

A Review of Recent Research on the History of Universities and Students in France

Un repaso a las recientes investigaciones en Historia de las Universidades y sus estudiantes en Francia

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Abstract: In France, the active community of researchers studying education and young people usually focus their research on children and adolescents while research on education is limited to elementary schooling. Yet research on the history of French universities and the student population does exist. The higher education reform introduced after the 1968 student revolt swept away the early 19th century Napoleonic model of a university based on the primacy of specialized faculties (the humanities, science, medicine, law, pharmacy) but endowed with little power, a transformation that inspired some important research on the general history of French universities and also on the history of certain provincial universities. Numerous monographs describe the new, post-1968 establishments or mark the anniversary of an older, even medieval institution. Some promising research has also been undertaken on

Resumen: En Francia, la comunidad activa de investigadores que estudian la educación y sus jóvenes suele centrar su investigación en niños y adolescentes, mientras que la investigación en educación se limita a la enseñanza primaria. Sin embargo, existen investigaciones sobre la historia de las universidades francesas y la población estudiantil. La reforma de la educación superior introducida después de la revuelta estudiantil de 1968 barrió el modelo napoleónico del siglo XIX de una universidad basada en la primacía de las facultades especializadas (las humanidades, la ciencia, la medicina, el derecho, la farmacia) pero dotada de poco poder; una transformación que inspiró algunas investigaciones importantes sobre la historia general de las universidades francesas y también sobre la historia de ciertas universidades provinciales. Numerosas monografías describen los nuevos establecimientos posteriores a 1968 o marcan

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the history of students, a relatively new topic and one that will benefit from the creativity of dedicated research organizations.

Keywords: history of faculties, history of universities, history of students, students' associations, the higher education reform.

el aniversario de una institución medieval más antigua. También se han realizado algunas investigaciones prometedoras sobre la historia de los estudiantes, un tema relativamente nuevo y que se beneficiará de la creatividad de las organizaciones dedicadas a la investigación.

Palabras clave: Historia de las facultades, historia de las universidades, historia de los estudiantes, asociaciones de estudiantes, la reforma de la educación superior.

The university question has prompted research on a wide range of subjects, including universities, academic policies, higher education, university buildings and institutions, school curricula and programs, male and female students, professors, openings after graduation, university towns etc., not to mention the history of French intellectual life. Those involved in these research projects are sociologists and political scientists and yet, according to the sociologist Georges Felouzis, higher education which is "a classic subject of sociology", "is seldom considered a distinct subject of research in France and taught as such"¹. This is especially true in the case of history. The majority of historians studying education and teaching in France concentrate on primary and secondary school education rather than on universities and students despite specialized structures such as RESUP (Higher Education Research Network/ Organizational Sociology Centre) [Réseau d'études sur l'enseignement supérieur/ Centre de sociologie des organisations] whose members are mostly sociologists, political scientists and economists, or GERME (Student Movement Studies and Research Group) [Groupe d'études sur les mouvements étudiants] where historians are predominant.

The special issue of *Le Mouvement social* on "Scientific and academic changes in France since 1945" (October-December 2010) published an editorial by three researchers, including Antoine Prost² deplored "the lack of even the most elementary knowledge of these subjects. "We are mistaken", they write, "in supposing that we know the history of universities and research institutions". First, they point to "the gap between our scientific knowledge and our knowledge of universities. Most universities were un-

¹ For example, George Felouzis. *Les mutations actuelles de l'Université* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2003).

² Jean-Michel Chapoulie et Patrick Fridenson et Antoine Prost. "Jalons pour une histoire sociale de la science et des établissements d'enseignement supérieur en France depuis 1945," *Le Mouvement social*, 233 (October-December 2010) 3-12.

able to count on a critical mass of academics actively engaged in research, exchanging views, sponsoring events, setting up a scientific watch and publishing in common until, in October 2001, the Ministry of Research established the Higher Education Research Network (RESUP) which today boasts 60 members". Historians working on education have only recently become interested in higher education. According to Antoine Prost "historical studies on higher education in France are rare and those that do exist choose a history of knowledge approach rather than more institutional studies." In other words when universities are the subject of research most studies focus on academic disciplines, not on the institutions of higher education.

In an article entitled "Higher education: the current situation and prospects", published in the special issue of *Histoire de l'éducation* (2009, N° 122), Emmanuelle Picard notes that France seldom participates in European research programs on higher education, and explains this by the fact that "since the institutions of the *Ancien Régime* ceased to exist after the revolution, a linear history of these institutions is methodologically and intellectually very difficult, besides which the specifically French system of Grandes Écoles and universities further complicates the situation".

This lack of French participation in European higher education research may be somewhat unfounded since our historiographical investigation shows that over the last twenty years, a considerable amount of historical research on higher education, academic institutions and student movements has been undertaken, in part due to the historical importance of the May 1968 events and the reforms that followed. Emmanuelle Picard notes a preference for research studies on the Third Republic, whereas the first half of the 19th century has been neglected. As regards the second half of the 20th century, research on the Faure law of 1968³ and its implementation is scant, but there are quite a number of sociological and politological studies on academic grid development plans and transformations in line with the European higher education policy.

Higher education research in France

The university question is a state issue since, with the exception of the few universities or private institutes created after 1875 such as the Catholic Institutes

³ Bruno Poucet et David Valence, dir., *La loi Edgar Faure, réformer l'université après 1968* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2016).

or the Free School of Political Science, French universities are public institutions under the authority of the state. From the early 19th century onwards they were granted the monopoly of awarding academic degrees. Since French university policies are subject to governmental policy-making, the history of higher education is not solely another chapter in the history of education.

The majority of books by respected scholars on the history of French educational policies such as those by Antoine Prost, Françoise Mayeur and Michel Rouché⁴ are relatively ancient and the space devoted to higher education is minimal, given the few students concerned. Nevertheless, the book by Antoine Prost on education in France after the Liberation contains an important chapter on the aftermath of 1968 and the Faure law. Two recent historical studies provide updates on the present-day situation of French universities⁵.

The situation is very different for general works on higher education such as the book edited by Jacques Verger, a medievalist⁶, with contributions from Victor Karady and Dominique Julia, two very knowledgeable researchers. In his introduction, Jacques Verger states that “the middle ages are probably the best-known period in the history of French universities”. In 1991, a brief synthesis by Jacques Minot on the history of French universities⁷ was published in the Que sais-je? series of informative texts and enlarged soon after by Christophe Charle and Jacques Verger⁸.

These authors emphasize the fact that the Ancien Régime's long tradition of corporate institutions came to an abrupt end when it was decided to abolish universities during the French Revolution. The first universities appeared in Western Europe at the very beginning of the 13th century. Freed of clerical power in the 15th century, university education became the arena for legitimate public intervention upon the birth of the modern French state⁹. In 1500 there were some 60 universities in Europe. By 1790 they had

⁴ Antoine Prost, *Histoire de l'enseignement en France 1800-1967*. (Paris : A. Colin, 1968) ; Antoine Prost, *Education, société et politiques : Une histoire de l'enseignement de 1945 à nos jours* (Paris : Le Seuil, 1997) ; Louis Henri Parias, ed., *Histoire générale de l'enseignement et de l'éducation en France* (Paris : Nouvelle librairie de France, 1981-1988).

⁵ Yamina Bettahar et al. *Les universités au risque de l'histoire: principes, configurations, modèles*, (Nancy: Presses universitaires de Lorraine, 2014); Jacques Lemière, *L'université, situation actuelle* (Paris : L'Harmattan, 2015).

⁶ Jacques Verger, dir, *Histoire des universités en France* (Toulouse : Privat, 1986).

⁷ Jacques Minot, *Histoire des universités* (Paris : Presses universitaires de France, 1991).

⁸ Christophe Charle et Jacques Verger. *Histoire des universités* (Paris : Presses universitaires de France, 1994).

⁹ Christine Musselin, *La longue marche des universités françaises* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2001).

more than doubled, to 143¹⁰. On 15th September 1793, the Convention abolished universities, but not certain prestigious institutions (the Collège de France, the natural history museum, the Paris observatory) and the “special schools” (Ponts et Chaussées, Mines) which became training schools for the new Ecole centrale des Travaux publics and the future *École polytechnique*, founded in September 1794. In that same year three schools of health in Paris, Strasbourg and Montpellier replaced the medical schools. The faculties and university corporations of the Ancien Régime were gone, allowing the Emperor Napoleon 1st to establish his “Imperial university” between 1806 and 1808, which Christophe Charle describes as “a closely monitored institution within the hierarchy of bodies forming the new State”. A decree of 17th March 1808 established three grades: the *baccalauréat*, the *licence* and the *doctorat*, a corps of rectors to direct the regional academies and designated six faculty orders (law, medicine, science, the humanities, pharmacy and theology) which were authorized to deliver professional diplomas (law and medicine) and degrees (the humanities, science and theology). The Imperial university created a system of identical faculties, but left intact the *Grande écoles* of France, the parallel network of schools established to offset the short-comings of universities. Most research activities were concentrated in the large institutions, with a few courses at the Sorbonne, in the Collège de France or in the Institut and learned societies. This was how a lasting and centralized system of faculties, specialized in a single discipline and having neither administrative nor financial autonomy was formed and placed under the authority of the French state, totally separate one from the other, yet controlled by a rector acting as the local agent of the Ministry of Public Education. Parisian faculties far outnumbered those in the provinces. Christine Musselin¹¹ states that universities were “under the umbrella of the disciplines”, adding “French universities were partitioned into vertical units all very similar on the national level, although differences between them did exist.” The majority of historians compare this state-administered system to the German Humboldtian model of autonomous universities that combine education and research activities. During the Third Republic, Christine Musselin states, “French academic teaching seemed narrow-minded, inhibited, even under-developed, since in France students were a minority and amateurish,

¹⁰ Christophe Charle et Jacques Verger. *Histoire des universités XIIe-XXe siècles* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2012).

¹¹ Christine Musselin, *La longue marche des universités françaises* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2001).

faculties lacked adequate budgets and scientific activities in the universities were quantitatively and qualitatively insufficient [...] University regulations stifled any initiative on the part of the professors, and this, coupled with a rigid hierarchical structure, produced intellectual inertia."

The reforms of the Third Republic transformed the Napoleonic university model: the faculties of humanities and science were no longer considered part of secondary education, the status of professors rose as they became professionalized, and amendments were made to a system that had been based on the primacy of faculties, the most important being the law of 10th July 1866 stipulating that every faculty in a town was to become part of the "university" and placed under the authority of the rector. This law was a small step forward towards autonomy. "Compared to the faculties, the prerogatives of universities were few and their legitimacy limited", but George Weisz¹² holds that "by accordin greater freedom to the faculties, the reform facilitated a diversification of academic activities especially scientific research and technical training." Nevertheless state control continued. Decisions concerning curricula, examinations and diplomas, the appointment of professors and deans, and academic career management continued to be decided by the state. The new-found freedom of the faculties and an increased budget enabled them to create professional titles and diplomas (awarded by a university or a technical institute) and to use their own funds to teach specific courses. Ultimately this led to a certain diversification of the curricula. But the law contained no legal provisions for interdisciplinary cooperation, nor for research. Neither did it resolve the very French problem of Parisian predominance, despite the fact that provincial towns with universities were to be prestigiously named "university towns". The 1896 law failed to provide for the creation of regional centers important enough to compete with Paris, similar to those that had been established in other European countries.

Historians agree that this "Republic of faculties" continued until 1968, when, in the name of "autonomy, participation and multidisciplinarity", the 12th November 1968 "Orientation of Higher Education" law as it was called, abolished the faculties, creating multidisciplinary research universities organized as public institutions with legal personality on the basis of Teaching and Research units [Unités d'Enseignement et de Recherche, UER]. This ended the rigidly identical, inegalitarian and centralized French model. Yet the need for administrative centralization, ministerial authority and state mana-

¹² George Weisz, *The Emergence of Modern Universities in France 1863-1914* (Princeton: New Jersey, 1983).

gement of faculty members was never brought to question, nor the need for a public nation-wide model. The post-1968 reforms were essentially due to a very rapid increase during the 1960's in the numbers of students (between 1959 and 1969 the student population had grown by 305%). New universities needed to be created, either by splitting up long-established universities or by opening a new university in a town that until then had been without one. Christophe Charle notes that in making the universities autonomous the aim had been to strengthen them, whereas fragmentation was weakening them. In effect, the reform "reinforced the ministry's authority and, within the university, increased the power to the new university components (the UER which later became UFR, departments and research teams)." Within university councils this reform encouraged competition between components for the allocation of funds and positions. The new universities opened slowly and in a disorderly fashion. At first, since "collective action was not one of their strong points, presidents of the new universities had difficulty in arriving at a consensus, given the politically divided decision-making bodies"¹³. However, by the end of the 1980's, ministerial agreements drawn up on the basis of academic projects had officially recognized the autonomy of the new universities and increased the administrative authority of their presidents. In a university landscape of growing heterogeneity, the new universities became strong, independent institutions. The law of 10th August 2007 on university rights and responsibilities stipulated that as of 2013 all universities would have budgetary and human resources autonomy, in addition to being able to own their campuses. This further strengthened the power of university presidents, allowing them to resort to private funding in the form of donations, legacies or the sponsorship of *academic foundations* created for that very purpose. It also authorized the nomination of prominent figures from outside the academic world to sit on the board of directors.

Foreign researchers from Anglo-saxon countries have made important contributions to the contemporary history of French and European universities¹⁴. A remarkable history of European universities has been coordinated by the German researcher, Walter Rüegg¹⁵. Hartmut Rüdiger Peter, and

¹³ Christine Musselin, *La longue marche des universités françaises* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2001).

¹⁴ Robert Fox et George Weisz, éd. *The Organization of Science and Technology in France 1808-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) ; George Weisz, *The Emergence of Modern Universities in France 1863-1914* (Princeton : New Jersey, 1983).

¹⁵ Walter Rüegg, ed., *Geschichte der Universität in Europa, Band III: Vom 19 Jahrhundert zum zweiten Weltkrieg (1800-1945)* (München : Verlag C H Beck, 2004).

Natalia Tikhonov have compiled and present the findings of discussions on European university exchange programmes¹⁶.

Higher Education Administration

Few historical studies deal with the administration of education. A very useful history written by the historian Jacques Minot¹⁷ for the Administrative Training Department of the Ministry of Education deals with the policies of successive education ministers from the Ancien Régime to 1986. For the celebrations marking the birth of the Imperial University, Jean-François Condette has written a history of the rectors' corps¹⁸.

Professors

The intellectual, social and political history of academic professors during the Third Republic (1870-1940), has been related by Christophe Charle who compares the centralized and unifying model of public universities in France to the German model of a research university. Several historians have also compiled dictionaries containing the biographies of university professors, a task undertaken by Christophe Charle for the faculties of literature and philosophy in Paris¹⁹. Françoise Huguet has compiled a biographical dictionary of professors working in the Paris Medical School prior to 1939²⁰ and Jean-François Condette has published a biographical dictionary of professors of literature in Lille²¹. A seminar organized in 1984 discussed 19th and

¹⁶ Hartmut Rüdiger Peter et Natalia Tikhonov, *Universitäten als Brücken in Europa: Les Universités : des ponts à travers l'Europe* (Frankfurt am Main : Peter Lang, 2003).

¹⁷ Jacques Minot, *Deux siècles d'histoire de l'Education nationale* (Paris : Ministère de l'Education nationale, Service de formation administrative, 1986).

¹⁸ Jean-François Condette, *Les recteurs d'académie en France de 1808 à 1940* (Lyon : Service d'histoire de l'éducation, Institut national de recherche pédagogique, 2006-2009).

¹⁹ Christophe Charle, *Les professeurs de la Faculté des lettres de Paris : dictionnaire biographique 1909-1939* (Paris : Institut national de recherche pédagogique, 1986); Christophe Charle, *Les professeurs de la Faculté des sciences de Paris : dictionnaire biographique 1901-1939* (Paris : Institut national de recherche pédagogique, 1989).

²⁰ Françoise Huguet, *Les professeurs de la Faculté de médecine de Paris: dictionnaire biographique 1794-1939* (Paris: Institut national de recherche pédagogique, 1991).

²¹ Jean-François Condette, *Les lettrés de la République: Dictionnaire biographique des enseignants de la Faculté des lettres de Douai puis de Lille* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Université Charles de Gaulle-Lille 3, 2006).

20th century academic personnel²² and a sociological study of academics has been written by Christine Musselin²³. Marie-Laure Viaud has researched the seldom studied question of teaching practices from 1950 onwards²⁴.

Three studies have been published on the “Fédération de l’Education nationale (FEN)”, the federation of trade unions covering the French teaching profession, including university professors²⁵. Jean-François Condette²⁶ has written a comprehensive history on teacher-training from primary school to university level.

French universities compared to universities elsewhere

The comparison of the French and German university systems has become the speciality of Christophe Charle, in addition to the history of Franco-German cultural relations. As the 1990’s drew to an end, this comparative study was updated by two sociologists, Erhardt Friedberg and Christine Musselin²⁷. Comparative studies on universities in Europe and worldwide began to increase from 2000 onwards. The university of Paris I²⁸ convened an international symposium to exchange views on this subject.

The history of universities

Throughout the 19th century and well into the first half of the 20th century, France had only 16 universities. A law passed in 1896 renamed the facul-

²² Christophe Charle et Régine Ferré, dir, *Le personnel de l’enseignement supérieur en France aux XIXe et XXe siècles : colloque organisé par l’Institut d’histoire moderne et contemporaine et l’Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales les 25 et 26 juin 1984* (Paris : Editions du CNRS, 1985).

²³ Christine Musselin, *Les Universitaires* (Paris : La Découverte, 2008).

²⁴ Viaud Marie-Laure, *Les innovateurs silencieux. Histoire des pratiques d’enseignement à l’université depuis 1950* (Grenoble : Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 2015).

²⁵ Véronique Aubert et al., *La Forteresse enseignante : La Fédération de l’Education nationale* (Paris : Fayard, 1985); Guy Brucy. *Histoire de la FEN* (Paris : Belin, 2003) ; Jacques Girault et al., *Paris XIII, histoire d’une université en banlieue (1970-2010)* (Paris : Université Paris XIII, Berg international Editeurs, 2012).

²⁶ Jean-François Condette, *Histoire de la formation des enseignants en France (XIXe-XXe siècle)* (Paris : L’Harmattan, 2007).

²⁷ Erhardt Friedberg et Christine Musselin, *L’Etat face aux universités en France et en Allemagne* (Paris : Anthropos, 1993).

²⁸ Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, *Les Universités en Europe du XIIIe siècle à nos jours : espaces, modèles et fonctions. Actes du colloque international d’Orléans, 16-17 octobre 2003* (Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne, 2003).

ties that the Emperor Napoleon I had introduced (law, medicine, pharmacy, science and the humanities), which subsequently were referred to as universities. Given the ever-increasing numbers of students and the reform of 1968, new universities had to be added to those already existing.

For the most part, historical monographs on French universities, of which there are few, narrate the history of a faculty or are produced on the occasion of an anniversary or a symposium. As Christophe Carle states in an overview on the history of higher education²⁹, "much of the work on contemporary history is closely linked to a commemorative event". A good example is the excellent history of Paris University in two volumes, from its origins to 1968, by André Tuilier³⁰. Louis Trénard has related the history of Lille University³¹. In October 1989 a symposium celebrated the 7th centenary of the universities overseen by the Montpellier educational authority³². Several monographs have been published on the University of Strasbourg situated in German territory from 1870 until 1918 and consequently a German university during that period³³.

Monographs on faculties are more numerous. The two oldest detailed studies are on the Paris faculty of humanities, written by Albert Guigue³⁴ and another on the law school of Nancy up to 1914, by Aline Logette³⁵. There is a commemorative volume on the Paris Faculty of pharmacy published in 1982³⁶.

²⁹ Frédéric Attal, et al., ed., *Les universités en Europe, du XIIIe siècle à nos jours : Espaces, modèles et fonctions* (Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne, 2005): 290.

³⁰ André Tuilier, *Histoire de l'Université de Paris et de la Sorbonne*. 2 volumes : 1. *Des origines à Richelieu* 2. *De Louis XIV à la crise de 1968* (Paris : Nouvelle librairie de France, 1994).

³¹ Louis Trénard, *De Douai à Lille...Une université et son histoire* (Lille: Université de Lille-III, 1978).

³² *Septième centenaire des universités de l'académie de Montpellier 1289-1989 : Actes du colloque historique tenu à la Faculté de médecine, Montpellier, 23-24 octobre 1989* (Montpellier : Université de Montpellier 1, 1992).

³³ Georges Livet, *L'Université de Strasbourg, de la Révolution française à la guerre de 1870*, (Strasbourg : Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 1996); Georges Bischoff et Richard Kleinschmager, *L'Université de Strasbourg. Cinq siècles d'enseignement et de recherche* (Strasbourg : La Nuée bleue, 2010) ; Lucien Braun, *50 ans à l'Université de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg : Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2014); Françoise Olivier-Utard, *Une université idéale. Histoire de l'Université de Strasbourg de 1919 à 1939* (Strasbourg : Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2015).

³⁴ Albert Guigue, *La Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Paris depuis sa fondation (17 mars 1808) jusqu'au 1^{er} janvier 1935* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1935).

³⁵ Aline Logette, *Histoire de la Faculté de droit de Nancy (1768-1864-1914)* (Nancy: Faculté de droit et de sciences économiques, 1964).

³⁶ *La Faculté de pharmacie de Paris 1882-1982: Volume commémoratif publié à l'occasion du centenaire de la reconstruction de l'Ecole supérieure de pharmacie* (Paris: Comarco, 1982).

The history of the catholic faculties of theology before their privatization in 1885 has been studied by Bruno Neveu³⁷ and that of the Bordeaux law school until 1970 by Marc Malherbe³⁸. A history of the Paris faculty of Humanities in the 19th century by Christophe Charle³⁹ needs to be mentioned as does Hubert Bonnet's history of the 8th-century-old Montpellier School of Medicine⁴⁰. The works by Jean-François Condette on the Lille Faculty of Literature⁴¹ and university life in Lille are outstanding. Seminars and books commemorating anniversaries: in 1988 for the 450th anniversary of the protestant faculty of theology in Strasbourg⁴², in 1996 for the centenary of Lille university⁴³.

Today, the new universities opened in the wake of the Faure law are claiming ancient ancestry, the Université de Haute Alsace in Mulhouse⁴⁴ for example, or Nantes University⁴⁵ founded in the 15th century. The Perpignan University⁴⁶, which was reopened in the second half of the 20th century, claims to have been founded in 1350. A group of historians from Bordeaux⁴⁷ relate the antecedents of the Michel de Montaigne-Bordeaux 3 university, created in 1968 as an offshoot of the ancient Bordeaux University. Opened in 1966, the new Rouen University celebrated its 50th an-

³⁷ Bruno Neveu, *Les Facultés de théologie catholique de l'Université de France (1808-1885)* (Paris: Klinksieck, 1998).

³⁸ Marc Malherbe, *La Faculté de droit de Bordeaux (1870-1970)* (Bordeaux : Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 1996).

³⁹ Christophe Charle, *La Faculté des lettres de Paris 1809-1908* (Paris : Institut national de recherche pédagogique, Editions du CNRS, 1985).

⁴⁰ Hubert Bonnet, *La Faculté de médecine de Montpellier : Huit siècles d'histoire et d'éclat*. (Montpellier : Sauramps médical, 1992).

⁴¹ Jean-François Condette, *La Faculté des lettres de Lille de 1887 à 1945* (Villeneuve d'Ascq : Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 1999).

⁴² Marc Lienhard, *La Faculté de théologie protestante de Strasbourg, hier et aujourd'hui, 1538-1988: mémorial du 450e anniversaire de la Faculté* (Strasbourg : Editions Oberlin, 1988).

⁴³ Robert Vandebussche, ed., *1896-1996 : cent ans d'Université lilloise* (Lille : Comité d'histoire de l'Europe du Nord-Ouest, Université Charles de Gaulle-Lille-3, 2000).

⁴⁴ Nicolas Stoskopf, *Université de Haute Alsace: La longue histoire d'une jeune université* (Strasbourg: La Nuée bleue, 2005).

⁴⁵ Gérard Emptoz, dir., *Histoire de l'Université de Nantes 1460-1993* (Rennes, Nantes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, Université de Nantes, 2002).

⁴⁶ Paul Carmignani, dir., *L'Université de Perpignan (1350-2000): Tradition humaniste et modernité scientifique* (Perpignan: Presses universitaires de Perpignan, 2001); Jean Sagnes et al., *L'Université de Perpignan, l'une des plus anciennes universités d'Europe* (Perpignan: Presses universitaires de Perpignan, 2013).

⁴⁷ François Cadilhon et al.. *Histoire d'une université bordelaise : Michel de Montaigne, faculté des arts, faculté des lettres, 1441-1999* (Talence : Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 1999).

niversity in 2016⁴⁸. The new university of Lorraine which resulted from the merger of Nancy and Metz universities in 2012 has likewise outlined its past history and future prospects⁴⁹. Two new universities in the Paris area, descended from of the unique and very ancient Paris University, have celebrated their 40th anniversary with a historical study, namely Paris XIII – Villetaneuse⁵⁰ and l'Université Paris-Est Créteil (UPEC)⁵¹. There is a book on the short-lived Vincennes University⁵² and two essays on "the assassination" of Vincennes University, highhandedly transferred to Saint Denis on the outskirts of Paris in July 1978⁵³. The sociological study by Michel Grossetti examines the new university sites and the way they are evolving⁵⁴.

Students and student organizations

The few works published on the history of the student population mostly concern the 20th century. The first study to deal in part with the student population of a French university was a work by Jean-Marie Burney whose book on Toulouse University and its students was translated into French and published in 1988⁵⁵. The first historical study entirely devoted to students was the pioneer work of Jean-Claude Caron on the Parisian student population during the early 19th century period of romanticism⁵⁶. Pierre Moulinier

⁴⁸ Anne Bidois et al. *L'Université de Rouen 1966-2016. Histoire d'une université nouvelle* (Mont Saint Aignan : Presses universitaires de Rouen et du Havre, 2016).

⁴⁹ Jean El Gammal et al. *L'université à Nancy et en Lorraine : histoire, mémoire et perspectives* (Nancy : Presses universitaires de Lorraine, 2015).

⁵⁰ Jacques Girault et al. *Paris XIII, histoire d'une université en banlieue (1970-2010)* (Paris : Université Paris XIII, Berg international Editeurs, 2012).

⁵¹ Florence Bourillon, et al., *Aux origines de l'UPEC: 40 ans de réussites universitaires en banlieue* (Créteil: UPEC, 2012); Simone Bonnefous et Pierre Chiron. *L'Université en banlieue (UPEC, 1970-2010)* (Paris : Michel Houdiard, 2012).

⁵² Charles Soulié, ed., *Vincennes, un mythe à détruire ?: Origines et destin du Centre universitaire expérimental de Vincennes* (Paris : Presses universitaires de Vincennes, 2012).

⁵³ Marie Merlin, *L'université assassiné : Vincennes 1968-1980* (Paris : Editions Ramsay, 1980); Guy Berger et al. *Folies et raisons d'une université, Paris 8. De Vincennes à Saint-Denis* (Paris: Petra, 2015).

⁵⁴ Michel Grossetti et Philippe Lesage, ed., *La territorialisation de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche, France, Espagne et Portugal* (Paris : L'Harmattan, 2003).

⁵⁵ Jean-Marie Burney, *Toulouse et son Université: Facultés et étudiants dans la France provinciale du 19^e siècle* (Paris, Toulouse : Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1988).

⁵⁶ Jean-Claude Caron, *Générations romantiques : les étudiants de Paris et le Quartier latin (1814-1851)* (Paris : Armand Colin, 1991).

continued this student population history with a follow-up that extended to the outbreak of the 1914-18 war⁵⁷. A book by Bénédicte Vergez-Chaignon deals with the situation of Parisian hospital interns prior to 1952⁵⁸.

Although the book *Students* by Pierre Gaudez, a former president of UNEF, is not a historical study, it was the first book on the subject⁵⁹. The history of student movements began to be studied in the 1980's, the first publication being the ground-breaking book by Alain Monchablon⁶⁰ on the history of the French National Students' Union (UNEF) from 1956 to 1968. This work was continued by Didier Fischer⁶¹. The publication by Lionel Courtot on the Strasbourg General Federated Students' Association⁶² is the only work on general students' associations. The task GERME set itself upon its creation in 1995 was to study the history of student organizations from the late 19th century to the present-day from the political, union and confessional viewpoints, particularly student welfare, student uprisings and mobilization, schoolgoer commitment, the political stands of the organizations and their interventions in the social, cultural and political life of France. This research was to be conducted by organizing discussions, seminars, workshops and other gatherings and through publications. Within this frame of reference there have been studies on student trade-unionism⁶³ and on student welfare or student mutualism⁶⁴.

A book directed by Dominique Julia and Jacques Revel⁶⁵ researches modern European student populations. The question of foreign students,

⁵⁷ Pierre Moulinier, *La naissance de l'étudiant moderne (XIXe siècle)* (Paris : Belin, 2002).

⁵⁸ Benedicte Vergez-Chaignon, *Les internes des hôpitaux de Paris 1802-1952* (Paris : Hachette-Littératures, 2002).

⁵⁹ Pierre Gaudez, *Les Etudiants* (Paris : Julliard, 1961).

⁶⁰ Alain Monchablon, *Histoire de l'UNEF, de 1956 à 1968* (Paris : Presses universitaires de France, 1983).

⁶¹ Didier Fischer, *L'histoire des étudiants en France, de 1945 à nos jours* (Paris: Flammarion, 2000).

⁶² Lionel Courtot, *Une histoire d'Alsace: l'AFGES. 90 ans au service des jeunes* (Strasbourg: Editions du Signe, 2014).

⁶³ Robi Morder, ed., *Naissance d'un syndicalisme étudiant: 1946, la Charte de Grenoble* (Paris: Syllepse, 2006); Jean-Philippe Legois, et al., ed., *Cent ans de mouvement étudiant* (Paris: Syllepse, 2007).

⁶⁴ Aurélien Casta et Emmanuel Porte, ed., *L'autonomie en mouvements: Revendications syndicales et mobilisations étudiantes* (Paris: Syllepse, 2015); Didier Fischer et Robi Morder, *La Fondation santé des étudiants de France au service des jeunes et des malades depuis 1923* (Clermont-Ferrand: Un, deux...quatre éditions, 2010).

⁶⁵ Dominique Julia et Jacques Revel, ed., *Les universités européennes, du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle: 2. Histoire sociale des populations étudiantes* (Paris: Editions de l'Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1989).

particularly student mobility, exchange programs and emigration has recently come to the fore⁶⁶, as well as the question of international student organizations⁶⁷ or colonial students⁶⁸. Sociological research on the student world has progressed enormously in the wake of the research conducted by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron⁶⁹ in addition to work by Christian Baudelot and Roger Establet⁷⁰ and the events of May 1968. Sociologists studying young people have written a variety of works on the student question⁷¹. The opening of the Observatory of Student Life (OVE) in 1989 by the Ministry in charge of Higher Education brought a spate of publications on the economic and social conditions of students⁷².

⁶⁶ Eric Manitakis, "Etudiants étrangers, universités françaises et marché du travail intellectuel (fin du XIXe-années 1930): Certifier sans gratifier, des titres universitaires pour l'exportation", in Eric Guichard et Gérard Noiriel. *Construction des nationalités et immigration dans la France contemporaine* (Paris : Presses de l'Ecole normale supérieure, 1997) : 123-154; Victor Karady, "La République des lettres des temps modernes. L'internationalisation des marchés universitaires occidentaux avant la Grande Guerre", *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 121-122 (1998): 92-103; Nicolas Manitakis, "Les migrations estudiantines en Europe, 1890-1930", in Leboutte René, éd. *Migrations et migrants dans une perspective historique: Permanences et innovations... International conference proceedings. European Forum 1997-8* (Bruxelles : PIE-Peter Lang, 2000) : 243-270; Victor Karady, "La migration internationale d'étudiants en Europe", *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 145 (2002) : 47-60; Hartmut Rüdiger Peter et Natalia Tikhonov, *Universitäten als Brücken in Europa: Les Universités : des ponts à travers l'Europe* (Frankfurt am Main : Peter Lang, 2003); Patrick Ferté et Caroline Barrera, ed., *Etudiants de l'exil: Migrations internationales et universités refuges (XVIIe-XXe siècles)* (Toulouse : Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2009); Yamina Bettahar et Françoise Birck, dir, *Etudiants étrangers en France : L'émergence de nouveaux pôles d'attraction au début du XXe siècle* (Nancy : Presses universitaires de Nancy, 2009) ; Pierre Moulinier, *Les étudiants étrangers à Paris au XIXe siècle; Migrations et formation des élites* (Rennes : Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012).

⁶⁷ Robi Morder et Caroline Rolland-Diamond, ed., *Etudiant(e)s du monde en mouvement* (Paris: Syllepse, 2012).

⁶⁸ Guy Pervillé, *Les étudiants algériens de l'Université française 1880-1962* (Paris : Editions du CNRS, 1984).

⁶⁹ Pierre Bourdieu et Jean-Claude Passeron, *Les Héritiers : les étudiants et la culture* (Paris : Les Editions de Minuit, 1964) ; Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo academicus* (Paris : Les Editions de Minuit, 1984) ; Pierre Bourdieu, *La Reproduction : éléments pour une théorie du système d'enseignement* (Paris : Les Editions de minuit, 1990).

⁷⁰ Christian Baudelot et Roger Establet, *Les étudiants, l'emploi, la crise* (Paris : Maspero, 1981).

⁷¹ Christine Valabregue, *La condition étudiante* (Paris : Petite bibliothèque Payot, 1970); Jean-Paul Molinari, *Les étudiants* (Paris : Les Editions ouvrières, 1992); Olivier Galland, dir, *Le monde des étudiants* (Paris : Presses universitaires de France, 1995); Olivier Galland et Marco Oberti. *Les étudiants* (Paris : La Découverte, 1996).

⁷² Alain Coulon, *Le métier d'étudiant: l'entrée dans la vie universitaire* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1997); Claude Grignon, *La vie matérielle des étudiants : logement,*

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