workers' children out of the lycées.[15] Secondly, lower and lower middle class children found the shorter, more vocational courses offered at the local EPS, Ecoles normales primaires (ENP-local teacher training institutes) or apprenticeship centres much more appealing. These schools promised secure employment within two to three years, not seven to ten, and no further training afterward, as required by the secondary schools. Thirdly, many lower and lower middle class children simply had no desire to make great leaps in social status, but looked to gain only limited social mobility at the ENP or local professional schools. Lastly, the pupil's family background, culture and educational history was integral to the childrens' success or failure. For example, upper middle class parents, likely products of a secondary education themselves, provided a milieu conducive to the study of the liberal humanities. Their encouragement of and participation in the study of the classics by their children aided the students' success. Students often required some form of early tutoring best given by bourgeois parents familiar with the system and the language, morality and behavior expected of pupils at secondary institutions. The values, regulations,

and atmosphere of bourgeois homes helped these children succeed. In comparison, non-bourgeois parents were less likely to understand or provide an appropriate environment for the study of classical literature. Furthermore, as most of these parents were not graduates of secondary schools, they were poorly qualified to help their children study. Because lower and lower middle class children were obviously from a different cultural and economic milieu, they were bound to be conspicuous in a lycée or collège.

In their reproduction theory, Bourdieu and Passeron predict this division, a product of both the 'cultural inequity' between the classes, and the 'inferiority complex' of the lower class. Bourgeois students, in possession of the dominant culture in France, were predisposed to success at secondary school as they had inherited the language, attitudes and values necessary for good grades at secondary institutions, whose curriculum was based on bourgeois considerations. Lower class students, who had inherited a different set of values, morals and behavioral standards, were thus less successful than their bourgeois counterparts. Moreover, in response to the bourgeoisie's success at the lycées and collèges, lower class students became less confident in their ability to succeed and began to be less enthusiastic about an education system in which they were bound to be inferior. Such attitudes account for the lower class' lack of enthusiasm for secondary schools and their penchance for other post-primary institutions offering much less chance for social mobility, even if intellectually talented enough for lycée life.[16]

Parallel to this dual post-primary system lay the technical system, offering programs outside of secondary and primary institutions at special technical schools. Technical education came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce in 1832. Simultaneous to the revivification of the EPS, intermediate technical education also expanded and flourished. The Ecoles d'arts et métiers, given only secondary status until World War II, trained 'ouvriers d'élite', foremen, engineers and production supervisors for mid to large scale industry. Four Ecoles nationales professionnelles trained students between the ages of 12 and 15 in mathematics, chemistry, mechanics and drawing. Their graduates were employed as foremen and supervisors in the mechanical branches of industry. The Ecoles pratiques de commerce et d'industrie were day schools for children aged 12 to 15 who studied vocational and technical subjects, the three R's, moral and civic instruction, applied geography, some algebra, elements of the industrial sciences and shop. By 1900, graduates of these schools, some originally specialized higher primary apprenticeship schools (Ecoles manuelles d'apprentissage), were easily hired with good salaries. Beyond this, vocational training was left to interested industrialists, who set up apprenticeship centres geared to their industry, or to private local or municipal associations, that created schools to train workers for local industries.[17]

Thus, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry's Ecoles pratiques de commerce et d'industrie and Ecoles nationales professionnelles as well as the EPS under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Instruction provided good training for technicians' jobs in local industry without

making students over qualified or taking them out of the productive centres. This proliferation of intermediate technical institutions provided more students greater chances for social mobility outside the primary/secondary system. But reformers hoped to open technical education to greater possibilities for the social advancement of disadvantaged students, while simultaneously coordinating the technical system with both the primary and secondary systems.

The First World War affected every sphere of French society, including education. The devastating loss of high ranking officers in the first years of the war had an unprecedented and unexpected impact. Their deaths revealed that the lycée-trained elite were unprepared for the technical innovation and modernity of the German forces, prompting critics of secondary education to claim that the traditional classical curriculum was outmoded and incoherent. The loss of these gentlemen officers also meant that the less prosperous privates and their families were the men and women who sustained the greatest war effort on and off the battlefield. Essentially, French society had been leveled by the extremes of war. Furthermore, more people, heretofore excluded from the post-primary system, began to demand increased access to secondary and higher education, as less and less children followed in their fathers' footsteps and thus increasingly turned to education for career opportunities. Educators could no longer ignore this demand for more open access to secondary education made by a higher proportion of the population who felt they deserved the opportunity to advance their status, and were in a good position to do so. As well, the obvious technical superiority of the German forces, apparent even in defeat, was

proof that the education system of the Third Republic had not lived up to its promise of improved modern curriculum and technological advancements. The solution to these problems sought by education reformers after the war was a more radical alteration of the French education system than had occurred between 1870 and 1914.

At the conclusion of the war, the Ministry of Public Instruction administered three types of post-primary schools: secondary lycées and collèges, higher primary schools (EPS and cours complémentaires) and state technical schools. To a large number of people, inside and outside the educational field, the school system appeared ineffective and undemocratic for several reasons. First, the modern sections of the secondary schools were sometimes indistinguishable from the programs of the EPS. Yet the latter remained inferior because they were given in 'primary' institutions. Second, as transfer from a primary to a secondary school was difficult for even the brightest and most ambitious primary students, children who may have been intellectually deserving of a secondary education and high status jobs were effectively discouraged from entering the programs necessary to achieve upward mobility. Third, the EPS, cours complémentaires, Ecoles pratiques de commerce et d'industrie (EPCI), and other technical schools were inferior in status because their graduates were prepared only for brevets and certificates, not the baccalauréat, and were therefore ineligible for higher education. Lastly, graduates of secondary schools were the only students with access to both higher education and the best jobs, regardless of their competence. Consequently, only a few very determined and talented lower and lower middle class children completed

their educations at secondary lycées and earned the chance to continue at a university or grande école. Most of these children, talented or not, yet unable to overcome the formidable financial and cultural barriers, went from primary school into the EPS, Ecole normale primaire, or local technical schools, all of which offered much less social mobility and status than did the traditional secondary education institutions. This situation angered democrats who saw that such a system ensured that the status of most primary students would never be raised through education and that therefore there was little chance of upward mobility. For these reasons many left-wing politicians and educators considered the post-primary system of education in France undemocratic, and multiplied their efforts to expand access to secondary schools in the inter-war period.

The most influential of the post-war reformers concerned with these problems were the Compagnons de l'Université Nouvelle, whose manifesto, published February 9, 1918 in L'Opinion, demanded a "France resurrected through reform". The seven original members were teachers of different ages, backgrounds and interests, named the Compagnons after the builders of the Middle Ages: Jean Marie Carré, chargé de cours in comparative literature at the faculty of letters at Lyon; Jacques Duval, professor at a Catholic faculty; Pierre Doyen and Robert Vieux, graduates of the Ecole normale supérieure; Albert Girard, professor of history at the Lycée Chaptal (Paris); Henri Luc, professor of philosophy at Alençon; and Edmond Vermeil, a historian who became the maître de conférences at the University of Strasbourg after the war. All between the ages of 26 and 40, these men had served as officers at general Pétain's

headquarters at Compiègne during the war. Deciding to continue their efforts to democratize education in peace time, the original seven sent letters to their friends for support. Thirty eight replied, and with the original seven, they became known as the charter members of the Compagnons de l'Université Nouvelle. None were well known, save author Georges Duhamel.[18]

In 1919 the Compagnons published L'Université Nouvelle , a two volume work proposing new solutions to the problems of the education system. They wanted the old education structure razed, replaced with a system encompassing new "ideas, programs, methods and recruitment", in the name of creating "a new French spirit".[19] Thus they proposed an education system in which merit, not wealth, was the basis of selection for higher education, reflecting their basic conviction that "wealth is hereditary, but intelligence is not".[20] The two main components of their treatise were that "everyone must be taught" while "the best must be drawn from the crowd and put in their place, which is the first".[21] But when asked how equality can be reconciled with the preservation of natural superiority, the Compagnons replied that an intellectual elite should be the inevitable consequence of mass education, not the sole objective.[22] Imbued with the democratic ideals of revolutionaries such as Condorcet, they hoped that the removal of certain structural barriers would provide a greater degree of educational equality and opportunity for greater access to secondary education and the traditional curriculum. Their hope was that every child "might begin the highly competitive race on equal footing".[23] Thus they introduced the notion of the école unique, a common junior high school in which all students

would attend similar classes, in the hope that by doing so the cultural, economic, and educational differences between them would be minimized. Consequently, more students from a variety of social classes might have the opportunity to follow the traditional secondary curriculum to higher education.

Their plan included common primary classes extending to the early years of secondary education, free secondary classes, and selection based on merit. But the plan's main feature was the introduction of common primary and junior high schools, or écoles moyennes, the latter including periods of observation (tronc commun), testing and orientation for pupils between the ages of 11 and 14. Originally, the Compagnons envisioned the term 'école unique' encompassing a common primary school of two stages, but 'école unique' soon became solely associated with the second stage of the commom primary curriculum, known as the orientation period. The assessments made during these periods would determine which type of secondary school a child would enter upon completion of his/her junior high school education. The pupils chosen to attend a lycée or collège in a classical or modern program would transfer from junior high school at age 13. Those destined for vocational schools or the work force would stay on in their original schools to complete their primary educations at 14 with the Certificate des études primaires. This plan became the basis of all subsequent educational proposals in the Third, Fourth , and Fifth Republics. Its significance cannot be overestimated.

As with all important issues, the école unique was subject to controversy. The debate which ensued between conservatives, who opposed educational reform, and supporters of such measures was often fierce, and therefore a great source of frustration for those who wanted action. This debate delayed reform.

According to secondary students, their parents, members of secondary school unions, professors, right-wing politicians and supporters of the classical humanities and the process of selection, any real change to the structure and content of the education system was an assault on an institution which they felt best reflected the needs of society: "while admitting that certain social classes were more frequently represented in secondary institutions than others, they contended that this reflected the preferences and way of life of distinct groups in society and that the only reforms necessary were to defend the lycée from a flood of entrants whose talents did not justify their admission into the elite".[24] Thus conservatives condemned the introduction of the observation and orientation period. They feared that the combination of orientation and democratization would cause the deterioration of the lycée standards. For conservatives, the key to a successful secondary education was the early selection of secondary pupils and their immediate introduction into the liberal (classical) humanities. Orientation would disrupt the continuity of secondary studies by postponing the commencement of liberal studies until age 13. Thus "they maintained that selection at age 11 could and should be made reliable".[25] Furthermore, the conservatives feared that orientation and the subsequent influx of students into secondary schools would create a

'rootless intellectual proletariat' of farmers and laborers, too educated to remain in rural areas, and sure to descend upon the cities and compete for the few jobs that existed.[26]

Consequently the conservatives rejected any attempt to use education as an instrument of social change. Their criticisms reflected the general fear that a restructuring of the educational system would lead to a restructuring of the political system, at their expense. Any change to the education system seemed to threaten their social position which they owed to their 'bourgeois' educations, their knowledge of Latin and Greek literature, and their ability to impart this knowledge to others. Alterations to the education system also appeared to threaten the futures of their children, those most likely to benefit from the existing system. To open secondary education to disadvantaged primary students, through the école unique, was to take away the bourgeoisie's control over entrance into the liberal professions and high government positions. They feared that if any child could compete for these positions, the bourgeois and elite hold on political power would be necessarily challenged by the masses.[27] The école unique seemed to question the privileges of the upper middle classes -- privileges they were unlikely to concede without a fight. Clearly, they believed that as long as they controlled the education system, they controlled society itself.

Within the conservative group there were some people who were completely unwilling to compromise, as they believed that any curricular reform threatened to diminish French culture.[28] The classicists,

comprised mainly of highly certified secondary professors, argued that the proper preparation for the honnête homme came only through the study of ancient cultures, history, languages and literature, even as science, hitherto excluded from the classical curriculum, became increasingly important to the twentieth century. Thus they remained true to their conviction that a classical education was universal and timeless and the only education worthy of university applicants. Any introduction of science and technology into the secondary curriculum was a threat to the "unique intellectual formation based on the humanities provided by secondary education"[29] because scientific programs did not constitute an adequate education for the formation of the honnête homme[30] and discredited the study of letters. Technical studies constituted manual work and therefore belonged only in the primary system.

Classicists, represented by professors' organizations such as the Société des agrégés[31] and the Franco-Anciennes, were also convinced that the introduction of a scientific program and baccalauréat threatened the traditional supremacy of the classical humanities and the culture générale.[32] Moreover, they believed that the students who graduated from these programs and obtained jobs in semi- or non-productive fields, such as business or clerical employment, would as they increasingly moved out of the productive classes of society, form a revolutionary group of over-educated workers disgruntled with their old roles in society. A strong group both politically and socially, these traditionalists blocked most attempts by modernists to bring scientific education into the realm of secondary instruction. Their strength, and their desperate desire to keep science from the secondary schools, ensured that the

struggle over the restructuring of the education system would be a bitter one.

But left-wing educational reformers were unconvinced of the conservatives' right to possess such exclusive privileges. Reform supporters including primary school teachers, teachers' unions (such as the Syndicat national des instituteurs[33]), primary students and their parents, left-wing politicians and groups of reform-minded, socially aware citizens such as the Compagnons, were convinced of the necessity of a modern education system. They argued that the bourgeoisie were not always the most intellectually qualified for elite positions in society, but had gained that privilege through manipulation of the education system to provide them with the secondary and university credentials necessary to usurp the best positions in society fron equally qualified, but socially inferior, candidates. Reformers hoped they could alter the education system in such a way that it would give greater opportunities to earn these credentials to those people not born into positions of power, but who were intellectually qualified for elite jobs.

Though some argument erupted over whether these changes should be effected one at a time, or altogether, all reformers agreed that structural change to the education system was necessary and inevitable for the survival of French society. Particularly active within this group were the primary instructors, who believed that the professors' attachment to abstact theory and method proved the professors' lack of realism[34] and that a more concrete pedagogy was required for the masses at the primary and junior high school level. Though wary of working

with the professors in the école unique, the primary teachers were nevertheless optimistic about the opportunity orientation might provide for their clientele. Moreover, their own status stood to gain by working alongside the secondary professors in the école unique.

Also important to the reform movement were teachers, parents and politicians who believed that France's survival required greater technological innovation in an era dominated by scientific discovery. These modernists thought that as science's place in society grew, so too should its place in the school curriculum. Thus they hoped someday to see the introduction of a scientific baccalauréat, equivalent to its classical counterpart, which might diminish the uniqueness of the classical programs and offer greater opportunities for higher education to non-bourgeois students through a modern curriculum.

All debates aside, the nature of the reform movement was itself problematic. Moody argues that the difficulty lies in the 'single nature of the objective': "the democratisation of the formal structure of the schools did not sufficiently consider the social, psychological, and economic obstacles to the effectiveness of gratuity".[35] A reform of the structure of the education system was simply insufficient to ensure that lower class primary students would be given fair treatment in orientation and secondary classes. Other than the educational obstacles to transfer from primary to secondary school, reformers also ignored the fact that lower class children were raised in a different environment than middle class children and that the secondary school curriculum was geared to the language and morality of the bourgeoisie, putting primary

students at a distinct disadvantage when placed in secondary schools. Even a talented working class child was "encased in the limitations of his own environment",[36] as Bourdieu and Passeron outlined.[37] Democracy was too big a task to ask of the education system. The hopes of the reformers for further democratisation were constrained within the limits of educational reform.

Unfortunately, the restructuring of the education system could never address all of the social, economic and political problems faced by disadvantaged children. Perhaps the naïveté of the reformers came from their own educations, which were for the most part bourgeois. As they were part of the system which they were criticising, they were perhaps unable to see past structural reform to the need for more drastic measures. Moreover, the fact that most reformers were Socialists or Radicals may also account for their penchance for change within the system rather than for social revolution, as the Communists demanded. Their resistance may also have been limited by their own 'elite' positions in the system which they critiqued; a system which allowed resistance and criticism to appear democratic while simultaneously using this criticism to futher understand the situation: "they may encourage questioning and dissent within that world view - questions about means and methods rather than ends - but they have the effect of discouraging alternative and more democratic visions of society".[38] There were some reformers who looked beyond educational change for results. Much as Bourdieu and Passeron advocate, these radical reformers, mostly Communists, believed that structural reform to the education system was simply inadequate to produce the reforms so

desired by all reformers. They looked instead to social revolution to produce democratic change in the schools. But the insufficiency of structural change was not apparent to the majority of educational reformers, and this led to a proliferation of proposals for the modification of the educational structure throughout the next fifty years.

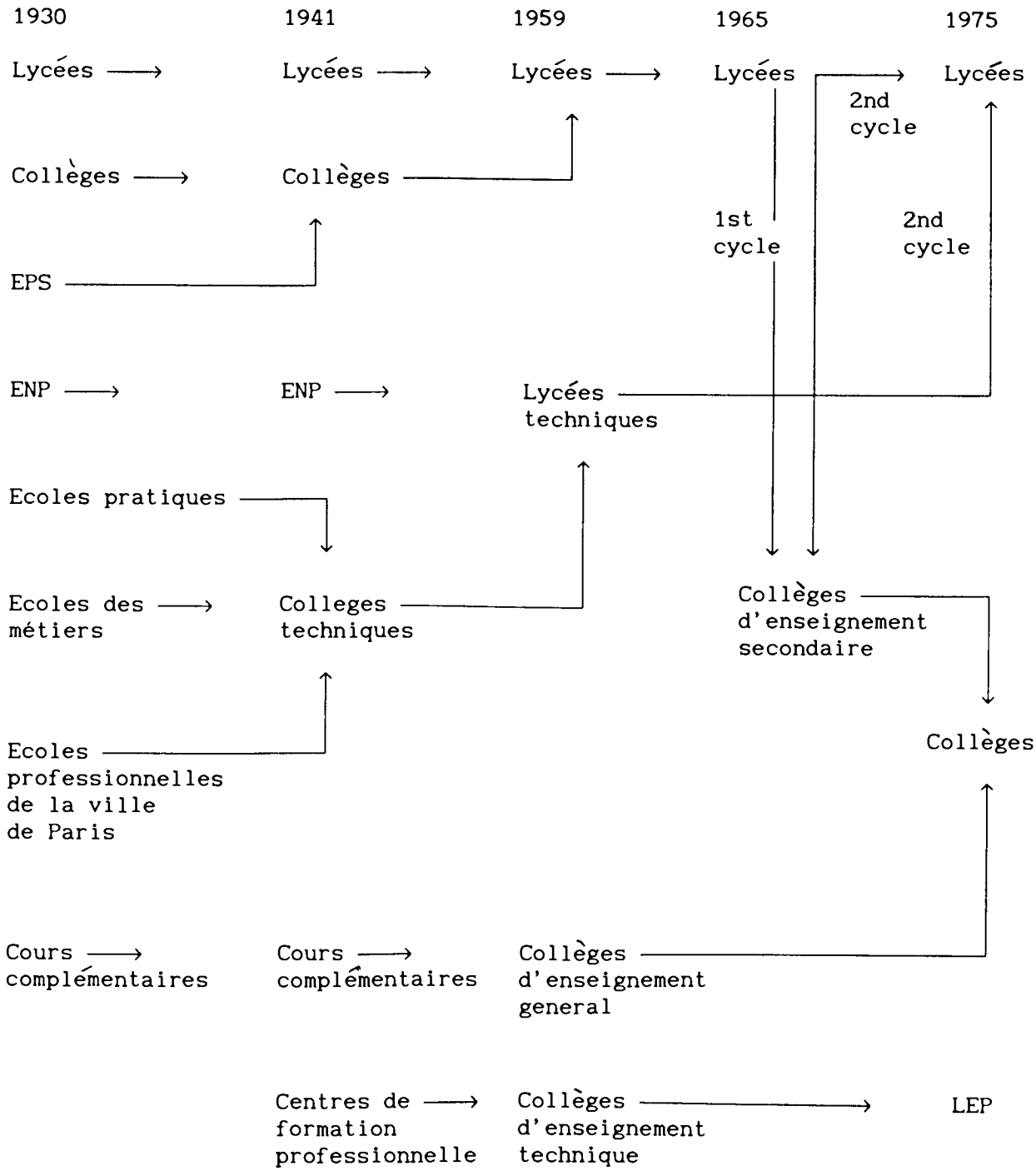
Making refrom more difficult was the idea that the reformers' goal, to make the education system more democratic, also seemed to encompass social change. Reformers hoped that the democratisation of the education system might also lead to the democratisation of career opportunities. The simple fact that educational reform, under the banner of 'école unique', seemed to challenge the whole structure of society made the plan controversial, and very difficult to accomplish.[39] André Thibaudault, a university professor in the 1920's, offered a contemporary view of the situation:

> I tried to make him (a Swedish colleague) understand that France is a very old society or rather a palimpset of very old societies, a complex of societies, and that the école unique, although it looked natural and harmless, touched a most sensitive spot, that it involved our whole social structure.[40]

In conclusion, the conservative nature of the traditional education system, and the prominence of its supporters in French society, thwarted the efforts of reformers to transform French education throughout the Third Republic. Moreover, the uncompromising stance taken by both sides

(one supporting classical, secondary, elite education, the other, democratic, free, open education) on the issue of reform through the école unique, reflected both groups' belief in the significance of education, not only educationally but also socially. Education was considered by conservatives and reformers alike as one of the most important tools of social change. Thus neither side could concede any power to the other. These difficulties continued to plague reformers hoping to institute the école unique in the late Third and Fourth Republics, despite the optimism of the post-war reformers, as we shall discover in the next chapter.

Figure 1.1 Alterations to the secondary school system 1930-1975



After: Prost, Histoire, p. 36.

[1]Félix Ponteil, Histoire de l'enseignement en France 1789-1964, (Paris: Sirey, 1966), p. 296.

[2]OECD, France, (Paris: OECD, 1978), p. 19-20.

[3]R. D. Anderson, Education in France 1848-1870, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975) p. 13.

[4]Joseph Moody, French Education since Napoleon, (N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1978), p. 108.

[5]Ibid., p. 33.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid., p. 61.

[8]Aristide Zolberg and Vera Zolberg, "Regimentation of Bourgeois Culture", Comparative Education Review, (October 27 1967), p. 339.

[9]Antoine Prost, Histoire de l'enseignement en France 1800-1967, (Paris: Librairire Armand Colin, 1968) p. 255.

[10]Ibid., p. 292. As Prost explains: "en ouvrant l'access des carrières pour lesquelles des études secondaires ne sont pas nécessaires, il devrait donner satisfaction aux ambitions aveugles, sans suréxiter les prétensions aveugles, aussi décevantes pour les individus que fatales à la societé".

[11]J. E. Flower, Ed., France Today, (London: Methuen and Co., 1971), p. 113.

[12]Moody, French Education, p. 108.

[13]Ibid., p. 65.

[14]John Talbott, The Politics of Educational Reform in France 1918-1940, (New Jersey: The Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 18-19 and p. 31-32, and Patrick J. Harrigan, Mobility, Elites and Education in French Society of the Second Empire, (Waterloo, Canada: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1980), p. 14.

[15]Ibid., p. 18 and p .19.

[16]Pierre Bourdieu, "The School as a Conservative Force: scholastic and cultural inequities", in Schooling and Capitalism, eds. Roger Dale, Geoff Esland and Madeleine MacDonald, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), p.110-118.

[17]C.R. Day, Education for the Industrial World: the Ecoles d'arts et métiers and the Rise of French Industrial Engineering, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1987), pps. 31-51.

[18]Talbott, Politics of Educational Reform, p. 35.

[19]Ibid., p.36.

John E. Talbott, " The French Left and the Ideology of Educational Reform 1919-1939", French Historical Studies, (vol.12), p. 465.

[21]Talbott, Politics of Educational Reform, p. 37.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Talbott, "French Left", p. 465.

[24]W. R. Fraser, "Reform in France", Comparative Education Review, (October, 1967), p. 304.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Talbott, Politics of Educational Reform, p. 113.

[27]Ibid., p. 171.

[28]J. Valenti, "Proposed Reforms in French Secondary Education", Harvard Education Review, (29 no.2, Spring, 1959), p. 125.

[29]Talbott, Politics of Educational Reform, p. 183.

[30]Ponteil, Histoire de l'enseignement, p. 261.

[31]The Société des agrégés was a group of elite secondary professors who had not only obtained the minimum teaching requirement, but also had completed the agrégation. They supported the rigorous study of the classical languages, and together with the Franco-Anciennes, were the most powerful and outspoken supporters of conservative, classical, traditional secondary education.

[32]Ponteil, Histoire de l'enseigenement, p. 264.

[33]With close to 255,000 members of maternal and primary teachers, the Syndicat national des instituteurs was the largest group dedicated to the reformation and modernization of the education system. They were also traditionallly close to the Communists.

[34]Moody, French Education, p. 168.

[35]Ibid., p. 189.

[36]Talbott, Politics of Educational Reform, p. 249.

[37]Bourdieu, "School as a Conservative Force", pps. 110-117.

[38]Christopher Hurn, The Limits and Possibilities of Schooling, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc, 1978), p. 49.

[39]D. R. Watson, "Educational Reform in France 1900-1940", Past and Present, (July 1966, no.34), p. 82.

[40]Ibid., p. 99.

CHAPTER TWO: The Ecole Unique movement from the Cartel des Gauches to the end of the Fourth Republic

Once L'Université Nouvelle appeared, many, including education ministers, politicians and teachers, began to build their own reform proposals based on the Compagnons' plan. Throughout the remainder of the Third Republic, there were several attempts by members of various left-wing parties to institute at least some of the Compagnons' proposals. The war swiftly put an end to these attempts. The commencement of the Fourth Republic coincided with a renewed faith on the part of the French in the potential of reform in all spheres, especially education. Thus, the Langevin-Wallon commission was named in 1944 to draw up a better organized plan of the école unique. But, by 1947, the plan was rejected by a more conservative, pessimistic, unstable government. Subsequent proposals by conservatives and reformers throughout the 1950's also failed to be instituted, although their creators had frequently compromised on certain controversial points in the hopes of having their plans be accepted by the government. The last quarter of the Third Republic and the entirety of the Fourth are filled with failed attempts by both conservatives and reformers to fulfill the Langevin-Wallon plan; those awaiting the arrival of the école unique in France would have to continue their wait until the Fifth Republic.

After World War One, the first opportunity for reformist action along the Compagnons' lines came in 1924 with the election of the Cartel

des Gauches, a coalition of Socialists and Radicals. Though both were left-wing parties, they made strange bedfellows as their economic and political policies were seldom alike. However, both agreed on the basic educational reforms proposed by the Compagnons, and a common party platform was achieved.[1] Although neither party agreed with the other's definition of equality of educational opportunity, as long as the mutual proposals were vague and discussions limited to issues such as the abolition of fees in secondary institutions, both parties could work together. But their concurrence on educational policy only covered their differences. It did not resolve them: "a little mystique went a long way in an election campaign but didn't go far toward the solution of concrete problems".[2] Thus, when each party presented more specific proposals for reform, mutual cooperation became impossible.

The Radicals saw the education system as a tool of selection. The difference between the Radicals' method of selection and that of the conservatives was the former's emphasis on the 'democratic' part of the process by which secondary schools provided opportunities to the brightest pupils, on the basis of one's brain power, not one's pocketbook. The children of superior intelligence, regardless of their social origin, were to be promoted to secondary schools. Losers of the intellectual race would be consigned to vocational or technical educations or the work force. The Radicals' ideal education system thus excluded orientation schemes, but did include common primary schools, free secondary institutions and selection based on merit, not wealth.

The Socialists opposed the Radicals' emphasis on selection. They desired a system not only concerned with the selection of an elite, but with the orientation of all students, and the provision of an appropriate education for every child. The Socialists proposed the improvement of the educational level of the masses, as well as the selection of future secondary students, through the process of orientation. According to this party, the purpose of the education system was to provide each child with a specifically tailored education. With the orientation period, the Socialists also hoped to coordinate individual talent to social needs: "education is not a ladder of individual social ascent, but an instrument employed by and for the collectivity in the development of the nation's intellectual resources".[3] Hence the idea of orientation, or the careful assessment of a child's aptitudes and ambitions and his/her consequent assignment to an appropriate type of education (at age 13), became the central component of the Socialists' educational policy.

Throughout the term of the Cartel des Gauches, followers of the Compagnons accomplished few of their proposals. There were several obstacles. The financial crisis of the early 1920's, limiting the funds necessary for any educational reform, was more than enough to discourage the most dedicated educational reformer. Moreover, the split between the Radicals and Socialists was debilitating in the face of stiff opposition from right-wing parties, secondary professors, staunch supporters of the classical humanities and conservative industrialists, who wished to continue their own specific training programs undisturbed.

Exacerbating the markedly different educational objectives of the Socialists and Radicals was the Communists' interference in their tenuous alliance. The Communists pressured the Socialists to end the latter's cooperation with the Radicals in government by accusing the Socialists of being 'sell-outs' for working with the Radicals in the early months of the Cartel des Gauches. The Communists feared that democratic reform of the education system would be ineffective, instead depriving the working class of its leaders by giving the best lower and lower middle class students 'bourgeois' educations. Ultimately the Socialists decided that democratic education reform was necessary, and that they were "powerless to control the effects of the expansion of educational opportunity"[4] once it was achieved. But, despite their rejection of the Communists' stance on educational reform, they eventually decided to pull out of the coalition on political grounds, offering the Radicals only a vague promise of support.

During the inter-war period the Compagnons' followers did, however, achieve one of their main objectives - the abolition of fees in secondary schools - despite fierce opposition. Free education was one issue on which Radicals and Socialists could agree and against which no left-wing partisan could vote. Fee abolition was to be the first step toward the implementation of the free _école unique_. Once the coalition of the _Cartel des Gauches_ ended in 1924, the two parties began working together again to combat the government's right-wing policies. The push for free secondary education began shortly after conservative education minister Bérard decreed, in 1925, that latin would once more be a

mandatory subject in the first year of the lycée program.[5] Even with provisions to make transfer between primary and secondary schools easier, left-wing reformers opposed Bérard's measure because latin blocked the late entrance of primary students into secondary classes, impeded the transfer of EPS students, and discouraged secondary school attendance by talented children uninterested in the classics, banishing them to the EPS, a modern secondary program, or technical schools, with little hope of entering higher education.

To combat Bérard's changes, between 1926 and 1928 the Radical education minister Edouard Herriot, and Hippolyte Ducos, in charge of the budget for public instruction, concocted a scheme to make secondary education free by amalgamating the smaller, rural EPS and the collèges communaux. The result was an unequal situation in which some students in the combination schools paid fees (those from the collèges communaux) while others did not (those from the EPS). By 1930 this odd situation led the Chamber of Deputies to debate a proposal for the gradual abolition of all fees. Stiff opposition came from right-wing party members, Catholics, secondary professors and bourgeois conservatives, adherents of the "middle class, socially and economically conservative brand of republicanism of the Third Republic".[6] They claimed that any orientation by inexperienced teachers and without financial constraints interfered with the rights of parents to decide their childrens' futures. Editors of the journal Le Temps, like Catholics, foresaw an exodus from private to free public schools,forcing the state to close down the private schools, contrary to republican principles.[7] A

statement by the Union républicaine démocratique (the largest right-wing party) that free secondary education would ruin French culture, because it would suppress the rights of the family, create a monopoly of education by the state, and provide a handout to those who could already afford to pay,[8] summed up conservative feeling in the inter-war period.

Given their position, the Senate's acceptance of a bill instituting free first year secondary classes in 1930 was surprising to most constituents. But the tactic of accepting certain concessions in return for the retention of the status quo was nothing new to conservatives who had done the same thing in 1902 when they accepted the introduction of a more modern curriculum in secondary schools in return for the maintenance of the classical curriculum as the elite curriculum. The 1930 legislation too reflected a change in the political climate. In 1928 André Tardieu, a conservative, had won the Prime Minister's office from Raymond Poincaré. Concerned by strong left-wing opposition, he immediately appointed eight new left-wing ministers in an attempt to secure support for the government from the left as well as the right. Tardieu had also put forward a new government program that included many of the left's most popular and least politically charged items, including fee abolition. Though initially rejected because of Tardieu's unpopularity with the Radicals, the finance committee on education eventually accepted some of the Prime Minister's proposals, of which the 'principle' of free education and the introduction of free first year classes were two. By 1930 the road to the complete abolition of secondary school fees was opened. By 1933 every year of secondary

school was free of charge. The conservatives had accepted some measure of democracy, but by no means had come close to accepting the école unique.

In reaction to the victory of reformers on the issue of fee abolition, because they feared it might next lead to the creation of the ever-feared école unique, conservatives began erecting barriers limiting children's access to secondary education. In 1933-34 a more conservative government created a new entrance exam for secondary schools. It also successfully defeated an attempt by reformers to eliminate fees at elementary annexes to the lycées. In doing so, conservatives ensured the continuation of an effective barrier to complete primary-secondary coordination in an école unique. Nevertheless, the abolition of fees in secondary schools, combined with earlier reforms coordinating some primary, secondary and technical curriculum,[9] was at least the beginning of the end to the undemocratic situation existing between the EPS and the modern sections of the collèges, parallel in curriculum but offering different occupational opportunities. Now EPS students, once unable to afford secondary schools, began attending the modern sections of the collèges that promised the possibility of a brighter future.[10] But the diminishing division between schools was not indicative of a reduction of the social division between students or between the programs they attended. According to Bourdieu and Passeron, this tenacious division resulted in part from the primary students' desire to separate themselves from the 'better' secondary students, with whom they could never hope to compete.

In 1936, Jean Zay, a lawyer cum Radical party member, was named education minister in the Popular Front government, a coalition of the Left including the Radicals, Socialists, and Communists (in a strictly supporting role). With encouragement from the Socialist premier Léon Blum, the Third Republic's youngest minister hoped to affect a 'peaceful revolution', including the transformation of the education system through the école unique and orientation classes, that would make France "an egalitarian and truly democratic society".[11] His proposals corresponded rather closely to those of the Compagnons, though they diverged where he felt he might encounter resistance. He altered the Compagnons' proposals only when he felt he would not compromise the integrity of their original plan. Thus he proposed a one year period of orientation instead of two (with only three months of observation), sanctioned by a Certificate d'études primaires, to be taken by children in primary schools proceeding either to a secondary school at 11 or to a vocational school at 12. Otherwise, his plan followed that of the Compagnons: a common primary education and two cycles of secondary education. The first cycle was to include the one year orientation and observation program, followed by three years of classical, modern or technical education. The second cycle was to last three years, but only the classical and modern sections would continue on to the baccalauréat and higher education. The technical option was followed by technical training at other non-secondary institutions or by entry into the work force.

Zay was forced to make changes by decree, as the government was not as interested in educational reform as was he. On August 7, 1936, the school leaving age was raised to 14 with little debate. In May of 1937 he placed the classes of the elementary annexes under the same jurisdiction as primary classes, and the EPS under the same jurisdiction as secondary schools. He also ordered that the EPS, modern collèges and technical schools offer common French, history, geography and math courses in the first cycle. In 1938 he created the Centres d'orientation that provided guidance in orientation to technical schools. Most importantly, in the fall of 1937 he introduced three months of common observation classes and the one year orientation period, offering three options (classical, modern and technical) in 45 public secondary and higher primary schools. Most of the 120 teachers involved in the experiment were pleased with the results, and most parents took the teachers' advice with little resistance. On the surface Zay's experiments seemed successful. The école unique seemed close at hand.

The plan, however, was doomed to failure. The orientation classes were plagued by technical difficulties. Project funds were low and teachers unprepared. Not all centres offered the three options, defeating their original purpose of sorting students into classical, modern and technical streams. Further, little movement occurred between the EPS and the lycées. Secondary students refused to be sent down, and EPS students shied away from the pretentious, hostile lycées. Primary students who did attend classes at secondary schools seldom fraternized

with secondary students. The hope for social reconciliation was dashed. Once again the self-propelled separation from the bourgeois programs by the lower classes was evident, behavior Bourdieu and Passeron explain in their reproduction theory.

The situation was aggravated by the primary teachers' and secondary professors' suspicions of one another. The teachers accused the professors of plotting to steal their best students, and the professors claimed that the teachers had "designs on their preserve". Secondary professors, organized in unions, the most prominent being the Société des agrégés, criticized the orientation scheme because it meant the amputation of the first year of the lycée program. They also thought that mixing all three options in one school would ruin the purity of classical education. Primary teachers, organized in unions such as the Syndicat national des instituteurs (SNI), were convinced that the Zay experiment was made at their expense, as their best students were plucked away from them a year earlier than usual. Another of their concerns was that orientation might make it more difficult for peasant or working class children to enter the écoles normales, traditionally their one avenue to social mobility. They might instead be steered toward a vocational education or apprenticeship, both offering less social mobility. Overall, secondary professors could not support what they felt was the 'primarization' of secondary studies, and the primary teachers had little enthusiasm for a reform which they felt concentrated mainly on secondary education.

The lack of support from radical left-wing reform partisans who were not entirely convinced of the benefits of structural reform also made the situation worse. They wondered whether orientation was a reliable method of democratic selection. If orientation was given at too early an age it would be unsuccessful. If there were more than three types of minds, but only three options in which to place children, it would be unsuccessful. And, if secondary professors used the orientation classes to skim off the best students for the classical option, banishing the 'left-overs' to the modern and technical sections, it would be unsuccessful. In the face of stiff opposition, with no support, and war looming large on the horizon, the orientation classes were closed and educational reform was put to the bottom of the government's agenda. There was to be no possibility of an école unique until after World War II.

Following the Second World War, interest in progress and reform swept over France. Government and society desired a new start, a conscious move away from the problems of the Third Republic and of Vichy, toward a 'modern' nation with the ability to advance politically, economically and culturally in the new age of the superpowers. Education was seen as a means of facilitating the modernisation of France. The transformation of education would produce a better educated population capable of facing the political, economic and technological challenges of post-war Europe. In 1945, however, the French education system was ill-prepared for such a task. The Fourth Republic had inherited the traditionally conservative system of the Third Republic.

The gulf between primary and secondary schools, though considerably narrowed, continued to exist after World War II. Basic education was dispensed to the entire population while secondary and higher education were still reserved for the well to do.[12] Classical studies continued to be an integral part of the secondary curriculum in spite of their relative uselessness in the ever-modernizing twentieth century. The lack of technical education also remained unaddressed, even in a post-war world filled with technological advancement. The baccalauréat retained its traditional nature and objective, making it difficult to obtain, especially for students from the primary system. Hence, secondary school graduates were few, at times too few to accommodate France's demand for a larger number of qualified professionals.

The post-war reformers had also to deal with the ultra-conservatism of the Vichy government. These reformers discovered that the Vichy education principles, as defined in the 1940 "Charter of the Renewed French School", were contrary to the aims of former reformers, and therefore to their own as well. Most measures instituted by the Vichy government were reactionary, including the abolition of the teachers' unions, the restoration of fees in secondary institutions, and the return of the classics to primacy in three of four secondary options. However, reformers also discovered that other Vichy measures had actually moved French education closer to the goals of the Compagnons and Jean Zay. For example, technical education had been improved with the introduction of professional training centres. Teacher training had also been introduced in the lycées after the closure of the Ecoles

normales primaires. The 'collège modern' (a secondary institution offering only modern studies) had emerged with the combination of the EPS and secondary collèges in certain areas. The reformers thus grudgingly accepted some measures taken by the Vichy government, as they constituted the beginning steps toward the école unique, but condemned Vichy principles and vowed to bring more complete, democratic reform to the education system than ever before.[13]

Complicating matters further, by the 1950's the baby boom, the exodus from rural areas, growing industrialization, higher expectations of the potential of secondary education,[14] and increased attendance at secondary schools produced the 'explosion scolaire', a massive increase in secondary enrollment,[15] that put great strain on the traditional system. Furthermore, the scientific and technical progress achieved during the war and the transformation from an agricultural to an industrial economy meant that the education system, historically geared toward the advancement of the humanities, was even more antiquated than it had been before the war. Obviously, the education system required improvement and expansion to keep France's competitive status in the world. The evolution of the Fourth Republic is filled with attempts by educational reformers to reorganize the chaotic education system, and in doing so to make it a means of modernisation.

On November 8, 1944 General Charles de Gaulle named a commission to define the problems of the education system and to recommend reform. In conjunction with the shift in politics to the left after the war, the

two presidents named to this commission, first Paul Langevin (physician) and subsequently Henri Wallon (psychologist), were both Collège de France professors and Communist party members. The remainder of the group consisted of three more professors from the Collège de France; Marcel Durry, agrégé d'avenir; Pierre George; Roger Gal (secretary of the commission); two Sorbonne professors; and Henri Piéron, psychologist. Named for its two presidents, the new commission first reviewed the measures taken by the Third Republic's reformers and by the Vichy regime. To combat the problems discovered in this review, the board outlined several objectives which they believed, once achieved, would alleviate old difficulties, and simultaneously constitute a modern, democratic educational system. The Langevin-Wallon commission had three major objectives: to establish equality of educational opportunity, to ensure equal dignity for all types of employment, and to improve the cultural level of the nation. With these changes they hoped to "align the system with recent thinking about social justice, the work of a modern nation, the nature of pupils, the diversity of intelligence and different types of administrative organization".[16]

Social justice, "d'assurer aux aptitudes de chacun tout le développement dont elles sont susceptibles"[17] was the most important and controversial of the commission's objectives. The commissioners believed that every child had the right to fully develop his/her personality, to progress to the highest level of which s/he is capable,[18] and to benefit from equal opportunities for advancement through education whatever his/her social, ethnic, or familial background.[19] To

break down the social hierarchy and the barriers between primary and secondary education, these reformers suggested the extension of all education, and the creation of comprehensive, coordinated junior high schools (écoles uniques) wherein the level of each child's education could be determined according to aptitude and merit. By raising the school leaving age and extending common classes to age 15, the reformers also hoped that educational criteria would become the only determinant of educational and cultural status[20]: "ils ne doivent trouver d'autre limitation que celle de leurs aptitudes".[21]

The commissioners also expected that the new school leaving age and the continuation of common classes through the écoles uniques would fulfill another objective - " d'élever le plus possible le niveau culturel de la nation".[22] The curriculum of the new common classes would include French, history, geography and a good dose of culture générale so that "toute matière doit être un moyen de culture".[23] Theoretically, by offering common classes based on the culture générale throughout every student's educational career, the cultural level of the nation would surely rise.

The Langevin-Wallon plan was also designed to "préparer l'enfant aux tâches professionnelles qui lui sont les plus accessibles, et où il pourra le mieux servir la collectivité".[24] The goal was an education system at once profitable to the whole community and to its individual members. The commissioners argued that orientation, the observation and placement of students into different types of schooling according to

their talent and motivation, would assure the development of a whole individual useful to modern society. Thereafter, orientation and the école unique would be closely linked. In orientation the students were to be sorted and placed into three options each "characterized to the degree of physiological and intellectual development of age groups that were considered sufficiently homogeneous units".[25] Hence orientation could be used to coordinate the students' skills with the needs of the state, as teachers could stream the 'appropriate' pupils into professions for which they were suited. The purpose of orientation was to create "un système scolaire à la fois différencié et uni dans ses structures, ses methodes et ses programmes: différencié pour mieux répondre à la diversité des characteristiques individuelles et des besoins sociaux, uni pour favoriser l'épanouissement de chacun, grâce à l'institution de moyens de rattrapage et d'orientation".[26]

In order to effectively orient students into all options without family resistance, the reformers sought to make each option equally attractive. Thus, both intellectual and manual skills were to be considered equal, though different, so that the vocational option could be evaluated on the same level as the modern and classical ones. The commissioners believed that practical intelligence should not be underestimated in a modern society. In this way they hoped to make everyone feel valuable to the state, willing to work for it in any capacity, and content to be oriented into the practical program, if so chosen. In giving equal dignity to all types of education and work, the Langevin-Wallon commission expected that "le progrès et la vie même sont

subordonnés à l'exacte utilisation des compétences".[27] The increased diversity of options would also serve a second function: to assure that the education system was abreast of the increasing complexity of modern society.

Specifically, the post-war plan called for free, compulsory education to the age of 18, completely reorganized. This plan was most significant in that, in effect, it solidified the école unique into a concrete educational proposal. The commission restructured the education system to include common primary classes for children between ages 6 and 11, followed by four years attendance at a common école moyenne (middle school), where every student was to be carefully observed and then properly oriented toward one of several secondary streams. The four-year program of the écoles moyennes was to be split into two stages. From ages 11 to 13 each student would partake in common classes (tronc commun), carefully scrutinized by a combination of both primary and secondary teachers. During the first year of this observation phase, teachers would determine the students' manual and aesthetic skills, during the second, the students' academic abilities.[28] All students between age 13 and age 15 would also be guided into classical, modern, or technical options, depending on which area best reflected each student's abilities. According to one author, the observation and orientation period was the time when childrens' "special abilities would become apparent and would permit selection on the basis of merit for various forms of specialized education".[29]

Only after attending the the four year observation and orientation period could a fair and just decision be made as to the program a student should follow in the final three year secondary cycle de détermination. This cycle was divided into three programs: theoretical, professional, and practical. The theoretical program, attended by the most talented students, would be divided into three sections (classical, modern, technical), coordinated through a common core of curriculum including the culture générale. All three options would be taught at the lycées and collèges and sanctioned by their own baccalauréat, providing students of the theoretical program with the possibility of access to higher education, and therefore the opportunity of a position in the liberal professions, the upper administration, or scientific and academic research.

The professional program would be divided into four sections: industrial, commercial, agricultural and artistic. Offered at the Ecoles nationales professionnelles or the professional sections of the lycées, the technical program would prepare students with an 'aptitude for execution' for a variety of Brevets d'enseignement professionnel. Completion would usually mean employment in lower administrative or managerial positions in the more highly skilled trades. Moreover, students in this program who began to exhibit aptitudes for theoretical studies might have the possibility of transferring to the theoretical program. With some time spent in the 'classes de ratrappage' to aid in their reorientation, these students might progress with little difficulty.

Finally, the practical program at the écoles pratiques was to offer a variety of apprenticeship courses, linked by some common courses, to students endowed with 'manual aptitudes'. They would comprise the majority of secondary students. The practical program was to be sanctioned by various forms of the Certificate d'aptitude professionnelle (CAP),[30] in preparation for entry into the work force at age 18. Despite the differences between these three post-primary programs, the presence of the common curriculum overlapping all of them was supposed to ensure that one's position in the education system was not irrevocable, and that the teachers in charge of orientation could undo the occasional error. Theoretically the transference of students to new options would be much less difficult in this system than it had been previously.

Upon its completion and presentation in 1947, the Langevin-Wallon plan was plagued by a variety of problems. First, the plan was too general about the internal workings of the proposed system. Although the commissioners had introduced specific changes, the vagueness with which the details were presented left its readers with many important questions. The plan was unclear on the fate of students ineligible for the lowest forms of secondary education. Equally unclear was whether teachers could be trained to assure that they made the proper orientation selections. The proposal's generality and inexactness made implementation difficult: "ce qui manque dangereusement, ce sont les études concrètes et précises, qui certainement ont dû servir de base à

cette construction hardie".[31] Thus the report incited much criticism from government officials, teachers and parents alike.

Furthermore, the commissioners failed to consider the difficult financial situation facing the Fourth Republic. They had ignored the over extended budget and lack of resources when they proposed raising the school leaving age to 18. Nor had they considered that the augmentation of the school population, due to children staying in school longer, would be an economic burden on the existing structures. It soon became apparent that France could ill afford to house more students for an extended period of time, or even to build the écoles moyennes necessary for effective orientation. The commissioners had also not forseen the labor costs associated with the increase in the school population. The labor force, supplied historically by a great number of workers between the ages of 14 and 18, would now attend school rather than work.[32] The financial pressure the commissioners proposed to place upon the government was, understandably, rejected. The government was generally far more concerned with restoring the French economy and maintaining France's renewed position at the forefront of European affairs than with meeting the intricacies of an educational reform that would be a huge economic burden.

These practical problems were exacerbated by debates similar to those which had disrupted educational reform during the previous republic. The most fierce and detrimental to the reform movement was the debate between primary instructors and secondary professors. The

Langevin-Wallon plan called for the reorganization of teacher training, dividing teachers according to their specialization, not their specific diplomas. The distinction between primary and secondary teachers was to be replaced by a distinction between 'common' and 'specialized' instructors. According to the plan, the maîtres communs would be employed in primary schools, the maîtres spécialisés in secondary schools, and a combination of both at the écoles moyennes. Both types of teacher were to follow the same training procedure to the end of their fifth year of secondary school at the Ecoles normales communes, after which the maîtres communs would complete the last two years of their course at a secondary institution, while the maîtres spécialisés continued on to university for two years of specialized training. The basic homogeneity of the teaching corps was to be assured by this training, but its agreement certainly was not.

Secondary professors disliked the Langevin-Wallon plan because the introduction of the orientation period threatened to shorten the traditional secondary program, breaking a treasured tradition which had long given them superiority in the educational hierarchy: "les ignorances, involuntaires ou voluntaires, s'attachent en générale à ce qui dans notre Université réprésente une tradition particulièrement précieuse et originale, celle de notre enseignement secondaire".[33] The professors were determined to oppose the Langevin-Wallon plan because they believed that it threatened their privileged positions by placing them on the same level as the despised primary instructors. For fear that their status would diminish, secondary professors wished to avoid

working alongside primary teachers in an institution which was in limbo somewhere between primary and secondary education. They could not support the Langevin-Wallon plan.

Primary teachers were also wary of the Langevin-Wallon proposals. They no more wanted to work with the arrogant professors than the professors with them. Secondly, the instructors assumed that they would wind up as the maîtres communs while secondary professors would become the spécialisés, once again creating a hierarchy to be used by the more powerful professors to sort students according to their own criterion. But they were generally optimistic about the benefits of orientation for students and for themselves, as their status could only improve if allowed to move up into the domain of the secondary professors. Thus they supported the reform.

Political rivalries also made acceptance of the Langevin-Wallon plan difficult. As Langevin, Wallon, and many of the commissioners were communists, and the majority of the government was not, the government charged that "the communists criticisms were over-exaggerated and too motivated by higher political beliefs".[34] Ironically, Langevin and Wallon had not proposed as radical reforms as most communists, who preferred social and political revolution. The communists' cooperation with the government reflected their concern for France immediately following the war. Their cooperation was, however, short-lived, and this rift is just one of the many political cleavages, inherent to the multi-party, proportional representation system, which made legislation

next to impossible. The government had to rely on flimsy coalitions to pass anything.[35] The most significant of these cleavages was the division between the parties of the left. Again the Socialists and Radicals could neither agree on a political nor on an educational level. Radicals preferred limited, moderate reforms and democratic selection whereas the socialists desired more complete orientation schemes. The failure of the Left to hold together in support of the Langevin-Wallon plan ensured its failure, as it had the reforms of the late Third Republic. By 1947, much of the initial enthusiasm shared by the reformers and the public had been replaced by concern over more pressing internal economic and political difficulties (recovery from the war) and external crises (East Germany).[36] Education reform was replaced by exigency.

But although the Langevin-Wallon plan (and Depreux's very similar 1948 proposal) was rejected, ironically it became the basis of future projects from succeeding education ministers: Delbos in 1949, Brunold, Marie and Berthoin in 1955, and Billères in 1957. Agreement between the authors of the radical Langevin-Wallon plan and both moderate conservatives and reformers was reached on five of the points proposed in the original plan. All agreed that the school leaving age should be raised and that all students must attend common primary schools. Beyond primary school these people also agreed that some form of orientation followed by a diversity of secondary options should be available, although they did not condone the creation of an <u>école unique</u>. Lastly, they decided that a de-emphasis on homework and memorization and a new

emphasis on practical and physical education would better serve the public.

In the late 1940's some small changes to the education system along these lines looked encouraging, as they seemed to bring technical and general education programs closer together. A technical baccalauréat was created in 1946 and, to the delight of the modernists, some technical diplomas were made equivalent to the baccalauréat for entry into higher education.[37] Curricular changes were also attempted that same year. The cours complémentaires gained the right to offer all four years of the first cycle of secondary education, and those with over 120 students were renamed collèges modernes. Thus began the standardization of the curriculum in the upper reaches of the primary schools, with the modern sections of secondary schools and the curriculum of the Ecoles nationales professionnelles.[38]

But compromise extended to these points only. Conservative education ministers began to offer their own versions of the école unique. In 1949 Yvon Delbos presented a comprehensive proposal which altered some of the main features of the Langevin-Wallon plan. The education minister opted for a two, not four, year orientation period to be introduced in all types of secondary schools, not in common junior high schools. There were to be no écoles uniques, but the orientation period would serve as the tool of democratic selection.[39] The bill was debated in the Conseil supérieur de l'instruction publique, but, unacceptable to both reformers and conservatives, was not acted upon.

By 1952 the avalanche of students entering secondary education had become a problem as there were not enough programs to meet these students' needs. In response, Charles Brunold, directeur général de l'enseignement du second degré, proposed two forms of secondary education, one long and one short. The short form was designed so that students not going on to higher education could receive an adequate secondary education sanctioned by a secondary level examination. The long program was for those students destined to attend an institution of higher learning. This project drew criticism from supporters of primary education. They believed that the ommission of the cours complémentaires[40] indicated that Brunold's main concern was not orientation, but the selection of students for the long program.[41] These opponents subsequently drew up a 'contre projet' that included the cours complémentaires.[42] By 1953 education minister André Marie presented a comprehensive project combining the basic principles of the Langevin-Wallon plan with some of the less radical reform ideas of the 1950's. Marie's project included a two year orientation period, an attestation d'aptitude, both cours complémentaires programs, and a two part baccalauréat. By the middle of the decade the Marie plan seemed to have achieved a compromise between radical, moderate and conservative ideas.

However, by 1955 it was apparent that these reform proposals had been relatively unsuccessful. None had been accepted by the National Assembly for legislation.[43] Therefore Jean Berthoin, Radical education minister in Edgar Faure's government, set up a 'comité d'études', under

the presidency of Jean Sarrailh, both to review the problems and to make recommendations for reform, much as the Langevin-Wallon commission had done. Comprised of financial, educational and political experts, this committee had, for the first time, the participation of representatives from the private sector. On April 27, 1955, the committee's conclusions were made public. They requested more teachers, and resources in general, for success in the educational field, as well as longer and more advanced professional and scientific programs. Finally, the committee felt that orientation schemes had heretofore been left too much to chance, and thus proposed the adoption of a better organized, more democratic orientation program.[44]

In light of these considerations, Berthoin's 1955 plan was less conservative than former proposals by the Fourth Republic's previous ministers. Berthoin raised the school leaving age to 16 and divided education into three cycles. The first cycle was a common primary cycle followed by the second cycle of l'enseignement moyen d'essai et d'orientation taught to 11 to 13 year olds by both primary and secondary teachers. The third cycle, l'enseignement de formation, was divided into long and short programs. The long general or professional program at lycées, collèges, or technical establishments was designed to extend schooling in these same programs for those children wishing to enter higher education. The short enseignement primaire terminal or enseignement professionnel terminal were to prepare students of diverse abilities for an assortment of vocations that they could enter upon completion of the program at 16. But the proposal, which went on to

become the basis of Berthoin's 1959 proposal, went unlegislated as external problems confronting the government, such as the civil war in Algeria, kept Parliament from discussing or voting on Berthoin's bill.

Yet problems within the education system continued to escalate. Especially serious was the secondary school population explosion and the obstinate social divisions between programs. A 1956 estimate showed that only 55% of students of secondary school age actually attended a lycée, collège, cours complémentaires or technical institution,[45] and within that percentage only 3% of workers' children and 4% of peasants' went on to higher education at a university or technical institute.[46] Thus when the 1956 elections changed the majority in the government, Socialist René Billères was introduced as education minister. Billères was interested in democratic selection, and, like preceding reformers, assumed that orientation would bring equal educational opportunity to all students. He was also convinced that the children who had previously only attained a primary education were now in need of longer education to adjust to new conditions in society, including the increased mechanisation of industry and the great influx of people to the cities. Hence he concerned himself not only with the selection of the best students, but also with the orientation of all students into courses appropriate for their individual abilities and needs. But his main concern continued to be the democratic selection of secondary students with an emphasis on the fair and just choice of students for secondary school according to merit.

The Billères proposal included the introduction of commom primary schools and a relatively short two-year observation and orientation period for pupils between the ages of 11 and 13. This period was supposed to supply each student with an intermediate education that allowed him/her the possibility of entrance into one of a number of secondary options, regardless of his/her social standing.[47] The assortment of secondary options included l'enseignement terminal for those not continuing their educations past 16, l'enseignement général court and professionnel court to train lesser civil servants and technicians, and long general and professional sections preparing the best students for specialized higher education. A seemingly satisfactory compromise between conservative and reformer demands, the Billères document was accepted by the Conseils d'enseignement and the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation nationale. The bill was then sent to the Chamber of Deputies for debate. But the Suez and Algerian crises and the subsequent collapse of the government in 1956 left the Billères bill waiting to be ratified.

Every reform proposal made between 1947 and 1956 was followed by a debate consistent with the hostile, prohibitive debates that had raged between various groups during the Third Republic and following the Langevin-Wallon presentation. To tease the reformers, conservatives poked fun at the plans which seemed even to them to reinforce the hierarchy in the school system: "on constate que la division des enseignements est commandée par la necessité de former des ouvrières

spécialistes, des contremaitres, des ingenieurs. N'est-ce point là ce qui s'appelle une hierarchie des tâches et des travailleurs?".[48] Particularly apparent was the obstinance of the radical elements from both the conservative and reformist camps. Classicists were continually concerned that orientation would jeopardize their precious classical program. According to one Franco-Ancienne, any plan containing provisions for orientation "s'inscrit contre la tradition française et risque de détruire l'enseignement secondaire"[49] because it severed up to two years of the classical curriculum and rescinded parents' liberty to choose their childrens' educations.

Conversely the modernists continued to fight to incorporate more and more technical and scientific courses into the secondary curriculum. Represented by the Fedération de l'education nationale (FEN) and the Syndicat national des instituteurs (SNI), modernists wished to improve and 'modernize' education with a shift in emphasis from ancient languages to science, and the introduction of a greater variety of secondary options, including more technical and vocational programs, opening access to secondary education for a larger proportion of the population. Hence they supported the basic elements of the Billères proposal - the increase of compulsory schooling, the introduction of the écoles moyennes, the closer coordination of secondary programs (tronc commun) and the advancement of technical education. They were critical of some technical programs that allowed compulsory education to end as early as 14 for some students, but generally supported the bill as a step in the right direction. Clearly, the cross purposes at which the

classicists and modernists worked made that the chance of reconciliation or compromise between these two groups very slim.

These debates were complicated by the same problems which had haunted the Langevin-Wallon plan. The 1950's proposals were as vague as the mother plan, providing no timetables, cost-estimates or recruitment schedules for orientation teachers. They were unclear on fine points, leaving questions in the minds of their readers. For example, the latest proposals still failed to clarify where orientation would take place, the relationship between primary and secondary teachers, the new system's effect on private Catholic schools, whether or not all options would be offered in every establishment, and how the difficulties of transfer between one option and another would be overcome. With each attempt at reform the solutions to these problems became clearer, but still unsatisfactory by the time of the Billères bill.

Moreover, all proposals by the Fourth Republic's education ministers were beset by difficulties similar to those that had troubled the Third Republic's reformers. Obstacles included the traditional nature of the education system, the irreconcilable groups supporting and opposing this traditional system and lack of materials, funding, and time available for reform. Furthermore, the French system of proportional representation meant that to pass legislation one had to depend upon coalitions, which were not always possible. As well these coalitions tended to form around the centre of the political spectrum, mainly the Socialists, Radicals and Catholic MRPs. These parties were

less likely to upset the status quo as their prominence in the government usually depended on maintaining normalcy, not change. Radical change was more apt to come from parties on the far right, or the far left, something which the centre hoped to avoid. Thus reform of any kind which involved more than minimal change to the education system was unlikely to be supported by the government, even though the unrelenting pressure for greater secondary access meant that change was becoming increasingly inevitable. The Fourth Republic also had problems all its own. The governments of the Fourth Republic continued to face serious political problems that became more acute with the escalation of the Algerian war. The nature of these international crises often meant that educational reform fell to the end of the agenda, never to be discussed or voted on by Parliament.

According to one author, by the end of the Fourth Republic secondary education had: "failed to develop in the French people some of the gifts which they needed in the last fifty years; boldness in effecting their individual revolution, political sense for compromise and for grasping the lesson of events in Europe or the French union, flexibility, imaginative grasp of the future and civic abnegation in the ruling class".[50] Nevertheless, by 1958 French educational reform had been more clearly defined, if not successfully implemented.[51] The achievements of the Fourth Republic, though minimal and superficial, made the task of the reformers during the Fifth Republic that much easier.

Table 2.1 Social origin of first year secondary students 1936-1956

Fathers's profession	1936-1937	1946-1947			1956-1957		
	Total %	Total %	6ecl %	6emd %	Total %	6ecl %	6emd %
liberal profession	10.6	7.2	11.2	3.9	8.8	12.6	4.1
enterprise foreman	24.6	16.6	19.1	14.6	12.4	14.0	10.6
civil and military officials	29.9	25.9	31.2	21.5	26.9	30.0	23.1
white collar employee	20.3	11.9	15.4	9.0	21.6	20.7	22.9
artisan	4.4	9.9	8.1	11.3	8.2	6.8	9.7
farmer	1.7	8.9	6.0	11.3	6.8	5.6	8.4
worker	2.7	12.4	6.1	17.5	12.3	7.6	17.7
other	5.8	7.2	2.8	10.9	3.0	2.7	3.5
Total (= 100%)	28,806	57,104	25,426	31,678	101,751	51,943	46,924

After: Prost, Histoire, p. 231.

Table 2.2 Secondary and higher education numbers 1928-1978 (thousands)

Schools	1928 1929	1938 1939	1948 1949	1958 1959	1968 1969	1978 1979
Ecoles maternelles	375	396	418	606	1,344	1,859
Ecoles primaires	4,006	5,254	4,641	6,023	6,042	5,432
Cours complémentaires CEG	92	167	241	514	868	
CES					770	2,996
Ecoles primaires supérieures	80	105				
Lycées, collèges	291	512	729	871	1,636	1,482
EPCI, lycées techniques	38	66	70	161		
Centres d'apprentissage, CET			166	261	595	687
Universities	67	79	127	189	580	639
Total	4,949	6,579	6,392	9,150	11,835	13,295
Grandes écoles			33	40	89	

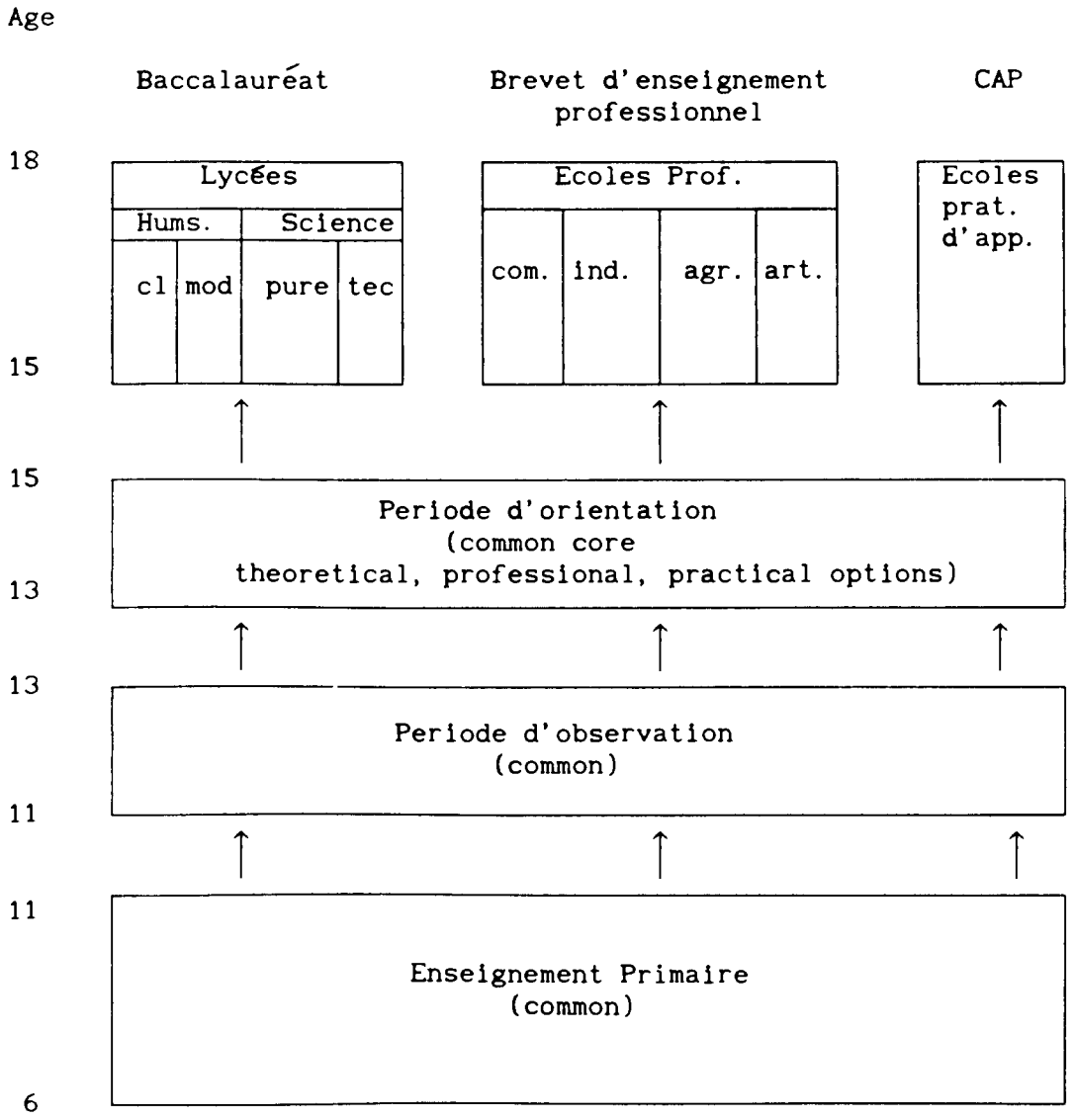
After: Prost, Histoire, p. 22.

Table 2.3 Reforms and projects for reform (1947-1973)

Principal projects and propositions for the tronc commun	Orientation cycle			
	duration	with tronc commun		without tronc commun
		total	partial	
1947 Langevin-Wallon	4 years	2 years	2 years	
1948 Projet Depreux	4 years	2 years	2 years	
1949 Projet Delbos	2 years		2 years	
1953 Projet Marie-1st Projet Marie-2nd	2 years 2 years			x x
1955 Projet Berthoin	2 years		2 years	
1956 Projet Billères	2 years	1 year	1 year	
1959 Berthoin Reform	2 years	3 months		
1963 Fouchet Reform	4 years			x
1973 Projet Fontanet	4 years		4 years	
1975 Haby Reform	4 years	2 years	2 years	

After: Prost, Histoire, p. 252.

Figure 2.1 The Langevin-Wallon Plan



[1]John Talbott, The Politics of Educational Reform in France, 1918-1940, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 63.

[2]Ibid., p. 94.

[3]Ibid., p. 145.

[4]John Talbott, "The French Left and the Ideology of French Educational Reform", French Historical Studies, Vol. 5 #4 (Fall 1968), p. 471.

[5]Talbott, Politics of Educational Reform, p. 79-80.

[6]Joseph Moody, French Education Since Napoleon, (N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1978), p. 108.

[7]Ibid., p. 115.

[8]Ibid., p. 165.

[9]The lycées, higher primary schools, cours complémentaires and Ecoles pratiques de commerce et d'industrie began to offer similar classes in 1925, but only in 150 schools. In 1926 the curriculum of the primary schools and the elementary annexes of the lycées were also more closely coordinated, though tuition still had to be paid at the elementary annexes until after World War II, maintaining at least an economic division between primary and secondary institutions. Technical education was transferred from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce to the Ministry of Public Instruction, renamed the Ministry of National Education in 1920, enhancing the coordination of technical and general education. In 1934, The écoles pratiques absorbed 35 of the most vocational EPS and modern collèges programs, foreshadowing the future closure of all EPS. Orientation and complete coordination between the different education systems were growing closer to becoming reality.

[10]Moody, French Education, p. 133.

[11]D.R. Watson, "Educational Reform in France 1900-1940", Past and Present, (July, 1966), p. 93.

[12]Moody, French Education, p. 168.

[13]Ibid., p. 151.

[14]Jean Capelle, Tomorrow's Education- The French Experience, (London: Pergammon Press Ltd, 1967), p. 19. According to the author: "The public became aware, as never before on such a scale, of the importance of education in creating a more satisfactory mode of life and additional means of economic progress...Henceforth education was accepted by everybody as a factor of material and moral advancement."

[15]Antoine Prost, Histoire de l'enseignement en France 1800-1967, (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1968), p. 435. Between 1949 and 1963 the population of the cours complémentaires increased from 163,000 to 875,000 and the lycée population increased from 326,000 to 1,016,000.

[16]W.R. Fraser, "Reform in France", Comparative Education Review, (October, 1967), p. 302.

[17]Luc Décaunes and M.L. Cavalier, Réformes et projets de réforme de l'enseignement française de la révolution à nos jours, (Paris: PUF, 1961), p. 275.

[18]Ibid., p. 126.

[19]Capelle, Tomorrow's Education, p. 19.

[20]P. Chevallier, L'enseignement français de la révolution à nos jours, (Paris: Editions Mouton, 1968), p. 185.

[21]Décaunes, Réformes, p. 126.

[22]Ibid., p. 275.

[23]Le Monde, 1 July, 1947, p. 3.

[24]Décaunes, Réformes, p. 275.

[25]Capelle, Tomorrow's Education, p. 53.

[26]Antoine Léon, Histoire de l'enseignement en France, (Paris: PUF, 1967), p. 106.

[27]Décaunes, Réformes, p. 126.

[28]W.D. Halls, Society, Schools and Progress in France, (London: Pergammon Press, 1965), p. 28.

[29]Eric Cahm, Politics and Society in Contemporary France 1789-1970, (London: George G. Harrap and Co., 1972), p. 183.

[30]The CAP programs provided specific job training for the country's skilled work force in all areas.

[31]Le Monde, 2 April, 1948, p. 1.

[32]D. Miles, Recent Reforms in French Secondary Education, (N. Y.: Pergammon Press, 1971), p. 53.

[33]Le Monde, 2 April, 1948, p. 5.

[34]Julian Park, The Culture of France, (N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1954), p. 62.

[35]J.E. Flower, Ed., France Today, (London: Methuen and Co., 1977), p. 118.

[36]Moody, French Education, p. 168.

[37]W.R. Fraser, Education and Society in Modern France, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 8.

[38]Flower, France Today, p. 170.

[39]He also proposed the 'attestations d'aptitude': a report card which outlined the teachers' advice on which section of secondary school students should enter after orientation. He advocated extending the school leaving age to 18, but allowed the continuation of the cours complémentaires, where students could take one of several specialized courses and finish full-time studies as early as 14, followed only by 100 hours a year of part-time studies until the age of 18.

[40]Centre for International Affairs, In Search of France, (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 178. The cours complémentaires had become an important component of the post-primary education system as their populations had exploded by 240% since World War II and the elimination of the EPS.

[41]Décaunes, Réformes, p. 161.

[42]For the first time this 'contre projet' defined the cours complémentaires as having two programs: a two class course for students wishing to finish school at 14, and a four class (de plein exercice) course for those who hoped to continue in school.

[43]J. Valenti, "Proposed Reforms in French Secondary Education", Harvard Education Review, (29, no.2), p. 125. In 1955 there were still proportionately more bourgeois children in secondary schools than lower income children. In the first year of secondary school, 16% of farmers' sons, 21% of industrial workers' sons, 39% of tradesmens' sons, 43% of foremens' sons, 69% of industrialists' sons, 86% of higher officials' sons and 87% of learned professionals' sons entered the first year of secondary school. Furthermore, whereas 68% of the population came from the working class, they made up only 9% of the university population. Generally, only 6% of students aged 19-21 graduated with a baccalauréat while in the United States 18% graduated with its equivalent. Because of the entrance qualifications, France had only 365 students per 100,000 in higher education, whereas the U.S.A. had 1783, Canada had 642, the U.S.S.R. had 697, Japan had 500, Czechoslovakia had 608, Bulgaria had 401, and Yugoslavia had 374.

[44]Décaunes, Réformes, p. 174.

[45]Fraser, Education and Society, p. 9. Within that percentage it was estimated that 85% of the children of liberal professionals, senior civil servants and administrators, 68% of the children of industrialists, 55% of the children of junior civil servants, clerks and foremen, 39% of the children of shopkeepers and artisans, 20% of the children of industrial workers, and 12% of the children of farmers and agricultural workers attended these institutions (p. 54).

[46]Ibid., p. 57.

[47]Décaunes, Réformes, p. 190.

[48]Le Monde, 23 April, 1948, p. 4.

[49]Décaunes, Réformes, p. 182.

[50]Valenti, "Proposed Reforms", p. 126.

[51]Miles, Recent Reforms, p. 77.

CHAPTER 3: The Road to the Ecole Unique

In contrast to the Fourth Republic, the Fifth Republic proved to be a time of action. Unlike the ministers of the previous regime, the Fifth Republic's conservative education ministers moved slowly toward the implementation of the controversial école unique. By January of 1959, the Algerian crisis had been resolved and the newly reinstated Charles de Gaulle had begun determined efforts to modernize France through reform. Education was one sphere which de Gaulle believed due for reform. The education system of the Fourth Republic had given 11 year olds three choices upon finishing primary school. They could remain at primary school in the classes de fin d'études until age 14 to obtain the Certificate d'études primaires. They could take the examen de sixième, and, based on their results, enter a cours complémentaires for two or three years in preparation for the brevet d'étude du premier cycle. Or, they could attend a lycée, if their results on the examen de sixième were sufficiently good, until the age of 18, when they could write the baccalauréat.

Critics believed that certain elements of this system required extensive revision. Primary teachers, students, unions and parents associations and those interested in education generally as well as left-wing party members believed that the French education system had failed to produce people sufficiently educated for modern society, and was overdue for innovation to provide France with more well-trained school graduates. They found the system incoherent because the

different types of schools, with their distinct histories, traditions, curriculum, administration and teaching staff, competed unnecessarily with one another. Reformers were concerned that the traditional, old-fashioned curricula of these schools did not prepare for the modern world. They were also worried that 11, the age at which children took the examen de sixième, was too young for pupils to be streamed. At that age they were too underdeveloped to permit accurate evaluations and too uninformed to make important, independent decisions about which school to attend, which career to pursue. Thus, the orientation period as it stood in 1958 appeared to be "excessively influenced by parental social and economic status and not ability".[1] Plus the expolsion scolaire was reaching crisis point. Between 1951 and 1961 attendance at primary schools increased by 42%, at technical collèges (apprenticeship centres) by 65%, at classical and modern lycées by 110%, at technical lycées by 65%, and at the cours complémentaires by 177%.[2] More open access to secondary education was the order of the day. The system needed renovation. This was not lost on the teachers' unions whose members began, late in 1958, to demand reform. On November 12, the Syndicat général de l'enseignement national underlined the urgency for reform, on November 15, the Congrès de la fédération nationale demanded changes to the existing education system and, by November 19, M. Guibourgé, president of the Union nationale des associations familiales had decided that "une réforme de notre enseignement s'adaptant aux besoins modernes"[3] was absolutely necessary.

In the last few months of 1958, education minister Jean Berthoin responded to these demands. The plan he presented to two interministerial councils in December was much like his 1955 document. As outlined in the preface, the proposal was based on four principles, or 'idées forces': 1) "d'ouvrir le plus largement possible l'accès de l'enseignement supérieur afin de former les cadres dont la Nation à besoin",[4] 2) "d'assurer leur (les étudiants) bonne orientation en fonction de leurs besoins individus" and "leur offrir un éventail d'options suffisament diversifiée pour que chacun puisse choisir la voie qu'il convient",[5] 3) "de guarantir à tous les enfants une instruction et une formation suffisante, en rapport avec les besoins de la société moderne", and 4) the "utilisation généralisé des méthodes actives, développement d'initiative individuelle, et la transformation du rôle du maître.[6] These 'ideas' became the basis of reform during the Fifth Republic, including Berthoin's proposal, which was accepted by both councils December 12 and December 20, 1958.[7]

On June 1, 1958, Charles de Gaulle had become premier of France. He was awarded extraordinary powers of government for a period of six months, both to end the Algerian crisis and to establish the new Fifth Republic. On January 6, 1959, de Gaulle decreed Berthoin's 1959 education reform proposal. The full emergency powers conferred on him in the absence of the yet-to-be-elected National Assembly allowed de Gaulle to force the bill through with only minimal discussion by the Cabinet. This time there was no parliamentary intervention, debate or modification. The legislation of the Berthoin proposal marked the first

successful legislation of a reform plan since Jean Zay's decrees of 1936-1938. The initial steps on the long road to the complete transformation of the French education system through the implementation of the école unique had been taken in anything but a democratic fashion.

The Berthoin decree, closely resembling the 1955 plan, altered many traditional practices. First, the school leaving age was raised to 16 for children entering primary school in 1960. The Berthoin laws also included the creation of a two year cycle d'observation et d'orientation to improve the general efficiency of education, to " conduire aux enseignements de formation tous les enfants capables de les suivre avec fruit: substitue à l'orientation de hasard ou préjuger...une orientation fondée sur la pleine observation de leurs aptitude"[8] and to diffuse the discontent over the failure of the école unique movement thus far. Rather than entering the post-primary program of one's choice, all students were now required to attend observation and orientation classes. Designed to "bring out better social mixing and facilitate the childrens' guidance in accordance with their aptitudes",[9] the new guidance phase began with an observation period consisting of one trimestre of entirely common classes. Following the first three months of school, students took classical or modern courses as well as the aforementioned common curriculum. The choice between classical and modern instruction was made by the teachers, after careful assessment of students' dossiers - a record of the students' performance - and consultation with a conseil d'orientation, under the direction of a principal professor. Parents could dispute a teacher's decision, but

their complaint did not necessarily alter the process. Their children still had to prove the ability to enter the preferred option by the successful completion of an entrance examination. Re-orientation was assured by a minimum common program enabling students to transfer, with little trauma, from one class to another during the school year.

If coordination between classes was improved by orientation, the continued existence of different types of post-primary schools limited the improvement. The cycles d'observation were housed in existing schools, whose character remained essentially the same, but whose names were altered to give the appearance of change. The old centres d'apprentissage were renamed the Collèges d'enseignement technique (CET) and the cours complémentaires (with some upgrading) became known as the Collèges d'enseignement général (CEG). The new lycées techniques encompassed the old lycées techniques, collèges techniques and Ecoles nationales professionnelles, while traditional modern and classical lycées and collèges became simply lycées classiques and modernes.

At the end of the observation and orientation program, the teachers were required to suggest to the pupils one of five secondary options offered in these 'new' establishments: l'enseignement général court, l'enseignement général long, l'enseignement professionnel court, l'enseignement professionnel long and l'enseignement terminal. The long programs were more intensive courses for students intending to enter higher education, while the short programs provided vocational training for students entering the work force after compulsory schooling. This

new system partially eliminated the confusing system of the Fourth Republic.

Specifically, l'enseignement général court was a three year general studies program at the CEG that prepared students for the Brevet d'enseignement général, followed by employment in a non-technical sector. In curriculum, length, and employment opportunity the short general section quite closely resembled the traditional EPS program, but with the distinct difference that transfer to a long general or professional course was possible with time spent in transitional classes. Alternatively, l'enseignement général long, offered at the lycées classiques, modernes, and techniques, was made up of three cycles, each with a variety of optional classes. A common base of culture générale bridged all of the options, facilitating student transfer from one section to another in the event of incorrect orientation. Despite attempts by reformers to ensure that all programs were accorded equal status, l'enseignement général long, modeled on the traditional classical and modern sections of the old lycées and collèges, remained the most prestigious section, partly because of the difficult theoretical curriculum, and partly because it led to the baccalauréat, and therefore higher education and professional life.

In l'enseignement professionnel court students trained to become qualified workers and employees within three years. The short professional course was sanctioned by the CAP following one year of preparation at a primary school or CEG and two years at the CET. This

program was constantly adapted to national needs. L'enseignement professionnel long had "une structure étagée avec une progression de simple qualification professionnelle à haute formation du technicien".[10] Four years at a lycée technique could earn one the title 'agents techniciens' and five years, the title of 'technicien breveté', after the first part of the baccalauréat. Theoretically, there was always the possibility that students might rise to a higher program with the help of transitional classes. The long and short professional programs also included important elements of the culture générale to make transfer between l'enseignement général and l'enseignement professionnel possible if a student showed particular promise. Reformers hoped that the introduction of short and long professional courses would increase career opportunities and social mobility for children from less prosperous families, and that education would, in the process, become more adaptable to the changing needs of industry and society.

L'enseignement terminal, presented at primary schools or the new CEG, ensured that students aged 13-16, unqualified for any of the other four programs, would remain in school up to the obligatory school leaving age. The three year program included general courses plus concrete practical training preparatory for careers in commerce, industry, agriculture, or art, sanctioned by the diplôme de fin d'études that included a professional specialization. After the first year, late-bloomers, placed hastily in the terminal program, had the option of transferring to the short professional or general sections of secondary education, complete with preparation in the transitional classes. The

reformers hoped that the combination of the orientation period and l'enseignement terminal would eliminate the highly undemocratic classes de fin d'études, offered heretofore at primary institutions.[11] There were also provisions made for the creation of transitional classes offering reconsideration to students who had been misguided, misjudged, or simply missed. Also known as the classes passerelles, d'adaptation or d'acueil, these sections were conducted parallel to normal third year classes, allowing students as yet unplaced in a secondary class, or students not benefitting from the option s/he was in, to be re-directed into a new program. The classes de transition confirmed the principle of democratization by offering "des possibilités de passage d'un enseignement à un autre plus approprié sont largement amenagés grâce à des sections spécialisés à tout moment une ré-orientation".[12] The political and social inequities created by the traditional education system might finally be overcome.

Although Berthoin's reform escaped examination by the National Assembly, many groups voiced strong opinions about the new legislation. The cycle d'observation et d'orientation was at the heart of the debate because it challenged the most established educational traditions. While conservatives and reformers could agree on three of the least controversial measures - the increase of scholarships, the elevation of the school leaving age and the expansion of continuing education - neither group would compromise on the guidance phase. The strength of each side's convictions made the Berthoin reform, a compromise between radical and traditional positions, untenable all round - useless to

conservatives who believed "l'orientation doit se faire d'abord par la sélection" and insufficient for radicals because "l'orientation se faire d'abord par l'observation".[13]

Conservatives, led by secondary professors, students and their parents, believed that "on peut démocratiser sans briser l'unité de l'enseignement secondaire".[14] The newsletters from conservative secondary teachers' and parents' unions revealed their opposition to the 'radicalism' of the Berthoin reform which had introduced the ever-hated cycle d'observation et d'orientation as a replacement for the selective apparatus of the previous education system. The Société des agrégés desperately wanted to retain the traditional education system in which "chaque ordre d'enseignement conservé son originalité, notamment dans son esprit et ses méthodes pédagogiques...un véritable enseignement secondaire conservant ses caractères propres à l'intérieur de l'enseignement du second degré".[15] The Franco-Anciennes agreed with the agrégés in their attachment "à l'unité de l'enseignement secondaire, de la classe de sixième aux classes terminales".[16] But, unlike the agrégés, who conceded to the acceptance of the classes de transition, neither the Franco-Anciennes nor the Syndicat national de l'enseignement secondaire would compromise the supremacy of selection. They instead outlined a system in which the aptitude for long or short studies would be determined in an individual dossier before the first year of secondary class so that the best could begin latin immediately, while the rest should be consigned to the short programs: "la démocratisation consiste à supprimer tous les obstacles à la sélection des meilleurs".[17]

Traditionalists completely opposed the école unique, the symbol of their worst fears.

Conversely, reform supporters, comprised of trade unionists, primary instructors, their pupils, and the childrens' families, refused to disassociate "la démocratisation de l'institution d'un enseignement moyen autonome".[18] Disgruntled reformers argued that the theory and the practice of the reform were contradictory, self-defeating, and completely inadequate.[19] On the one hand all students were supposed to move into secondary institutions at the end of primary school, and yet a primary extension (CEG) was left firmly in place as an alternate choice for these students. According to the Union nationale des étudiants de France "l'enseignement secondaire reste reservé à une élite de la jeunesse. L'enseignement primaire et les cours complémentaires, réservés à la grande majorité des enfants,...".[20] Because the curriculum and clientele of the lycées and CEGs were so markedly different, extending school choice for two years provided little real equality of educational opportunity. Students attending the CEG were obviously ill-prepared to later attend the lycées. The reformers found the Berthoin plan "regrettable, poursuit le communiqué, que l'enseignement général court, destiné à assurer le recrutement des cadres moyens du secteur tertiare, ne soit pas completé par un second cycle ouvrant, par un baccalauréat, les mêmes chances d'accession sociale de l'enseignement long".[21]

Supporters of the orientation principle also criticized the decree because it grafted the two year cycle d'observation et d'orientation onto the old lycée structure.[22] The law preserved the distinctions between the schools and their names, administration, supervision, finances, staff, methods and traditional goals[23] in compliance with Article 7, which demanded that the observation and orientation cycle remain "an integral part of the establishment in which they are set up".[24] Members of the Syndicat général de l'education national were convinced that orientation would be ineffective as long as it continued to be housed in separate institutions. As there was no real coordination between schools to allow cultural and economic differences to be overcome, they predicted that the clientele of each school would remain unchanged; most upper middle class children would stay at the lycées, most of the less well to do students "transferred their trust from the cours complémentaires to the CEG"[25], because the observation period and orientation options were "so distinct in tradition that transfer was impeded".[26] They were correct, as little movement from 'primary' programs to 'secondary' ones occurred. In the early 1960's only one percent moved from a lycée to a CEG and vice-versa,[27] and although twice as many children remained in school past the age of 14 in 1961-62, not until 1967-68 was there a majority of students attending truly secondary institutions[28] as Bourdieu and Passeron had predicted. In essence the status quo was preserved: the CEG continued to run the majority of the short and transitional courses and the lycées offered almost all of the long programs. To the reformers chagrin, the problems of transfer between programs were the same as those in the Fourth Republic.

Furthermore, the tronc commun was much shorter than expected, and most reformers found it to be entirely inadequate: "la seule innovation qui subsiste en ce qui concerne les lycées, et elle est modeste, après treize années de débats sur le 'tronc commun', est donc la modification des programmes du première trimestre de la sixième".[29] The men and women of the Syndicat national de l'enseignement technique, who sought greater autonomy for orientation, agreed with the Syndicat national des instituteurs' constituents, who thought the Berthoin bill was only a half measure. Both groups insisted on a full one year common observation period, with classical and modern options beginning only at the end of the second year of secondary studies. Even more upset by the reform was the Fédération des conseils de parents d'élèves des écoles publiques whose members called the three month observation period "une caricature d'un principe essentiel".[30] Most members of the teachers' unions, like the Fédération nationale des étudiants (FEN), sought the extension of the observation and orientation period to four years within a common school.

Reformers were also very agitated over the fate of students declared incapable of entering even terminal classes. According to Article 31 of the Berthoin reform, such students could complete their educations in "industrial or commercial undertakings",[31] a rule that allowed them the option of leaving school at 13 for employment, long before the new compulsory school leaving age. There was no guarantee that they would attend school until 16.[32] The reformers' fears were

realized as only 65% of students aged 11-13 attended the cycle d'observation while the other 35% remained in primary school or apprenticed in a local industry in 1959. As far as the reformers were concerned the situation was essentially unchanged and "la veritable réforme démocratique et libérale reste à réaliser".[33] Clearly, reformers were dissatisfied by the provisions of the Berthoin decree which ignored the fact that the two "traditions of the secondary schools were too different to be made one only by the vague wave of a ministerial wand".[34]

A compromise had been struck between the conservatives' traditional system and the reformers' école unique. But this compromise was ultimately disappointing to reformers who believed the CEG more closely approached the wishes of the conservatives than their own democratic expectations. In short, the Berthoin bill was unacceptable to many reformers who agreed that "il aurait fallu modifier profondement l'organisation pédagogique, la structure des classes de sixième et cinqième, supprimer les cloisonnements contre les enseignants, afin d'insituter un veritable cycle d'orientation, pédagogiqement autonome, dans lequel un brassage des maitres aurait pu se réaliser sans esprit de concurrence".[35] Reformers were unable to accept a system rife with the numerous problems that had remained unsolved for half a century.

Complicating matters further were vicious debates between political parties which occurred outside the National Assembly. Left-wing political parties supported reform as radical as that outlined by the

Langevin-Wallon program, and looked forward to the creation of a true école unique. Radical Socialists, who usually voted with the right, supported educational reform as a way of de-emphasizing the importance of church schools. Not surprisingly the Center parties voted with both the right and the left. Right wing partisans, though aware of the need for change, stubbornly supported the traditional classical curriculum and the promotion of the elite through the lycées. Catholic parties were afraid that a new, extensive state school system would bring about the decline of their parochial schools and so voted against reform.[36] However, in 1959 the ferocious debate between orientation supporters and their opposition, and the political parties supporting each side, had little effect as their quarrel took place outside the National Assembly. Taking advantage of the emergency situation, de Gaulle decreed the Berthoin proposal a fait accompli before the election of the Parliament.[37] The first step toward the tronc commun, and therefore the école unique, had been taken.

Clearly Berthoin's intent was not radical reform. He had learned to tread carefully after the failure of so many reformers before him. Rather than attempt to create a system in which all children were equal, Berthoin chose instead to improve the efficiency of the existing structure by providing all students theoretically with equal opportunity to enter secondary education.[38] Berthoin's proposals indicate the limitations placed on all French education ministers; he could only afford to propose his least controversial ideas, the most important of which was the harmonization of the syllabi.[39] More radical measures

would have brought him into conflict with groups "whose interest lay in preserving rather than reforming".[40] According to one author, neither Berthoin nor de Gaulle "could afford to jeopardize the support of the cautiously progressive forces; neither could he do nothing".[41] Furthermore, the more conservative measures also served to stall criticism from democrats who might potentially be dangerous to the system if allowed to carry out their radical plans. Thus the existing structures were altered very little by compromise between radical and conservative views on education. Compromise supported the traditional education structure by maintaining divisions between educational programs, while simultaneously appearing to offer some democratic access to higher education. Nevertheless, however minimal the change, Berthoin's reform of 1959 began an evolutionary process that gained momentum throughout the 1960's and 1970's.

By the mid-1960's Berthoin's 1959 reforms had proved inadequate to the task of expanding educational opportunity. Reformers noted that the number of new students entering post-primary institutions between 1959 and 1962, due to the elevation of the school leaving age and the end of the classes de fin d'études, "outpaced the desire of educationalists to democratize education".[42] By 1963 the secondary school population had risen dramatically, straining considerably the already overloaded capacities of the lycées. And yet still only slightly more than half of the children of secondary school age were enrolled in truly secondary institutions.[43] Reformers were also concerned that Berthoin's alterations had done little to offer lower income students equal

educational opportunities to those offered to well to do children. A survey published between 1963 and 1965 by A. Girard, H. Bastide, P. Clerc, G Pourcher, and A. Sauvy in the journal Population showed that low income children still entered secondary school at a much lower rate.[44] They discovered that even if the children of workers or farmers had the same success rate in elementary school as the children of professionals, the former entered secondary institutions much less often. Only 64% of farmers' and 79% of workers' children entered secondary school directly after primary school, whereas 93% of professionals' children began secondary classes at age 11. To make matters worse, 72% of the professionals' children with average grades entered lycées and even 50% of those with poor grades still enrolled at secondary schools. Conversely, less than 10% of the workers' or farmers' children with average to poor grades attended secondary schools.[45] The 'reproduction theory' provides an explanation for such data. As bourgeois students were destined to success in secondary programs because of their cultural advantage. But the division between the bourgeoisie and the working class may also be a product of the lower class' contempt for 'bourgeois' studies and of their constant sense of inferiority due to their relative cultural disadvantage.[46] Obviously the discrepancy in secondary enrollment between affluent students and pupils from disadvantaged families had not been significantly narrowed by Berthoin's 1959 reforms. The work of the Fifth Republic's education ministers involved constant efforts to chip away at the old education structure in the hopes of coming closer to the école unique.

Thus on August 3, 1963, the National Assembly passed legislation creating France's first common junior high schools. Designed by Gaullist education minister Christian Fouchet and his director of pedagogy Jean Capelle, the four year Collèges d'enseignement secondaire (CES) were autonomous, independent institutions in which the four former CEG programs were united. Of the four, two were long and two were short. The two long programs (classical and modern) were based on the traditional lycée curriculum. Their completion led to further secondary education, and, if possible, the completion of the baccalauréat. The two short programs also resembled their CEG counterparts. They were vocational sections in which students whose "cultural and financial backgrounds had previously excluded them (from secondary school) altogether"[47] were trained for apprenticeship or employment after graduation. The transitional classes also carried over from the previous system. They allowed pupils, ill advised during orientation or unqualified for the lowest CES class, a chance for re-orientation, or, at the very least, to remain in school until the age of 16. The 1963 education system differed from the 1959 system because primary and secondary programs and professors had finally been united in one institution, somewhat resembling the école unique: "Pour la première fois dans l'évolution de notre système éducatif la cooperation - sous le même toit, et pour tous les enfants de chaque génération - de maîtres qualifiés apportenant aux diverses orares d'enseignement".[48]

Upon graduation from the CES at age 15, students either joined the

work force or entered a more advanced stage of secondary education. Frequently the choice of school reflected one's previous education. Hence the programs chosen by students entering their fifth year depended on the CES program in which they had previously been enrolled. Thus the CET were often attended by graduates of the short technical sections. Likewise, the CEG were popular with students from the short modern programs while the lycées attracted pupils from the long programs. A variety of technical schools were also available to all students, depending on their previous level of education. The objective of this system, according to Fouchet, was to: "conserver la caractère formateur de l'enseignement secondaire dont la mission essentielle consiste à dispenser la culture générale, mais aussi sur la nécessité, de donner un contenu positif à l'idée d'orientation, en offrant aux élèves des voies quelque peu différencié, correspondant à la fois à la diversité de leurs aptitudes et aux principales formes de culture".[49]

Again neither reformers nor conservatives could fully support the reform. Conservative secondary professors, the proposal's greatest opponents, were displeased by the latest transformation. They bemoaned the decline of Latin's influence within the secondary curriculum, convinced that the combination of long and short programs would reduce the standards of secondary education. They feared both loss of status and diminished control as any contact with short 'primary' courses on their part could only lessen their prestige as secondary professors. Moreover, the 1963 changes had left them feeling "cut off from playing a constructive role in educational administration and from being able to

respond to pupil requests or community requirements".[50] Consequently, they decided to limit the long curriculum to certain subjects, reproducing their own traditional educations, creating programs less and less relevant to the students' lives, and defeating the reform's original purpose. Henceforth, secondary students trained "as apprentice professors, and not as professional apprentices".[51] Secondary professors continued to support a policy of stability.

Reformers were disheartened by numerous problems. Although the education budget increased between 1960 and 1965, funding was still insufficient to pay for the new buildings and teacher training programs necessary for successful CES programs.[52] M. P. Odru and M. Jean Royer, two members of the French parliament, expressed their concern on this matter during a special session of the National Assembly, in which M. Royer stated that "avec votre budget deux cent quatre vignt quinze CES nationalisés et une cinquaine de CES rattachés à des lycées constituant déjà un premier cycle. Je crains que cela ne suffise pas pour accueillir cent milles élèves nouveaux".[53]

Furthermore, there was concern on the part of reformers that the creation of the CES did not necessarily lead to the elimination of other junior high school programs. Quite the contrary, the CEG, CET and first cycle lycée programs survived. The limited nature of the original programs made them difficult to transform into the all encompassing CES programs that Fouchet had requested. Also, the influx of new students demanding secondary education was too great for the CES alone to

accommodate. Hence all three old schools remained intact in certain areas. In this way, the orientation mechanism was undermined by the continued existence of separate junior high school programs, making proper orientation and transfer as difficult as it had been in the 1959 system.

The CES also had internal problems. Reformers were encouraged by the law's provisions to extend the orientation period to four years as theoretically transfer between programs should have been significantly improved by unification and elongation, lessening cultural and social barriers more effectively. However, transfer remained uncommon. The first program in which a child enrolled was normally the program in which s/he remained because the curriculum varied greatly from one option to another, and the objectives of each program remained different.[54] The long sections concentrated more on theory, culture and philosophy, whereas the short programs emphasized vocational training and practical lessons. Thus the program chosen at age 11 still determined one's future educational options as well as one's career opportunities.

Reformers were also concerned that this new system had been designed to guide the more prosperous pupils into the long programs and the less advantaged into the short sections, producing a "hierarchy of opportunity".[55] They feared that the only transfers that occurred were made to eliminate "unsuitable" students from the long programs, thereby discouraging equal participation in secondary education.[56] Hence its

opposition by both senators such as M. Ferdinand Dupuy and teachers unions including the Syndicat général de l'enseignement national and the Syndicat national de l'enseignement secondaire, who called the plan "une parodie d'orientation (qui) renforce une sélection socialement injuste" because "le gouvernement reste fidèle à la vieille idée française du menu imposé et des sections rigides rendant toute réorientation impossible".[57] They claimed the reform "réservé en fait le deuxième cycle et l'enseignement supérieur à une minorité d'élèves priviligés" because the "création de CES ne fait que transporter le ségrégation dans une même établissement".[58] The creation of the CES had failed to rectify the problems of the old CEG, or to eliminate the traditional division between primary and secondary programs. The persistent division between primary and secondary programs, as anticipated in the reproduction theory, was in part due to the feelings of inferiority on the part of primary students and in part because of their culture, deemed inferior compared to that of the bourgeoisie.[59]

Moreover, the CES seemed more the work of conservatives looking to compromise on certain issues in order to assure their survival in the modern world. As with every educational reform instituted during the Fifth Republic, the CES were the work of a conservative education minister whose objective was less likely potent reform as it was to achieve the appearance of democratic reform. The minister needed to address some of the serious problems facing the education system, but he certainly had no desire to resolve them with drastic alterations to the status quo. For example, the minister had allowed the écoles moyennes

to be introduced, but maintained the divisions and hierarchy between different programs within those schools with the traditional humanities and the pure sciences on top. The CES were safety valves, seemingly widening access to secondary and higher education in response to constant demands for a greater degree of democracy in education, while maintaining the the separation of the lycées from the rest of the system. Once again the école unique had failed to become a reality.

As education minister, Fouchet also sought to reform the baccalauréat. Change was undeniably necessary. Only 50% of the students who attempted the baccalauréat were successful. Moreover, merely 40% who passed both sections of the baccalauréat were accepted into the second year of university after the first year-end examinations.[60] Plainly the baccalauréat was undemocratic as well as unsatisfactory preparation for higher education as it served to prohibit so many students from entering university. To deal with these problems, Fouchet narrowed the selection of subjects for the first part from eight specific to three general. Now, only in the second baccalauréat session was specialization possible. He also granted several technical subjects baccalauréat status after harmonizing the curriculum of the technical lycées with that of the general lycées. These were the initial steps taken toward the 'modernisation' of the lycée curriculum, and toward more open access to the secondary system through modern subjects, as demanded by école unique supporters. These alterations allowed non-bourgeois children greater access to secondary education because the modern and technical programs, now theoretically equivalent to the

classical programs, were more useful and popular with these pupils than were the classical humanities, but came nowhere near equalizing all students' chances. Although some classes became common for all baccalauréat options until the end of secondary school, one's program choice continued to be important to one's success. The growing need for scientific leadership in a modern society, increasingly based on technology, had produced scientific baccalauréat programs which offered students a large measure of social mobility. However, the pure sciences, much as Latin had been, were difficult for the majority of students to grasp. Only those students properly prepared in the lycées were successful at the new 'elite' baccalauréat. The differentiation of society had created a demand for a new scientific elite which had been accommodated by the scientific baccalauréat, while the masses were still oriented into the modern or practical baccalauréat options. Although Latin had lost favor in the latter half of the twentieth century, it had effectively been replaced by a program almost as prohibitive and equally as instrumental in elite production.

In 1967 the new education minister, Edgar Faure, continued Fouchet's modernisation process by removing classical studies from the first two years of the orientation cycle. Faure also combined the short modern, technical and transitional classes into one section, narrowing the CES's options from five to two: one long (modern I) and one short (modern II). Faure's 1968 reform removed the classical humanities as a requirement of the literary baccalauréat, ending the supreme position of classical studies. From 1968 on the classical curriculum became merely

another baccalauréat option, equal to the modern literary or scientific baccalauréats.

The movement toward curricular modernisation begun in the mid-1960's, including Edgar Faure's alterations, prompted changes that continued through the next decade. The shift from the classical stream to the pure math option as the elite section of the secondary schools became an integral factor of subsequent reform proposals. It was inevitable that this shift occurred, as scientific and technological progress became more and more difficult to ignore in the latter half of the twentieth century. Though the 'anciens' had won many battles, the modernisation of society eventually lost them the war. Yet the sciences which had replaced the classics as the elite program were also less well attended by the lower classes, who still felt the inferiority of their own intelligence, though now in the pure sciences instead of Latin. Bourdieu and Passeron were again correct that the lower class would always be at a cultural disadvantage, even if elite culture changed drastically. One part of the fight for 'democracy' had been won, but there was still much work to be done.

The trend toward the modernisation of curriculum also coincided with a preoccupation with the reform of technical education. On July 16, 1971, education minister Oliver Guichard presented a bill outlining the objectives of technical education as well as its role in the education system, in the work world and in continuing education.[61] Subsequently, Guichard created four laws that made continuing technical

education a 'national obligation'.[62] The minister created the Centres de formation d'apprentis (CFA), which required secondary dropouts to spend at least 360 hours per year in CFA classes as well as work in an industry until the age of 16. To the dismay of école unique supporters, the CFA gave students an option other than the CES, weakening previous reforms coordinating technical and general education. Guichard also created new programs to stimulate more interest in technical education and to reduce the undemocratic nature of the classes pratiques, heretofore stigmatized by their reputation as the catch-all for struggling students. They were replaced in the early 1970's by the Classes préparatoires à l'apprentissage (CPA) and the Classes pré-professionnelles de niveau (CPPN). Both CET programs extended schooling to students unable to complete any other program, while progressively directing them towards a career choice.[63] These programs, offered outside of the secondary system, inhibited the formation of the école unique because their students were separated physically and educationally from those students destined for higher education who were enrolled in secondary programs.

On non-controversial issues Guichard was successful. His reform of technical education also spurred the evolution of technical examinations, the baccalauréat in particular. Certain technical certificates were awarded merit equal to general literary diplomas. The technical baccalauréat expanded to include 14 options while the curriculum for the first part of every baccalauréat was made common for all candidates, including those in the technical options.[64] More

technical students could now advance into higher education. These achievements in technical education encouraged increased enrollment in this area; in the 1970's the lycée technique population rose from 720,000 to 820,000.[65] But, as a conservative education minister, Guichard was cautious. He side-stepped controversial issues and strove to appease the opposition and to avoid criticism from his own conservative supporters. This timidity led to 'immobilisme', not action. The commissions he designated to further investigate the whole education system and to suggest more radical reform were ineffective, as few of their recommendations pleased every interest group involved in the investigations. Thus the école unique would have to await a more bold minister willing to face the criticism which undoubtedly would come his way.

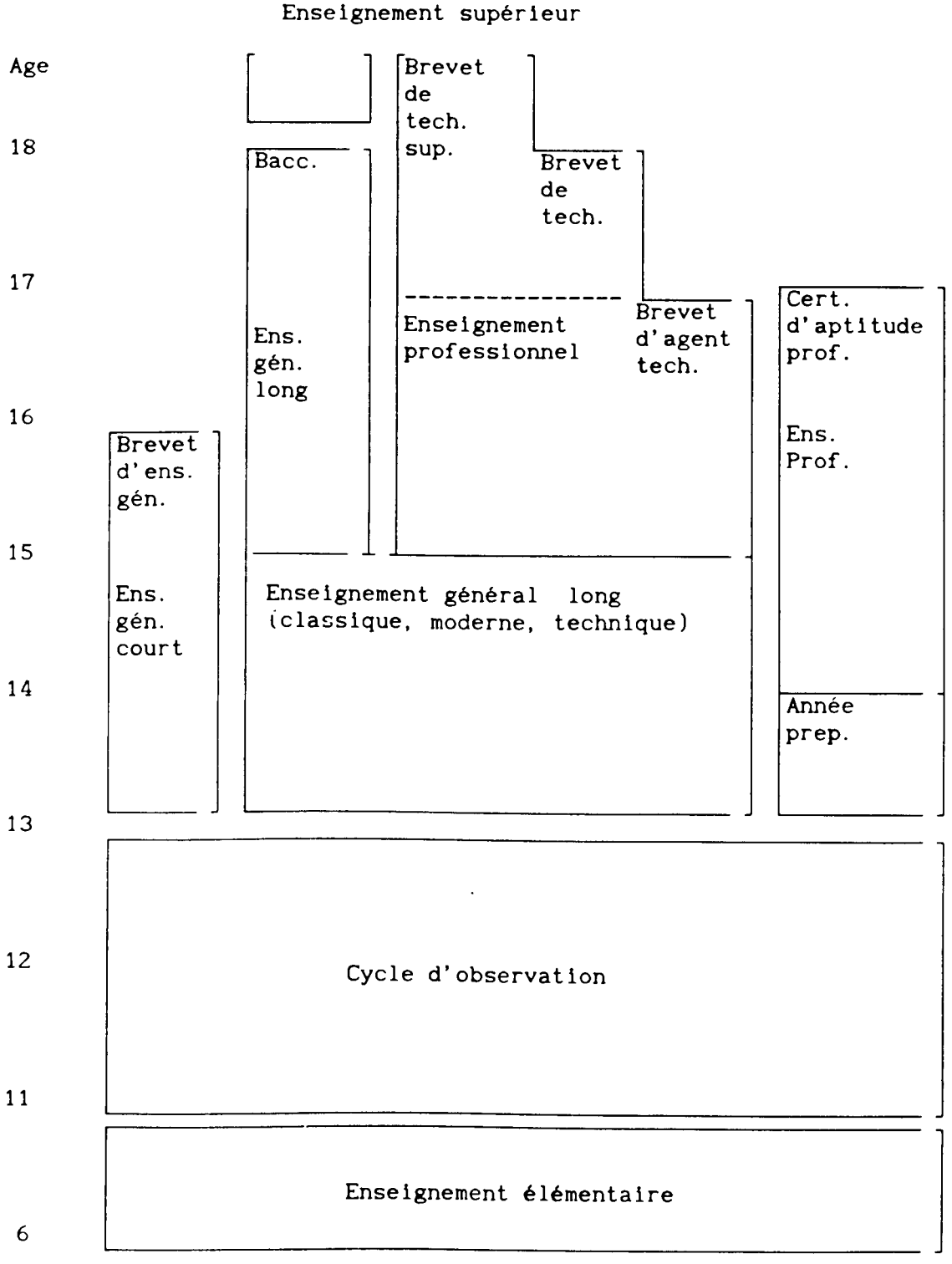
In a courageous attempt to eradicate the continuous barriers between different areas and different schools, the new education minister Joseph Fontanet, a Christian Democrat, announced the creation of a massive colloquium in 1973, headed by Jean Massé. The group's objective was reflection on the system and suggestions for its improvement. Unfortunately there was, as usual, a serious lack of consensus among the participating groups. The unions closest to the communists (the SNI, for example) refused to participate. The Left continued to aggravate their political opponents with their habitual demand for social and educational change. They believed that existing changes to the education system were insufficient to overcome social inequality. Predictably, the right argued that the orientation of the

colloquium favored the Left. They charged that the colloquium was a collective leftist manipulation to try to strong arm undesirable reform. Hence they opposed any proposals supported by the Left, including the tronc commun, educational autonomy, increased student participation in education and anything else that seemed to transform the professors into 'animateurs'.[66] Despite these many difficulties, Fontanet somehow completed a proposal for educational reform which eventually became the backbone of the more successful Haby plan. Most concerned with teaching method, educational guidance and time management, the project included plans to end early optional choices, to produce more adaptable teachers and pedagogy, to reduce homework, and to suppress the repetition of failed classes unless absolutely necessary. Presented to Parliament on March 29, 1974, Fontanet's proposal was not discussed due to Prime Minister Georges Pompidou's untimely death and the subsequent elections.[67] Nevertheless, this proposal was the basis for successful reform during the next minister's term.

Thus the mid-1970's must have appeared progressive to école unique supporters. Action had been taken; the école unique was beginning to take shape in the form of the CES. Moreover, greater coordination existed between the primary, secondary and technical systems and the baccalauréat's options had been multiplied allowing greater access to the exam and higher education in turn. However, the proliferation of scientific baccalauréats was less democratic than it appeared. The pure sciences, replacing the liberal humanities as "the" secondary program, had now become the elite education, and were equally as difficult for

the majority of students to participate in as the classical humanities once had been. Conservatives, beginning to sense danger in their particularly narrow stance had begun, once firmly in power, to make alterations to the education system which would preserve the elitist nature of some programs at the secondary schools, and, in doing so, essentially preserve the traditional character of the French education system in the 1960' and 1970's. But progress had been made, and a path cleared for the école unique.

Figure 3.1 The Berthoin Plan



After: Décaunes, Réformes, p. 302.

Table 3.1 Secondary school entrance for 100 children of different social categories (1963)

Father's occupation	Not entering secondary school %	Lycées %	CEG %	Entering secondary school %	Distribution socio-professional %
Salaried cultivators	68	11	21	32	3.4
Farmers	60	16	24	40	15.2
Workers	55	16	29	45	39.6
Artisans and shopkeepers	34	32	34	66	10.3
White collar employees	33	33	34	67	10.6
Mid-grade staff	16	55	29	84	4.1
Industrialists, commercants	15	57	28	85	3.2
Liberal professionals	7	75	18	93	"
Enterprise owners	6	75	19	94	4.7
Total	45	27	28	55	100[1]

(1) includes those without profession or those with a profession unrepresented by the categories

After: Population, vol. 1, 1963, p. 210.

Table 3.2 School success according to milieu

Success	Everyone %	Agr. workers %	Farmers %	Workers %	Artisans %	White collar %	Mid-grade %	Liberal prof. %	Enterprise owner %
Excellent	10	5	10	7	10	11	21	17	22
Good	31	27	32	27	33	33	43	38	40
Satisfactory	33	35	32	34	34	34	25	33	28
Mediocre	18	23	19	22	16	16	8	10	8
Bad	8	10	7	10	7	6	3	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Indeterminable	2	1	3	1	2	2	2	3	4

After: Population, vol. 1, 1963, p. 213.

[1]W.R. Fraser, Education and Society in Modern France, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 9.

[2]Ibid., p. viii.

[3]Le Monde, 12 November 1958, p. 6, 15 November, 1958, p. 7, and 19 November, 1958, p. 8.

[4]Luc Décaunes and M.L. Cavalier, Réformes et projets de réformes de l'enseignement français de la révolution à nos jours, (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1973), p. 202.

[5]IPN, La Réforme du Second Cycle Long, (Paris: Institute Pédagogique Nationale, 1967), p. 151.

[6]Décaunes, Réformes, p. 203.

[7]Le Monde, 12 December, 1958, p. 16, and 21-22 December, 1958, p. 16.

[8]Décaunes, Réformes, p. 207.

[9]Jean Capelle, Tomorrow's Education: The French Experience, (London: Pergammon Press, 1967), p. 38.

[10]Décaunes, Réformes, p. 213.

[11]Jean Ferrez, Le Collège, (Paris: Pierre Scalabre, 1982), p. 23. The reformers were correct in that these classes were slowly phased out between 1959 [730,000] and 1970 [213,500]).

[12]Décaunes, Réformes, p. 211.

[13]Ibid, p. 224. The direct citations of various interest groups were extracted by the authors from a survey by Jean Guilhelm which appeared in the 1961 special edition of L'Education nationale.

[14]Ibid., p. 223.

[15]Ibid., p. 224.

[16]Ibid., p. 225.

[17]Ibid., p. 224.

[18]Ibid., p. 223.

[19]H.D. Lewis, The French Education System, (London: Croom Helm, 1985), p. 32.

[20]Décuanes, Réformes, p. 226.

[21]Le Monde, 11-12 January, 1959, p. 9.

[22]Joseph Moody, French Education since Napoleon, (N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1978), p. 175.

[23]W.R. Fraser, "Reform in France", Comparative Education Review, (October 1967), p. 303.

[24]Capelle, Tomorrow's Education, p. 38.

[25]Lewis, French Education System, p. 32.

[26]Ibid., p. 40.

[27]Antoine Prost, Histoire Générale de l'enseignement et de l'éducation en France tome IV, (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie de France, 1981), p. 423 and J. E. Flower ed., France Today, (London: Methuen and Co., 1977), p. 122.

[28]Lewis, French Education System, p. 33.

[29]Le Monde, 8 January, 1959, p. 6.

[30]Décaunes, Réformes, p. 227.

[31]Capelle, Tomorrow's Education, p. 39.

[32]Eric Cahm, Politics and Society in Contemporary France 1789-1971, (London: George Harrap and Co., 1972), p. 18.

[33]Le Monde, 11-12 January, 1959, p. 9.

[34]Lewis, French Education System, p. 32.

[35]Décaunes, Réformes, p. 225.

[36]Fraser, "Reform in France", p. 305.

[37]Lewis, French Education System, p. 33.

[38]Ibid., p. 34.

[39]Fraser, "Reform in France", p. 305.

[40]Ibid., p. 304.

[41]Ibid., p. 305.

[42]Cahm, Politics and Society, p. 89.

[43]Fraser, Education, p. 28.

[44]Alfred Sauvy, and Alain Girard, "Les Diverses Classes Sociales devant l'Enseignement", Population, (1965, no.4), p. 218.

[45]Ibid..

[46]Pierre Bourdieu, "The School as a Conservative Force: scholastic and cultural inequalities", in Schooling and Capitalism, Roger Dale, Geoff Eslund, and Madeleine MacDonald eds., (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), pps. 110-117.

[47]Flower, France Today, p. 124.

[48]Ferrez, Le Collège, p. 30.

[49]IPN, La Réforme du second cycle long, p. 56.

[50]Flower, France Today, p. 126.

[51]Ibid., p. 126.

[52]Prost, Histoire, p. 259.

[53]Le Monde, 20 May, 1965, p. 10.

[54]Lewis, French Education System, p. 40.

[55]Flower, France Today, p. 125.

[56]Lewis, French Education System, p. 41.

[57]Le Monde, 20 May, 1965, p. 10.

[58]Ibid..

[59]Bourdieu, "Conservative Force", pps. 110-117.

[60]Fraser, "Reform in France", p. 307.

[61]CEDEX, Déscription des systèmes de formation professionnelle, (Paris: CEDEX, 1984), p. 19.

[62]C.R. Day, Education for the Industrial World, (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1987), p. 61.

[63]Ibid., p. 64-66.

[64]Lewis, French Education System, p. 77.

[65]Day, Industrial World, p. 62.

[66]Prost, Histoire, p. 350.

[67]Ferrez, Le Collège, p. 36.

CHAPTER FOUR: Haby: Hope and Disappointment

In 1920 the Compagnons were convinced they would live to see the introduction of the école unique. Few could have imagined it would be 55 years before their mission was finally accomplished. But by 1974 the tide was turning. Throughout the Fifth Republic the Compagnons' plan had been legislated piece by piece. The fulfillment of the dream was imminent. Fontanet's successor would be their hero. The man was René Haby. The sixteenth minister in as many years, Haby was a minister of a new type. He was an educator, not a politician. The son of a manual worker, he had worked his way through the ranks, first as a primary instructor, then as a university student, headmaster, lycée professor, university professor, school inspector, and rector.[1] As an education specialist, Haby was perturbed by the burgeoning school population, the drastic increase in information, the students' boredom with traditional subjects and the lack of modern subjects in an ever modernizing world, despite Guichard's changes.[2] These concerns shaped his reform proposals.

On February 12, 1975, René Haby, education minister under the newly elected President Valerie Giscard d'Estaing, published a pamphlet entitled Pour une modernisation d'un système, outlining his main concerns, objectives and suggestions for a new education system. The minister had four main objectives, similar to those posited by the Langevin-Wallon commission and so many other ministers before him. He hoped to improve educational equality with an autonomous école unique that included a two year tronc commun: "pour tous doit s'efforcer

d'assurer la compensation des handi-caps socio-culturels et rechercher l'épanouissement optimum de chaque élève".[3] He hoped to "make theschool the focus of collaboration"[4] by improving the guidance mechanism. Students should have constant information regarding their abilities and aptitudes as well as the needs of the community and the nation: "les conseils individuels devront tenir comptes des centres d'intérêt, des goûts, des possibilités personnelles et familiales, des aptitudes de chaque élève et éventuellement des conditions affectives et matérielles qui peuvent influencer sa vie scolaire et ses décisions".[5] He hoped to promote the value of technical and vocational education with the introduction of a greater variety of technical courses in secondary and higher education. And, he hoped to train future citizens and to raise the cultural level of the nation with an emphasis on continuing education: "l'objectif final est l'integration de la formation initiale et de la formation continue dans un projet global d'éducation".[6]

Haby's reform was drastic. He significantly altered primary education with the addition of one extra year. The expansion meant students commenced school at age five instead of six, and therefore attended primary school six years instead of five. He also denied children the opportunity to retake a year of primary classes, but did continue to allow children to skip certain years if they were capable.

But it was in the realm of post-primary education where Haby made his most drastic and controversial changes. He had finally accomplished what the Langevin-Wallon commission had set out to do. He consolidated

the CES, the CEG, the CET and the first four years of the lycée program in one institution, the 'collège', France's first true école unique. Theoretically these collèges were the sole disseminators of the first four years of secondary education. Known as the first cycle of secondary education, these four years were split into two smaller cycles, a cycle d'observation (tronc commun) and a cycle d'orientation. During the cycle d'observation every student took exactly the same classes as every other student. The first two years were sanctioned by a diplôme de cycle commun, commemorating the end of the tronc commun. From this point most students were expected to continue 'normally' into the cycle d'orientation at the collèges. During this second cycle students attended one of two optional courses as well as their common classes. One option included literary studies in latin or a modern language. The other was a pre-professional course designed for students heading towards the technical baccalauréat (BTn) or the Brevet de technicien (BT). Haby's objective was to "use every pedagogical tool available to assist each student to be able to achieve a place in society which corresponded with his/her aspirations and talents".[7]

However, students coming to the end of the cycle d'observation had three options other than the collèges. Students who had done very poorly were expected to repeat the previous year's classes. Others, either not 'up' to collège standards or uninterested in collège programs, could enter one of two programs at the lycées d'enseignement professionnelle (LEP), which had replaced the old Collèges d'enseignement technique (CET). The weakest students could attend the

CLasses pré-professionnel de niveau (CPPN), in preparation for the next year's work in the Classes préparatoire à l'apprentissage (CPA), and eventually either apprenticeship work or, with luck, the CAP certificate program. Better students could go directly to the CAP classes without sidestepping into the CPPN.

At the end of the cycle d'orientation, students who had remained at the collèges had three choices: finish school, or continue in one of two programs, l'enseignement général/professionnel long or l'enseignement technique court. To continue their long formal education, pupils moved into the lycées d'enseignement général (LEG). These lycées were the schools which consolidated the former classical, modern and technical lycées. The first two years of study combined common classes (three quarters of the time) with one quarter optional course work. The terminal year, conversely, was completely comprised of optional classes. The scientific and literary programs were also sanctioned by a variety of baccalauréats, depending on one's specialty. Technical programs at the lycées were sanctioned by two examinations. The Brevet de technicien was taken when one could not or did not want to take the baccalauréat technique. All baccalauréats were divided into two parts. The first section, completed at the end of two years of study, was based on the common curriculum. The second part of the baccalauréat was reinstated for all students. Taken in the last year of secondary studies, the second half of the test examined the students' work in their optional classes.

Students opting for l'enseignement technique court were transferred into a lycée d'enseignement professionnel (LEP). The best students coming from the collèges usually took a two-year program in preparation for the Brevet d'enseignement professionnel. These students worked alongside other students preparing for the CAP, (or the Certificate d'enseignement professionnel, if available), who had come from the collège two years earlier, or from the highest ranks of the Classes préparatoire de l'apprentisage (CPA) students. The Certificate d'enseignement professionnel and the Brevet d'enseignement professionnel were awarded by an academic jury according to continuous assessment, not by examination. Students from the professional lycées were sometimes joined by students from the lycées générales who were incapable of finishing their long program. Conversely, the best students from the LEP were occasionally promoted to the lycées générales, usually in the technical or modern options.

Accepted by the National Assembly on June 19, 1975 by a vote of 291 to 186, the Haby reform was only partially successful. It provided equal access to a common curriculum for a larger number of students between the ages of 11 and 13. It also offered greater access to secondary education and the baccalauréat (with expanded options) than ever before. But many observers were dissatisfied with the new education system. The Haby reform was unpopular with reformers and conservatives, left and right. The fine line Haby attempted to walk between reform and conservation was unacceptable to groups on either side of the line. Conservative groups like the Société des agrégés

disliked the reform, especially the introduction of the collège, for the same reasons they had always disliked the idea of the école unique: they believed that secondary school standards were in jeopardy, that professors were being converted into glorified baby sitters, and that selection was in danger of being completely replaced by orientation.

Other critics cited logistical problems. Frédéric Gausson, editor of Le Monde de l'Education, believed that further elaboration of the plan's finer points was necessary. He wanted definition of the new system and a review of the contents of each discipline: "il s'agit, en aller, de revoir le contenu de toutes les disciplines enseignées en fonction des objectifs assignés par la loi aux différents établissements: l'école élémentaire, le collège et le lycée".[8] He also urged Haby to formulate two new projects on personnel and on buildings. Clearly the system needed clarification.

Education specialist and co-creator of the CES, Jean Capelle, approved of the Haby reform, but he too was struck by its simultaneous generality and complexity. To Capelle the tronc commun seemed contradictory: on the one hand it was a brake on the most intelligent children who had to stay in the same classes as average children with no acceleration, while on the other hand it was an impediment for the least intelligent children who could not keep up with the common curriculum. The confusion wrought by the cycle de détermination and its plethora of certificate options (approximately 300 CAP and 30 baccalauréat options) also concerned Capelle, as did the fact that the terminal year seemed

far too short to properly prepare for university.[9] Other educators were equally as confused and dismayed by the Haby bill. The Fédération nationale requested a clearer definition of the education system's relationship with private and higher education, as well as the creation of a less ineffectual baccalauréat.[10] By February 18, 1975, the Syndicat national des instituteurs (SNI) and the Syndicat national d'enseignement secondaire had both announced their disapproval of the Haby reform, and, by February 26, the SNI had organized a national 'sauvegarde de l'enseignement pré-élémentaire' day and had urged its members not to support the changes.[11]

Critics were also disturbed that ability grouping continued to exist in some schools even after reform. Some headmasters simply refused to mix children of different abilities. Teachers also had different ways of approaching ability grouping. While some treated all students the same, others concentrated their efforts more heavily either on the brightest or on the dullest.[12] Still others who agreed to group by ability did so alphabetically, which frequently resulted in classes filled with immigrants of similar names and lesser ability. In some schools the 'classes de transition' were quietly renamed the 'classes allégés', keeping alive the differentiation of certain 'slower' students. Conversely other teachers oriented the best students into the most prestigious options, relegating the remaining student population to the 'lowlier' sections.[13]

Ability grouping was part of a larger problem more disturbing to

radical educational reformers. The real problem was that the école unique, under the title of collège, had not lived up to the reformers' expectations. They were troubled that the hierarchy of the old system had not yet completely disappeared, and, even worse, had now also seemingly been internalized. The hierarchy between schools continued to exist as between the lycées d'enseignement professionnel and the lycées d'enseignement général. The LEP had become equivalent to the Third Republic's Ecoles primaires supérieures, the Fourth Republic's cours complémentaires and the Fifth Republic's Collèges d'enseignement général and Collèges d'enseignement technique, all reserved for students who, for one reason or another, were not prepared to follow the 'normal' path of secondary education. Students who enrolled at the LEP, especially those in the CAP classes, were limited both educationally and professionally because the short technical programs did not lead to the baccalauréat or higher education. The Haby reform was supposed to enable a greater proportion of high school-aged students to enter higher education. But while more students did enter secondary school, the proportion of students in the various schools did not change significantly, and, therefore, neither did their chances for a university education. To illustrate, after four years of collège, 25% of the students still left school as soon as possible, 40% were consigned to the LEP as they had been to the old CET, and only 25% proceeded on to the LEG, almost the same percentage that had attended the old lycées modernes and classiques.[14] The gap between the practical and the theoretical had replaced the gap between primary and secondary education.

Within the collèges themselves the external hierarchy between primary and secondary schools had also been internalized. Tracking now occurred with one's curricular choice instead of one's institutional choice.[15] Streaming continued between options instead of between schools. By 1975 the 'C' baccalauréat option (pure mathematics) had replaced the 'A' (literary) option as the most prestigious program. The prestige of these theoretical sections simultaneously signified the inferiority of the 'F' options (practical and vocational). Furthermore, the technical baccalauréat became the poor relation of the scientific and literary baccalauréats. The old division between the higher primary system and the secondary system had thus been internalized and now was represented by the division between the long and short programs. So much for the hopes that the école unique would coordinate different forms of post-primary education.

The social divisions between different forms of education also remained a reality against which reformers continued to struggle.[16] They were concerned by the continuation of the discriminatory streaming of students into an educational hierarchy, even after the introduction of the collèges. The orientation of certain students into certain options seemingly continued to depend on more than ability and ambition. Social origin and familial background still frequently determined the student's orientation. For example, at the end of the cycle d'observation 93% of the children from professional families continued 'normally' into the cycle d'orientation at a collège (with only 4% repeating the previous year's courses) whereas only 47% of the children from working class

families continued straight through, while almost one third transferred to an LEP for a pre-professional or professional course, and 8% repeated second year collège classes. By the end of the cycle d'orientation, 83% of professionals' children proceeded to the LEG, while only 46% of working class children continued their formal educations at these institutions. Thus, in 1975, more than 22% of the students who passed the baccalauréat were from professional families, 19% were from middle class homes, 15% represented the working class and less than 8% were from the agricultural sector.[17] The Syndicat général de l'éducation nationale (CFDT-SGEN) argued that the reform was elitist because upper middle class students still advanced further than working class children, who were mainly confined to the practical courses, which, according to this group, only served to "camoufler le chomage'".[18] Social discrimination continued to haunt the plan.

Closely linked to orientation according to social class was the practice of orientation according to age. As with most systems, the older a student was, the less likely s/he would proceed directly through the collèges to the LEG and the baccalauréat. Normally, the older the student, the more likely s/he had repeated one or more years of school. Consequently, upon completion of the second year of collège, 83% of 13 year olds continued to the collèges, while only 30% of 14 year olds were guided toward the cycle d'orientation and another 44.5% were moved into the LEP. At the conclusion of collège studies the numbers were similar. Only 32% of 16 year olds were promoted to the LEG whereas 68% of 15 year olds entered these institutions. Thus 86% of the 17 year olds who

presented themselves for the baccalauréat passed the exam. Only 34% passed at the age of 22.[19] This phenomenon was discriminatory because twice as many working class children retook classes as did their bourgeois counterparts. Social discrimination thus occurred at two levels.

Moreover, while the LEP courses had obviously become the new democratic 'bastions of the masses', a position once held by the EPS, cours complémentaires, CEG, and CET, they were also the programs with the lowest success rate. Therefore while 80% of the students in the terminal year at the general lycées received their baccalauréats,[20] less than three fifths of the students attempting the Brevet d'études professionnelles at the LEP received their certificates, while 15% quit before graduation. Pupils in the CAP programs were even less fortunate. Students who entered the program directly from the collèges had better success; two thirds presented themselves for the exam, one half passed. Pupils from the pre-professional courses were very unlucky. After the first year of CPPN classes, 30% were promoted to the CAP program, one third remained on course in the pre-professional program (second year at the CPA), and 15% were asked to retake their first year. Most repeats quit, defeated by the system, as did most students promoted to the CAP, overwhelmed by the large jump. Only a minority of the 25% who proceeded normally through to the CPA classes obtained the elusive CAP.[21] Not only had the collèges failed to link different forms of post-primary education, but they had also failed to eradicate the traditional divisions and inequities between the programs.

Thus little had changed in over fifty years of constant barrages from the école unique supporters. The école unique had become a reality, but the same groups of people who had always had the educational advantage continued to dominate secondary and higher education, whereas those most in need of educational opportunity continued to be limited in their prospects for social mobility. The elevation of the school leaving age merely postponed the streaming process by two years to age 13, instead of 11. Thus although all students theoretically now attended the same schools to the age of 15, there were still ways to 'siphon' so-called unworthy students into the technical programs at the LEP. As well, at age 15 streaming was still a reality and although some differences had been minimized by four years of collège attendance, the least prosperous students continued to be those students most likely oriented toward the LEP. Streaming was still a fact of life and still discriminated against the lower classes of society, if only later in their educational careers. Orientation remained a series of 'successive failures', as students were dropped out of the system one at a time, not always according to their abilities and ambitions: "le projet substitue à la descrimination sociale trop voyante et désormais impopulaire fondée sur les filières une sélection plus discrète, mais tout aussi réele et pernicieuse".[22] Therefore, by1976 only 1% of the teachers surveyed believed that Haby's reform would improve the system, 10% felt it might improve certain areas, while 57% felt it would not solve anything and 25% went so far as to accuse Haby of making the situation worse.[23] Even legislation as 'radical' as

the Haby laws seemed subject to Bourdieu and Passeron's theory of reproduction.

According to W. R. Fraser, the reason for the ineffectiveness of the Haby reform lay with the government, as the "government has done what government does most easily. It has altered structures, built new types of schools in areas of population growth, upgraded technical education, supplied certificates and diplomas. The problems of content, method, and professional training remain".[24] Reformers believed that the ineffectiveness of the reform was the product of a compromise made by Haby to appease the conservatives, who were once again willing to accept some measure of change, but only if the changes upheld the basic structure of the traditional education system. This compromise resulted in the older structural differentiation between secondary education and its alternatives being transferred into secondary education itself, resulting in tracking. The entry of less well to do children into secondary schools via the tronc commun did not also guarantee their entrance into higher education. One author suggests that: "structural and financial barriers might be lessened, but eventually France discovered ...the lasting effects of 'cultural deprivation'"[25] which were left unaddressed by the Haby law. Seemingly the conservatives in power waited to make changes until the circumstances demanded alteration to the existing system, and then they utilized only the least threatening components of the reformers' proposals to assure their survival. By the end of the 1970's it seemed apparent that educational reform did not have the capacity to change traditional educational structures, unless

accompanied by a social revolution or many, many decades of gradual, progressive and persistent social changes.

Left-wing reformers not only criticized the Haby plan for its inability to deal with the problems confronting education in the 1970's, they also accused Haby of reforming education to assure the continuation of the economic structure of the society. Jacques Chambaz of the Communist party claimed that Haby's reforms did not contain any original innovations; rather they maintained the basic components of the old structure, long defined, making only minor alterations in order to fit the new conditions of the late twentieth century. He accused Haby of adapting the education structure to these conditions, conserving the old system instead of reforming it: "le projet Haby est un projet démagogique et conservateur, aux horizons limites, à l'image d'une politique gouvernmentale dont le seul objectif est de répondre aux besoins économiques, politiques et idéologiques d'un système social dont les limites historiques apparaissent de plus en plus au grand jour, le système du grand capital".[26] Likewise, Louis Mexandeau of the Socialist party offered a similar interpretation of the Haby plan. He claimed that the objective of the plan "est à la fois de consentir aux évolutions déjà inscrites dans les moeurs tout en adaptant l'école à un système économique désormais menacé par la crise, mais qui doit rester intact dans ses composantes essentielles, sous peine de jeter bas l'edifice social qu'il supporte et justifié".[27] This time the communists and socialists agreed to disapprove of the Haby plan, considered a conservative plot to maintain political, social, and economic control

through the capitalist system.

Democratic and left-wing education reformers might have expected disappointment as Haby was essentially a conservative, concerned most with the selection of the best students from the collèges for the most prestigious secondary options. According to Le Monde de l'Education editor Frédéric Gausson, Haby based his plan on the underlying assumption that: "les inégalités de réussite scolaire entre les enfants sont essentiellement dues à des différences dans les rhytmes de maturation".[28] Thus Haby expected that the education system simply required some curricular uniformity to benefit all students, and a degree of diversity to give each student the opportunity to express his/her individuality at the junior high school level, so that by senior high school the best students could be fairly chosen from the mass, and moved into elite options. Special consideration to each individuals' circumstances was unnecessary to ensure the equality of all students as their differences were not cultural, but intellectual, according to the underlying assumption. Thus, Haby expected that a better coordinated system would offer intelligent lower class students greater opportunities to display their talents and attain some social mobility.

But reformers such as Vivienne Isambert, François Bresson and Georges Cogniot quickly began to wonder whether "respecter le rhytme de chacun" might risk privileging those children already well-placed in society: "personne ne niera, assurement, la diversité des formes d'intelligence, des aptitudes, des rhythmes d'acquisition. Mais faut-il

répéter...que la notion complexe de rhythme d'acquisition, présentée comme étant d'ordre psychologique, ne saurait être employée pour rendre compte du phénomène social que réprèsentent les retards scolaires?".[29] Bresson argued that Haby was incorrect to assume that some are naturally slow and others naturally quick without analyzing each student's particular circumstance. The education minister had neglected to consider that social and cultural heritage might partially explain the reason for one's quickness or slowness. Hence, an education system which gives all students equal opportunity to advance without consideration of the students' origins and backgrounds actually put students from lower class families at a disadvantage because their families could not prepare them for secondary studies as adequately as could a bourgeois family their children. But since all children were given equal chances, most assumed that their lack of success was a sign of intellectual inability, not social diversity. Consequently: "les enfants ne s'y trouvent pas avoir des chances égales, non tant parce qu'il y aurait des plus doués intrinsiquement, mais parce que l'école traite inégalement les dons selon les classes sociales, qu'elle ne consideré comme doués que ceux qui présentent les mêmes biais culturels qu'elle".[30] According to Isambert these differences were further reinforced by teachers interested in selecting the best students for rapid advancement to higher education and elite society, relegating less 'able' students to pre-apprenticeship courses or the less prestigious sections of secondary school. For these reformers "les enfants sont génétiquement différents, disemblable, inégaux...mais elle peut, si elle veut, supprimer complètement les inégalités socials pour qu'elles ne

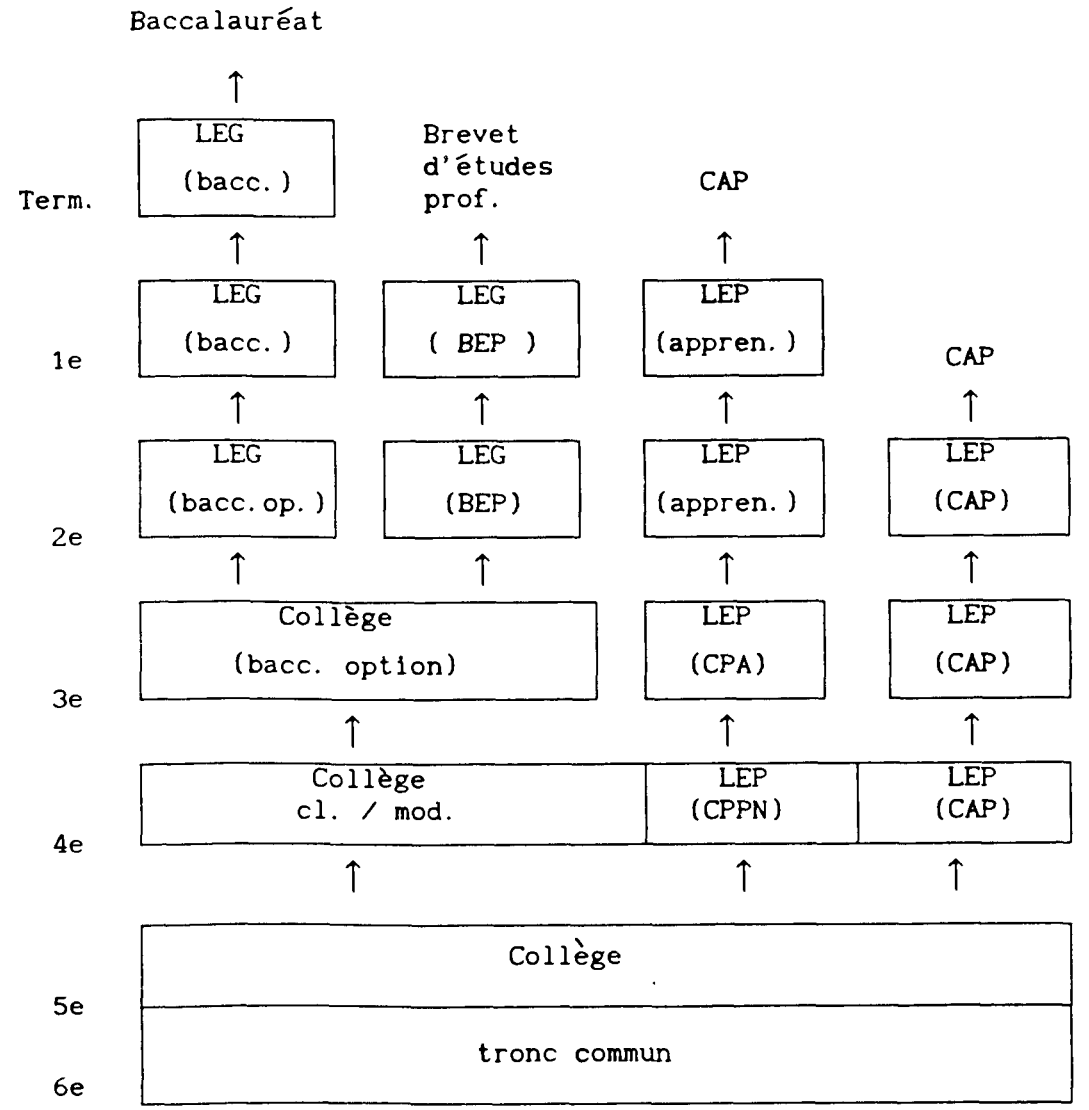
viennent pas ajouter leur poids à celui des inégalités naturelles irréductibles".[31] Finally it appeared that some reformers had begun to understand that educational reform required more than structural changes to the education system. Clearly these reformers had been influenced by Bourdieu and Passeron.

But Haby had neither properly identified the causes of intellectual quickness and slowness, nor the reasons for some pupils' success and some pupils' failure, often defined by their membership in a certain social class. Thus reformers believed Haby's reform was far from an equalization of chances. Instead it offered the possibility of rapid advancement to a minority of children while limiting the majority to less education and thus lesser opportunities. Haby's école unique had failed as it had not erased the cultural barriers which made the attendance of certain programs by certain classes of student nearly inevitable. The plan had instead institutionalized the social differences between students with the continued division between collège programs.

But to expect to install social equality through an education system that offers equal chances to all students according to their aptitudes and tastes, not "au hasard de leur naissance", was, according to Antoine Prost, a vain wish for two reasons. Firstly, because each student's education level at the end of elementary school reflected his/her social status - "l'école d'ailleurs ne reçoit pas les élèves égaux" - all students were destined to be evaluated on the basis of

their families' positions as well as their aptitudes.[32] Secondly, the reform of the education system could not erase the different social strata within society itself. People have been conditioned to regard certain types of work as more prestigious than others. Consequently, as each program prepared children for a different type of work "une hierarchie objective s'établit ainsi entre les différente sections",[33] in which each represented a separate employment opportunity. The choice of program was therefore not made solely on an educational basis, but also *on* a social one, as students "ne choisissent les meilleurs études, ils jouent leur avenir"[34]: "quitter l'école signifie aussi entrer dan l'activité avec une qualification donné et à une place determiné de la division sociale du travail".[35] Although the intention of the reformers was to offer children 'un peu de justice' in this world, even they could not completely democratize a system into which students entered on unequal footing and from which they graduated into a hierarchical society.

Figure 4.1 The Haby Plan



[1]Linda Hantrais, Contemporary French Society, (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1982), p. 124.

[2]René Haby, Propositions pour une modernisation du système, (Paris: La Documentation Française, Cahier Français, Numéro Spécial, Hors Serie Février 1975), p. 2.

[3]Ibid., p. 3.

[4]H. D. Lewis, The French Education System, (N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1985), p. 42.

[5]Haby, Propositions, p. 4.

[6]Ibid., p. 5.

[7]Joseph Moody, French Education Since Napoleon, (N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1978) p. 198.

[8]Frédéric Gausson, "Le Nouveau départ de M. Haby", Le Monde de l'Education, (September, 1975), #9, p. 5.

[9]Jean Capelle, "La Promotion individuelle par l'école", Le Monde de l'Education, (March 1975), #3, p. 16.

[10]La Documentation Française, Le Système scolaire - le collège au centre des réformes, (Paris, CEDEX, 1983), p. 100.

[11]With some monetary and curricular concessions the teachers did begin the new program in the fall of 1977.

[12]Daniel Resnick, "Educational Reform: Recent Developments in Secondary Schooling, Contemporary French Civilization, vol. 6, (fall-winter 81-82), p. 46.

[13]Lewis, French Education System, p. 46-47.

[14]René Haby, "L'enseignement doit cesser d'apparaître aux parents et aux enfants comme une course de vitesse", Le Monde de l'Education, (February 1975), no. 2, p. 7.

[15]Resnick, "Educational Reform", p. 47.

[16]Jean Capelle, Tomorrow's Education: The French Experience, (London: Pergammon Press Ltd., 1967), p. 38.

[17]Hantrais, Contemporary French Society, p. 134.

[18]La Documentation Française, Système Scolaire, p. 45.

[19]Guy Herzlich, "L'Orientation des enfants", Le Monde de l'Education, (April, 1980), p. 14.

[20]Different baccalauréatoptions also had varying rates of success: A 80%, B 75%, C 70-75%, D 80%, G 60%, F 55% (the rest were moved to the LEP). Ibid.

[21]Ibid., p 15.

[22]Jaques Chambaz, "Un Projet démagogique et conservateur", Le Monde de l'Education, (March 1975), #4, p. 19.

[23]Hantrais, Contemporary French Society, p. 125.

[24]W. R. Fraser, "Reform in France", Comparative Education Review, (October, 1967), p. 310.

[25]Aristide Zolberg and Vera Zolberg, "The Regimentation of Bourgeois Culture: Public Secondary Schools in Modern France", Comparative Education Review, (October 1971), p. 342.

[26]Chambaz, "Projet démagogique", p. 19.

[27]Louis Mexandeau, "La Séléction naturelle", Le Monde de l'Education, (March 1975), #4, p. 18.

[28]Frédéric Gausson, "Editorial", Le Monde de l'Education, (March 1975), #4, P. 3.

[29]Journal Officiel de la République français, no. 32, p. 2210.

[30]François Bresson, "L'Elimination par la psychologie", Le Monde de l'Education, (March 1975), #4, p. 10.

[31]Journal Officiel, p. 2216.

[32]Antoine Prost, Histoire de l'Enseignement en France 1800-1967, (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1968), p. 425.

[33]Ibid..

[34]Ibid..

[35]Vivienne Isambert, "L'Ecole ajustée à la division du travail", Le Monde de l'Education, (March 1975), #4, p. 13.

CONCLUSION

As revolutionary as the Haby laws seemed, in retrospect they had not lived up to the reformers' expectations. Throughout the late 1970's there was a general feeling that the bill had failed to meet most peoples' expectations. As more and more children transferred to private secondary institutions, the press wondered whether the education system "had (not) become a gigantic machine for the manufacture of dunces".[1] The first left-wing government of the Fifth Republic, which came to power in 1981 under the leadership of François Mitterand, decided the educational situation was still in need of drastic revision. The Left was convinced that its policy of using schools to reduce privilege remained a necessity. Hence education minister Alain Savary introduced the Zones d'éducation prioritaire (ZEP) in an attempt to homogenize secondary schools all over France. Heretofore the collèges and lycées had varied according to location, resources (teachers), clientele and specialty. The ZEP were created to "help change the depressing cycle of failure often encountered in the less privileged areas of France"[2] by making all schools increasingly similar. That same year Savary appointed Louis LeGrand to head an investigation of the continuing problems of education. With the aid of a number of sub-committees, LeGrand produced the report Pour un collège démocratique: mission d'étude pour l'amélioration du fonctionnement des collèges. In the report he admonished the education system for its lack of coordination and disregard for the potential of all French students. He subsequently suggested the immediate elimination of the pre-professional (CPPN, CPA)

programs, the introduction of mixed ability classes and team teaching, and improved coordination between collège programs. These continual 'improvements' of the system by the Left signaled the inadequacy of the Haby reform and all those which had come before it, as "there were still factors fundamental to pupil progress which were left untouched".[3] But even the Left's attempts to democratize education were as ineffective as Zay's, Fouchet's and Haby's. The division between schools had not completely disappeared, but had rather been 'internalized' within the collèges. Streaming was as much a reality in 1980 as it had been in 1920, only now it occurred a few years later. The forces of selection and orientation had been unified within one system, but remained at cross purposes.

The inadequacies of the French system of education remain. Why? There were, of course, practical difficulties in instituting reform. Funding and resources, such as teachers and buildings, were always scarce. Moreover the inequitable distribution of these resources over the regions of France made reform difficult to enforce evenly over the entire country. These difficulties made the simple task of transition from educational proposal to educational policy onerous; "the discrepancy between a pedagogical ideal and its translation into practice"[4] was often too large to overcome. The system of proportional representation used by the French government also made reform difficult because legislation depended on majority coalitions which were not always obtainable. The result was political immobilisme. As well, the governments, especially during the Fourth Republic, were often burdened

by international crises whose proportions made educational legislation seem insignificant. Wars in Europe, Algeria and Vietnam forced governments to put educational reform aside to deal with these more pressing and crucial matters. The frequency of governmental change incurred because of these crises also disrupted reform as the introduction of a new government frequently left educational proposals half finished, or made those which were complete unacceptable to the new regime.

Lastly, the rapid pace with which twentieth century society advanced in all areas posed many problems for all those concerned with education and educational reform. As the original purpose of secondary education was not mass consumption, it was difficult to adapt this system to the new conditions of the twentieth century. A tidal wave of students after World War II put much pressure on the old elitist system. For example, the baccalauréat had been originally designed for less than 20,000 students, but in 1959 over 110,000 presented themselves for the first part of the exam.[5] The problem soon became how to adjust the traditional education system to the massive call for secondary education "La question est de savoir comment concilier cette necessité - assurer la promotion des meilleurs - avec une autre exigence de la démocratie: permettre la progression de tous".[6] The secondary school tried to maintain its standards despite the inundation of students by failing large numbers along the path to the baccalauréat. This response was not unwarranted, as the reformers' demands not only for open access to secondary education but also for non-discriminatory orientation was too

much to ask of any education system at the time. To accommodate the huge influx of students in the democratic fashion so desired by reformers required more than the democratization of the education system. It also required the alteration of familial and social prejudices and practices, well beyond the capacity of the contemporary education system in France. Hence "the purposes of French education coexist painfully...the desire to give each child an equal opportunity stands in tension with the continuing determination to produce an elite that will assure French greatness in a competitive world".[7] It was this dichotomy which was the basis of debate between reformers and conservatives in the twentieth century.

Both conservatives and reformers had definite ideas that neither would concede: reformers hoped to open access to secondary education and conservatives hoped to maintain elitist recruitment tactics. To conservatives, including secondary professors, classical scholars, political conservatives and right-wing partisans, selection was "considerée comme naturelle, inevitable, elle est non seulement accepté, mais encore valorisé. Les dons sont innés, certains enfants sont plus intelligents que d'autres".[8] Therefore they supported the traditional secondary system which selected the best students for higher education and society's most prominent positions. They discouraged institutional change for two reasons. Firstly, their faith in tradition and the course of history made them distrustful of sudden change which had not evolved from the situation, but which had been superimposed, perhaps erroneously, from above. Secondly, the preservation of the status quo

was imperative as they had always trusted the education system to produce qualified elites, and as their normally prestigious positions were a product of the traditional system: "it is the traditional conservative elements of French society...which are most resistant to educational change. The change from an elitist two-track system in the crucial area of secondary education, to a two-tier system, in the first phase of which children are educated together, and which is followed by a phase of progressive differentiation, is one that such elements find difficulty in reconciling with the creed of intellectual excellence".[9] The conservatives also feared that any further widening of access to secondary education would create a glut of over-educated and unemployed workers who could potentially become a revolutionary force, if sufficiently dissatisfied by the situation. Thus, the opponents of educational reform remained united in their quest to defer any real change in the education system.

Reformers were equally as stalwart in their conviction that elitism, especially in education, is repugnant. They demanded education for all, first at the primary and then at the secondary level. Moreover they sought an education system in which cultural and class differences were minimized so that educational and occupational opportunity would be truly based on the merit of one's intellectual abilities, not one's pocketbook. Hence, reformers, both moderate and radical, including primary instructors, modernists, and left-wing partisans, promoted the idea that " l'école a pour vocation de donner sa chance à chacun, de corriger les inégalités de naissance, d'éduquer tous les petits Français

au sein d'une Alma Mater également accueillant à tous".[10] The école unique was the tool with which they hoped first to open access to secondary schools, and then to democratize that system. But although their ideas were modern and progressive, reformers were divided as to how these reforms should be instituted. Moderate reformers preferred small, non disruptive alterations which would lead slowly, but surely, to the ideal education system. Conversely, radicals were convinced of the necessity of revolutionary tactics; real change was only possible with the sudden transformation of the entire educational structure. However, both groups were uninterested in anything beyond structural change. Only in the 1970's did reformers begin to question whether change only to the education system was adequate to fulfill their democratic demands. Thus, on top of the fierce arguments between conservatives and reformers, these internal arguments were debilitating, as the conservatives, already powerful, remained united against the often divided forces of change, making alterations to the education system less than likely.

The debate between these two groups was fierce. But their arguments involved more than whether selection or orientation should be the predominant educational philosophy; at the heart of the debate was their concern over the possession of political power. For both reformers and conservatives, school was a truly significant institution not only because of its power to impart knowledge, but also because it was considered the main transmitter of society's culture and values to future generations, and thus vital to the maintenance of the country's

identity, character and structure: "its purpose has consistently been defined as the formation of adults according to some social ideal".[11] In France, where many agree that 'the French nation is identical to the French culture', the role of education "as the entire process by which a culture transmits itself across the generations"[12] and "the deliberate, systematic and sustained effort to transmit or evoke knowledge, attitudes, values, skills, and sensibilities"[13] made the education system appear to be a most significant political tool. Both groups believed the social significance of the education system meant that whoever controlled the education structure also controlled, to some degree, the social structure and therefore had the ability to manipulate the education structure to their benefit. Therefore, the debate became more than a question of educational practices; it was also a battle over political power. Reformers, especially primary instructors, believed they could improve their status through the democratization of education whereas reform opponents, particularly secondary professors, believed exactly the opposite - surely their position would be damaged under such circumstances. Thus the tenacity of reform opposition to cling to the traditional system was equaled by determined attempts by reformers to adapt the education system to the new conditions of the twentieth century: "both sides thought of it (education) as a political preserve of a social class. One side sought to end the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie over the lycée, the other sought to preserve it... (it is) difficult to understand the bitterness of the dispute... unless seen as a confrontation over the possession of political power".[14] The escalation of this debate to include political power was necessarily

debilitating to reform because far-reaching compromise in this situation seemed impossible - to compromise one's social and political beliefs completely was to forfeit one's power. There was little middle ground; it was a matter of win or lose.

This struggle was won, more often than not, by the opponents of reform, already in control of the education system, who knew how to manipulate the system to their advantage. Their success partially explains why the école unique effected only negligible democratic change after its implementation in 1975. The opponents of educational reform, predominantly conservative, traditional professionals, including professors, had learned how to survive the evolution of society even when their reason for being seemed obsolete. One careful observer of the survival tactics of the French elites concluded that French institutions are much more flexible than generally assumed[15] and that the ability to adapt to changing political, economic and social environments has assured the elites' positions as leaders of society[16]: "the fact French institutions and elite exist today suggests that the elite has managed to maintain its legitimacy, even though it appears out of tune with current notions of democratic organisation".[17]

One only has to look as far as the piecemeal changes made by conservative governments at the turn of the century, during the depression, the occupation, the sixties and in January of 1975, to realize that the alterations to the education system preserved rather than destroyed the superiority of traditional education. Changed only

were the components of the system which conservatives knew, if altered, would not endanger the mechanism of elite selection. The lower middle class was given access to the secondary system in 1902, only because conservatives understood that their incorporation into the system would threaten neither the superiority of latin, nor the isolation of the secondary system from mass education. In the 1960's, traditionalists allowed the classical humanities to be cast off as the elite secondary section, knowing full well that the pure sciences had become the new elite-making program, maintaining the barrier between elite and mass education within the CES. The Haby plan was also legislated because the elitists knew that by 1975 secondary education was less and less important to elite education and could be given over to the masses if access to higher education could be successfully monitored. Often it seemed as though the credentials necessary for certain jobs, whether requiring greater skill or not, became more difficult to obtain as those in control of education attempted to maintain their traditional spheres of influence against the democratic tide of the twentieth century.[18]

For whatever reason, their flexibility on certain issues allowed conservatives to disperse criticism while simultaneously keeping up with the times. Yet they would only go so far before they balked. They compromised on their terms, and on their terms only. Change was limited only to the maintenance of the status quo. Michel Crozier explains this phenomenon as the 'bureaucratic phenomenon' - the retardation of progress by the gigantic and intricate French bureaucracy which protects the people within the bureaucracy, and within society at large, from

radical changes which might threaten the status quo.[19] Thus, he expects that "despite all of the post-war changes, traditional attitudes and values survive, and no real transformation will come unless the leaders of politics and opinion take vigorous action...change comes only through crisis that disrupts the entire system."[20] It is thus understandable why many reformers insisted on radical reform, as real structural change resulting in open access to the professions was impossible to achieve quietly.

Indeed, instead of change, the French, in the face of adversity, tend to embrace tradition. According to one of the Third Republic's most famous statesman, Waldeck-Rousseau, "We are an old nation. We have a long history. We cling to the past by the deepest roots, and the very roots which one might expect to be withered still retain a sensitiveness which the least wound revives and spreads to the entire organism".[21] This pattern of continuity despite the presence of constant pleas for radical change seems inherent in French society: "French history is interspersed with revolutions, upheavals, dramatic changes, whilst at the same time demonstrating many of the characteristics of stability and continuity".[22] French society has always been fairly resistant to change; industrialization came slowly to France, as did the vote for women, and likewise compulsory secondary schooling. And the disruptive forces of the twentieth century, such as industrialization and the population boom, did not significantly alter French society or education. This is partly due to a consensus in France that society is hierarchical. The French do not quarrel with the idea of a tiered

society, but, since the Revolution, they insist that positions within society be filled democratically. However, they have never really learned how to institute these democratic ideals in a democratic society: "the ideals of 1789 - Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and the Sovereignty of the People (remained)...But they remained puzzled as to how these great ideals might be reduced to the terms of practical policies and embodied in the actual machinery of government".[23] Thus there is a constant and continual mix of conservative and republican philosophies, undoubtedly the legacy of the democratic ideals of the revolution and the traditional system that emerged from its ashes: while "people were devoted to the principles of 1789...(they were also) tenaciously conservative in their social and moral positions".[24] This persistent dichotomy, between a traditional, orderly, elitist system and its challenger, the revolutionary, democratic, egalitarian system, is reflected in the education system, which "continues to be selective and demanding. Mass education may be a near universal phenomenon, but French education still bears the particular stamp of the nation's traditions and culture".[25]

The endurance of traditional social and educational structures and leaders through cunning survival tactics, in spite of seemingly radical alterations to the education system, suggests that Bourdieu and Passeron's 'reproduction theory' is valid. According to these two theorists, education reproduces in children a certain consciousness that convinces them to value the culture, attitudes and morality of the dominant group, in France's case the bourgeoisie. "Schools work to

conceal the real character of domination by teaching that there is only one legitimate culture and one form of approved consciousness - that of the highly educated elite".[26] This theory offers a logical explanation for both the persistence of two distinct traditions of post-primary education and the continuously poor turnout of lower class students in secondary and higher education. The persistence of hierarchy in French society as a result of the adaptability of the elites combined with their control of the education system has convinced students to value bourgeois attitudes and culture above all else. This has two effects. First, if the bourgeois culture is that which is highly valued, then it follows that bourgeois children would have the advantage at school, and therefore would be those students most likely to continue into higher education and prosperous employment. Furthermore, teachers, whose adoption of the dominant social culture explains their social status, are determined to impart this knowledge to their students. As a result of their ambition, favorable assessment is often awarded inadvertently to those students with the same culture as their own and not those without. Second, the reproduction theory may also explain the persistent division between bourgeois and working class educational programs. If working class children do not value their own culture, then they may begin to feel inferior because they do not possess the means to attain higher education. Their feelings of inadequacy may also lead them to endorse the separation between programs that they feel they can succeed at and those that they consider beyond their means. The theory also explains the discrepancy in ambition between disadvantaged students and the bourgeois counterparts. As "children and their

families make their own choices by reference to the constraints which determine them",[27] the working class, not imbued with the dominant culture, automatically lower their expectations as they are convinced that their culture allows them little or no chance to successfully attend university. Thus, Bourdieu and Passeron conclude that "by giving individuals educational aspirations strictly tailored to their position in the social hierarchy, and by operating a selection procedure which, although apparently formally equitable, endorses real inequalities, schools help both perpetuate and legitimize inequalities. By awarding allegedly impartial qualifications...for socially conditioned aptitudes which it treats as unequal 'gifts', it transforms *de facto* inequalities into *de jure* ones and *economic and social* differences into *distinctions of quality*, and legitimates the transmission of cultural heritage".[28]

The reproduction theory also accounts for the sluggish acceptance of radical reform, as well as its ineffectiveness once achieved. If the education system, as a conservative force, tends to reproduce old social prejudices, it is doubtful that occupational democracy and employment based on real intellectual merit will occur in France until that society has been transformed either by slow persistent change or by revolution. Apparently, the reformers had asked too much of the French educational system: no educational reform has the power to alter society unless it coincides with a change in the political and social structure of France. Thus the <u>école unique</u>, no matter how radical, did not have the power to alter the social discrepancy between different programs leading to different social and economic opportunities. Yet the attempt to use the

école unique to effect educational and social change was not completely without success, for the école unique movement has brought much attention to social discrepancies within education and society, subjects which have often been swept under the carpet. The significance of the école unique lies in its ability to bring to the fore subjects which, in the future, may affect more than French students.

[1]H. D. Lewis, The French Education System, (N. Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1985) p. 48.

[2]Ibid., p. 49.

[3]Ibid., p. 50.

[4]W.R. Fraser, Reforms and Restraints in Modern French Education, (London: Routledge, and Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 34.

[5]Stanley Hoffman, et al, In Search of France, (N. Y.: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 291.

[6]Philippe Cohen, "La Gauche a mal à l'élite", Le Monde de l'Education, (May 1985), p. 10.

[7]Joseph Moody, French Education since Napoleon, (N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1978), p. 206.

[8]Lilliane Delwasse, "L'Ecole sacrifice-t-elle l'élite au profit de la masse?", Le Monde de l'Education, (December, 1987), p. 54.

[9]Jean Capelle, Tomorrow's Education: The French Experience, (London: Pergammon Press Limited, 1967), p. 4.

[10]Delwasse, "l'Ecole", p. 54.

[11]Moody, French Education, p. 1.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid.

[14]John Talbott, The Politics of Educational Reform in France 1918-1940, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 171.

[15]Ezra Suleiman, Elites in French Society, (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), p. 8.

[16]Ibid., p. 3.

[17]Ibid., p. 11.

[18]Randal Collins, The Credential Society, (N. Y.: Academy PRess, 1979).

[19]Michel Crozier, The Bureaucratic Phenomenon, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964).

[20]Gordon Wright, France in Modern Times, (N.Y.: W. W. Norton Co., 1981), p. 477-478.

[21]Edward Mead Earle, Modern France, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 17.

[22]Jolyon Howorth,, and Phillip Cerny, Elites in French Society, (London: Frances Pinter, 1981), p. 3.

[23]David Thompson, Democracy in France since 1870, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 16.

[24]Moody, French Education, p. 145-46.

[25]Daniel Resnick, "Educational Reform: Recent Developments in Secondary Schooling", Contemporary French Civilization, vol. 6, (fall-winter 81-82), p. 151.

[26]Christopher Hurn, The Limits and Possibilities of Scooling, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1985), p. 214.

[27]Pierre Bourdieu, "The school as a conservative force: scholastic and cultural inequalities", in Dale, Roger et al., eds., Schooling and Capitalism, (London: Routledge, and Kegan Paul, 1976), p. 111.

[28]Ibid., p. 115.

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