

“Elite Schools” and French Politics (1945-2021)

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An Independent Study Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements
For the Degree of Master of Arts in European Studies
Inter-Department of European Studies
GRADUATE SCHOOL
Chulalongkorn University
Academic Year 2020
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'มหาวิทยาลัยชนชั้นนำ' กับการเมืองฝรั่งเศสในช่วง ค.ศ. 1945-2021

น.ส. มานิตา โลหะสุวรรณ


สารนิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต
สาขาวิชายุโรปศึกษา สหสาขาวิชายุโรปศึกษา
บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
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Independent Study Title “Elite Schools” and French Politics (1945-2021)
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Field of Study European Studies
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Accepted by the GRADUATE SCHOOL, Chulalongkorn University in Partial Fulfillment
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("Elite Schools" and French Politics (1945-2021)) อ ที่ปรึกษาหลัก : ผศ.ดร. ภาวรรณ เรือง
ศิลป์

ประเทศฝรั่งเศส เป็นประเทศที่ให้ความสำคัญกับค่านิยมเสรีภาพและความเท่าเทียมของคน
ในประเทศตามหลักประชาธิปไตย แต่เมื่อก้าวถึง "มหาวิทยาลัยชนชั้นนำ" ในประเทศฝรั่งเศสกลับมี
เรื่องสิทธิพิเศษของบุคคลเป็นข้อจำกัดในการคัดเลือกเข้ารับราชการ รวมถึงการอบรมมีระบบและ
วิธีการที่แตกต่างจากประเทศอื่นๆ "มหาวิทยาลัยชนชั้นนำ" อย่าง *L' Ecoles Nationale d'
Administration (ENA)* ได้แสดงให้เห็นถึงความเหลื่อมล้ำในสังคมฝรั่งเศส รวมถึงปัญหาการเมือง ใน
งานวิจัยได้ทำการวิเคราะห์ (1) ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่าง "มหาวิทยาลัยชนชั้นนำ" กับรัฐบาลฝรั่งเศส และ
(2) ความสำคัญของ ENA ในการเมืองฝรั่งเศส ผลการวิจัยพบว่า ENA มีความสำคัญทั้งในภาค
การเมืองและภาคเอกชนของฝรั่งเศส ซึ่งมีส่วนทำให้เกิดความซับซ้อนในความพยายามที่จะปฏิรูป
ระบบการศึกษาของ "มหาวิทยาลัยชนชั้นนำ" ในฝรั่งเศส

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ลายมือชื่อนิติ.....มานิตา.....
ลายมือชื่อ อ ที่ปรึกษา.....

6384009820 : MAJOR EUROPEAN STUDIES

KEYWORD: education, elite, reform, recruitment, social inequality

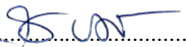
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The core values of the French society comprise of liberty, democracy and equality. However, there seems to be limitation and social inequality when it comes to be "elite training schools". These privileged training and selection systems of French civil service seem to be a unique French practice. The elite training schools, especially *L'Ecoles Nationale d' Administration*, represents inequality in French society and, therefore, presents a problem for French politics. This study analyzes (1) the relationship between French elite training schools and French state; and (2) the important of the ENA for French politics. The result of this research shows an important of the ENA for the French political and private sectors which complicates any attempt to reform it.

Field of Study: European Studies

Academic Year:2020

Student's Signature..........

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, this study would not complete without the support of these people. I am deeply appreciative to Asst. Prof. Bhawan Ruangsilp, Ph. D, my advisor for her valuable support and encouragement.

In addition, I would like to express my gratitude my classmates, my dearest parents, my beloved host family in France. Thanks to my beloved friends for always being by my side, supporting me as always and your encouragement.

Last but not least, I would love to thank Ms. Teerada Worabantoon, the faculty staff for always helping me with the itthesis system and any problems throughout the year of my study.

Manita Lohasuwan

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Abbreviations

CPGE	refers to Preparatory classes and <i>Grandes Écoles</i>
ENA	refers to <i>L'Écoles Nationale d'Administration</i>
Énarques	refers to alumni of the ENA
GE	refers to <i>Grandes Écoles</i>
IEP	refers to <i>Instituts d'Etudes Politiques</i> or Sciences-Po
IIAP	refers to International Institute of Public Administration
ISP	refers to <i>Institut du Service Public</i> or Institute of Public Service
LRU	refers to Universities Freedom and Responsibility



Introduction

In April 2021, the president, Emmanuel Macron, announced his plan to reform the L'Écoles Nationale D'Administration (ENA) or was known as one of the elite schools in France. Due to very selective system, the President would like to change it into a school accessible for everyone as he stated, *"No kid from our republic ever says that this is not for me."* This reform as he called a "deep revolution in recruitment for public service" aimed at changing the system of the school and increased more opportunity for students from unprivileged background to enter ENA in the new institute, namely *"Institut de service public (Institute of Public Service), or ISP"*.

Nevertheless, the aim to reform the ENA is not new for the French society. In the past, several presidents also tried to do so. Same as the former French president, Nicolas Sarkozy, was against the L'Écoles Nationale D'Administration (ENA), so do alumni from the school as well as the system of grandes écoles (GE). The L'Écoles Nationale D'Administration (ENA), however, seems to be unchanged because its admission system remains the same. On the other hand, the L'Écoles Nationale D'Administration (ENA) issue is one of the most critics in France because the system is used for political usage as well. The transformation of the L'Écoles Nationale D'Administration (ENA) is risen into the society in the same pattern such as the protest of *les gilets jaunes* (the yellow vests protest) which expresses inequality in French society.



The relationship between French Government and elite schools, especially in the L'Écoles Nationale D'Administration (ENA) case is quite adhesively linked because the ENA seems to be the passport for graduates into the top positions of civil servants such as finance inspectorates, the Council of State officers, the courts of auditors, etc.¹ Some of them play the key role in the government and are powerful to control or make decisions in the country (there are four presidents and seven prime ministers who are alumni of the ENA or also known as *énarques*) as well as in business industry. However, the ENA is the highlighted point which has been risen to talk in the public for a long time. The ENA is one of GE. It was created after World War II in 1945 by the former president, Charles de Gaulle. The school aims to increase and rebuild state's capability after the war. This school is a very selective system which means that all candidates must pass a competitive examination, called as *les concours*. This examination is created for selecting the best of the best students for the ENA and there are approximately a hundred students who success the examination per year. The ENA is called as a "School of Power" or "École du pouvoir" because graduated students play the key role in their society. This word can be seen in the articles as well as in the movie of Raoul Peck named; *L'ENA: l'école du pouvoir* in 2009 which was about the rise to power of a young group from

¹ "ENA: Macron scraps French leaders' elite training school," BBC, 2021, accessed May 7, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-56674726>.



the ENA in 1977 to 1986. The ENA is also similar to the elite schools in other country, for example, the Ivy leagues in the United States of America. The school is a symbol of the elite in French society as well because the number of students from bourgeois family has dramatically increased since the school was established. There is only one percent of student who came from working class family can enter the school. This issue is one of the most critical controversy in French society for many years.

Research Questions

This research focuses on French politics and the L'Écoles Nationale D'Administration (ENA) since 1945 to 2021 by collecting data and analyzing from documentary, newspapers, and debates from television paths. The purpose of this study is to understand (1) what is the relationship between French elite training schools and French state is, (2) what have been the initiatives to reform the ENA and (3) why is the reform of L'Écoles Nationale D'Administration (ENA) important to the French politics significantly.

Hypotheses

- The elite training schools have been important for the French state because they have trained future politicians, technocrats and businesspersons, who were to play important roles in French politics, state and private sectors. That is the reason that French politics are affected to the closure of the ENA and it is replaced with new institution of ISP instead.



- The ENA has been considered a highly privileged institution which represents social inequality and the political problems. The French government requires more people from diverse backgrounds to cope with ethnic, religious, economic and politics diversity in French society at the top positions so that they can understand people from working class to the elite.

Scope of research

This study focuses on the period from the establishment of the L'Écoles Nationale D'Administration (ENA) in 1945 until 2021. The research is based on the analyzing of secondary sources such as newspapers, books, interviews which are the debates and news on online platforms. The media sources are used for analyzing the current situation and the action of the current president of France, Emmanuel Macron. The official sources, especially from the ENA website, are used to understand the history and the official numbers such as budget. Mostly, the interviews are taken from documentary of *public sénat* namely *L'ENA, pourquoi tant de haine?* which explain about the history of the ENA and the reason why people in France start to dislike the ENA. The interviewees are the former ministers, *énarques*, the former officers in ministry of justice as well as the former president like François Hollande. These interviews show the opinion about the situation in the past and the reformation by the current president which can be used for analysing these three research questions.



Literature Review

To answer the research questions, the sources which are relevant to this research can be found in this part. For the relationship between the French elite institutions and the French state, it can be found about the history of the GE on *the 'Grandes Écoles' in France* which describes about the idea of these types of GE. The first GE is found unofficially in eighteenth century, namely "École des Pontes et Chaussées". The aim of this school is to train their students' personnel. After that, specific schools are established as *grandes écoles* in order to train their students directly. Similarly, the ENA is also controlled by the prime minister's office as the same idea that they need to train new generation of top civil service position in order to rebuild their society after the World War II.² From this source, it is the reason to understand about the background of the GE and where the GE is controlled from.

Similarly, in *The Role of Higher Education Institutions: Recruitment of Elites and Economic*, this research focuses the recruitment of Western elites from the period before World War II until the 20th century and the examination of the nature that link between the recruitment of elites and economic growth. The result is that there is the role played by elite institutes in France such as the GE which is

² N. J. Graves, "The 'Grandes Ecoles' in France," *The Vocational Aspect of Education* 17, no. 36 (03/01 1965), <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057876580000041>.



the most original character for recruitment and training elites. Back to eighteenth century, it can be found that the GE is established, following to the state's requirements. During the French revolution, the state needs more civil and military engineers. At the time, the Polytechnique was created in 1794 due to the mistrust towards university. This kind of GE was found in the large number of school in nineteenth century (it was found that the training school was not only for training engineers and militaries but also for businesspersons at *Hautes Études Commerciales* or business school.). After World War II, the recruitment, however, was completely changed because all countries desired to 'democratize' to the elites on political part. At the beginning, the open-for-all approach of these elite schools seem to be successful. But the study shows that there is the meritocracy through the competitive examination to enter the elite institutions in France. It shows that the system is not based on fair selection but 'cultural bias'. As the result, we can see that the successful candidates often come from privileged backgrounds. This is the reason why the social stratification continues in French society and the power to control the whole country such as economy system remains in the hands of the same elite.³

³Elise Brezis and François Crouzet, "The Role of Higher Education Institutions: Recruitment of Elites and Economic Growth," *CESifo Working Paper No. 1360* (2004), CESifo, Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/274100/7_The_Role_of_Higher_Education_Institutions_Recruitment_of_Elites_and_Economic_Growth.



Finally, the study of *Elite education and the State in France: durable ties and new challenges* focuses on the durable ties between Elite education and the State in France. This study shows many important issues such as the status that the elite is granted after enters the education path as well as the dominant social classes. In this study, Max Weber's conception of bureaucracy and state formation as well as social closure is proved the question analysis by using elite education in France as in the case study. Regarding to the evidence, it can be concluded that the France government tried to maintain the Elite education in order to train the future high-ranking civil servants. This group of students can work to support the administration of state affairs. Also, the France government aims to control the education of the new generation who plan to work for private sectors. Overall, it shows that the 'Charters' of elite schools is strongly shaped by the broader relations governing societies. The elite institutions, in the other hand, can defend their interests due to the significant economic, cultural, social and symbolic resources that they had saved for long times.⁴

Regarding the above information, the researches show various information about the elite institutions, the recruitment, the French state and show how the state has maintained its power through training elites and elite education. My

⁴Agnès van Zanten and Claire Maxwell, "Elite education and the State in France: durable ties and new challenges," *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 36, no. 1 (01/02 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2014.968245>.



research mostly relates to the study of *Elite education and the State in France: durable ties and new challenges*. The study demonstrates that the French people try to make the balance between their power together with elite education because they need to balance its political situation. They need people from various background to conduct the country. This situation creates cultural bias on the system of recruitment. The reason is that the successful people doesn't come from various background. This analyse uses the theory of Max Weber on state closure because it is about social collectivities that restrict the opportunity to access the top positions or the important positions in the government. In other word, the opportunity in powerful positions is limited for specific ranks of people and closed for 'outsiders'. This result shows that it is related to the current situation in French society. At this point, it is related to other study namely *Public Sector Employment Regimes: Transformations of the State as an Employer* which is also mentioned about the creation of *les grands corps de l'État*' which aims to build a strong political under the order of the state. Thus, this result can be explained to my study effectively in order to understand about the system of public service in France and the ENA.⁵

Moreover, this study: *Elite education and the State in France: durable ties and new challenges* analyses by using Weber's concept on bureaucracy to French

⁵Karin Gottschall et al., *Public Sector Employment Regimes: Transformations of the State as an Employer* (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).



public service system as well as the recruitment of the ENA. The study shows that the good system of bureaucracy must be performed by monocratic type. It can be concluded that bureaucracy cannot conduct by specific organization and using meritocratic for recruiting its staffs. In other words, the governors should pass the examination from their abilities through competitive examination which relates to the recruitment of the ENA.

Structure of the Research

The study is separated in to three main parts: the first chapter explains about history background of GE and the ENA (the structure, the budget, etc.), the next chapter explains about the attempt of school reformation to the ENA as well as the reformation in the period of Nicolas Sarkozy, and the last chapter explains about the reform of the ENA in terms of Macron and the future of new institution as ISP.



Chapter 1: “Grandes Écoles” and the ENA

1.1 Historical Development of the GE

When we hear about *grandes écoles* (GE), I am sure that we will be curious to know the difference from French universities? The *Grandes Écoles* are categorized as a higher educational entity separated from universities. The first school of this type was found in the 18th century, named the ‘*École des Pontes et Chaussées*’ where the chief road engineer could train their personnel. The idea of creation of these ‘special training schools’ is because of mistrust towards universities.

“Universities were considered by representatives of all types of political regimes in France as overly oriented towards scholarly pursuits and either too influenced by the Church or too autonomous to produce the kinds of competent military and civil servants that would be loyal to the state.”⁶

Actually, the GE depends on different French ministries such as the ‘*École Normale Supérieure*’ controlled by the Ministry of National Education, the ‘*École Polytechnique*’ under the Army Department, so-called Ministry of Defence, and *L’Écoles Nationale d’Administration* depending directly on Prime Minister’s Office. To enter the GE, firstly, the applicants must receive the ‘*baccalauréat*’ (High School degree or their last examination) and pass the competitive examination called “*concours*”. However, some schools may request other documents for admission

⁶ van Zanten and Maxwell, "Elite education and the State in France: durable ties and new challenges."



such as ENA's requirement of university degree.⁷ In the system of ENA's schools, there are always competitive examinations, but the criteria are not the same. It is different from each school's goal and subject.

Regarding to French political system, the government structure is semi-presidential and state center. The structure of civil service shows that civil servants/cadres (*fonctionnaires*) must work apart from political interests and focus on 'will of the people'. Following Napoleonic tradition, French state is equated with the general interests and therefore seen as the driving force of social integration. This notion is notably relevant to the conception of public administration and its role in French society. Moreover, Napoléon also created the Administration Elite which is also called '*les grands corps de l'État*'. The purpose was to create a strong politics and social force acting by the order of the French state. This elite group would be able to access directly to the most prestigious and influential positions. To be the civil servants, the candidates were first selected from the military or the technical professions. On the other hand, good professions would not be granted if the candidates did not graduate from the GE.⁸

⁷ Graves, "The 'Grandes Ecoles' in France."

⁸ Gottschall et al., *Public Sector Employment Regimes: Transformations of the State as an Employer*.



As of the aftermath of World War II, France was in trouble and needed to rebuild and modernize its systems and train the new generation of top public service. At that time, the legal context of public service was all separated from private law and a specific framework of guarantees. The obligations were applicable to the so-called 'civil servant citizen' (*fonctionnaire citoyen*). The regulations of employment became a unilateral concept so that the core values and obligations also became neutral to welcome all citizen. French civil service policy was founded with the meritocratic idea and opened for French citizens no matter what social background was. That is different from the current situation in France. This idea was risen in order to 'democratize' the elites. At that time, the state would need to expand opportunities to all candidates from every social class which was different from Pre-World War II one (the candidates should be recruited based on their wealth and background). *L'Écoles Nationale d'Administration* or the ENA, the '*Instituts d'études politiques*' or Science Po, IEP, the Civil of Administration as well as the Comptroller General were established under the regulation of October 9th, 1945. The regulation gave the '*absolute priority on the training and recruitment of civil servants*'. Nevertheless, a few years later, the status of civil servants was limited to the central state functions, ministries, and the nation public administrative establishment under public labour law. From 1945 afterwards, all of civil service has



been organized by the line of ‘*corps*’ which is a criteria of civil service recruitment. This is the main reason of the elite training system.⁹

1.2 The ENA

In case of the ENA, this school opens for postgraduates in order to train for high-ranking of civil service positions. For the lower ranking, there is the *Institute Régional d'Administration*. The ENA was established by former President General Charles de Gaulle together with the author of the Constitution, Michel Debré. The aim of this school intends to rebuild and increase the best civil servants for France. This school is opened for all social classes. That means it opens for every people of diverse intellectual origins. The ENA also tends to rapidly develop new generation of elite based on its capability and talents rather than the link to elite’s power. The ENA is known as ‘*the school of Power*’ because it trains many powerful persons in France such as Valéry Giscard d’Estaing, Jacques Chirac, François Hollande, Emmanuel Macron and several Primer Ministers. It is known that among a number of alumni of the ENA (*énarques*) during 1994-1995, there were 11 ministers, 11 personal staff of the French president and 75 staff in Prime Minister Office. However, the recruitment is very selective by their own system. Candidates must pass the competitive examination. Some groups of candidates can benefit from cultural bias in the exam. It requires a pattern of attitude and thinking which favor the examiners

⁹ Gottschall et al., *Public Sector Employment Regimes: Transformations of the State as an Employer*.



from the social circles so that the ENA is seen as an elite school¹⁰. The selected persons are normally from bourgeois families as it shows in this research: the number of students from elite family was 44 percent in 1950 and rose to 63 percent in 1980.¹¹ The number of students from privileged family continued to rise in 2005 and 2014, reaching 70 percent. While the percentage of students from working class fell to about six percent.¹² This number has shown that almost 70 percent of all students in the ENA were from the upper class and a very few students coming from the working-class family. To understand more about the ENA, the next part will explain about the recruitment, selection, changes of the ENA as well as the expenditure that state give to the GE.

1.2.1 The ENA: The Structure, Selection, Expenditure and Changes

The entrance examination is separated into two channels. First, the examination is for candidates from universities or the IEP (*Instituts d'Etudes Politiques* or "Sciences-Po"), certain army academics, the *écoles normales supérieures*, and *grandes écoles* such as business school. The second channel is for candidates from

¹⁰ Elise Brezis and François Crouzet, "ELITE SCHOOLS, CIRCULATION OF ELITES AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: THE ENA CASE," (1999), Retrieved from <https://econ.biu.ac.il/sites/econ/files/shared/staff/u46/17bre-cr.pdf>.

¹¹ Theo S. Eicher and García Cecilia Peñalosa, *Institutions Development and Economic Growth* (Cambridge: The Mit Press, 2006).

¹² "Macron announces closure of elite school that hotheaded French leaders," The Guardian, 2021, accessed June 15, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/apr/08/macron-close-france-elite-finishing-school-ena-elite-presidents>.



lower ranks of civil service positions (they must spend at least three years for apply this school).¹³¹⁴

The Condition of Taking the Examination:

1. Candidates must have French nationality or a member State of the European Union.
2. Applicants must hold at least a degree of the second cycle of university-level studies (license or equivalent).

Preparatory Classes

For those, who apply for the ENA through the preparatory class, normally join the class from the '*Science-Po*'. There is an offer of one-year course in order to prepare for the competitive entrance examination. Students are able to choose the programs they prefer to apply for (course in Science-Po is offered for other '*Grandes écoles*' as well).¹⁵ In this regard, they are prepared for writing exam, oral exam as well as what is the ENA looking for so that they will guide the general culture of the ENA

¹³ "Student Examination (Concours Externe)," L'école Nationale d'Administration, accessed May 7, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.ena.fr/eng/Concours/The-students-examination>.

¹⁴ Brezis and Crouzet, "ELITE SCHOOLS, CIRCULATION OF ELITES AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: THE ENA CASE."

¹⁵ "Competitive Exam Preparation," SciencesPo, accessed May 7, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.sciencespo.fr/en/education/competitive-exam-preparation>.



entrance examination. That is why '*Science-Po*' can be called as 'the main channel toward ENA'¹⁶

The Examination

There are two parts: writing and oral ones. The writing part consists of five essays including public law, economics and contemporary issues, social questions, and public finances. For oral examination, it is normally about European Union and international issues. Moreover, there should be interviews with a panel, interaction group assessment, and foreign language checking.¹⁷

From the information above, it illustrates that this school has a very selective system in comparison with the other GE such as *Polytechniques* which can recruit around 500 students per year, in contrast with the ENA which can receive only a hundred each year. After the selection, first year of students in the ENA is an internship period in some public administration such as Embassy, regional administration. On the second year, they would focus again on 'culture general' plus some training on social science.¹⁸

¹⁶ Eicher and Peñalosa, *Institutions Development and Economic Growth*.

¹⁷ "Student Examination (Concours Externe)."

¹⁸ Brezis and Crouzet, "ELITE SCHOOLS, CIRCULATION OF ELITES AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: THE ENA CASE."



Budget for ENA

Regarding to the budget report in 2017, it presents that French government supported education for student per head as it showed in this table:

Figure 1: Number of Expenditure Supporting Student per Head in France

Dépenses moyennes par élève et par étudiant en France (2017)

Niveaux d'enseignement	Effectifs	Dépense moyenne par élève (euros)	Dépense globale (milliards d'euros)
Enseignement pré-élémentaire	2 492 500	6 800	pour le premier degré : 29,1
Enseignement élémentaire	4 206 600	6 400	
Collège	3 374 400	8 710	pour le second degré : 38,8
Lycée général et technologique	1 621 800	11 060	
Lycée professionnel	648 900	12 730	
Classes préparatoires aux grandes écoles (CPGE)	86 500	15 760	

Photo source: Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports of the French Republic ¹⁹

The number of expenditures shows that French government supported the highest number for preparatory classes and the GE in comparison with others by 15,760 euro per person while the supporting budget of university does not appear in the table.

¹⁹ "Le budget et les finances du système éducatif," Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports, accessed June 4, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.education.gouv.fr/le-budget-et-les-finances-du-systeme-educatif-89252>.



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This number, however, can illustrate that the government supported CPGE with the highest number of expenditures for a smaller number of students who got this benefit. This can also assume that the state is more supportive to Preparatory classes and Grandes Écoles (CPGE) than universities because the state gives an authority to universities in order to manage themselves as the Universities Freedom and Responsibility (LRU).

Relocation

In 1991, the ENA was relocated from Paris to Strasbourg in order to train its students for European issues and put them closer to the European Parliament.²⁰ The school was also integrated with the Strasbourg Centre for European Studies (founded in 1995) in 2010.²¹ However, in this issue, it caused other opinion that relocation of the ENA to be far from Paris was on purpose.²²

²⁰ "Stuck in Sleepy Strasbourg, Top French Students Long For Paris With AM-France-Best-Box," AP News, 1993, accessed June 8, 2021, Retrieved from <https://apnews.com/article/4434efe1f87a6b35492c5d0d63f77511>.

²¹ "International opening," L'école Nationale d'Administration, accessed June 8, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.ena.fr/eng/Europe-and-International/Strategie-europeenne-et-internationale/Ouverture-a-l-international>.

²² "Will scrapping the ENA fix the broken social elevator?," University World News, 2019, accessed June 7, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20190502105830160>.



Recruitment of International Students

Actually, the ENA has aimed to welcome all students since 1945. In fact, the first foreign students were recruited four years after the establishment of school. In this point, the school tried to improve and develop this purpose. Then, the ENA was developed and merged with the International Institute of Public Administration (IIAP) in 2000. Moreover, the ENA offers various master's programs for international students and special trainings such as the international advanced training course for eight months (cost of this course 4,000 euros).²³

International Partnerships

The ENA maintains its partnerships with more than one hundred schools or administrative institutes around the world. These partnerships include supports for the establishment of schools or institutes of administration, competitions setup, curriculum development, new teaching methods setup, documentation centres development, and trainers on specific themes.²⁴ For example, the strong relationship between the ENA and Africa, the school supports high level training sessions to African countries in many areas of public service actions such as management and

²³ "International advanced training course (CIP-8months)," L'école Nationale d'Administration, accessed June 8, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.ena.fr/eng/Europe-and-International/Programmes-de-formation/The-international-advanced-training-course-CIP>.

²⁴ "ENA's partnerships with schools and administrations in charge of training public officials in different countries," L'école Nationale d'Administration, accessed June 8, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.ena.fr/eng/Europe-and-International/Operateur-de-cooperation-administrative-internationale/Ena-s-partnerships-with-schools-and-administrations>.



human resource management in the civil service, the organization of administrative justice, public finance, etc. Since 2013, the school has also offered placements for students from the *National School of Administration and Magistracy* (ENAM) of **Cameroon** in order to do an internship in French administration such as financial jurisdictions.²⁵ Another example, the ENA was relaunched in 2013 in Congo. The mission of this school is to provide trainings to the administration senior officials of the sub-region in the country. In accordance with the agreements between the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and the foreign governments interest, the purpose is to participate in the recruitment of senior officials of the Public Administration and the various public services of the Congolese State.²⁶

Conclusion

Following to the evidence above, it shows that the aims of the establishment of the ENA is to improve the civil service system in France after World War II. At the beginning, the ENA opened for all people who was interested in the national administrative system. However, the ENA seems to be the school of elites due to the figure of student's family. The ENA is different from other '*grandes écoles*' as a result

²⁵ "Africa," L'école Nationale d'Administration, accessed June 8, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.ena.fr/eng/Europe-and-International/Operateur-de-cooperation-administrative-internationale/Diversite-geographique/Afrique>.

²⁶ "Mission De L'ENA," L'école Nationale d'Administration in DRC, accessed June 8, 2021, Retrieved from <http://ena.cd/a-propos/mission-de-lena/>



of its recruitment. The ENA more focuses on recruiting for training the elites. First year of students in the ENA as an intern period is usually spent in some public administration such as Embassy or regional administration. On the second year, they focus on 'culture general' plus some trainings on social science (though in recent years, teaching at the school has been mildly "technicized").²⁷ Moreover, the connection and networking of the ENA also make it different from the other GE because the *énarques* are known in all department of civil service and in the political section. This is the reason why studying in the ENA is a passport for the upper echelons of French politics for generations.²⁸

On the other hand, the ENA has also developed into a modern institution. It has been opened for foreign students and created more specific training classes in order to train the future top civil servants around the world. This evidence points that the ENA needs to be a part of international role which can lead them into spotlight. However, the adaption of the ENA is not crucial for French people because they need to have equal opportunities of good education for all not only the elites so that the public awareness on this issue could be raised all the time instead of this adaption.

²⁷ Brezis and Crouzet, "ELITE SCHOOLS, CIRCULATION OF ELITES AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: THE ENA CASE."

²⁸ "ENA: Macron scraps French leaders' elite training school."



Chapter 2: The Attempt to Reform and the Development of ENA before Macron's Reform

“It's impossible not to see the ever-widening gap between the diversity of French society and the social and cultural homogeneity of the elites produced by our education system.”

Sarkozy in December 2009²⁹

This speech shows that Sarkozy wanted to change the education system as there was educational inequality in French society. In this chapter, it demonstrates the attempt to reform in terms of ENA and the changes of ENA in the past. That explains how the ENA was in criticism and why it needs to be reformed in Macron's terms.

2.1 *Les grands corps de l'État*: Problems with the Administration Elite

Administration Elite can be defined as a body of state officials endowed with a very strong unity and superior authority because its members hierarchically occupy the high positions in the administration (e.g., inspector general of Finances, Councilor of State). The Administration Elite is also under the French fifth republic which is the current republican system of government. This is separated into two mains of *les grands corps*. Traditionally, *les grands corps techniques* recruits through the *École*

²⁹ "Sarkozy takes on "School of Power",," Reuters, 2009, accessed June 8, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-sarkozy-school-idUSTRE51I01Z20090219>.



Polytechnique but *les grands corps administratifs* recruits mainly from the ENA.³⁰ The graduates from the ENA can use their ranking of result to choose their future workplace. The top ranking, of course, can recruit to the best job. Around 1960s, the ENA was criticized with *les grands corps* in term of superior hierarchy. Therefore, the word ‘*énarques*’ which referred to alumni of the ENA was defined in dictionary as the same meaning as well. At the same time, one of the ENA’s alumni, a former minister and his classmates suggested to propose some solutions to the ENA:

“We propose the elimination of the systematic recruitment of student of *les grands corps* after leaving the school, and that they are recruited a few years later, maybe 7,8,10 years later. We believe that it is possible to go further in democratization.”

Jean-Pierre Chevènement, 2021³¹

Jean-Pierre Chevènement, Former Minister and alumni of the ENA (since 1963-65) said in the documentary. His statement showed that he disagreed with the student recruitment of *les grands corps*. This is also the main issue of the ENA and

³⁰ "Quel sont Les grands corps de l'État," Vie publique, updated June 30, 2018, accessed June 8, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.vie-publique.fr/fiches/20254-quels-sont-les-grands-corps-de-letat>.

³¹ “Nous proposons la suppression du recrutement des grands corps à la sortie de l'école. Nous proposons que les grands corps soient recrutés quelques années plus tard, peut-être 7,8,10 ans après. Nous pensons qu'il est possible d'aller plus loin dans la démocratisation.”

"L'ENA, pourquoi tant de haine?," Public Sénat, 2021, accessed June 7, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gjv15p9IBNE&t=1026s>.



the society. On the other hand, his speech aimed to eliminate the recruitment system of *les grands corps* which normally recruits people from top ranking of the ENA and the other prestigious GE such as *Polytechnique*. He suggested to let the graduates work in other positions besides recruiting to civil services of top organizations. There were even student protests spreading in 1968 around France for this solution. That have raised students' awareness a lot. The future ENA's graduate students are also thinking about the solution but it is still on debate. There were 68 students in that year who announced to refuse their ranking and would need to choose careers as their desires. At the end, *les grands corps*, however, still exists by majority votes. Later, the power has expanded into political world such as Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, first *énaarque* who became a head of state in 1974.³²

2.2 From Giscard d'Estaing to Chirac: ENA and Its Increasing Unpopularity among the Public

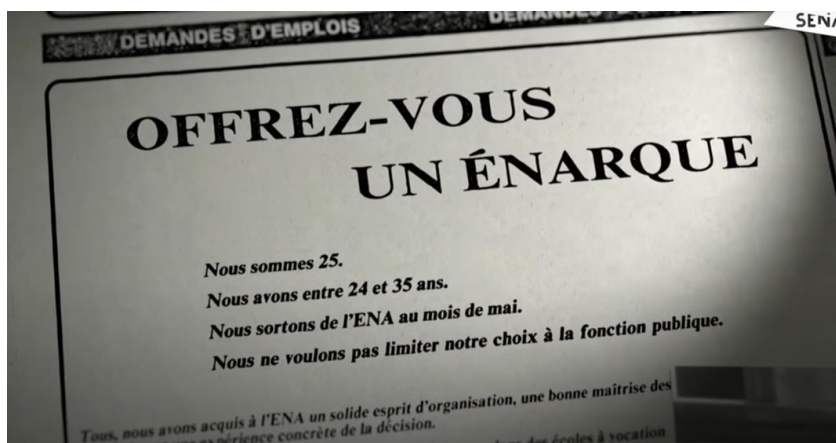
A few years of being the President of France, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing faced with economic problem in the country due to the international oil crisis in 1974. This crisis led to rise in high import costs, oil price increase in 1979-1980 and high inflation around three percent during 1977-1979, also high rate of unemployment, balance-of-payment deficits as well as declined private investment.³³ The ENA was strongly criticized by the population of the state. However, the tension of ENA was increased

³² "L'ENA, pourquoi tant de haine?."

³³ "France Step Up Inflation Fight," The New York Times, 1973, accessed June 10, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/1973/12/06/archives/france-steps-up-inflation-fight-creditt-restraint-and-cut-in.html>.



by François Mitterrand's presidential prorogation. He was not one of the *énarques* but he promised to reform France. He decided to relocate the ENA to another place in further distance from Paris, the center of power,³⁴ which was one of the reasons. At that time, neoliberalism was rising in the society and Mitterrand also announced to reinforce the new law which the government assumed to be the owner of the top five biggest industrial groups in the country. Surprisingly, French people found that many of the *énarques* were the big bosses of those groups. Some of *énarques* started to go to business world to find jobs from private sectors not civil service positions as it showed in the photo below. This situation showed that it was not the aim of the ENA which needed to produce high public servants for their nation.³⁵



Source: *Public Sénat*: "L' ENA, pourquoi tant de haine?"³⁶

³⁴ Torabian, "Will scrapping the ENA fix the broken social elevator?."

³⁵ "L'ENA, pourquoi tant de haine?."

³⁶ Ibid



Even, Jacques Chirac, former ENA student himself also used anti-ENA campaign for his presidential election in 1995.³⁷

2.3 Nicolas Sarkozy and His Reform Intention

Due to the prorogation of his presidency, Nicolas Sarkozy, who was not *énarques*, doubted about the ENA and its recruitment system. He found the system unfair and unequal. Thus, he aimed at reforming the GE as well as other universities in order to give them more authority and avoid inequality in the society. Initially, he reformed the higher education system for the first time after twenty years. Three months later, he had been elected in 2007, so he reinforces the National Assembly to approve the Universities' Freedom and Responsibility (LRU) which recognised universities with more authority and power in managing their budgets, recruitment, and payment. This situation was converse with previous times when universities were under state control.³⁸ Secondly, he aimed to expand social mix and give opportunities to students from less privileged background. Valérie Pécresse, the Minister of Higher Education, and *the Conférence des Grandes Écoles* (CGE) negotiated and signed an agreement to increase students' recruitment which more 30 percent of students received the state grants. The government also changed the

³⁷ Torabian, "Will scrapping the ENA fix the broken social elevator?."

³⁸ "A decade of reforms under three presidents rolls on," University World News, 2018, accessed June 8, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20180405090308773>.



rules for students' eligible state aids for preparatory classes.³⁹ The ENA was included in this Agreement. On the other hand, Sarkozy aimed at attacking the ENA directly by proposing to eliminate ranking of graduates. However, his intention was failed. Two months later, that was cancelled by the state council. His point of view showed his intention to build more equality in the society. (as his speech from the headline of this chapter).

Conclusion

In this chapter, it said about the intentions to reform the ENA. The ENA has always been criticised and risen into top issues. We could see that there is a gap between French society and the elites. *Les grands corps* is one of the main issues for this topic. The bureaucracy recruits students mostly from the GE and the ENA. Regarding to the speech of Sarkozy and one of *énarques*, Jean-Pierre Chevènement, that recruitment, which created gaps in society and made *les grands corps* beneficial for elites, needed to be reformed. In terms of other presidents, it also points to unpopular of the ENA by their campaigns of anti-ENA for election. Moreover, some *énarques* who became the owners of top industrial groups in France was completely contrast to the aim of the ENA and founder as De Gaulle. Sarkozy also tried to raise this issue and find the way to increase opportunities for less

³⁹ "How Sarkozy is forcing reform on a reluctant establishment," Independent, 2011, accessed June 8, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/schools/how-sarkozy-is-forcing-reform-on-a-reluctant-establishment-2014821.html>.



privilege students. However, it shows that the problem still exists until today. It can assume that the solution of Sarkozy was not powerful enough to solve this problem because the ENA is still an object to be criticized in public for a long time. That is why Macron should have to activate his reform definitely.



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Chapter 3: The Reform of Macron and the Future of the ENA

3.1 Social Unrest in France

After Sarkozy's unsuccessful reform, the ENA became a hot issue in public debate again. Following Macron's announcement to increase the fuel tax, French society plunged into turmoil. The movement known as '*les gilets jaunes*' appeared in 2018. The participants came out on the streets to express their disapproval of this policy. Moreover, the issues of the protest were expanded to other aspects, especially social and economic inequality, such as unemployment and education reform. Here is a 25-year-old participant saying about social inequality:

“I haven't read Marx, but I experience class war in the street and on my body every single day.”

Oriane, 2019⁴⁰

From this topic, it shows that people feel unfair about the treat of the state and also the gap of social classes in their society which is related to the study of *Elite Education and the State in France: Durable Ties and New Challenges* by applying Weber's theory of social closure to analyzed French society that they will treat for some group in the society but not for the outsiders. People in the protest thought that the President came from wealth family and did not understand their

⁴⁰ "A year of insurgency: How Yellow Vests left 'indelible mark' on French politics," France24, 2019, accessed June 8, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.france24.com/en/20191116-a-year-of-insurgency-how-yellow-vests-left-indelible-mark-on-french-politics>.

situation. That is why they were angry and wanted to express their feeling to the President.

3.2 Macron's Reform Intention

Regarding to this situation, it is challenging Macron as the President of the country. It led to the President Macron's promises of tax cuts, increasing higher pension, reform of education and civil service, especially, in the ENA which was recognized as an elite school and training school for elite political leaders. His action officially took place in April 2021 when he announced to close the ENA to change into the 'Public Service Institute'. Through the action, he aimed to abolish the symbol of elite in the civil service system and gain more social diversity of students to the new institution by adding a more modern course such as *laïcité* – France's version of secularism, poverty, ecology and sciences.⁴¹ He would like to make this new institution and the other GE for every people and from every social class. He needs to restore credibility of the real meritocracy system in France. Moreover, it shows that the aim of Macron is to provide equal opportunity to educational system and facilitate accessibility to individual capability and diverse background.

⁴¹ Willsher, "Macron announces closure of elite school that hothoused French leaders."



3.3 The New Program and Response of the ENA

Before the President Macron decided to close the ENA, the Ministry of Public Sector Transformation and the Civil Service and the Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sports in France has launched a new project in April 2019 to promote a Youth training program for being civil servants. They also published video named '*Le programme talents du service public est là pour vous*' or it can be said as 'The public service talents program is there for you'. It is about the project from the state which supports people who are interested in civil service and courses of preparation for the examination. This project aims to give equal chances to all young people in France who would like to join civil service for the public careers and to remove the idea that high civil service positions are served for the ENA and wealthy families. The program consists of tutoring, mentoring, as well as offering internships in administrations which collaborates with secondary schools, high schools, and universities in France. There are also scholarships offered to the students who apply for this program and participate in preparatory classes (there are about 1700 places) for the competitive examination to be in the civil service. They might get additional support for accommodation or catering as well.⁴² Amélie de Montchalin, Minister of Public Sector Transformation and the Civil Service said:

⁴² "Talents du service public, des mesures concrètes et ambitieuses pour les jeunes," Ministère de la transformation et de la fonction publiques, accessed June 8, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.fonction-publique.gouv.fr/score/ecoles-formation/talents-du-service-public>.



"Our public service must once again become the symbol that it has been for nearly a century: a founding element of our Republican social elevator, a place of meaning and service in the general interest. All those who aspire to serve the general interest - whether they are in the neighborhoods, on the outskirts of cities or in our countryside - must be given this chance. It is more than ever our responsibility to seek out these talents everywhere in France, in colleges, in high schools, in universities, to fight against self-censorship which undermines their ambition, to accompany them towards the competitive examinations of our public service. Our ambition is to find and train senior officials who resemble the social and territorial diversity of our country.

This is the meaning of the concrete measures that the President of the Republic announces this Thursday, February 11, 2021, at the Regional Administration Institute of Nantes and that I am proud to carry. It is a message of hope to our youth, it is a sign that the Republican promise that rewards merit is alive and well, that our public service knows how to reinvent itself for enriching itself with the talents of 2021, in all their diversity. "

Amélie de Montchalin⁴³

⁴³ "Notre fonction publique doit redevenir le symbole qu'elle a été durant près d'un siècle : un élément fondateur de notre ascenseur social républicain, un lieu de sens et de service de l'intérêt général.



From the above mentioned speech of the Minister, we can see a sign of new changes in the recruitment of the ENA and the high civil service position in France. They try to expand opportunities to everybody from any class in France in order to abolish the existing social inequality. This action shows that the President is trying to strengthen social democracy and shows how much he cares about the voice of the yellow vest movement. That is why he has launched the new project in order to correct the thought that he does not understand the situation in France and the miserable life of working class because he is from wealthy family. After the President Macron had announced the closure of the ENA, the ENA, itself, also announced about its future recruitment for the following year under the new institution as followed:

Tous ceux qui aspirent à servir l'intérêt général – qu'ils soient dans les quartiers, dans la périphérie des villes ou dans nos campagnes – doivent avoir cette chance. Il est plus que jamais de notre responsabilité d'aller chercher ces talents partout en France, dans les collèges, les lycées, dans les universités, de lutter contre l'autocensure qui mine leur ambition, de les accompagner vers les concours de notre fonction publique. Notre ambition est de trouver et de former des hauts fonctionnaires qui ressemblent davantage à la diversité sociale et territoriale de notre pays.

Tel est le sens des mesures concrètes que le Président de la République annonce ce jeudi 11 février 2021 à l'Institut régional d'administration de Nantes et que je suis fière de porter. C'est un message d'espoir à notre jeunesse, c'est le signe que la promesse républicaine qui récompense le mérite est bien vivante, que notre fonction publique sait se réinventer pour s'enrichir des talents de 2021, dans toute leur diversité."

"Talents du service public, des mesures concrètes et ambitieuses pour les jeunes."



“The President of the republic had announced on Thursday 8th April 2021 the abolishment of the ENA and its replacement by the National Public Service Institute which will be created on 1st January 2022. The competitive examination will be unchanged as planned in the 2021. Successful candidates will become students of the future institute on 1st January 2022. Here, video message from Amélie de Montchalin, Minister of Public Sector Transformation and the Civil Service for people who are preparing for the ENA.

The access to the National Administration School as students (initial training) is to be done by competitive examinations opened for all ages”

L’*école* Nationale d'Administration (ENA) ⁴⁴

⁴⁴ “Le Président de la République a annoncé le jeudi 8 avril 2021 la suppression de l’ENA et son remplacement par l’institut national du service public qui sera créé au 1er janvier 2022. Tous les concours se tiendront comme prévu en 2021. Les candidats reçus deviendront élèves du futur institut au 1er janvier 2022. [Message vidéo d'Amélie de Montchalin](#), ministre de la Transformation et de la fonction publiques, à l'attention des préparatoires de l'ENA.

L’accès à l’*École* nationale d’administration en qualité d’élève (formation initiale) est ouvert par la voie de concours qui permettent d’intégrer l’*École* sans limite d’âge.”

"Concours," L’*école* Nationale d'Administration, accessed June 8, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.ena.fr/eng/Concours>.



From this announcement, it is understood that after closure of the ENA, the Institute of Public Service will appear as a replacement and the next year recruitment will follow this year plan and will remain the same until 2023. The future of ISP may possibly change especially in the recruitment and state agents, and also professors for training students.⁴⁵

3.4 Some Opinions on Macron's Reform Attempt

In this research, there are two types of criticisms on the issue: people against the closure of the ENA who think that it would not abolish the inequality and the others against the ENA. These opinions were from Jean-Pierre Chevènement, one of the *énarques* who against the system of this training school and tried to solve social inequality by eliminating the administration elite and Rachida Dati, the former officer from Ministry of Justice, showing that they disagreed with the Macron's reform, especially closing the ENA, because it is not a feasible solution to cope with inequality in French society. Some opinions are shown as follows:

“I am opposed to the abolition of the ENA but I am totally opposed and besides, I told Emmanuel Macron. I find this to be an error. We can improve this school, but it remains a school of excellences. It has become an elite school and therefore we can correct this elitism but

⁴⁵ "Fin de l'ENA : la future école gardera les mêmes salariés et les mêmes locaux," Le Parisien, 2021, accessed June 8, 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.leparisien.fr/societe/fin-de-lena-la-future-ecole-gardera-les-memes-salaries-et-les-memes-locaux-05-05-2021-NYGPUEYVPJHBZP6W6ZIITASP74.php>.



eliminate this school, I tell you that we replace for what, replace by different courses, interviews. Me, I find that here we will reinstate a greater inequality”,

Rachida Dati, Fomer Keeper of the Seals, Ministry of Justice⁴⁶

“I don't think removing the ENA is the solution because what will we put in place? how will we recruit senior officials once again if the state no longer needs to be of service, there is no longer any need for servants are there we can go out of business school to recruit those who will do the fastest returns on investment.

Jean-Pierre Chevènement⁴⁷

⁴⁶ “Je suis opposé la suppression de l'ENA mais je suis totalement opposé et d'ailleurs j'en avais fait part Emmanuel Macron. Je trouve que c'est une erreur. On peut améliorer cette école mais ça reste école d'excellence. Elle devenue une école élitiste et donc on peut corriger cet élitisme mais supprimer cette école ; je vous dis que on remplace par quoi, remplace par différents parcours des entretien. Moi, je trouve que là on va réintégrer une plus grande inégalité ”

"L'ENA, pourquoi tant de haine?."

⁴⁷ “je ne pense pas que la suppression de l'ENA soit la solution parce que qu'est-ce qu'on mettra à la place ? comment recrutera-t-on les hauts fonctionnaires encore une fois si l'état n'a plus besoin d'être service, il n'y a plus besoin de serviteurs sont là on peut aller a sorti des business school recruter ceux qui feront les retours sur investissement le plus rapide.”

"L'ENA, pourquoi tant de haine?."



On the other hand, some press thought that Macron's decision was right and it is a great start to be an example for other countries if it is successful. The opinion is shown as followed:

“Macron's decision to close the institution is the right one and was made for the right reasons. Now the hard work must begin, to create a more inclusive space, and one closer to the research world. If it succeeds, it could set an example, not only for France, but outside its borders, too.”

Nature, 2021⁴⁸

In some point of views, they disagreed with the President's action while the others agreed with closing the ENA and replace into a new institute. The ENA is always risen as a hot issue about injustice and unfairness in French society as long as country leaders and influent politicians who graduated from ENA are from wealthy family only while people from under-represented groups could not have chances to access to elite schools or get high-rank positions. That is why the ENA has been criticised over decades. The action of the President shows that he tries to eliminate the injustice in the society so that he and his team create the program in order to support every student who would like to serve their nation as public administrators.

⁴⁸ "France's leadership academy needs more science and inclusion," Nature, 2021, accessed July 14, , 2021, Retrieved from <https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-021-01459-0>.



Conclusion

From chapter one to chapter three, the information shows the answers of this study regarding the relation between French state and the ENA, the opinion of French people about closing the school, and the importance of the school to the state. In chapter one, it shows how the GE was established which brings us back to the history since 18th century until to today. The result illustrated that the GE was created up to the need of the government such as *Polytechnique* (training for engineering military, etc.), *École des Pontes et Chaussées* (training for road engineer), business schools as well as the ENA (training for high civil servants). In terms of Napoléon, he created the administrative elites in order to make a strong politics and their society under the action of its government. From this situation, French elite cycle would be chosen by its background and favoured privilege. It shows that the good chances were opened and offered for a group of specific people from wealthy families only. This closed the opportunities for people from other classes to receive good choices, and a social elevator. That means the rich people were richer, and the poor ones were poorer. However, after the Vichy Regime was defeated, there was a reform of civil service in order to rebuild the country. From this reason, the government under General De Gaulle established the ENA. The aim of this school was to produce efficient senior civil servants and open for all classes for the study. The government aimed to make the country democratic so that it needed talented people from any background to be the parts of civil services. The process for



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entering to this school was run by meritocracy or competitive examinations. For this, we can see that people could participate in the courses to be the future senior officers of civil services if they passed this exam.

In chapter two, it shows that the system of recruitment did not follow the intention of the founding father. In this part, it presents the obstructs between the school and public that people have started hating the school until today. Some reforms are needed. The main problem that this study has found is *les grand corps*, or the administration elite which are the most prestigious groups within the civil service. The existence of this groups has created the feeling of inequality in the society and unfairness in the recruitment of higher positions in civil services which almost supports the wealthy family. This idea was reflected to Napoleon's terms which they chose people from its background. Moreover, some of the *énarques* became the bosses of industrial groups and accessed to a business world which was completely contrast to the aim of the ENA. From this situation, it led the ENA to be hated in public even though the head of state came from the ENA at that time. There were a lot of presidents who tried to reform the system of the ENA but it could not abolish this problem. People still feel unfair and bring this issue to a topic for debating publicly many times. They feel uncomfortable with the recruitment system of the ENA which is more supportive to the elites than the others from working class. This situation has made people from working class think that they are deprived to be senior civil servants unlike the elite.



In the last chapter, it explains about the reform of Emmanuel Macron, the President of French Republic. It shows that his first action under his own government strongly tried to abolish the ENA which is a symbol of inequality in education and French society. The aim of this abolishment is to eliminate the negative image of inequality and to make fair education for every young people by expanding opportunities for all classes. After that, together with Ministry of Public Sector Transformation and the Civil Service, the President has created a new project of the public service talents program. This program intends to eliminate the idea that the ENA is only for the elites and to expand opportunities to all regions of the country in order to improve more diverse background of higher civil service. The President also made an official announcement of the ENA abolishment and replacement with the National Institute of Public Service which will be a fresh start of higher education and an opening for every youth who is interested to apply for no matter what background they have. Moreover, the reaction of Macron's reform is separated in two ways. For those who disagree, they think that the elimination of the ENA do not solve the inequality of the state while the other opinions is that his decision is right and able to be an example to other countries if it is successful.

To conclude, the ENA is always a top issue of public discussion which it needs to be reformed in order to eliminate inequality and to follow the aim of the founder. The result of my research found that the relationship between elite school like the ENA and the state are quite strongly close related to the *énarques* who have



linked with public service and businesspersons. That is the reason why the closure of the ENA is important to French politics. As Macron's presidency approaches the end of its term, there is much pressure and are many conflicts which he should have to handle. The ENA is an obvious tool for politics which shows image of inequality in this state. Thus, he tries to convince his people believe that he has been trying to increase democratization, to rebuild and to modernize the country. Regarding to the program, it is a good start to expand the opportunities to people all around the nation. Other aspects on closing this training school, it may assume that the top-ranking will be no longer recruit traditionally to the best administrative jobs. However, the main power as the administration elite still exists and is not mentioned by the President. If he would like to fully democratize the bureaucracy and its training system, he needs to clarify about the administration elite in order to expand enormous opportunities for recruiting talent people of all types so that senior positions in civil services will have more diverse background which increase social equality and justice. The new ISP will be caught up, especially in 2023 when it may have a big change in the pedagogy and in the recruitment.



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