

What happened to the queens ? Normaliens' career styles at the end of the XXe century in France

Pierre Bataille

▶ **To cite this version:**

Pierre Bataille. What happened to the queens ? Normaliens' career styles at the end of the XXe century in France. Changing Elites in Europe, Nov 2015, Londres (LSE), United Kingdom. hal-02623896v2

HAL Id: hal-02623896
https://hal.science/hal-02623896v2

Submitted on 3 Jun 2020

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

What happened to the queens ?

Normaliens' career styles at the end of the XXe century in France

Pierre Bataille[1]

Référence originale
Pierre Bataille (2015), "What happened to the queens ? Normaliens' career styles at the end of the XXe century in France", *Changing Elites in Europe, LSE, London, United Kingdom*, 26-27 November 2015

The ENS within the French field of "grandes écoles" : an ambiguous position

Three Queens at the crossroad of three fields

The Ecoles Normales Supérieures (ENS) are part of the more prestigious French "grandes écoles". Like the Ecole Polytechnique, the ENS have been created after the French Revolution. Like the others "grandes écoles" - and unlike French universities – admission to these institutions is subject to success in a competitive examination (a concours). This system of selection is suppose to select on "meritocratic" basis the best of the student to open them the gate of the national elite. The initial purpose of the ENS was to select and train future teachers and future administrators of the French school system. The more renowned, the ENS of Ulm, was definitely created in 1808 and, initially, used to train future teachers for the secondary education. The two other ones, the ENS of Saint-Cloud et Fontenay and the ENS of Cachan, were created more recently, between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the first world war. These two "little sisters" of the ENS of Ulm, were also originally created to provide teachers for the relatively less prestigious sectors of the French school system (the "primary" education and the "technical" education).

But, as Diane Rubenstein noted (Rubenstein, 1990, p. 6), during the XIXe century until the first half of the XXe century, if the manifest function of the ENS was to train future teachers, the "latent" function of the ENS seems have been to provide future eminent agents of the intellectual and the academic field. For instance, even if the normaliens (i.e the graduates of the ENS) have been more and more numerous to choose an academic career since the creation of the first ENS, they have been formally constrained to succeed at at least one of the examinations for being teacher (the agregation or the capes) until 1962 for the normaliens of Ulm – and until 1985 for the normaliens of the others ENS. The tension between this two social function of the ENS (i.e selecting and training future teachers or being a breeding ground of future intellectuals or scientists) has been well documented by several academic work, for the ENS of Ulm (Bourdieu, 1988, 1998 ; Sirinelli, 1988, 1994) like for the others ones, especially the one of Fontenay and Saint-Cloud (Barbé & Luc, 1982).

The ENS of Ulm are thus often describe as "the queen" of academic system (Rubenstein, 1990, p. 6) when the ones of Fontenay et Saint Cloud are seen as the "coronation" of the meritocratic system, who give the opportunity to the best student to become teacher or manager of the educational system (Barbé & Luc, 1982). Looking at the wide range of careers followed by the normaliens (from secondary teacher to President), one of the specificity of the three ENS within the field of grandes ecoles is also to produce a less specialized elite than many other institutions like the Ecole Polytechnique or the Ecole nationale d'administration (ENA) or the Haute école de commerce (HEC). In this sense, using the words of G. Pompidou, the ENS are more an "open gate" for several pathway (including elite pathway) than an a back-room of political or economical power. More precisely and from a relational analysis point of view, one can say that within the French context, the ENS are traditionally situated at

[1] University of Lausanne, NCCR LIVES, Switzerland

Auteur correspondant:
Pierre Bataille, University of Lausanne, Geopolis, Switzerland.
Email: pierre.bataille@unil.ch

the crossroad of three field : the academic field ; the intellectual field and the field of power. FFollowing these remarks, we assume that analyzing the career pathway of ENS graduates is a heuristic way to analyze the evolution of the interactions between these three field within the French context.

After the 1960's : The ENS at the crossroad of their own history

Maybe because they symbolize the excellence à la française and because they have been an incubator of many important public personalities during the decades after the WWII (like Sartre, Foucault, Derrida or Bourdieu), the ENS have been at the core of several researches until the end of the 80's. Nevertheless, one must note that since the 80's and the works of Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1998), there has been a relative "overshadowing" of the ENS within the scientific production. Indeed, since twenty years, the most studied "grandes écoles" have been undoubtedly the ENA or Sciences-Po Paris (Bauer, Bertin-Mourot, & Laval, 1997 ; Bellier, 1997 ; Biland & Kolopp, 2013 ; Eymeri, 2001 ; Oger, 2008 ; Pasquali, 2014) and, more recently, HEC and the others French business schools (Abraham, 2007 ; Blanchard, 2009, 2012 ; Lambert, 2010 ; Lazuech, 1998). Some researches have also been done around the engineers school, specially on the feminization of these institutions (Marry, 2004).

How interpret this lack of interest – compared to the relative abundance of research on these institutions twenty years ago ? Following J.-C. Passeron, one can argue that sociological production is always embedded in a particular socio-historical context (Passeron, 2013). Then, one of the main hypotheses could be that this lack of sociological interest is correlative to a weakening of the position of these institutions within the field of grandes écoles in France. Indeed the 80's then the 90's and the 00's were decades where the ENA, Sciences-Po and the biggest French business school (as HEC) did occupy a more and more central place in the public debate and in the recruitment of future elite.

This trends have been already shown by P. Bourdieu at the end of the 70's (Bourdieu, 1998, pp. 197–214). Nevertheless, the example of the dynamic of introduction of "positive discrimination" policies by most of the grandes écoles since the end of the 90's is one of the best illustration of the dominant position of Sciences-Po and the most prestigious business schools reached within the field of the grandes écoles - and co-relatively, within the field of power in France. Indeed, since the end of the 90's, the requirements inequalities of the grandes écoles – and especially the ways to struggle against these inequalities through the promotion of positive discrimination policies – has been at the core of public debate on grandes écoles (Pasquali & Pattieu, 2014 ; Van Zanten, 2010). Sciences-Po and the ESSEC (one of the most prestigious French business school) has been the two first grandes écoles who did implement these policies. Such policies have been thereafter adopted and imitated by most of the other grandes écoles during the 00's – notably some of the ENS since 2010. Reading this generalization from a neo-institutionalist theoretical framework, these two institutions appear undoubtedly as the leaders to follow within this particular social space (Buisson-Fenet & Draelants, 2010). After have been the matrix of the recruitment of future French elite (and been imitated by the ENA or the business schools (Bourdieu, 1998)), the ENS didn't seems to be anymore one of the leading institutions of the field.

Such review of disposable scientific literature may lead to the conclusion that the queens are not as powerful as they used to be. Nevertheless, there is no analysis of the concrete implication of these changes on the ENS and their graduates. Indeed, has we already mention it, very little is known on this population since the 80's and the only sources of sociological information on the recruitment and the professional career of ENS' graduates are exploratory researches (Baudelot, Raux, Ritz, & Vinh, 2005 ; Pavis, 2013).

Following these remarks, this paper will follow a twofold purpose. Our first aim will be to document what the ENS became since the 1960's. We will thus try to define their position within the contemporary field of the grandes écoles through the analysis of the professional careers of the normaliens. As the ENS are also at the crossroad of three field (the academic field, the intellectual field and the field of power), our second aim will be to analyse, through the case of the ENS, part of the changes that affect these three field during the last three decades. Our main research question will be the following ones : Are the ENS still a possible path to the field of power ? Under which condition ENS graduates can reach dominant position within the French field of power ? What does these conditions indicate about the interaction between the three fields in which the ENS are committed within the French context ?

Data & Methods

Data and sample

In our analyses, we use two dataset.

The first one (D1) is based on the cross exploitation of the yearbooks of the three ENS for the Classes of 1960 to 1995 and of a national database that record all the thesis defended in France between 1970 and 2000 (DOCTHESE). Within the 159675 thesis registered in DOCTHESE, we find 4618 normaliens (1703 from Ulm-Sevres, 1600 from Saint-Cloud & Fontenay and 1255 from Cachan). Even if informations compiled in this base are relatively poor (only the class, the sex, the disciplinary field of specialization), it give us some of the major trends within the three ENS concerning the normaliens' higher education achievement during this period.

The second one (D2) is based on the exploitation of a questionnaire survey (mail and letter) sent to the 1600 people of ENS of Fontenay & Saint Cloud Classes of 1981 to 1987, between February 2006 and March 2013. The choice of these particular subgoup of ENS was at the beginning due to practical reasons. In 2005 we has the opportunity to lead a survey amongst these ENS alumni on the behalf of the direction. Because studying elites is made difficult because of the access to sources (Joly, 2005), such context are needed to launch an empirical research – especially when the researcher isn't an alumnus of the institution, like us. Nevertheless the choice of these particular ENS is also relevant for more scientific reasons. The ENS of Saint-Cloud and Fontenay-aux-Roses are situated on an intermediary position in term of prestige and recruitment between the one of Ulm (the oldest and the most prestigious ENS) and the one of Cachan (the more recent of the three ENS). Because of this median position, they are an interesting case to analyze the multiple facets of the ENS. Further more, one must say that according to P. Bourdieu analysis, differences between the three ENS in term of recruitment and looking at the career of their alumni became more and more thin since the 1970's and the 1980's. (Bourdieu, 1998).

Two major reasons shaped the choice of the Classes. The first one is an historical one. 1981 and 1987 present two major changes in the story of these institutions. 1981 is the introduction of the coeducation at the ENS of Saint-Cloud and Fontenay. The main incidence of this institutional change has been the increasing of the under-representation of women in the scientific pathway. 1987 is the year when scientific and humanities students of the ENS where divided in two subgroup, each one into one specific school. One (humanities) stay staged in Paris (ENS de Saint-Cloud-Fontenay), the other (scientific) migrated to Lyon. In this « new » scientific school, alumni recruited after 1987 have been more than before directed to academic and applied research. So the period between 1981 and 1987 did seem to be relatively homogenous on the institutional level.

Closer to our research questions, we secondly decided to focus on the alumni of 1981-87, in order to analyze their life course paths up until 'occupational maturity' (Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992) and analyze what do they become 20 years after they did successfully access to the ENS.

418 alumni forward us our questionnaire. The response rate could seem relatively low (30%), but this can be nuanced on two perspectives. This response rate is similar to other survey on similar population, like in the case of the survey on Harvard graduates from the 80's conducted by Claudia Goldin and Lawrence F. Katz (Goldin & Katz, 2008), where the rate was 34%. Moreover, we compute the differences between our respondent sub-population and the whole population of the alumni from the class of 1981-1987 with three control variables : the sex of the respondent, their curriculum (science or humanities), their social background and their class. According to these three control variables, using a multivariate analysis, there is no significant differences at the level of 10% between our respondent sub-population and the whole population of the alumni from the class of 1981-1987.

Data collected give broad information on the family (grandparents, parents and siblings) and on the educational background of the alumni. They also give information on the type of educational achievement they reached after they accessed the ENS, their professional career (first and actual job), their marital status, the professional and educational status of their partners and the children they may have.

Methods & Variables

As mentioned, data from D1 has been used to draw the trends in terms of doctoral achievement amongst all ENS alumni between 1960 and 1990.

Data from D2 has been used in a more relational approach. As P. Bourdieu analysed, field's effects are generally transposed at each level of analysis within all the institutions committed in the same field (Bourdieu, 1998, pp. 142–152). To shine a light on the balance of power in which ENS are committed, we tried to build

and analyse the space of the "careers' styles" of the normaliens. To do so, we did an MCA with two set of variables relevant to analyse these different kinds of "careers' styles"

MCA analyze and variables

To sum up, there is two main goal to our MCA : drawing the space of the "careers' style" of the normaliens on the one hand ; looking how theses different "careers style" are located within the social space of the ENS alumni on the other hand. According to these goals, our variable can be subdivided in two groups : the "achievement variables" and the "background variables". All of them are categorical.

To compute the MCA, we used the "achievement" variable as "active variable". Once the space of these "carreers' style" drawn, we used the "background variable" as inactive and illustrative variable, in order to locate where are situated graduates within this space according to these variables (for more info, see Appendix).

"Achievement variables"

Our "achievement variables" can be grouped as follow : the educational achievement variables and the professional achievement variable.

The main educational achievement variables are the level of education reached by the alumni and the fact that they successfully completed a secondary teacher recruitment competition (especially the Agregation). Note that the ENS (and the other grandes écoles) lead their alumni to the level of Master. After that, they are free to continue to get a PhD. We add a third one that concerns the additional training that alumni followed in one other grandes écoles. Potentially open to all of the alumni, this possibility was chosen by a few of them. The other grandes écoles chosen where most of the time Sciences-Po or the ENA for the humanities alumni and the Ecole Polytechnique for the scientist. All of these educational achievement variables are dichotomous : obtain a PhD or not for the first one, obtain an Agregation or not, obtain an additional training or not. We also introduce two variables for the class of the alumni and the disciplinary field of specialization. Even these variable are not strictly link with "achievement", these variables give information on the educational trajectories of the graduated.

The main "professional achievement" variable is the professional status reached by the alumni. To evaluate the prestige associate to the professional status reached, we also introduce a variable on the work place of our interviewees. Indeed, the biggest cities – and above all Paris – are in France the main centers of "cultural values" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 363). And the proximity to such centre is a huge factor of distinction among French social space. So we use the status of the city where they work (categorized by the fact of being a place near from Paris and being a more or less small place in term on inhabitant) as an indicator of the prestige.

"Background Variables"

The "background variables" are the sex and a generational indicator of the familial cultural capital.

As several authors already noted, operationalizing the bourdieusian concept of « cultural capital » is always difficult (Lareau & Lamont, 1988). Following the work of P. Bourdieu, part of the effectiveness and performance of the cultural capital depends on time and familiarity that people benefit during its acquisition (Bourdieu, 2011). This familiarity distinguishes the "title" and the "quartier" of cultural nobility (Bourdieu, 1984), so the ways of acquisition of the cultural capital (school or family) and its character more ore less innate (i.e. more ore less powerful). From this idea, we decide to build an indicator of the oldness of the familial cultural capital based on the professional and educational achievement of the father and the grandfathers, following the typology already used in similar case in research on French educational elites (Ferrand, Imbert, & Marry, 1999 ; Le Bras, 1983). We use a three-letter code (e.g. : aaa) in which the first letter represent the professional status of the father, the second one the professional status of the maternal grandfather and the third one, the one of the paternal grandfather (see Figure 1). We didn't take into account the professional status of the women (the mother and the two grandmother), as Ferrand et al. did (1999), because it didn't change the typology obtained with the professional status of the men. We noted "a" when the father was being part of the low class and the low middle class (manual worker either agricultural or industrial, craftsmen or small traders, employees, teacher at the primary level) when the respondent acceded to the ENS. We noted "A" when the father was being part of the upper classes (professional occupation, manager, teacher at the secondary or the tertiary level) when the respondent acceded to the ENS. We did the same for both maternal and paternal

Grouped family types	*Family Types (details)*
Poorly Endowed Families (26%)	- aaa
Upward Families (30%)	- Aaa
Catching Up Families (8%)	- aAa (4%) or aaA (4%)
Well Endowed Families (33%)	- AAA : by both mother's and father's lines (13%) - AaA : by the mother's line (9%) - AAa : by the father's line (11%)

Non response = 2%, N = 418

FIGURE 1: Family types - Source D2

grandfathers and we obtained a typology of families organized by the oldness of their cultural capital.

So we distinguished three main types of families :

— The "Well Endowed" families, where the father and one of the grandfather belonged to the upper class (33%).
— The " Upward " families, where the father belonged to the upper class, but not any grandfathers (30%).
— The "Catching Up" families, where one of the grandfather belonged to upper class, but not the father (8%).
— The "Poorly Endowed" families, where neither the father nor the grandfathers belonged to the upper class (26%).

Result

Toward a specialization and an homogenization of the ENS

With our first dataset (D1), we can draw some of the trends among all the normaliens population between 1966 to 1995. The Figure 2 present the results of a linear regression of the rate of PhD within each generation of ENS graduates for each ENS during this period, with a confidence interval of 90%.

As it appears on this first graph, there is a progressive "specialization" of the ENS. During the period, the three ENS seem became more and more a launching pad for an academic career. At the end of the period, there is around 50% of the graduates who defended a PhD among the Ulm alumni or the Saint-Cloud/Fontenay alumni. So, in a sense, since the 1960's, the ENS seem have become more than before the "Queens" of academic system.

The second important thing represented here is the progressive "homogenization" of the ENS – and especially the progressive "homogenization" of the ENS

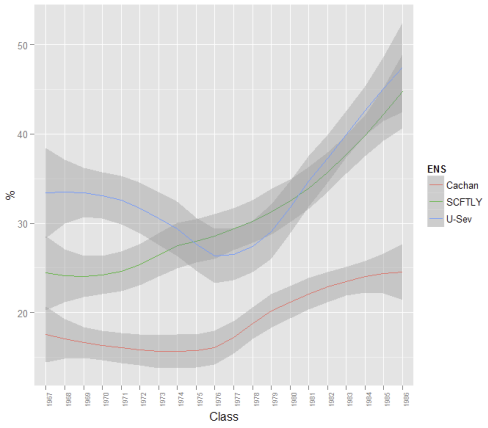


FIGURE 2: Rate of PhD among ENS alumni (linear regression) - Source : D1

of Ulm and the ones of Saint-Cloud Fontenay during this period. At the beginning of the period, there is clear hierarchical differentiation among the three ENS – with Ulm at the top, Cachan at the bottom and the one of Saint-Cloud/Fontenay on an intermediary position. At the end of the period, there is no more significant differences in therm of future PhD production among Ulm and Saint-Cloud/Fontenay.

The Figure 3 represent the rate of the several professional position reached among the Saint-Cloud/Fontenay alumni within the 1980's classes. Among this sub-sample of normaliens there is five main professional destination. Most of them did an academic career, and became Lecturer or Research Associate within a public higher education institution. A small part of them even reach the top of the academic hierarchy, and did became relatively fast Full Professor or Research director within the same kind of institution. A little less than 20% of them became teacher in a Classes Préparatoires aux Grandes Ecoles (CPGE), which are the elite classes where future grandes écoles graduates prepared during two years one of the concours. Finally around 10% of them became finally secondary teacher. And around 10% of them reached an elite professional position but outside the field of education and research.

Looking at the Figure 4, one can see more precisely the composition of this last category of graduates.

So, when they don't became teacher or researcher, normaliens became at first Senior civil servant, and less often manager within the public sector or artists. Regarding these result, the ENS still appears a pathway

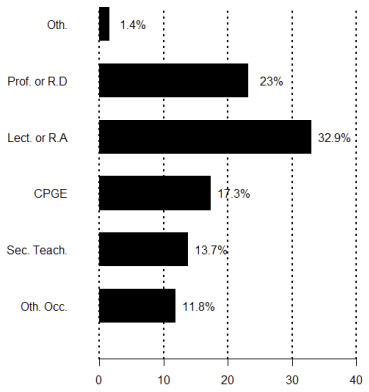


FIGURE 3: Professional achievement of Saint-Cloud/Fontenay Alumni (1981 - 1987) - Source D2

Senior civil servant	6
Manager within private sector	4
Artistic profession or journalist	2

FIGURE 4: Family types - Source D2

to the field of power – but for a really small group of the graduates.

The four normaliens' career styles

Now we will more deeply analyse the educational and social characteristics that seems linked to each of these professional achievement. Figure 5 represent the results of our MCA compute with data. Every "achievement variable" have been used as "active variable". Only the variables who contributed more than the average to the orientation of the axes are plotted. The variables in italic are the ones who contribute to the second dimension (Dim 2). The others are the ones who mostly contribute to the orientation of the first dimension (Dim 1). Because they concerned less than 10% of our population, some of the modalities of our "achievement variables" were turned into inactive modalities. We plotted these inactive modalities in grey, because they are helpful for the interpretation of the two axes.

Figure 5 show that the first axe (Dim 1) differentiates the status reached according to the global volume of prestige they represent. At the bottom of the graph, we find normaliens who are often secondary teachers, without a PhD and who work in relatively small city (less than 100 000 inhabitants). At the top of graph we find the ones who pursued an academic career, who are professor or lecturer in an universities and who defended a PhD.

The second axe (Dim 2) differentiates the positions reached according to different kinds of "style" of prestige associate with their status. On the right, we see status that are more related to "academic" prestige, like owning an Agregation or being a CPGE teacher – ie two signs of recognition among the most based on "academic" criteria. On the left, we find people who "deviate" from academic pathway to reach prestigious position, but according other criteria than the academic ones. Here we find alumni who followed an additional curriculum in one other parisians grande école, who work in Paris or near Paris – and who are senior civil servant, manager or independent intellectual worker. Within this left sector of the graph we also find people who didn't get an Agregation and who are more likely to work outside of France.

We can also note that this second dimension distinguishes the careers according to the disciplinary field. People who followed a curriculum in "Modern humanities" (sociology, geography or modern literature) are more likely to be located on the left of the graph when people who followed a curriculum in physic are more likely to be located on the right. This distinction reflects the differences of job opportunities according to the field of specialization of graduates. Indeed, positions of CPGE teachers are many in sciences but quite rare in literature or humanities (Baudelot, Dethare, Hérault, Lemaire, & Rosenwald, 2003). It also reflects differences in terms of recruitment between "sciences" and "literature" Division within the ENS, as we will analyse in the next section.

To sum up, among our population, there is four main careers style. At first, there is the normaliens who follow the "highway to academic success" to the top of the academic hierarchy. Secondly, there is the ones who follow a "secondary roads". Such roads are "secondary" in term of stages of education but also in term of prestige. Indeed, they also more likely to work away from Paris, in relatively small city. Thirdly, there is the ones who follow the "highway to academic success" but who stop halfway. They are less likely to reach a PhD, but they has been able to turn their educational success into academic capital – and they has been able to reach

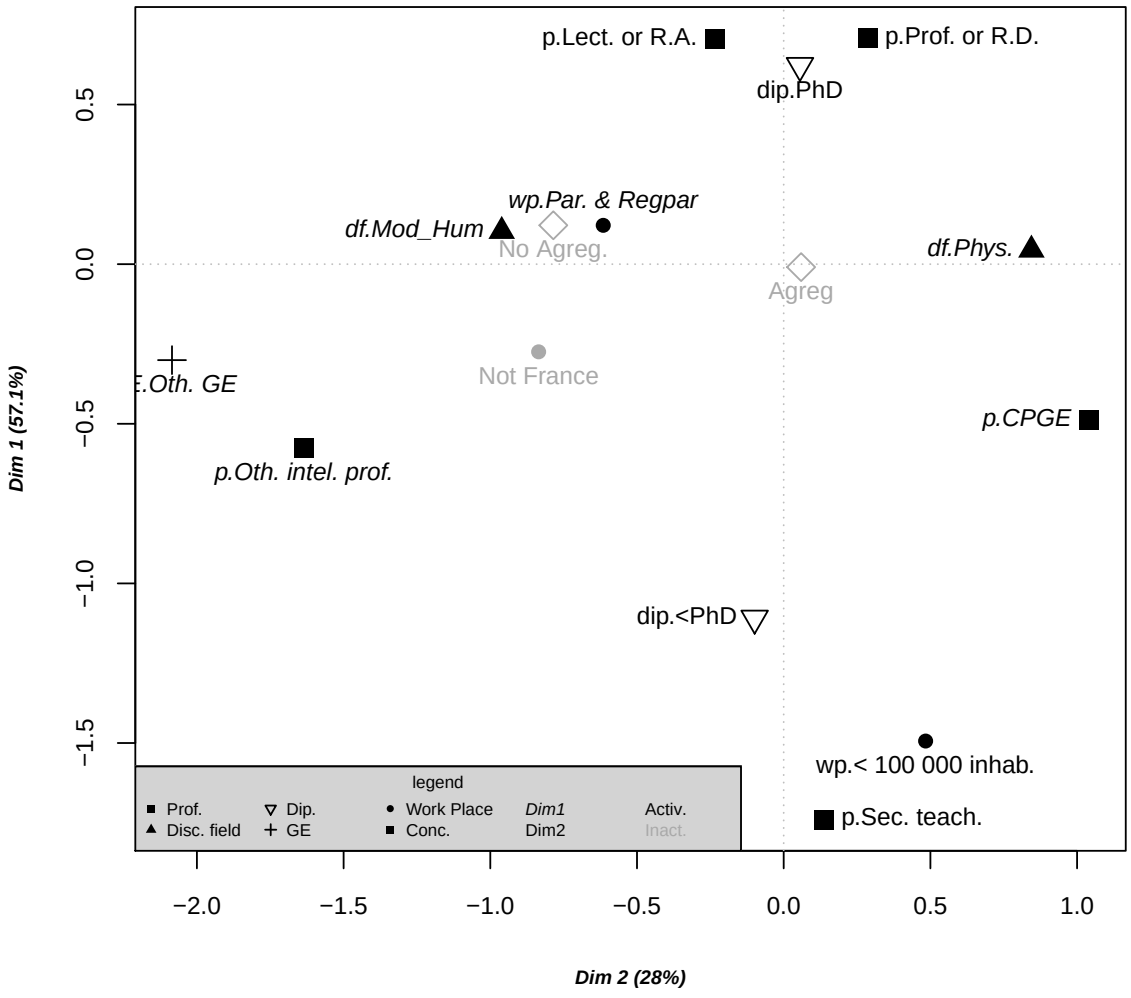


FIGURE 5: The space of normaliens' carreer styles - Source D2

the elite teacher group of the CPGE teachers. Fourthly, there is the ones who have "deviated" from the normal normarliens' career. For those normaliens on one of the "deviated" roads, their successfully passage through an ENS selection has less likely turn into academic capital. But it has been nevertheless turn into an admission ticket to dominant social positions outside academia – including, for some of them, dominant positions within the field of power.

Reconversion strategies and social reproduction

Now, let see how those careers styles are distributed among ENS alumni. To visualize and analyse such distribution, we plot in our plan the cloud of individuals some "concentration ellipses", in order to "summarize" where the sub-could of individuals are located (Roux & Rouanet, 2010, p. 69). To illustrate this analytic and visualization strategy, we plot the Figure 6, that represent the cloud of individuals and two ellipses of concentration, regarding the "general" disciplinary field of specialization (literature and humanities VS sciences).

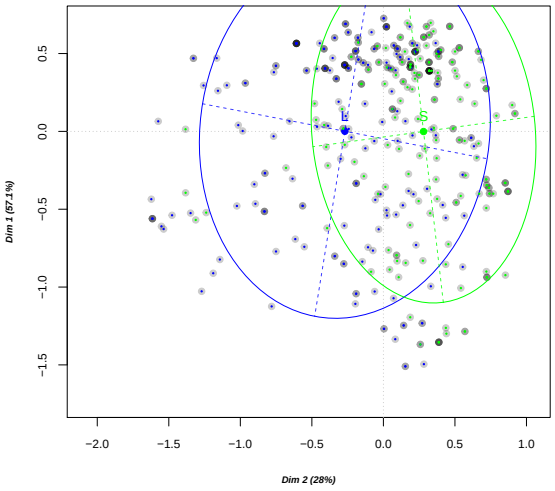


FIGURE 6: Cloud of individuals and discipline - Source D2

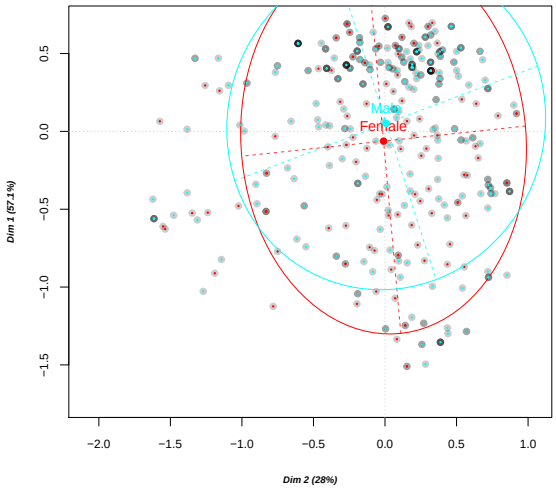


FIGURE 7: Cloud of individuals and gender - Source D2

First of all, one must note that each individual is plotted by a grey point. The more individuals occupy a similar position within the space, the more the point is black. We can see that there is more dark points at the top of the graph than anywhere else. This is one other illustration of the concentration of the ENS graduate within the academic field.

Then, this first example illustrates the differences between scientists and non-scientists in term of professional career. The first ones seem to stay more close to the academic field, when the second ones are more likely to "deviate" from the academics roads for reaching professional positions within other fields. This trend is mainly due to the differences in term of career opportunities, as we already mentioned it. For scientists, between the universities and the many public institutions dedicated to scientific research (the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, the Institut National de la Santé et de la Recherche Medicale, the Commissariat à l'Energie Atomique or the Institut National de Recherche Agronomique for instance), the probabilities to find a job within academic are good. For the non-scientists, this is less the case, and they are highly dependant of the demand of the universities in term of pedagogic supervision. In such context, one can do the hypothesis that "deviate" is a strategy to get better chances to reach a dominant position – and avoid their only other option, the "secondary roads". But these differences are not only due to the lack of academic career opportunities within non-scientists. It also reflect different strategies of reconversion of the educational capital linked to the social background of ENS alumni.

First of all, we have to say that, looking at gender (Figure 7), there is no big differences within the space of careers style. Women seems just a little more likely to follow a "secondary road". Indeed, as we analysed in other articles (Bataille, 2015, 2016), the biggest difference in term of careers between men and women is concentrated in the access of the top of academic field (i.e being a Professor/Research Director or not). In the space drawn by the MCA, there is no big differences between the Lecturer/Research associate and the higher ranks of academic hierarchy. This could be one of the reason that no differences appears here between the sub-cloud of men and the sub-cloud of women.

Social background of the individuals is more relevant in our case, and especially the differences between alumni situated at either end of our familial typology (the "Well endowed" families and the "Poorly endowed" families). Figure 8 show the two sub-clouds of individuals according to these two modalities of the "social background" variable.

The two sub-clouds are partly overlapping. The zone of overlapping is mainly situated at the top of the graph. The sub-cloud of "well endowed" people is nevertheless more situated at the top of the graph. It moreover include a little more the zone at the left of the graph – ie the zone were "deviated" careers are over represented. The Figure 6 suggests two main comments.

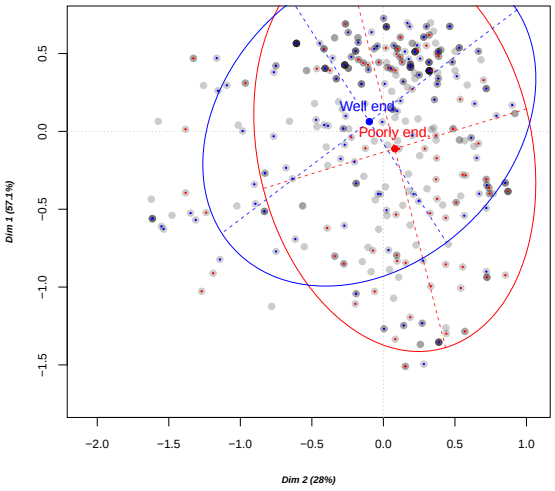


FIGURE 8: Cloud of individuals and social background - Source D2

		"Halfway">"HAS"		"Dev.">"HAS"		"SR">"HAS"	
		Odds	SE	Odds	SE	Odds	SE
	Intercept	3.3 ***	0.96	0.1	1.27	5.6 ***	1.09
Sex (ref. F)	Male	ns	ns	ns	ns	0.3 **	0.53
Soc. Background (ref. "Poorly End."	"Upward"	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
	"Well endowed"	ns	ns	6.04 ***	0.71	ns	ns
McFadden R2		0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
Residual Df		1029	1029	1029	1029	1029	1029
2 log-likelihood		452.6	452.6	452.6	452.6	452.6	452.6

FIGURE 9: Sex, social background and professional achievement (multinomial regression with control for all the variable used in the MCA) - Source D2

Firstly, even at this high level of educational achievement, there still is a trends to social reproduction. As we see, graduates from a "poorly endowed" social background are more likely to take a "secondary road".

Then, the graph also show that the "deviated" career style is more likely to be a career style of well endowed graduates. From this point of view, the orientation to a "deviated" career path can be interpreted as a "strategy of reconversion" (Saint-Martin (de), 2011). In this case, the ENS diploma seems has been used as an instrument of reproduction of a dominant social position.

The results from a non-ordinal multinomial logistic regression that uses the kind of professional achievement as dependant variable confirms those analysis (Figure 9).

With a control for all educational achievement variables used in the MCA, the disciplinary field, the class, the sex and the workplace, the fact of being from a well endowed social background is 6 times more widespread among "deviated" graduate than the ones who have followed the "highway to academic success" ("HAS"). It also show that the normaliennes are also more numerous among the graduates who have become secondary teacher than among the ones who have become academics.

Discussion and conclusion

Our main goal was to analyse if the ENS is still a possible pathway to reach the field of power. As our results show it, it's still the case for a really small group of graduates. But, above all, this kind of "career" style is strongly linked with the social background of the graduates. This result is one illustration of how the social uses of the higher education is shaped by social background, as many researches in sociology have already shown it (Van Zanten, 2009). It show that even when they reach the same (prestigious) educational achievement, the strategy to make the better use of this educational capital remain strongly linked to social background. In term of analysis of the interaction between the different fields in which the ENS are committed, our result deserve two main comments. Firstly, our result show that the ENS are more than ever a "launching pad" for an academic career. Nevertheless, our result also show that between 1960 and 1980 more and more ENS graduates have defended a PhD. So if the ENS remain a major asset for an academic career, it has to be linked with a PhD, when an normalien title was an asset per se before the end of the 1960's (Bourdieu, 1988). This trends may be an indicator of the raise of the influence of scientific based criteria within the academic field – in France like in many other country during this period (Gingras & Gemme, 2006). In other words, this trends could be an illustration of a change within the ruling of academic field in France – and an illustration of a relatively stronger autonomy of this field. Secondly, our results can be mobilized to understand the social logics that rule the French field of power and its access. The ENS are in the French context the main pole of production and reproduction of the intellectual values of "freedom" and "disinterest" when the ENA and moreover Sciences Po or HEC are institutions more dedicated to the promotion of economic and applied knowledge (Bourdieu, 1998). As

we see, if some of the normaliens can reach position within the field of power, it's because they add to their ENS curricula a curricula in the ENA or Polytechnique. It may indicate the lack of influence of the kind of value linked to the normalien status within the ruling of the field of power.

Achievment Variables		Modalities	%
Occupation		Prof. or R.D.	22.6
		Lect. or R.A.	33.7
		CPGE	17.1
		Sec. teach.	13.8
		Oth. intel. prof.	11.3
		Oth.	*1.5*
Education	Diploma	<PhD	35.9
		PhD	64.1
	Disc. Field (spe)	Class_Hum	8.8
		Mod_Hum	24.1
		Lang.	18.1
		Math.	14.3
		Phys.	18.3
		Nat. Scienc.	16.3
	Oth. GE	Oth. GE	10.0
		No	90.0
	Class of...	81-83	44.2
		84-85	26.1
		86-87	29.6
	Agreg.	*No*	*7.0*
		Yes	*93.0*
Work place		Par. & Regpar	32.2
		> 200 000 inhab.	21.4
		200 & 100 000 inhab.	16.8
		< 100 000 inhab.	13.3
		Not France	*5.0*
		NR	*11.3*
TOTAL (N)			418

FIGURE 10: Achievement variables - Source D2

Background Variables	Modalities	%
Sex	*Female*	*45.0*
	Male	*55.0*
Soc. Background	*Well end.*	*33.9*
	Upward	*29.6*
	Poorly end.	*27.9*
	Oth.	*8.5*
TOTAL (N)		418

FIGURE 11: Background variables - Source D2

Appendix

Bibliography

Abraham, Y.-M. (2007). Du souci scolaire au sérieux managérial, ou comment devenir un “HEC“. Revue Française de Sociologie, 48(1), 37–66.

Barbé, A., & Luc, J.-N. (1982). Des Normaliens. Histoire de l’École normale supérieure de Saint-Cloud. Paris : Presses de Sciences-Po.

Bataille, P. (2011). Les paradoxes de la mixité. Les conséquences de l’introduction de la mixité aux concours d’entrée des Écoles normales supérieures de Saint-Cloud, Fontenay-aux-Roses et Lyon. Sociétés Contemporaines, (83), 5–32.

Bataille, P. (2014). Des cheminements sur la voie royale : Une analyse sociologique des parcours de vie des normaliens.ne.s de Saint-Cloud, Fontenay-aux-Roses et Lyon (1981-1987). UNIL, Lausanne.

Bataille, P. (2015). Intégrer une Ecole normale supérieure... et après ? Formation Emploi, (129), 65–86.

Bataille, P. (2016). Quand le genre rattrape l’excellence. Une comparaison des parcours de formation et d’insertion des normaliens et normaliennes (1981-1987). In H. Buisson-Fenet, C. Imdorf, & M.-P. Moreau (Eds.), Ecole des filles, école des femmes (p. forthcoming). Bruxelles : De Boeck.

Baudelot, C., Dethare, B., Hérault, D., Lemaire, S., & Rosenwald, F. (2003). Les classes préparatoires aux grandes écoles : évolutions sur vingt-cinq ans (Les dossiers évaluations et statistiques n°146). Paris : DEP.

Baudelot, C., Raux, H., Ritz, O., & Vinh, J. (2005). Que deviennent les normaliens à la sortie de l’école ? Bulletin de l’Association Des Anciennes Elèves de l’ENS, Supplément Historique.

Bauer, M., Bertin-Mourot, B., & Laval, C. (1997). L’ENA est-elle une business school ? Etudes sociologiques sur les Enarques devenus cadres d’entreprise de 1960 à 1990. Paris : L’Harmattan.

Bellier, I. (1997). Les élèves entre eux : une tribu, un corps, un esprit ? Pouvoirs, (80), 43–55.

Biland, E., & Kolopp, S. (2013). La fabrique de la pensée d’État. Gouvernement et Action Publique, (2), 221–248.

Blanchard, M. (2009). From “Ecoles Supérieures de Commerce“ to “Management Schools“ : transformations and continuity in French business schools. European Journal of Education, 44(4), 586–604.

Blanchard, M. (2012). Les écoles supérieures de commerce, du début des années 1960 au début des années 1990. Histoire de L’éducation, (136), 167–192.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). Distinction : A social critique of the judgement of taste. Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1988). Homo Academicus. Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1998). The state nobility : Elite schools in the field of power. Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2011). The forms of capital. Cultural Theory : An Anthology, 81–93.

Buisson-Fenet, H., & Draelants, H. (2010). Réputation, mimétisme et concurrence : Ce que “l’ouverture sociale” fait aux grandes écoles. Sociologies Pratiques, 21(2), 67–81.

Eymeri, J.-M. (2001). La fabrique des énarques. Paris : Economica.

Ferrand, M., Imbert, F., & Marry, C. (1999). L’excellence scolaire : une affaire de famille. Paris : L’Harmattan.

Gingras, Y., & Gemme, B. (2006). L’emprise du champ scientifique sur le champ universitaire et ses effets. Actes de La Recherche En Sciences Sociales, (164), 51–60.

Goldin, C., & Katz, L. (2008). Transitions : Career and family life cycles of the educational elite. The American Economic Review, 98(2), 363–369.

Joly, H. (2005). Les élites politiques : regard croisé sur le cas français. In Formation des élites en France et en Allemagne (pp. 149–167). Cergy : CIRAC.

Lambert, A. (2010). Le comblement inachevé des écarts sociaux. Trajectoire et devenir professionnels des élèves boursiers d'HEC et de l'ESSEC. Actes de La Recherche En Sciences Sociales, (183), 106–124.

Lareau, A., & Lamont, M. (1988). Cultural capital : Allusions, gaps and glissandos in recent theoretical developments. Sociological Theory, 6(2), 153–168.

Lazuech, G. (1998). Le processus d'internationalisation des grFsocialandes écoles françaises. Actes de La Recherche En Sciences Sociales, (121-122), 66–76.

Le Bras, H. (1983). Les origines d'une promotion de Polytechniciens. Population, 38(3), 491–502.

Marry, C. (2004). Les femmes ingénieurs, une révolution respectueuse. Paris : Belin.

Oger, C. (2008). Le façonnage des élites de la République. Culture générale et haute fonction publique. Paris : Presses de Sciences-Po.

Pasquali, P. (2014). Passer les frontières sociales : Comment les "filières d"élite' entrouvrent leurs portes. Paris : Fayard.

Pasquali, P., & Pattieu, S. (2014). Des boursiers dans les grandes écoles ? Contretemps.net, Volume|. Retrieved from http://www.contretemps.eu/interviews/boursiers-dans-grandes-ecoles

Passeron, J.-C. (2013). Sociological reasoning. Oxford : Barwell Press.

Pavis, F. (2013). Les anciens élèves des sections économiques de l'ENSET/ENS Cachan : quel devenir professionnel ? (promotions 1975-1995). In Le Bot Florent, Albe Valérie, Bodé Gérard, Brucy Guy, & C. Elisabeth (Eds.), L'ENS Cachan. Le siècle d'une grande école pour les sceinces, les techniques, la société (pp. 197–216). Rennes : PUR.

Roux, B. L., & Rouanet, H. (2010). Multiple Correspondence Analysis. SAGE.

Rubenstein, D. (1990). What's Left ? The Ecole Normale Supérieure and the Right. Madison : University of Wisconsin Press.

Saint-Martin (de), M. (2011). Towards a dynamic approach to reconversions. Social Science Information, 50(3-4), 429–441.

Sirinelli, J.-F. (1988). Génération intellectuelle : khâgneux et normaliens dans l'entre-deux-guerres. Paris : Fayard.

Sirinelli, J.-F. (1994). École normale supérieure : Le livre du bicentenaire. Paris : Presses universitaires de France.

Van Zanten, A. (2009). Choisir son école : stratégies familiales et médiations locales. Paris : PUF.

Van Zanten, A. (2010). L'ouverture sociale des grandes écoles : diversification des élites ou renouveau des politiques publiques d'éducation ? Sociétés Contemporaines, (79), 69–95.