

# Appendix I

## The Sources Used

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### 1 DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS AND INDICATORS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CAPITAL, INHERITED AND ACQUIRED

The information on the age, birthplace, marital status, number of children, place of residence, socio-professional category of father and decorations has been collected through systematic scrutiny of the *Annales de l'Université de Paris*, a termly review published by the Sorbonne until December 1968, which gives a detailed curriculum vitae for every professor appointed to Paris, a list of publications and work in progress, details of their foreign visits, information on French or foreign honours awarded, at the same time as a 'chronicle' containing valuable details of 'university life', contacts with higher administration, and university ceremonies. (We found some useful details in the biographical files of the Paris City Library.) We also checked *Who's Who in France 1970* (and, where necessary, earlier years); various biographical dictionaries, including the *International Who's Who 1971-1973*, the *Nouveau dictionnaire national des contemporains 1962*, the *Dictionary of International Biography 1971* and *Africanistes spécialistes des sciences sociales 1963*. (I hardly need say that the collection of this source material is in itself a long and difficult piece of research and that some parts of it, often the most valuable, like the *Annales de l'Université de Paris*, were only discovered at the last moment.) But above all, in order to refine and check the published information, we resorted to data provided by administrative enquiries (concentrating especially on the arts and science professors, who were the least well represented in the other sources). Among all these complementary sources, the most valuable were no doubt the 'Enquiry into the scientists' and above all the

'Enquiry into researchers in arts, social science, economics, politics and legal history', undertaken with our assistance in 1963-64 and 1967-68 by the Service of Scientific Exchanges and Information of the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, in order to draw up a directory of researchers; if, in spite of a very high rate of response, 80 per cent overall, it suffers from the faults inherent in any enquiry by correspondence, this enquiry has the dual merit of providing *very full* information, particularly on university careers and publications, and also on social origins, for the *whole* of the teaching body - albeit with rates of representation which decrease in proportion to position in the hierarchy. We also drew some information from answers to the national consultation by the Association d'Etudes pour l'Expansion de la Recherche Scientifique in 1969; from the enquiry of the Association des Ecrivains Scientifiques de France of 1968 and of the writers of the Pen Club for 1973. Another extremely valuable source was the obituary notices published after 1970 in the old students annuals of the *grandes écoles* and various professional reviews: thus we checked the *Annuaire de l'Association amicale des anciens élèves de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure* from 1970 to 1980; the *Revue des études latines* from 1970 to 1980; the *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* from 1970 to 1980; the *Revue d'études grecques* from 1970 to 1980; the *Revue d'études italiennes* from 1970 to 1980; and also accounts of sessions at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres from 1970 to 1980. And finally we consulted the special files kept on outstanding personalities by the newspaper *Le Monde*.

As a last resort, when the information could not be obtained either by these means or from reliable informants, we carried out some complementary enquiries on the people concerned, either through an in-depth interview at home or over the telephone. The collation of these various sources often enabled us to refine, or even to correct, some piece of information or other which the biographical dictionaries gave as certain. Thus, for instance, one professor's father, who, according to *Who's Who*, was a 'viticulturist', was in fact a 'vineyard owner, with a degree in law'; the father of another, given as 'professor', was a 'primary teacher, with the *brevet supérieur*;<sup>1</sup> the fathers of others were not 'tradesman' or 'civil servant', but 'senior executive in a textile factory' or 'post-office clerk'. In another case, we managed to learn from direct questioning that a 'business adviser', at first classified under 'big business', was in fact a humble solicitor's

clerk who had set up a private consultancy to give personal advice to individual small businessmen. In general, the articles in the biographical dictionaries, dictated by the individuals themselves, or at least checked by them, show a systematic bias towards the *maximum indeterminacy* (the editors of *Who's Who* say that they have problems obtaining answers, and that they often take it upon themselves to suggest a euphemistic compromise of the 'civil servant' variety). This strategy, which seems very common, except in a few special cases of ostentatious origins, tends to minimize social differences (and therefore the weight of social origins in the analysis). Apart from the ordinary refusal to be categorized which is expressed in the search for the most vague and all-embracing category, the concern to shape one's own image, by modifying if necessary one's own origins, therefore one's career and one's merits, leads in different cases to giving a starting-point higher or lower than it actually was (thus for a moment we thought of codifying these discrepancies and their orientation, to try to calculate the logic behind them). All of this gives rise to extremely difficult problems of codification: apart from the fact that a rigorous code could only be established on the basis of a rigorous and complete knowledge of what was the structure of the professions for the generation of the fathers of the professors who are themselves distributed over two (biological) generations, the information available is very unequal, so that the codes finally used are always liable to be too precise for the less well-documented cases (which leads to over-codification - in the case, for instance, of trying to distinguish between different categories of engineers or tradesmen) or too general for the best-documented cases (which leads to under-codification and a loss of information).

As far as religion is concerned, we have classified as Jewish or Protestant (the minority religions) everyone with such origins, without taking into account the intensity of their religious practice, whereas for the Catholics (the majority religion) we have distinguished between overt Catholics, designated by their membership of organs linked to the church and noted in the *Annuaire catholique de France* 1967 (and whose composition we were able incidentally to study<sup>2</sup>) or their participation in activities or organs (reviews, associations, etc.) of overt Catholic persuasion (such as the Catholic Centre for French Intellectuals)). For the Jews, we relied on the *Guide juif de France 1971*, and, for both Jews and Protestants, we consulted reliable informants (priests, rabbis, directors of religious associations,

etc.). We also consulted the *Annuaire Châteaudun* on *mouvements confessionnels* [religious movements]. Although we did everything we could to minimize the risks of error (especially in not considering any information certain unless confirmed by more than one person), we cannot be completely sure of having entirely succeeded.

## 2 INDICATORS OF CULTURAL CAPITAL, INHERITED OR ACQUIRED

The sources of biographical information already mentioned above (biographical dictionaries, complementary enquiries, obituary notices, informants, interviews) have provided information on the studies carried out into the secondary cycle (type of establishment attended, public or private, Parisian or provincial) and into higher education (at Paris or in the provinces, partly abroad or not, in a university or at a *grande école*), which often had to be supplemented, because of the fact, for instance, of the frequent confusion between the establishment attended for secondary studies and the establishment preparing entrance to the *grandes écoles*. In addition, in order to check on membership of a *grande école*, we consulted the lists of former pupils published by the annuals of the *grandes écoles* (*Annuaire de l'Association amicale des anciens élèves de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure d'Ulm*, *Annuaire par promotions de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de Sèvres*, *Annuaire de l'Association des anciens élèves de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de Saint-Cloud*, *Annuaire de l'Association amicale des anciennes élèves de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de Fontenay-aux-Roses*, *Annuaire des anciens de Sciences-po*, *Annuaire des Ponts et Chaussées*, *HEC Annuaire officiel*, *Anciens élèves de l'Ecole Polytechnique*, *Annuaire des Mines*, *Annuaire de l'Association des anciens élèves de l'Ecole Centrale des Arts et Manufactures*). Attendance at a *grande école* has a very variable value among the different faculties: if attendance at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, for instance, is very important within the arts faculties, it is something quite different again within the science faculties, where the Ecole Normale Supérieure is rivalled by other *grandes écoles*, like the Ecole Polytechnique, the Ecole des Mines or the Ecole Centrale; it is almost without significance within the law faculties, where attendance at the Institute of Political Studies, relatively common, and at the Ecole Nationale d'Administration, predominates, although the latter

is rarer in the arts faculties than attendance at the Ecole Normale Supérieure. Finally, it has no significance at all in the medical faculties.

Thus it seemed necessary to examine a more uniformly significant criterion of academic success, success in the *concours général*. It would no doubt have been more satisfactory to be able to note the professors who were entered for the *concours général* in one or several subjects during their penultimate or final year in school, but, since we don't have an exhaustive list of candidates, we have only been able to note the successful candidates. For this we consulted the *Annuaire de l'Association des lauréats du concours général* for 1974, and, as this annual only recorded members of the association (and not all the winners of the competition), we consulted all the previous years of the annual that we could find, as well as the periodical bulletins of the association, in order to try to find as many as possible of the temporary members. It is still the case, no doubt, that the proportion of prizewinners in the *concours général* is underestimated here.

Further criteria liable to give an indication of academic success or precociousness (both aspects often being closely linked) were examined without our being able to use them. This is the case for all the information linked to the great trials which punctuate university life; the *agrégation* and the state doctorate, the *internat* and the *agrégation* for medicine. We noted for the whole of the sample, thanks to the files of the Ministry of Education, qualifications obtained (*agrégé*, doctor, *interne*), the age at which they were obtained and the examination classification. But the information gathered remains incommensurate between the different faculties. For instance, if, in very general terms, we may treat the state doctorate for artists and scientists as equivalent to the *agrégation* for jurists and medics, we cannot for all that assimilate them, as we would be tempted to do, to such an extent as to make a direct comparison of the ages at which these different diplomas were obtained; or again, even when there is a similarity in the structures, as there is between the arts and science faculties, there are institutional effects which explain why the state doctorate is submitted earlier in science than in the arts.

We will mention just for the record other lines of research, followed for a while and then abandoned, attempting to detail the educational capital of the professors of the sample. Thus the fact of

having passed two *baccalauréats* or two first degrees represents a sure index of success at school and university, but it was impossible to verify it systematically for the whole sample. Similarly, at the other extreme of the university career, the age of appointment to the exceptional class (grade E) is a good indicator of professional success, but it only affects a limited number of academics in the sample. Thus, although the information was available in this case (unlike the information on two *baccalauréats* or two degrees) and scrupulously recorded, we resigned ourselves to leaving it out. Thus we had to decide, in more than one case, not to codify and utilize very significant data, because they were available only for too small or too unevenly distributed a proportion of the population.

### 3 INDICATORS OF CAPITAL OF UNIVERSITY POWER

Membership of the Universities Consultative Committee was established by consulting the *Annuaire de l'Éducation nationale, 1968* (sections on arts, science, medical science, law and economics) which publishes lists of members elected or appointed in 1966, the SNESup 'Memento' of 1 May 1971 which gives a list of members of the CCU for 1969, and finally *Les Universités et la recherche scientifique*, a case-study by the SNESup, supplement no. 60 of the *Bulletin du SNESup*, December 1975, which gives a list of members of the CCU in 1975. We codified the number of mentions.

An examination of the composition of the Higher Council for Higher Education and of the Council for Higher Education led us to discard them as indicators. In the first case, indeed, out of the 106 members of the Higher Council for Higher Education, according to the *Annuaire de l'Éducation nationale 1968*, only 16 have a connection with higher education (including 7 for all the Parisian faculties); in the second case, more than half of the 63 members of the Council for Higher Education figure in this council either as members representing the Administration (N = 19) or as representatives of diverse associations and organizations, like the Interministerial Committee for Medical Studies or the National Federation of Pupil Associations of *grandes écoles* (N = 13), and the proportion of Parisian professors among the elected members (N = 31) is very low.

Since academic power can be exercised also within the framework of the various university institutions, we noted, in the *Annuaire de l'Éducation nationale 1968* and in the *Annales de l'Université de Paris*, the professors who exercised functions of responsibility in their institution, whether they were, at one time or another, members of the Council of the University of Paris, dean, sub-dean, faculty assessor, director of a faculty or university institute, director of a university scientific college, a university literary college or a university law and economics college, dean of a CHU,<sup>3</sup> director of an IUT, etc., or whether they were at some time director of a school like the Ecole des Chartes [School of Palaeography], the School of the Louvre, of Athens, of Rome, of Physics and Chemistry, of Oriental Languages, or director of an Ecole Normale Supérieure, etc.

The fact of being a member of the Institute (of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, of the Academy of Science, or the Academy of Moral Philosophy and Political Science) or of the National Academy of Medicine confers particular credit and thereby reinforces the power associated with the function. The members of the Institute have been noted thanks to the *Annuaire de l'Institut de France* and the members of the National Academy of Medicine with the *Annuaire de l'Éducation nationale 1968*. We abandoned attempts at codifying membership of other academies and learned societies, since we were not able to ascertain the true value of these very diverse and dispersed institutions without a preliminary enquiry. It is the same with professional distinctions, information which could easily be gathered by following, for example, the 'Distinctions et nominations' section of the *Courrier du CNRS*: these distinctions have too unequal a value for them to be purely and simply recorded without giving details. Only honorary doctorates (*docteur honoris causa*) from foreign universities have been noted, and then only for the arts professors of the limited sample who, being more highly selected, had a better chance of appearing in biographical dictionaries.

Finally, in the case of the enquiry into arts professors alone, we noted membership of boards of examiners for the *agrégation* and the entrance examination to the Ecole Normale Supérieure de la rue d'Ulm. We consulted lists of *agrégation* boards of examiners between 1959 and 1980 and boards of examiners for the entrance examination for the ENS from 1961 to 1981 (arts). It appeared on this occasion that the membership of these boards by professors in higher education started to decrease from the beginning of the sixties and that these

positions seemed to have lost a little of their value. In addition, we tried to discover which arts professors were members of editorial committees of academic reviews: thus we studied the composition of editorial committees of the social science reviews published by Presses Universitaires de France in 1970, that is forty-one reviews, and by the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in 1969, that is eight reviews.

#### 4 INDICATORS OF CAPITAL OF SCIENTIFIC POWER AND PRESTIGE

The links which tie professors in higher education to the Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) represent the principal indicators chosen to measure their scientific prestige. Membership of the Directorate and of the different sections of the National Committee for Scientific Research has been noted for the years 1963, 1967 and 1971, by consulting the lists of members of the Directorate and the Committee published by the CNRS. We measured the frequency of mention of the same names in the three lists and distinguished between members of a section according to whether they had been appointed or elected. But we decided not to take this information into account in our analysis: law and medicine are in fact much less orientated towards the CNRS than are the arts and above all the sciences. Similarly, we were unable to codify properties like the presidency of a committee or a board of examiners, which are the prerogative of a small number of professors, who are in any case already characterized by the proliferation of positions of this kind which they hold.

Direction of a CNRS laboratory seemed to constitute a much more reliable index of scientific prestige than the direction of a 'research team' without further detail. Indeed, the direction of a team may only designate an administrative responsibility, by virtue of office and seniority. We consulted the pamphlets published by the CNRS, *Services et laboratoires 1968*, *Les Formations de recherche* (1972 and 1973) and the *Annuaire de l'Education nationale 1968*. However, we should bear in mind that the proportion of professors who are simultaneously laboratory directors is underestimated, and in all strictness, we should have introduced the laboratory directors at the CNAM, the Museum National, the Collège de France, etc.

But that would have introduced options whose relevance and completeness would have been impossible to guarantee.

For the medal of the CNRS, we went through the lists of gold, silver and bronze medals awarded by the CNRS from 1962 to 1972.

The measure of attendance at scientific conferences was obtained by checking the annuals published by the different institutions for the years 1969 to 1971, and showing, with an account of the year's teaching, the scientific activity of each of the professors: conferences, visiting lectures, scientific visits and publications. We thought of taking into account topics taught in lectures and seminars; but it seemed difficult, with only the title to judge from, to define indisputably separate and above all qualitatively neutral categories of teaching.

Teaching in an institution other than the home institution was also considered, distinguishing, among the extra teaching, between teaching done for the 'intellectual schools' and that done for 'establishment schools'. By 'intellectual schools' we mean the Ecoles Normales Supérieures d'Ulm, de Sèvres, de Saint-Cloud and de Fontenay, and schools like the Ecole des Chartes [Palaeography], the Ecole du Louvre, the Ecole des Langues Orientales and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. The information was taken from the *Annuaire de l'Education nationale 1968* (for the Ecole Nationale des Chartes, the Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes, the Ecoles Normales Supérieures d'Ulm, de Sèvres, de Saint-Cloud and de Fontenay, the Ecole du Louvre and the Ecole Normale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts) and in the lists of teachers published by the schools. We abandoned the idea of codifying the number of hours of extra teaching, which is a good indicator of orientation towards teaching rather than research, since we were not able to be sure in each case of the total number of lectures given.

As regards scientific production, there would not have been much point in using sources which were vague and often partial (such as questionnaires destined for the composition of annuals) to count the number of books or articles published. We would have had to examine the frequency of publication, the number of pages, and above all the editor or the review in which they appeared, in order to take into account the hierarchy of collections and reviews, which is different for each discipline. It seemed preferable to examine the number of books translated into foreign languages (which we should also have differentiated), excluding articles and taking as a base the

Library of Congress (from 1942 to 1952) and the National Union Catalog (from 1953 to 1967): thus we noted, for each author in the sample, the number of translations registered by the Library of Congress, in whatever language. It is obvious that by proceeding in this way we favoured translations into English at the expense of authors whose works figure in the Library of Congress catalogue in their own native (French) language (which is the case above all for works on law); apart from the fact that, by purely and simply adding up the number of translations, we counted more than once works which appeared in the catalogue under translations in various languages.

The *Social Sciences Citation Index, 1970 Annual* enabled us to obtain an equally sure indicator of scientific prestige (albeit limited to the social sciences), although affected by the same bias as the number of translations. We had, at an earlier stage of our research, constituted an index of celebrity in the intellectual field by establishing a list of names of intellectuals and writer ranked according to the frequency of their mention in the hit parades published during the three years 1972–74 by *L'Express*. But this method still had its weak points, for the hit parade in question was based on success in bookshop sales. So we decided to count for each individual in the sample the number of mentions in the *Citation Index* for the year 1970. Although the selected set of international social science reviews on which the counts are based is a fairly representative section of scientific production in the field, it no doubt has certain defects: first, citations in books, for example, are excluded; secondly, the citations noted are of very different kinds, from intentional citations of scientific import to simple reviews which may well be purely routine and perhaps complaisant; finally, because of the fact that the citations are recorded by an American institute, the Philadelphia Institute for Scientific Information, and because the number of American reviews scrutinized is vastly preponderant (57 per cent), the disciplines most orientated towards American science, that is sociology or psychology more than philology or ancient history, for example, and in each discipline the professors most concerned with their distribution in the United States, are privileged.

We also tried to take into account professional visits abroad, and especially to the United States. For this, we scrutinized the list of French award-holders for the Franco-American Committee (Fulbright scholarships) from 1960–1 to 1972–3 (professors, researchers, stu-

dents). But, strictly speaking, we should have introduced secondary variables, such as the length of stay, and above all the place, since American universities are strongly hierarchized.

Direction of doctoral theses is doubtless also one of the most powerful and reliable indicators of academic power. We had to abandon the idea of using it, because it was not possible to obtain homogeneous information for all disciplines. Since we were not able to gain access to the central filing system for theses – despite repeated requests – we attempted to collate the few lists available, but it appeared that they did not exist for all disciplines and were extremely disparate. Thus the list available for philosophy (*Répertoire raisonné des sujets en cours de doctorats d'Etat – lettres et sciences humaines – inscrits en France, 1965–juillet 1970*) refers to these registered between 1965 and 1970, preventing us from calculating the registration capital of each professor – which we might suspect to be all the greater depending on how long he has held his post, that is, how precocious he is. In history, the available sources (*Liste des thèses d'histoire contemporaine déposées dans les facultés de lettres de France métropolitaine, as of 1 October 1966 and drawn up at the request of the Association of French University Professors of Modern History*) record all theses in preparation, but do not come any nearer to enabling us to define the registration capital, that is the clientele, of each professor, since even theses of professors still in service are omitted once they have been successfully completed and submitted. More generally, the number of students registered is a very imperfect measure of the capital of a professor: on the one hand, because registration has an entirely different significance for a French student as opposed to a foreign student who will not invest his qualification in the French market; on the other hand, because we would have to take into account the social weight of the different students registered and how 'realistic' their registration is.

##### 5 INDICATORS OF INTELLECTUAL CELEBRITY

The fact of being published in a paperback or mass-market series constitutes an indication of the relations of the professors to the general public. Thus we scrutinized a series of publishers' catalogues proposing series of this kind: Armand Colin, Les Belles Lettres, Gallimard (for the 'Idées' series), Presses Universitaires de France

(for the 'Que Sais-Je?' series), Seuil (for the 'Points' series), Denoël (for the 'Médiations' series) and Klincksieck.

We also measured participation in television broadcasts, another indicator of relations with the general public. We scrutinized the review *Télé-Sept-Jours* over four years (1969, 1970, 1971, 1972), distinguishing between direct participation in a broadcast and indirect participation (as the object of study, for instance). Of course, we would have liked to be able to introduce finer distinctions, especially between different broadcasts: is the prestige conferred by participation in a medical or scientific broadcast of the same nature as that procured by participation in a literary debate? It is certain that participation in a television broadcast has a different status according to whether one consults, say, a law professor on a newly introduced electoral reform, that is, on a quasi-technical point, or whether one questions a historian on his conception of history.

The publication of an article in *Le Monde* has also been selected as an indicator of intellectual prestige and access to the general public. We scrutinized the following sections of *Le Monde* – 'Le Monde des Arts', 'Le Monde des Sciences', 'Le Monde de l'Économie', 'Le Monde des Loisirs', 'Le Monde des Livres' – for three years (1968, 1970, 1971) and the 'Tribune libre' and 'Livres opinions' columns of *Le Monde* for the same years. In order to assess the contribution that the professors of the sample made to intellectual reviews and weeklies, we noted articles published during the same three years in *Les Temps modernes*, *Esprit*, *Critique*, *La Pensée*, *La Nouvelle Critique*, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, *La Quinzaine littéraire*, *Le Figaro littéraire*, *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, *Tel Quel*, *La Revue des deux mondes*, *La Nef*, *Prewves*, *L'Arc*, *Contrepoint*, *Futuribles*, distinguishing between substantive articles, book reviews, interviews and participation in debates.

What all these indicators (publication in mass-market series, participation in television broadcasts, contribution to *Le Monde* or to intellectual reviews) have in common is that they affect the different disciplines very unequally and that they privilege the arts professors at the expense of the others.

Moreover, we extended this research in the specific case of the literature professors. First of all, we drew up lists of intellectuals (of first and second rank), basing our selection, as we have explained above, on the hit parades published in the press. In the interests of greater rigour, we preferred to fall back on an indicator that was

both more reliable and more discriminatory, contributions to the *Nouvel Observateur* in 1975 and 1977 (according to the lists published by Louis Pinto, in 'Les affinités électives – les amis du *Nouvel Observateur* comme "groupe ouvert"', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 36–7, 1981, pp. 105–124, and especially pp. 116 and 118). We also codified for the literature professors the fact of being mentioned in the 1968 *Petit Larousse* and of belonging to the Académie Française.

#### 6 INDICATORS OF CAPITAL OF POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC POWER

The extra teaching undertaken by professors in higher education, in institutes like the ENA or the National Foundation for Political Science, but also in the scientific *grandes écoles*, like the Ecole Polytechnique, the Ecole des Mines and the Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées, etc., has been treated as an indicator of capital of external power. For this we consulted the *Annuaire de l'Éducation nationale 1968* (for the Ecole Polytechnique, the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Mines, the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Télécommunications and the Ecole Nationale des PTT) and the lists issued by the institutes themselves.

We also sought to discover the relations which the professors of the sample entertained with public bodies, by identifying which of them had participated at any time in their careers in a minister's cabinet,<sup>4</sup> as technical adviser for instance, or in the Constitutional Council, in the Economic and Social Council, the State Council or the Financial Inspectorate. For this we referred, when the information was not already given by *Who's Who*, to the series of *Bottins administratifs* and to the *Annuaire Châteaudun* devoted to presidential and ministerial cabinets (April 1973), to higher administration – where members of ministers' study groups and working parties are recorded (January 1973) – and to members of parliament (April 1973). Participation in the commissions of the 6th [Five-Year] Plan was established by examining the report on the deliberations of the commissions of the Plan published by the Commissariat of the Plan in December 1969. We also examined the lists of members of the Economic and Social Council – only to find that professors from the sample were too uncommon here to justify use of this criterion.

## 7 INDICATORS OF POLITICAL DISPOSITIONS

We tried to construct a cumulative index of political membership by using *overt* public declarations, that is, signatures of support given and published on different political occasions. Thus we scrutinized on the one hand the list of signatories of the 'Appeal for the abrogation of the decree dissolving the [Trotskyite] Communist League, for the immediate liberation of Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset', published in *Le Monde* on 8-9 July 1973; the list of the '7,000 French academics and researchers [who] oppose fascism in Chile', a notice distributed by the SNESup-SNCS and dated 11 October 1973; and, finally, various lists of support for the candidature of François Mitterrand published by *Le Monde* for the presidential elections of 1974 (appeals by economists, the Friends of Israel, artists, writers, intellectuals, Resistance veterans, jurists, doctors, etc.).

In addition, we scrutinized lists of support for the candidature of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing published in *Le Monde* for the presidential elections of 1974 (appeals by personalities in the artistic, literary, scientific and sporting worlds, and by the university committee of support of the candidature of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing); and the list of support for the creation of an association to support 'the silent majority', published in *Le Monde* on 26 February 1970. On investigation, it appeared preferable to note only signatures in support of François Mitterrand and of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing (the construction of a cumulative index of public declarations in support of left-wing or right-wing causes introduced many imponderables for only a small gain in information).

One of the great moral debates of the seventies focused on the new laws on abortion. Here, too, an analysis of public declarations, that is signatures collected in support of or in opposition to these laws, allowed us to measure the liberal or conservative dispositions of academics. We scrutinized: the list of signatories of the 'Declaration against the liberalization of abortion', published by the Association of Jurists for the Respect of Life (N = 3,500), by the Association of Doctors for the Respect of Life (N = 12,000) and by teachers, researchers and university professors (N = 432), in June 1973; the Manifesto of 390 Doctors in Favour of Abortion, in February 1973; the Charter for the Study of Abortion, in February 1973.

In the second analysis, we treated as an index of academic traditionalism the fact of supporting Robert Flacelière, the director of the Ecole Normale Supérieure, who had offered his resignation to the Minister of Education (cf. *Le Monde* of 3 April 1971).

We also envisaged noting which academics had written in *Le Monde* during the months of May, June and July 1968, or published a book on the events of 1968. But in this case the raw record gave only the unrefined information that they had made a statement; we would have had to give details each time of the contents of their contribution in order to characterize the positions adopted, and that was more a question of content analysis, with all its nuances, than of a necessarily simplified codification. We also had to decide not to record which academics were candidates for university elections, since we were unable to obtain the lists of candidates presented by the unions. Moreover, in the perspective that we chose, all the university elections were important – including the internal elections specific to each university – and not only those which lead to the constitution of the essential organs of the university structure, like the CNESER<sup>5</sup> or the Comité National de la Recherche Scientifique.<sup>6</sup> But these data are practically impossible to obtain.

Participation in the three conferences which were held, first in Caen in November 1966, secondly in Amiens in 1968 and thirdly in Paris in 1973, and whose object was a critical reflection on the education system, can provide a good index of reformist dispositions. Thus we scrutinized the lists of participants in these three conferences – to find that academics of rank A, in all universities, represented not more than roughly 5 per cent of the whole: which means that this criterion, if it is pertinent for comparison between different universities, taking all categories together, cannot be used within the faculty of arts and social science alone.

We also relied, especially for an analysis of opinions on the university and its transformations, on scrutiny of the enquiry into the education system, carried out in 1969 at the request of the Association d'Etudes pour l'Expansion de la Recherche Scientifique (AEERS).<sup>7</sup> The questionnaire comprised twenty questions on the planning of the academic year, on the teaching situation, on changes in teaching content, pedagogic method and university organization, on relations between teachers, parents and pupils or students, on the powers of different categories of agents, on functions required of the school (vocational preparation, inculcation of moral education,

etc.), on politics in schools, on raising the school-leaving age, on subsidies for private schools, etc.

It would also have given added significance if we could have obtained data on the union affiliation of the academics of the sample. Although the SNESup and the SGEN dealt favourably with our request, their files turned out to be difficult to use: they include everyone who has subscribed at least once in his life, and the information recorded (especially the rank) seems most often to correspond to the university post held at the moment of joining. If the breakdown according to faculty for the two unions seems reliable, it is not so with the breakdown according to rank or teaching institution.

## Appendix 2.1

### The Morphological Transformations of the Faculties

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Table 10a LAW

	Professors	Senior lecturers	Lecturers and assistant lecturers	Total teachers	Ratio $\frac{\text{Rank B}}{\text{Rank A}}$	Ratio $\frac{\text{Assistant lecturers}}{\text{Professors}}$	Number of students	Overall staff-student ratio	Staff-Student ratio for rank A (professors and senior lecturers).	Staff-student ratio for rank B (lecturers and assistant lecturers)
1949	222	41	—	263	—	—	39 056	1/148	1/148	—
1950	—	—	—	—	—	—	38 665	—	—	—
1951	—	—	—	—	—	—	39 364	—	—	—
1952 <sup>a</sup>	263	76	—	339	—	—	41 309	1/122	1/122	—
1953	—	—	—	—	—	—	41 368	—	—	—
1954	—	—	—	—	—	—	40 322	—	—	—
1955	242	91	70	403	0.2	0.3	37 029	1/92	1/111	1/528
1956	244	113	89	446	0.25	0.4	37 476	1/84	1/105	1/421
1957	261	130	131	522	0.3	—	35 171	1/67	1/90	1/268
1958	268	146	158	572	0.4	—	34 229	1/60	1/83	1/216
1959	274	170	195	639	0.45	—	34 171	1/53	1/77	1/175
1960	—	477	240	717	0.5	—	36 521	1/51	1/77	1/152
1961	—	—	—	—	—	—	42 721	—	—	—
1962	—	—	—	—	—	—	50 318	—	—	—
1963	—	—	528	1 109	0.9	—	61 851	1/56	1/106	1/117
1964	—	—	640	1 236	1.1	—	74 267	1/60	1 124	1/116
1965	356	298	776	1 430	1.1	1.5	86 733	1/60	1/132	1/112
1966	365	317	864	1 546	1.3	1.6	99 664	1/64	1/146	1/115
1967	—	—	—	—	—	—	113 144	—	—	—
1968	439	413	1 492	2 344	1.7	2.4	126 696	1/54	1/149	1/85
1969	490	490	1 792	2 772	1.8	2.6	131 628	1/47	1/134	1/73

<sup>a</sup>For the year 1952, the numbers of teachers (especially professors) seem high. It has not proved possible to verify the statistical data (unpublished document of the University Statistics Bureau).

Table 10b SCIENCE

	Professors	Senior lecturers	Lecturers, research directors, assistant lecturers	Total teachers	Ratio $\frac{\text{Rank B}}{\text{Rank A}}$	Ratio $\frac{\text{Assistant lecturers}}{\text{Professors}}$	Number of students <sup>a</sup>	Overall staff-student ratio	Staff-student ratio for rank A	Staff-student ratio for rank B
1949	225	194	509	928	1.2	1.4	25 306	1/27	1/60	1/50
1950	—	—	—	—	—	—	26 981	—	—	—
1951	—	—	—	—	—	—	28 200	—	—	—
1952	297	208	502	1 007	1.0	—	30 683	1/30	1/61	1/61
1953	—	—	—	—	—	—	32 493	—	—	—
1954	—	523	626	1 149	1.2	—	36 102	1/31	1/69	1/58
1955	249	303	954	1 406	1.5	2.5	39 283	1/28	1/71	1/46
1956	264	346	984	1 594	1.6	2.6	45 147	1/28	1/74	1/46
1957	312	417	1 196	1 925	1.6	—	54 337	1/28	1/74	1/45
1958	334	475	1 472	2 281	1.8	—	61 725	1/27	1/76	1/42
1959	364	559	1 930	2 853	2.3	—	65 506	1/23	1/71	1/34
1960	—	1 068	2 564	3 632	2.4	—	69 978	1/19	1/65	1/27
1961	—	—	—	—	—	—	76 453	—	—	—
1962	—	—	—	—	—	—	89 882	—	—	—
1963	—	1 376	4 731	6 107	3.4	—	104 060	1/17	1/75	1/22
1964	—	1 484	5 417	6 901	3.65	—	113 084	1/16	1/76	1/21
1965	560	1 024	6 188	7 772	3.9	7.0	125 552	1/16	1/79	1/20
1966	583	1 111	6 580	8 274	3.9	7.1	129 413	1/16	1/76	1/20
1967	—	—	—	—	—	—	136 791	—	—	—
1968	660	1 463	8 166	10 289	3.8	7.6	147 458	1/14	1/66	1/17
1969	696	1 534	8 519	10 749	3.8	7.3				

<sup>a</sup>The numbers of students in science are overestimated; in fact we should exclude from the science students those students enrolled for the CPEM (N = 30,090 in 1969), and formerly for the PCB (N = 5,980 in 1960).<sup>1</sup>

Table 10c ARTS

	Professors	Senior lecturers	Lecturers and assistant lecturers	Total teachers	Ratio $\frac{\text{Rank B}}{\text{Rank A}}$	Ratio $\frac{\text{Assistant lecturers}}{\text{Professors}}$	Number of students	Overall staff-student ratio	Staff-student ratio for rank A	Staff-student ratio for rank B
1949	224	155	132	511	0.35	0.6	35 279	1/69	1/93	1/267
1950	—	—	—	—	—	—	36 265	—	—	—
1951	—	—	—	—	—	—	36 956	—	—	—
1952	293	238	177	708	0.3	—	38 947	1/55	1/73	1/220
1953	—	—	—	—	—	—	39 700	—	—	—
1954	—	—	—	—	—	—	41 339	—	—	—
1955	231	241	199	671	0.4	0.9	42 930	1/64	1/91	1/216
1956	242	265	228	735	0.45	0.95	48 606	1/66	1/96	1/213
1957	266	288	255	809	0.5	—	51 372	1/64	1/93	1/201
1958	276	298	302	876	0.5	—	55 653	1/64	1/97	1/184
1959	285	318	371	974	0.6	—	59 265	1/61	1/98	1/160
1960	—	653	497	1 150	0.8	—	66 814	1/58	1/102	1/134
1961	—	—	—	—	—	—	78 092	—	—	—
1962	—	—	—	—	—	—	93 032	—	—	—
1963	—	832	1 138	1 970	1.3	—	107 455	1/55	1/129	1/94
1964	—	903	1 493	2 396	1.65	—	122 972	1/51	1/136	1/82
1965	362	622	1 646	2 730	1.7	3.0	137 008	1/50	1/139	1/78
1966	373	674	2 139	3 186	2.0	3.6	158 657	1/50	1/151	1/74
1967	—	—	—	—	—	—	170 976	—	—	—
1968	450	984	3 699	5 133	2.5	4.8	196 144	1/38	1/137	1/53
1969	492	1 119	4 171	5 782	2.5	5.0	208 515	1/36	1/129	1/50

Sources: For the teachers, Ministry of Education, University Statistics Bureau, Direction of Higher Education, Service of Statistics and Conjecture (unpublished documents), *Rapport général de la commission de l'équipement scolaire, universitaire et sportif, 1962-1965*; for the students, *Informations statistiques, also Statistiques des enseignants*.

## Appendix 2.2

### The Morphological Transformations of the Disciplines

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Table 11a

	M	F	M	F	1963	1967	1963	1967	1963	1967	1963	1967	1963	1967	1963	1967
Estimated number of agrégés produced between 1927 and 1967 <sup>b</sup>	1 549	1 249														
Number of agrégés in the lycées in 1967-8 <sup>c</sup>			1 090	1 371	570											
Estimated number of normaliens produced by the ENS rue d'Ulm between 1923 and 1963 <sup>d,e</sup>			338	675	200	90	110	11	13	35	66	62	154	140	332	242
Number of teachers in arts and social science faculties <sup>f</sup>			179	300	168	61	72	6	12	24	30	30	69	58	117	211
Rate of increase 1963-7																
Number of professors <sup>f</sup>																
Number of senior lecturers <sup>f</sup>																
Number of temporary senior lecturers																
Number of lecturers <sup>f</sup>																
Number of assistant lecturers <sup>f</sup>																
Rate of increase in rank A posts 1963-7																
Rate of increase in rank B posts 1963-7																
French <sup>a</sup>	1 606	918	570	604	175	310	527	170	116	128	16	18	26	58	56	144
Classical languages <sup>a</sup>																
History																
Geography																
English	1 021	830	385	489	110	218	517	237	38	44	4	12	20	43	37	118
Philosophy	673	295	220	185	240	124	227	183	49	55	5	15	5	18	30	67
Linguistics						34	85	250	12	21	1	2	8	12	2	12
Psychology						77	221	325	23	21	3	8	4	22	24	59
Sociology						34	98	288	7	10	—	7	3	16	8	26

<sup>a</sup>The figures on this line concern the *agrégation* in literature, for French, and the *agrégation* in grammar, for classical languages, in so far as the majority of teachers of French hold the *agrégation* in literature and the majority of teachers of classical languages the *agrégation* in grammar.

<sup>b</sup>Source: *L'Agrégation*, official bulletin of the Société des Agrégés, as well as, for the period 1927-39, *Les Agrégés*, termly bulletin of the Société des Agrégés. We did not take into account the calculations of the number of *agrégés* now in employment if we reduced the numbers by about 15 per cent, corresponding to the estimated proportion of deceased.

<sup>c</sup>Source: Ministry of Education, Central Service of Statistics and Conjunction.

<sup>d</sup>Statistics established from the *Annuaire de l'Association amicale des anciens élèves de l'École Normale Supérieure*.

<sup>e</sup>The figure for English does not include anglicists alone, but refers to the whole number of *normaliens* who took modern languages.

<sup>f</sup>Statistics established from the *Bulletin du Syndicat autonome de l'enseignement supérieur*.

Table 11b

	Ratio: $\frac{\text{Temporary senior lecturers}}{\text{Tenured professors}}$		Ratio: $\frac{\text{Assistant lecturers}}{\text{Tenured professors}}$		Proportion of graduates of ENS Ulm and ENS Sèvres		Proportion of graduates of ENS Saint-Cloud		Proportion of former preparatory class pupils not graduates of any grande école		Proportion of agrégés		Proportion of doctorates registered or passed, for rank B posts		Proportion of women in 1963		Proportion of women in 1967		Proportion of third-cycle doctorates registered for rank B posts		Proportion of third-cycle doctorates submitted and passed		Ratio <sup>a</sup> $\frac{\text{Number of CNRS researchers}}{\text{Number of teachers}}$	
	1963	1967	1963	1967	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
French	0.39	0.60	1.5	1.3	39	19	6.8	7.4	8.3	6.6	95.8	93.8	95.2	7	19	8.0	34.6	16.1	1.5	8.6	5.8	8.6	5.8	5.8
Classical languages	0.39	0.42	0.9	1.6	40	18	1.8	4.1	3.3	3.2	96.8	97.8	89	6.0	24.3	9.5	28.4	20.9	1.8	5.5	12.6	1.8	5.5	12.6
History	0.22	0.45	0.8	1.4	23.9	12.8	4.4	5.4	3.5	3.0	86.7	90.2	94.1	2.8	11.4	5.0	17.8	31	3.5	19	3.5	19	22.9	22.9
Geography	0.15	0.31	1.2	2.3	4.4	2.7	11.8	8.4	1.5	0.7	89.7	91.0	87.6	6.5	15.2	8.0	23.6	20.5	5.9	13.5	12.4	5.9	13.5	12.4
English	0.53	0.98	3.1	6.8	12.5	5.8	6.3	11.2	14.6	3.2	98.0	96.8	88.4	9.7	28.8	13.1	35.2	16.5	2.2	1.1	—	2.2	1.1	—
Philosophy	0.10	0.33	0.7	1.3	40.7	23.9	—	4.2	3.4	4.2	86.7	86.1	90.1	14	10	13	18	13.5	3.5	13.5	31.2	3.5	13.5	31.2
Linguistics	0.67	0.57	0.9	1.8	19	6.2	2.7	12.6	—	—	86.7	74.4	76.6	—	30.4	8.6	33.8	27.4	6.6	13	71.7	6.6	13	71.7
Psychology	0.17	1.05	1.0	5.3	26.9	10.0	—	5.0	7.7	1.3	50	20.5	38	5.5	24	3.4	29.6	53.0	19.2	22	45.7	19.2	22	45.7
Sociology	0.43	1.60	2.3	3.9	25.0	5.6	—	2.8	—	—	52.6	19.4	22.9	—	—	—	18.5	25.7	13.2	34.3	108	13.2	34.3	108

<sup>a</sup>Statistics established from the *Rapport national de conjoncture scientifique*, by the CNRS.

## Appendix 3

### The Hit Parade of French Intellectuals, or Who is to Judge the Legitimacy of the Judges?

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The hit parades published from time to time by the daily or weekly press – for instance, at the end of a decade, using the pretext of summing up the previous ten years – are, alongside symbolic attacks like prophesying the end of a supposedly dominant current of thought (Marxism, existentialism, structuralism, etc.) or the start of a new tendency ('post-structuralism', the 'new philosophers', etc.), the most typical of the strategies orientated more unconsciously than consciously towards the imposition of a vision of the intellectual world, of its divisions and hierarchies: following a common procedure in the political world, the wishes, expectations and hopes of a group of intellectual interests ('let's get rid of X', 'I can't wait for the end of X') are disguised beneath the impeccable veneer of a description ('X is over') or a prediction by a well-informed observer. When these interpretative or predictive judgements are presented in the guise of prophetic beliefs, whether proffered by the partly chiefly concerned, or projected into the field of the press by some self-appointed impresario or other, a minor member of the group, a client or trusty servant, the attack has a weak symbolic effect (although naivety, and the force of conviction it suggests, may provide a form of credit); an efficacy inversely proportional in any case to the knowledge that the receivers have of the interests at stake (therefore of their social and spatial proximity as regards the game and the stakes). The suspicion of indecency, which, despite the tradition of the manifesto and of the right to exhibitionism historically won by artists, attaches to naïve displays of the specific interests of a group or an individual claiming self-legitimation (following the

paradigm of Napoleon crowning himself), is in danger of disappearing entirely with social techniques such as the hit parade of intellectuals (cf. the review *Lire*, 68, April 1981): first, because the size of the enquiry (the review talks of a 'referendum') gives a collective basis, and thus the appearance of validation by consensus, to the judgement; then, more subtly, because the collective subject of this judgement seems coextensive with the object judged, thus producing the appearance of perfect self-sufficiency.

In fact this hit parade represents a sort of experiment *in vitro* allowing us to observe processes of evaluation which would otherwise be very difficult to objectify. Having both the list of the 'elect' and the list of the judges, we immediately discover in the latter the principle of the former: as hybrid or mongrel characters defying common taxonomies, writer-journalists and journalist-writers, who are very numerous among those classified by the review as journalists, writers or even teacher-writers, are very strongly represented as much among the judges as in the hit parade which their cumulative judgement has produced (whereas a number of the best-known authorities, for instance all the writers published by Minuit, from Beckett to Simon, including Pinget and Robbe-Grillet, are absent from the list of judges, and, with the exception of Beckett and Marguerite Duras, from the hit parade – and without our being able to suppose that they had conspired to refuse to answer to this; and similarly for the philosophers).<sup>1</sup> The privilege accorded in the hit parade to those intellectuals who have strong 'media muscle', as certain editors would say, and who are also well placed in the hit parade of bestsellers (such as Roger Garaudy, André Glucksmann and Bernard-Henry Lévy),<sup>2</sup> also has its source in the list of the judges: the list of the elect has been predetermined by determining the principle of election of the electors, themselves predisposed to elect according to the principle of their election. Thus we have a first effect of misconstrual, which contributes to the (unintentional) symbolic efficiency of the hit-parade technique, a genuine social invention, obtained by transferring to the intellectual field a procedure common in other domains (for songs, restaurants or politics): the misunderstanding over the social composition of the group of judges encourages the reader to *accept as* a verdict of intellectuals on intellectuals what is in fact the view which a set of judges dominated by intellectual-journalists and journalist-intellectuals has of the intellectual world. But this effect of *allodoxia*, which is reinforced

by every commentary – for example, by highlighting the judgements formulated by the few authors figuring in the hit parade who agreed to reply – is present throughout the procedure, and in the very project of the inventors of the technique who tend, for instance, to conceptualize the intellectual field by analogy with the political field – which leads them among other things to introduce the question of ‘successors’. Of all the mechanisms which caused the initiators of the enquiry and the respondents to produce unintentionally what could appear to be the expression of a collective intention – that of imposing on the field of limited production, the place of production for producers, the norms of production and consumption of cultural products against which the field was constituted – one of the most powerful is in fact *allogoxia*, as a misunderstanding leading us to take one thing for another, in all good faith, taking a telegenic essay-writer [Bernard-Henri Lévy] as a pretender to the ‘succession’ of the author of *Being and Nothingness* and the *Critique of Dialectical Reason* [Jean-Paul Sartre], and taking a journalist who writes books which journalists discuss because he discusses books in the newspapers for a writer to be discussed. The indeterminateness of the things to be classified, in this world where journalists write books and writers write articles and where publishers attempt to persuade journalists – especially when they write about books – to write books for them, is only equalled by the uncertainty of the systems of classification, and we can understand why the editors of *Lire* go somewhat astray when they try to classify their classifiers: we can guess that Jean Cau, Jean-Claude Canova, Catherine Clément, Jean-Marie Domenach, Paul Guth, Pierre Nora or Paul Thibaud (among others) couldn’t have been very pleased to see themselves placed in the category of journalists, alongside Jean Farran, Jacques Goddet or Louis Pauwels, while Madeleine Chapsal, Jacques Lanzmann, Bernard-Henri Lévy or Roger Stéphane (among others) were classified with the writers, and while so many regular (and in some cases regularly remunerated) contributors to Parisian dailies or weeklies were placed among the teacher-writers.

But the uncertainty of the systems of classification which the intermediate intellectuals deploy is itself a direct expression of the position which these unclassifiable classifiers hold in the classifications, as well as a direct expression of related interests, such as a complaisant fascination for the petty side of ‘great men’ or an unconscious inclination to confuse hierarchies, to approach the

unapproachable by approaching their *alter ego*. Placed in a median position between the field of restricted production and the field of general production, the journalist-intellectuals and the intellectual-journalists most often lack the means (and above all the time) to make distinctions which in any case it is not in their interest to operate: since they work unconsciously to negate the divisions which diminish them, they tend quite naturally to juxtapose in their preferences the great scholars, whose fame is such that their absence would disqualify the voter (Lévi-Strauss, Dumézil, Braudel, Jacob), and the most journalistic intellectuals or the most intellectual journalists. The often eccentric juxtapositions which result from this have the effect of ensuring the *consecration through contagion* of the whole category of those midway between the writer and the journalist. This effect operates first of all on the journalists themselves, who ask for nothing better, thus reinforcing the tendency for the two orders to become confused.<sup>3</sup>

We would no doubt expect the sociologist to confirm the scientific status of his discipline or, more simply, his own dignity as a scientist, to criticize this hit parade and contrast it with rigorous procedures that could detect a really ‘objective’ hierarchy. In fact, it would be easy to find in the most socially accepted scientific practice the strict equivalent of the hit parade, whether in the case of the ‘snowball’ sampling procedures most often used in enquiries into the ‘elites’ or, more simply, in the case of so-called operational definitions which define questions which are not at all clearly defined in reality – like that of deciding boundaries – before any enquiry has taken place – ‘what I call an intellectual . . .’ – thus anticipating the result of the enquiry by the very delineation of the population it is applied to.<sup>4</sup> But, in addition, if he yielded to his instinctive defence mechanisms against ‘unfair competition’, the sociologist would deprive himself of vital information, which becomes available as soon as we take the trouble to identify the question – a scientifically valid one, in this case – which the heretical enquiry *actually* answers. The intellectual hit parade represents a sort of artificial reconstruction, and thus one easier to observe, of the process which is constantly at work in the field of cultural production and which elaborates and defines one of the most powerful representations (because objectified and widely broadcast) of the hierarchy of intellectual values. This process, which is no doubt also equivalent to a *judicial procedure* or, in other words, a process of marking up prices (as verdicts of the market), is

accomplished through 'informal' exchanges of private and sometimes confidential judgements ('don't say I said so, but so-and-so's book is absolute rubbish') between journalists, between writer-journalists and journalist-writers, but also through the *public verdicts* of book reviews, critical works, invitations to broadcast on radio or television, and finally the hit parades, ratings and rankings, not to mention the more traditional acts of institutional consecration, like appointment to an academy, which, essentially, only ratify the whole set of these verdicts, etc. It follows that the hit parade published by the review *Lire* is a good measure of *one* view of the intellectual world, the one held by all the people who, while being culturally subordinate, have in common their ability to impose their view (for a period): ('men and women', *Lire* tells us, 'who through their professional activity themselves exercise influence over the circulation of ideas and are holders of a certain cultural power').

Apart from providing a good measure of a *high journalistic profile*, this hit parade allows us to ask which factors contribute to determining it. It goes without saying that this newsworthiness (the same thing would apply to what American universities call the *visibility* of a professor and, more generally, of all social reality) is defined in the relation between the thing seen – in the case in point, the work and above all the *author* – and the categories of 'perception and appreciation liable to be applied to them by the population concerned – in the case in point, the journalists or, more precisely, the writer-journalists and journalist-writers (we know, for instance, that a work can go *unnoticed* by its contemporaries and be later *rediscovered* by a posterity endowed with perceptual categories and interests allowing them to 'tell the difference', to escape indifference and force the perceived world away from its lack of discrimination).

In order to understand everything which helps to determine the subjective aspect of the act of perception, we need to take into account, as well as the statutory propensity to *allodoxia*, the whole of the social conditions of production of the 'judges', notably their present and especially their future relations with the educational system, as well as the institutional conditions within which their verdicts are elaborated and delivered: and especially all the effects of the field which cause journalists to spend more time reading each other than reading the books that they feel *bound* to mention because the others have mentioned them (it's the same process for political 'events'); but also the urgency, the *hurry* of journalists, which along

with the press itself, constantly behind the journalists, who are themselves readers of the press, prevents reading and analysis in depth, and tends to make immediate readability one of the prerequisites tacitly required of cultural productions, excluding the 'discovery' of works and authors of low readability and profile (as witness the almost total absence in the hit parade of either the literary avant-garde or that of the social sciences).

Moreover, in order to understand the objective aspect of the relation in which a 'high journalistic profile' – or 'media muscle' – is defined, we would have to take into account the characteristics of works and above all dispositions of authors, more or less inclined to be seen and approved 'by journalists by maintaining with them relations based on the affinity of the *habitus* or on condescending self-interest.<sup>5</sup> These dispositions, socially constituted and therefore variable according to social trajectories and positions held in the field of production, can receive different expressions according to whatever, at the moment in question, contributes to the dominant definition of the intellectual positions. And it is certain that a 'high journalistic profile', itself linked to the frequency of intervention outside the field of limited production (or the university field), notably in politics (through petitions or demonstrations, etc.), is nowadays a major component of the definition of the intellectual such as it has progressively become constituted in France, from Zola to Sartre. It follows that a propensity to act the role of the intellectual in public implies, through a correlative propensity to comply with journalistic requests (which varies with 'profile', itself partly dependent on the propensity to be seen and approved), a form of *dependency* on the journalistic field (very noticeable in the construction of the social character of Sartre), therefore a form of *recognition* of the legitimacy of the verdicts.

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#### THE VERDICT ACCORDING TO *LIRE*

'Do we still have any intellectual masters? Like Gide, Camus and Sartre? *Lire* put the question to several hundred writers, journalists, teachers, students, politicians, etc. The question was this:

"Who are the three French-speaking intellectuals, living today, whose writings seem to you to have the profoundest influence on the development of ideas, literature, art, science, etc.?"

There was a mass of replies, but admitting uncertainty, and providing a plebiscite for nobody – although recognizing the influence of Lévi-Strauss, Aron and Foucault.'

1 Claude Lévi-Strauss	101
2 Raymond Aron	84
3 Michel Foucault	83
4 Jacques Lacan	51
5 Simone de Beauvoir	46
6 Marguerite Yourcenar	32
7 Fernand Braudel (historian)	27
8 Michel Tournier (novelist)	24
9 Bernard-Henri Lévy (philosopher)	22
9 Henri Michaux (poet)	22
11 François Jacob (biologist)	21
12 Samuel Beckett (dramatist and novelist)	20
12 Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie (historian)	20
14 René Girard (philosopher)	18
15 Louis Aragon (poet, novelist and politician)	17
15 Henri Laborit (biologist)	17
15 Edgar Morin (sociologist and philosopher)	17
18 E. M. Cioran (essayist and moralist)	16
18 Eugène Ionesco (dramatist)	16
20 Marguerite Duras (novelist and film director)	15
20 Roger Garaudy (philosopher and politician)	15
20 Louis Leprince-Ringuet (physicist)	15
20 Michel Serres (philosopher)	15
24 Julien Gracq (novelist)	14
24 Philippe Sollers (novelist)	14
26 Louis Althusser (philosopher)	12
26 Claire Brétécher (cartoonist)	12
26 René Char (poet)	12
26 Gilles Deleuze (philosopher)	12
26 Georges Duby (historian)	12
26 Vladimir Jankélévitch (philosopher)	12
26 J. M. G. Le Clézio (novelist)	12
26 Alfred Sauvy (economist)	12
34 Georges Dumézil (historian of religion)	11
34 Jean-Luc Godard (film director)	11
36 Jean Bernard (doctor)	10
36 Pierre Boulez (composer, orchestral conductor)	10

36 Pierre Bourdieu (sociologist)	10
36 Albert Cohen (novelist)	10
36 André Glucksmann (philosopher)	10
36 René Huyghe (art historian)	10
36 Léopold Sedar Senghor (poet and politician)	10

(*Lire*, 68, April 1981, pp. 38–9)

#### THE JUDGES

The question was sent to 600 people. By 11 March, 448 had replied. We wish to express our gratitude to them. These are their names:

#### ACADEMICIANS

Members of the Académie Française, the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, the Académie Royale Belge de Langue et de Littérature Française, and the Académie Goncourt:

Ferdinand Alquié, Hervé Bazin, Jean Bernard, Bernard Chenot, Jean Dutourd, Jean-Jacques Gautier, Jean Guilton, René Huyghe, Jean Laloy, Armand Lanoux, Suzanne Lilar, Félicien Marceau, François Nourissier, Jean d'Ormesson, Karl Popper, Maurice Rheims, Robert Sabatier, Maurice Schumann, Georges Sion, Michel Tournier, Henri Troyat.

#### WRITERS

ADG, Henri Amoureux, Christine Arnothy, Jean-Paul Aron, Dominique Aury, François-Régis Bastide, Tahar Ben Jelloun, Jean-Marie Benoist, Yves Berger, Daniel Boulanger, Jeanne Bourin, Chantal Chawaf, François Caradec, Marie Cardinal, Jean Carrière, Madeleine Chapsal, Edmonde Charles-Roux, François Clément, Georges Conchon, Jean-Louis Curtis, Conrad Detrez, Gèneviève Dormann, Jean Ellenstein, Pierre Emmanuel, Alain Finkielkraut, Viviane Forrester, Max Gallo, François Georges, Alain Gerber, Roger Grenier, Benoîte Groult, Gérard Guégan, Eugène Guillevic, Bertrand de Jouvenal, Hubert Juin, Marcel Jullian, Jacques Lanzmann, Edmée de la Rochefoucauld, Bernard-Henri Lévy, Raymond Lévy, Jacques-Patrick Manchette, Diane de Margerie, Renée Massip, Gabriel Matzneff, Claude Mauriac, Patrick Modiano, Yves Navarre, Eric Ollivier, Hélène Parmelin, René-Victor Pilhes, Suzanne Prou, Pierre-Jean Rémy, Jean-Claude Renard, Alain Rey, Christine de Rivoyre, Denis Roche, Dominique Rolin, Claude Roy, Michel de Saint-Pierre, Jorge

Semprun, Philippe Sollers, Roger Stéphane, René Tavernier, Georges Thinès, Henri Vincenot, Kenneth White.

## TEACHER-WRITERS

Paul-Laurent Assoun, Jacques Attali, Elizabeth Badinter, Blandine Barret-Kriegel, Raymond Boudon, Louis-Jean Calvet, Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, François Châtelet, Anne-Marie Dardigna, Jean Denizet, Georges Duby, Jean Duvignaud, Jacques Ellul, Marc Ferro, François Furet, Alfred Grosser, Marie-Françoise Hans, Albert Jacquard, Raymond Jean, Julia Kristeva, Yves Lacoste, Jacques Le Goff, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Erik Orsenna, Daniel Oster, Mona Ozouf, Régine Pernoud, Catherine Rihoit, Maxime Rodinson, Alfred Sauvy, Martine Ségalen, Lucien Sfez, Louis-Vincent Thomas, Pierre Vidal-Nacquet.

## TEACHERS

Teachers in higher, secondary and primary education from Paris and the provinces:

Aline Baldinger, Claude Bellier, Christian Bonnet, Alain Boyer, Josette Chazal, Jean Colmez, Jean-Pierre Cuvillier, M. Davy, L. Dugué, M. Dupuis, Jacques Fierain, Pierre Fontaney, Alain Fredaigue, Françoise Gadet, Claude-Louis Gallien, Nadine Gallifret-Grangeon, Jeanine Gombert, Lucienne Guillet, Henri Guitton, Ibram Harari, Simone Helfer, Michel Hervé, Dominique Janicaud, Jo Landormy, Rosine Lapresle, Mme Geneviève Laurent-Fabre, André Lebrun, Jean-Marie Levesque, Pierre Mathey, Jean-Michel Muglioni, Jim Pichot, Jacqueline Puysegur, Jean-Bruno Renard, Pierre Rigoulot, Jacques Rivelaygues, Michel Rouche, J.-C. Royet, Lélia Sennhenn, Philippe Sussel, M. Tourlières, Jean Touzot, Pierre Verdier, Patrick Vignolles.

## STUDENTS

Students and sixth-form pupils from Paris and the provinces:

Véronique Angella, Corinne d'Argis, Gilles Bastera, Gisèle Berkman, Catherine Bernard, Agnès Besnier, Corinne Bilhannic, Laurent Collobert, Christophe Daniel, Marcelle Delhomme, Pierre Desesquelles, Bruno Dive, Jean-Baptiste Divry, Isabelle Duperrier, M. Teboul, Catherine Gaillot, Anne Garreta, Agnès Guiniot, Lydie Herbelot, Julie Jézéquel, Catherine Jouffre, Y. Le Marrec, Anne-Paul Lozac'hmeur, Isabelle Mavian, Isabelle Mercier, Eric Morillon, Pascale Perdereau, Isabelle Philippe, John-David Ragan, Joseph Raguin, Nathalie Richard, Blandine Rivière, F. Sportiche, François Tourlière.

## BOOK TRADE

Publishers, booksellers and librarians:

Pierre Angoulvent, Dominique Autié, André Balland, Christian de Bartillat, M. Beaudiguez, Marie-Thérèse Bouley, Christian Bourgois, Jean Callens, Jean-Baptiste Daelman, Henri Desmars, Vladimir Dimitrijevic, Yves Dubé, Anne-Marie Duchesne, Marie-Madeleine Erlevint, M. Gasquel, Gérald Gassiot-Talabot, Jean Goasguen, Gérald Grunberg, Jean Hamelin, Georges Lambrichs, Jean-Claude Lattès, Mlle Lavocat, Françoise Mourgue Molines, Simone Mussard, Paul Otchakovsky-Laurens, Pierre Pain, Geneviève Patte, Jean-Luc Pidoux-Payot, Jacques Plaine, Jean-Pierre Ramsay, Charles Ronsac, Albert Ronsin, M. Teulé, Louis Vitalis.

## PRESS

Newspaper and review editors, literary critics, correspondents of foreign newspapers appointed to Paris, etc. It should be noted that many of the journalists are also writers.

Pierre Ajame, Jacques-Pierre Amette, Georges Anex, Yvan Audouard, René Andrieu, Robert Baguet, Barthélemy, Guy Bechtel, Edward Behr, Pierre Bénichou, Alain de Benoist, Jean Barial, Jean Boissonnat, Henry Bonnier, André Bourin, Pierre Breton, André Brincourt, Jean-Jacques Brochier, José de Broucker, Alain Buhler, Robert Boutheau, Jean Cau, Jean-Claude Casanova, Cavanna, Jean Chalon, Claude Cherki, Catherine Clément, Jean Clémentin, Claude-Michel Cluny, Françoise de Camberousse, Annie Copperman, James de Coquet, Jacques Cordy, Jean Daniel, Jean-Marie Domenach, Françoise Ducout, Guy Dumur, Jean-Pierre Enard, Jean-Louis Ezine, Jean Farran, Jacques Fauvet, André Fontaine, Jean-Jacques Gabut, Matthieu Galey, Jean-Louis Gauthier, Annick Geille, André Géraud, Paul Giannoli, Jacques Goddet, Léon-Gabriel Gros, Paul Guth, Danièle Heymann, Claude Imbert, Roland Jaccard, Jean-François Josselin, Janick Jossin, Jean-François Kahn, Konk, Serge Koster, Jean-Claude Lamy, Pierre Lepape, collectif *Libération*, Richard Liscia, Rene Mauriès, Georges Montaron, Pierre Nora, Jean-Paul Ollivier, Jacques Paugam, Louis Pauwels, Bernard Pellegrin, Bertrand Poirot-Delpech, Anne Pons, Marguerite Puhl-Demange, Marcel Raymond, Jean-François Revel, Angelo Rinaldi, Louis-Bernard Robitaille, Jean-Daniel Roob, Pierrette Rosset, Guy Rouzet, François Salvaing, Claude Servan-Schreiber, Maurice Siegel, Nadine Speller-Lefevre, Paul Thibaud, Olivier Todd, Bernardo Vulli, Eliane Victor, René Virgo, Wolinski, André Wurmser, Françoise Xenakis.

## BROADCASTING

Laure Adler, André Arnaud, José Artur, André Asséo, Maurice Audran, Claude Barma, Jean de Beer, Gabriel de Broglie, Jacques Chancel, Jacques Chapus, Georges Charbonnier, François Chatel, Pierre Desgraupes, Alain Duhamel, Jean-Pierre Elkabbach, Freddy Eytan, Jean Ferniot, François Gonnet, Philippe Labro, Xavier Larère, Jacques Legris, Ivan Levaï, Noël Mamère, Claude Mettra, Jean Montalbetti, Etienne Mougeotte, Jacques Paoli, Luce Perrot, Claude Jean-Philippe, Patrick Poivre d'Arvor, Jacques Rigaud, Philippe Saint-Germain, Anne Sinclair, Georges Suffert, Jean-Pierre Tison, Alain Venstein, Jean-Daniel Verhaeghe, Roger Vrigny, Pierre Wiehn, Jean-Didier Wolfrohm.

## ARTS AND PERFORMING ARTS

Actors, directors, musicians, painters, architects, directors of cultural centres, etc.:

Geneviève Bailac, Michel Bouquet, Antoine Bourseiller, André Bruyère, César, Paul Chemetov, Coluche, Jacques Darolles, Yves Deschamps, Pierre Dux, André Feller, Léo Ferré, Edwige Feuillère, Guy Foissy, Jean-Jacques Fouché, Raymond Gérôme, Didier Guiland, Michel Guy, Elisabeth Huppert, Francis Huster, Fabien Jannelle, Bernard Lefort, Maurice Leroux, Marcel Maréchal, Mathieu, Sylvia Monfort, Yves Montand, Jean Morlock, Claude Parent, Gilbert Pellissier, François Périer, Michel Piccoli, Michel Polac, Roland Poquet, Jean-Pierre Pottier, Paul Puaux, Dominique Quehec, Alain Sarfati, Pierre Schaeffer, Nicolas Shoffer, Simone Signoret, Pierre Soulages, Jacques Toja, Victor Vasarely.

## POLITICIANS

Christian Beullac, Huguette Bouchardeau, Jacques Chirac, Gaston Defferre, Françoise Gaspard, Pascal Gauchon, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Arlette Laguiller, Brice Lalonde, Jean-Philippe Lecat, Jacques Médecin, Pierre Mendès-France, Edgard Pisani, Jean-Marie Poirier.

## OTHER CATEGORIES

*Religion*

The Reverend Father Bro, Josy Eisenberg, the Very Reverend Paul Poupard, the Grand Rabbi Sirat.

*Advertising*

Bernard Brochand, Lucien Elia, Marcel Germon, Pierre Lemonnier, Maurice Lévy, J. Séguéla.

*Foreign cultural attachés appointed to Paris*

Bernardino Osio, Charlotte Sow, Bryan Swingler

*French cultural attachés appointed abroad*

G. Coste, Gilbert Erouart, Christian Morieux.

Ten replies were sent anonymously.

(*Lire*, 68, April 1981)

Everything leads us to believe that this hit parade would doubtless have been even further from what would be obtained using a list of judges more strictly restricted to those producing [culture] for other producers, notably what one normally calls the avant-garde (whose blatant absence from the list of judges becomes easier to understand), if the field of journalism, even and above all cultural journalism, were not still dominated by the restricted field [of cultural production] and its specific principles of perception and appreciation, and if the judges did not have a partial knowledge of the institutionalized *signs* or the informal and diffuse manifestations of the hierarchy tacitly and confusedly admitted within the field of production for producers, and if they did not also have a vague awareness of the law which tends to make any classificatory utterance liable to betray the position of its author in the series classified. Cultural products are provided with labels (for instance, the professional titles granted to the elect: 'philosopher' or 'sociologist'), with *brands* and quality-control tickets representing genuine institutional guarantees (institutional membership, publisher, series, preface-writer, etc.) which orientate and predetermine people's judgement. Here we see one of the most common properties of perception of the social world: what the agents have to perceive is, at each moment, the product of earlier anticipations and acts or expressions destined to display them (which means, for instance, that the likelihood of seeing oneself enclosed in the magical circle of perceptions, endlessly confirmed and reinforced by an objectivity resulting from the objectification of similarly structured subjectivities, no doubt tends to increase in proportion to the symbolic power possessed).

The inclination of journalists to impose a definition of the intellectual closer to their inclinations, that is closer to their productive and interpretative capacities, is thus counterbalanced by their concern to affirm their membership of the circle of true judges.<sup>6</sup> Since they

cannot achieve a radical subversion of the scale of values, it is only by according a favourable bias to the most journalistic of intellectuals that the journalists can affirm their membership of an enlarged intellectual field and their right to judge the less journalistic intellectuals, of whom they must none the less quote the most notable, on pain of being excluded from the intellectual game. We can thus easily understand the eminent place conferred on Raymond Aron: more than the lucidity that he showed towards the Soviet Union, which was natural enough given his political options, and which was offset by so many blind spots, it is no doubt his status as the honorary intellectual conscience of journalist-intellectuals and intellectual-journalists which explains that some people, encouraged by the growth in the control of journalism over the intellectual field,<sup>7</sup> thought for a moment that they saw the figure of a great intellectual in this top journalist consecrated by the university, universally known for that anti-intellectual classic, *L'Opium des intellectuels*, and so often celebrated for his clarity and good sense, which the journalists in their incipient anti-intellectualism like to contrast with the obscurity and irresponsibility of the intellectuals.<sup>8</sup>

Thus the strategy of the balance sheet – individual or collective – of which the hit parade constitutes the culminating achievement, tends to substitute for the classificatory acts arising from random daily encounters, and the *unwritten classifications* which are constantly formulated and constantly questioned in the field, the visible, published, public, almost official reality of a classification which, although it is the expression of a vision peculiar to a specific and culturally subordinate sector of the field of cultural production, is endowed with all the appearances of objectivity. It gives a fair idea of the action accomplished day after day, week after week, without any need to orchestrate or to conspire, by all those who replied to the questionnaire published by *Lire* and others like it. Thus, after the social significance of the hit parade, we now discover the meaning of the questions which underlie its production: the issue at stake is perhaps less the list of intellectuals crowned than the list of judges who have the *competence* to elect them and who, most significantly, are published alongside the hit parade of the '42 top intellectuals'. As in the hit parade of hit parades published by *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, where the ordinary judges show off by showing their hit parade for the decade, the publication of this list of judges, of this *album judicum*, as the Romans used to say, shows up the symbolic

violence through which a new principle of legitimation claims legitimacy.

The question of the definition of the intellectual, or, rather, of specifically intellectual work, is inseparable from the question of defining the population which can be allowed to participate in this definition. The true objective of the struggle which is engaged at the heart of the field of cultural production, and whose underlying mechanisms are laid bare by the anodyne game of the review *Lire*, is in fact the attribution of the right to judge in the matter of cultural production. It is nearly always in the name of an increase in the population of the judges that such acts of violence against the autonomy of the different fields of production for producers are accomplished, starting with the scientific field: whether it claims allegiance to the 'people' in order to condemn a production which is the product of the internal requirements of an autonomous field – in biology as much as in poetry or in sociology – or, in an entirely different register, allegiance to the ability to 'make a good impression on television' or to 'journalistic readability', constituted as a measure of all cultural value, the anti-intellectualism which flourishes spontaneously among journalists and, more widely, among the dequalified producers who are obliged to produce to order, and which can find the most diverse forms of expression and justification – with notably all the varieties of populist feeling, from *völkisch* [populist] on the far right to Zhdanovist on the far left – constitutes a permanent threat to those who have the historically won *privilege* of producing to meet a demand that they themselves have produced.<sup>9</sup> Thus it is not pure chance that this hit parade, apparently orientated towards the establishment of hierarchies, has as its main effect the abolition of the ever-uncertain and ever-threatened boundaries between those of the producers who, being directly subject to demand, have their problematic imposed from the outside, and those who, because of the specific form of the rivalry between them, are able to create a demand which can anticipate any social demand.

It is not the sociologist's role to set himself up as the judge of the judges, and of their right to judge. He merely points out that this right is the object of conflicts whose logic he analyses. Because of the fact that the hierarchies are not strongly codified or objectified in norms or in forms, the question of which agencies can ultimately legitimize the agencies of legitimation, which is asked in any field, is asked more visibly in the field of cultural production: the extreme

insecurity which is born of the uncertainty of the assets acquired tends to confer a particular violence on the symbolic struggle of each against all, and on all the acts of jurisprudence both innumerable and infinitesimal – gossip bordering on vilification, calumny, homicidal ‘witticisms’, ruinous rumours – of which the unwritten rankings based on a necessarily tacit consensus of those ranked highest in these tacit rankings are but the sum total of these unquantifiable equations.<sup>10</sup> It is still the case, however, that the autonomy of the field is affirmed, as we can clearly see in the test case of the natural sciences – but things are not so different in painting or in poetry – through the fact that people win these struggles only if they use all the weapons, and only those, which have been accumulated in the whole *specific* history of the previous struggles. Afterwards, according to their skill in using these arms, the various competitors are very unequally inclined to strive for autonomy, for a strengthening of the boundaries which prevent the irruption of external principles of evaluation, or, on the contrary, to strive for a more or less cynical alliance with external forces and notably with all the hybrid characters of equivocal judgement who, by setting themselves up individually or collectively as judges, work to dispossess the most autonomous producers of the right of deciding which tribunal they would grant the competence to judge them.

## Appendix 4

### The Analyses of Correspondences

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#### 1 THE FOUR FACULTIES

Main variables (we have noted in parentheses the number of possibilities when it is higher than two): Académie Française; *Bottin mondain*; [socio-professional] category of father (20); *concours général*: CNRS commissions (presence at the three most recent); paperback series; Caen or Amiens conferences (at least one of the two); conferences (frequency) (10); Universities Consultative Committee; director of UER (since 1968); law discipline (4); arts discipline (9); medical discipline (3); science discipline (3); faculty dean; children (number of) (5); teaching in intellectual *grandes écoles*; teaching in establishment *grandes écoles*; secondary schooling (public or private) (4); faculty (4); *grande école* (9); CNRS laboratory (director); place of higher education (3); CNRS medal; *Le Monde* (writing for); birth (year of) (10); place of birth (in which region) (3); Order of Merit; public bodies (participation in); Plan (commission of the 6th); sex; translations (3); television (appearances on); *Who's Who* (mention in).

We treated as illustrative variables: place of birth (unreliable, and redundant with region of birth); place of residence; matrimonial status (redundant with number of children); the title of doctor *honoris causa* (unreliable); institution of secondary education (unreliable, and redundant with region of birth); support for Giscard and for Mitterrand; the *agrégation* (insufficient information); membership of the SNESup, the Legion of Honour; and the Academic Palms.

## 2 THE FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Main variables: Collège de France; Sorbonne; Nanterre; EPHE 6th section; EPHE 4th and 5th sections; joint post with EPHE 6th section; joint post with EPHE 4th and 5th sections; joint post with CNRS directorship; joint post with oriental languages; joint post with teaching at ENS; joint post with other prestigious establishment; the Institute; discipline (8); date of birth (7); category of father (13); *Who's Who* (mention in); *normalien*; *agrégation* board of examiners; Universities Consultative Committee; Council of Higher Education; CNRS commission 1967 and 1963; ministerial cabinet or government Plan; director of research team; region of birth (10); children (number of) (8); Legion of Honour; Order of Merit; establishment attended for *grande école* entrance (6); residential neighbourhood (9); Academic Palms; Académie Française, *Larousse 1968*; *Le Nouvel Observateur* (writes for); television (6); 'Que Sais-Je?' series (published in) (6); 'Idées', 'Points', 'Médiations' series (published in) (4); intellectual reviews (editorial committee of); ENS entrance examination board; translations (3); citations (number of mentions in the *Citation Index*) (3).

We treated as illustrative variables: place of birth (unreliable, and redundant with region of birth); matrimonial status (redundant with number of children); the *agrégation* (insufficient and unreliable information); the title of honorary doctor (*docteur honoris causa*) (unreliable); establishment attended for secondary education (unreliable, and redundant with region of birth); support for Giscard, for Mitterrand or for Flacelière.

## LIST OF PROFESSORS

*Collège de France*

Bataillon (Marcel)	Duby (Georges)
Benveniste (Emile)	Dumézil (Georges)
Berque (Jacques)	Dupont-Sommer (André)
Blin (Georges)	Duval (Paul-Marie)
Braudel (Fernand)	Filliozat (Jean)
Courcelle (Pierre)	Grabar (André)

Guérout (Martial)  
Hambis (Louis)  
Hyppolite (Jean)  
Labat (René)  
Laoust (Henri)  
Lecoy (Félix)  
Lemerle (Paul)  
Lévi-Strauss (Claude)

Minder (Robert)  
Perroux (François)  
Pottier (Bernard)  
Puech (Henri-Charles)  
Revah (Israël-Salvator)  
Robert (Louis)  
Sauvy (Alfred)  
Schaeffer (Claude)

*Sorbonne*

Alquié (Ferdinand)  
Antoine (Gérald)  
Aron (Raymond)  
Bachelard (Suzanne)  
Bacquet (Paul)  
Balandier (Georges)  
Barbut (Marc)  
Bastide (Roger)  
Beaujeu-Garnier (Jacqueline)  
Belaval (Yvon)  
Bertaux (Pierre)  
Birot (Pierre)  
Boudon (Raymond)  
Bourricaud (François)  
Boyancé (Pierre)  
Canguilhem (Georges)  
Castex (Pierre-Georges)  
Cazeneuve (Jean)  
Chailley (Jacques)  
Chamoux (François)  
Chantraine (Pierre)  
Chastel (André)  
Collart (Jean)  
Culioli (Antoine)  
Daux (Georges)  
David (Claude)  
Deloffre (Frédéric)  
Demargne (Pierre)

Dollfus (Olivier)  
Dresch (Jean)  
Droz (Jacques)  
Duroselle (Jean-Baptiste)  
Durry (Jeanne)  
Durry (Marcel)  
Etiemble (René)  
Fabre (Jean)  
Favier (Jean)  
Flacelière (Robert)  
Fontaine (Jacques)  
Fourquet (Jean)  
Fraisie (Paul)  
Frappier (Jean)  
Frechet (Jacques)  
George (Pierre)  
Girard (Louis)  
Gouhier (Henri)  
Grandjard (Henri)  
Gravier (Maurice)  
Grimal (Pierre)  
Guénée (Bernard)  
Guitton (Jean)  
Heurgon (Jacques)  
Jullian (René)  
Lacombe (Olivier)  
Lagache (Daniel)  
Landré (Louis)

Las Vergnas (Raymond)	Poirier (René)
Lebègue (Raymond)	Polin (Raymond)
Leclant (Jean)	Pomeau (René)
Leroi-Gourhan (André)	Portal (Roger)
Malaurie (Jean)	Renucci (Paul)
Marrou (Henri-Irénée)	Ricatte (Robert)
Martinet (André)	Ritz (Jean-Georges)
Minard (Armand)	Robert (Fernand)
Mirambel (André)	Robichez (Jacques)
Mollat du Jourdin (Michel)	de Romilly (Jacqueline)
Monbeig (Pierre)	Saulnier (Verdun-Louis)
Mousnier (Roland)	Schuhl (Pierre-Maxime)
Oléron (Pierre)	Souriau (Etienne)
Pellat (Charles)	Stoetzel (Jean)
Perpillou (Aimé)	Tapié (Victor)
Perret (Jacques)	Van Effenterre (Henri)
Perrot (Jean-Charles)	Wagner (Léon)
Perroy (Edouard)	Wuilleumier (Pierre)
Picard (Raymond)	Zink (Georges)

*Faculty of Nanterre*

André (Jacques)	Irigoin (Jean-Marie)
Anzieu (Didier)	Micha (Alexandre)
Beaujeu (Jean)	Rémond (René)
Dufrenne (Mikel)	Ricœur (Paul)
Duméry (Henry)	Touraine (Alain)
Foucalt (Michel)	Vallet (Georges)
Grappin (Pierre)	

*EPHE 6th section and ENS*

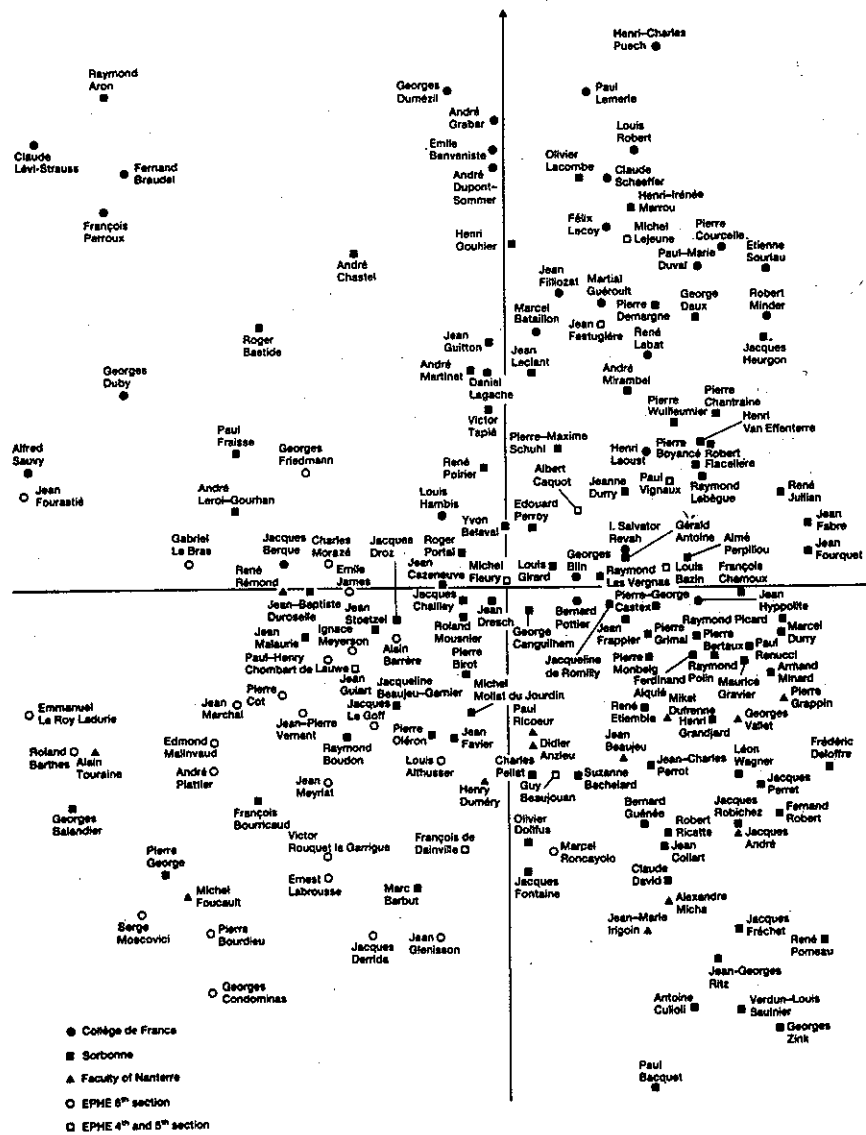
Althusser (Louis)	Derrida (Jacques)
Barrère (Alain)	Fourastié (Jean)
Barthes (Roland)	Friedmann (Georges)
Bourdieu (Pierre)	Glenisson (Jean)
Chombart de Lauwe (Paul-Henry)	James (Emile)
Condominas (Georges)	Labrousse (Ernest)
Cot (Pierre)	Le Bras (Gabriel)

Le Goff (Jacques)	Morazé (Charles)
Le Roy Ladurie (Emmanuel)	Moscovici (Serge)
Malinvaud (Edmond)	Piattier (André)
Marchal (Jean)	Roncayolo (Marcel)
Meyerson (Ignace)	Rouquet la Garrigue (Victor)
Meyriat (Jean)	Vernant (Jean-Pierre)

*EPHE 4th and 5th sections*

Bazin (Louis)	Fleury (Michel)
Beaujouan (Guy)	Guiart (Jean)
Caquot (Albert)	Lejeune (Michel)
de Dainville (François)	Vignaux (Paul)
Festugière (Jean)	

*Note:* In order to indicate the principal appointment of professors attached to more than one of the institutions selected for the population studied, the commonly admitted social hierarchy of institutions has been followed – for example, assigning to the Collège de France or the Sorbonne those who belong *both* to the Collège de France or the Sorbonne *and* to the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (see above, pp. 75–6).



Graph 7 The space of the arts and social science faculties: analysis of correspondences: plane of the first and second axes of inertia – individuals

Note: The graph shows the distribution of individuals (teachers of higher education in Paris) in the factorial plane outlined by the first two axes as established by factorial analysis of the correspondences (see note on pp. 69–72 concerning this method). The graph showing the distribution of the properties attached to these individuals is on p. 80. The first axis outlines the opposition between those who hold full university power (on the right) and those who enjoy other forms of power or prestige; the second distinguishes tenured teachers from those teachers who are younger and lack institutional recognition. The third axis, which isn't shown here, modulates this by differentiating the main university Establishment from more obscure specialists.

## Notes

### PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

- 1 P. Bourdieu, 'Célibat et condition paysanne', *Etudes rurales*, April–September 1962, pp. 32–136.
- 2 The repudiation is of the Chicago school type of sociology of professions. [Tr.]
- 3 Because of this, the authors find themselves reduced (more or less completely, depending on the readers' information) to the works bearing their name and are stripped of all the social properties associated with their position in their field of origin, that is, the most institutionalized dimension of their authority and their symbolic capital (although prefaces written by authors placed within the field may serve, if necessary, to effect the transfer necessary to restore their endangered symbolic capital . . .). The freedom which is thus left to the reader's judgement is quite relative because of the fact that the effects of authority can continue to operate through the medium of the solidarity obtaining between holders of homologous positions in different national scientific fields, and in particular between the dominant, who can profit from the power which they exercise over the circulation of translations and the agencies of consecration in order to operate international transfers of academic power and also to control the access to the national market of products liable to threaten their own production. On the other hand, this relative freedom has as its counterpart the danger of misunderstanding and *allodoxia* which is entailed by ignorance of the context: thus it is, for instance, that some essayists come to eclipse the stars of the first magnitude from whom they borrow the very source of their radiance.
- 4 There is no lack of sociologists, historians or anthropologists who, unable to adopt towards their own world the detached scrutiny of the foreigner, will find in this book, which is the product of a methodical effort to achieve this scrutiny without losing the benefits of familiarity,